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Moral and Ethical Decision-Making in a Realistic Field Training Scenario

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Abstract

This experiment explored moral and ethical judgement and decision-making in an operational context. As part of pre-deployment training at a specific Canadian Forces base, military personnel participate in several realistic training exercises. One such exercise involves a situation that simulates a human rights violation. This is likely to be a highly charged moral situation as trainees must use their negotiation skills to protect the civilians who appear to be being violently abused.

This experiment explored the impact of heightening the moral intensity (i.e. the salience and vividness of the moral issue) of this situation by varying the proximity to the female victim. In the high intensity condition, the female victim was scripted to come face-to-face with the team leader, but to remain more than 60 feet away in the baseline moral intensity condition. The entire scenario was videotaped (and later content analyzed) and trainees completed a questionnaire exploring their emotions, attributions of responsibility and perceptions related to the outcome of the scenario. The outcome of the scenario was also analyzed in terms of whether the trainees left the civilians in the hands of the police, watched while the civilians were led into a dense forest by the police, or insisted on following the police and victims as they were escorted to another location.

Results showed that heightened levels of moral intensity had important effects on trainee behaviour. Specifically, after coming face-to-face with the female victim, trainees never left the victims in the hands of the police and were more likely to follow the victims as they were escorted away by the police. Behaviours that promoted a negative relationship with the military police, and positive behaviours such as gaining situational awareness were also more frequent in the high moral intensity scenarios than in the baseline scenarios. The impact of moral intensity was also reflected in trainee perceptions about their performance and the outcome of the scenario. Specifically, trainees who had made a more definitive decision to either follow or leave the civilians reported higher levels of satisfaction with their own performance and with the outcome of the scenario than did those that simply watched while the civilians were lead away. On questionnaire measures tapping trainees' perceptions of responsibility, mandate and emotions, however, there were no consistent differences related to moral intensity. Implications of this study for training efforts and for future research are discussed.

Résumé

L'expérience portait sur la prise de décisions morales et éthiques dans un contexte opérationnel. Dans le cadre d'un entraînement de préparation à un déploiement des FC offert dans une base des Forces canadiennes, des militaires prennent part à plusieurs exercices d'entraînement réalistes. L'un de ces exercices porte sur la simulation d'un cas de violation des droits de la personne. Dans cette situation, des participants non armés se voient confrontés à des membres armés de la police militaire (PM), un sergent (sgt) et un officier de police, qui agressent verbalement et physiquement deux civils, les contraignant à creuser ce qui pourrait être leur propre tombe. Les civils plaident pour leur vie, clamant sans cesse leur innocence et faisant valoir qu'une mort imminente les guette si les participants quittent les lieux. L'officier supérieur (le sergent) maintient les participants à une distance d'environ 60 pieds des deux civils, leur faisant comprendre qu'ils ne doivent négocier qu'avec lui. Les participants sont amenés à utiliser les techniques de négociation qu'ils ont apprises pour s'acquitter du mandat de leur mission et pour veiller à ce que les civils fassent l'objet d'un traitement équitable, dans le but de favoriser un règlement positif pour toutes les parties en cause.

La recherche s'inscrit dans le cadre d'une initiative de longue haleine visant à améliorer la connaissance de la prise de décisions morales et éthiques dans un contexte opérationnel par l'étude de l'incidence de l'intensité morale sur le processus de prise de décisions morales et éthiques. L'intensité morale a trait à la prépondérance et à la vivacité d'une question morale, et dépend de plusieurs caractéristiques, entre autres : l'ampleur des conséquences, le consensus social, la probabilité et la concentration de l'effet (dommages ou méfaits généralisés ou limités), l'imminence sur le plan temporel et la proximité (Jones, 1991). Par exemple, il semblerait qu'une très grande proximité (sociale, culturelle, psychologique ou physique) par rapport à une question morale accroît l'intensité morale. De même, un dilemme moral qui met en jeu la vie de 100 personnes comporterait une intensité morale plus élevée qu'une situation dans laquelle une seule personne risque de perdre la vie. Certains ont laissé entendre que l'intensité morale influe sur la perception et l'interprétation des questions morales et, de ce fait même, sur la prise de décisions morales et éthiques.

L'expérience décrite dans le présent rapport portait sur la modification de l'intensité morale par la variation de la proximité de la victime dans un scénario d'entraînement. Elle consistait plus précisément à modifier le degré d'intensité morale en faisant en sorte que la femme victime se trouve face à face avec le chef de l'équipe dans une situation de grande intensité, tandis que la victime devait demeurer à une distance de plus de 60 pieds dans la situation comportant une intensité morale minimale. Dans le cadre de l'expérience, pendant que les participants négociaient avec l'officier supérieur (le sergent) pour obtenir que les civils soient traités équitablement et libérés, la femme victime a quitté précipitamment les lieux où elle était détenue par l'officier de police afin de plaider pour sa vie. Elle a regardé dans les yeux le chef de l'équipe en hurlant à cinq reprises « Aidez-moi! Pourquoi restez-vous là à ne rien faire? Vous êtes censé m'aider! Je vous en supplie, aidez-moi! » Le sergent a empêché les participants d'établir tout contact physique avec elle, en déclarant « C'est une terroriste. Elle est très dangereuse. » La victime a ensuite été ramenée de force à l'endroit où elle se trouvait au début et s'est remise à creuser le trou, sous le regard vigilant de l'officier de police. Pour bien faire en sorte que la seule grande distinction entre une situation de grande intensité et une situation de faible intensité réside dans la proximité entre la victime et le chef de l'équipe, la victime a hurlé le même message au même moment dans la situation comportant une intensité minimale et dans le cadre de l'expérience. La situation a été

entièrement filmée sur bande vidéo (la vidéo a par la suite été analysée) et les participants à l'entraînement ont rempli un questionnaire portant sur leur perception de la responsabilité, du mandat, des émotions et de l'issue du scénario. Une analyse a aussi été faite de l'issue du scénario : les participants ont-ils laissé les civils entre les mains de la police, ont-ils joué un rôle d'observateurs pendant que les civils étaient amenés dans une forêt dense ou ont-ils choisi de les accompagner?

D'après les résultats observés, le comportement des participants variait énormément en fonction de la variation de l'intensité. Plus particulièrement, lorsque les équipes se trouvaient face à face avec la femme victime, la réaction la plus courante consistait à refuser de laisser les victimes entre les mains de la PM et à accompagner les civils qui étaient amenés au poste de police. En fait, les équipes qui ont pris part à un échange intense en se trouvant face à face avec la femme victime étaient plus susceptibles d'accompagner la police et les victimes dans la forêt que celles qui ont pris part à la situation d'intensité minimale. De plus, dans le scénario d'intensité élevée, aucune équipe n'a choisi de ne pas s'impliquer et de laisser les civils sous la seule garde de la PM armée. Ces résultats laissent entendre qu'une intensité morale accrue peut susciter un plus engagement envers les civils que ne l'expriment les comportements manifestes. Les analyses subséquentes ont révélé que les participants ayant pris une décision plus définitive de suivre ou de laisser partir les civils se sont également déclarés plus satisfaits à l'égard de leur propre rendement et de l'issue du scénario.

L'intensité morale peut en outre avoir eu une incidence sur le type de technique de négociation utilisée dans le scénario d'entraînement. L'analyse des comportements a révélé que les équipes ayant pris part à la situation d'intensité élevée ont davantage tenté d'établir un contact avec les civils et de désamorcer la situation (en demandant à la PM d'arrêter de battre les civils). Après s'être trouvées face à face avec la femme victime, les équipes ont également fait preuve d'une meilleure connaissance de la situation car elles avaient pris des notes, s'étaient informées du nom des intéressés et utilisé la radio. Ces comportements dénotent une volonté accrue des équipes de pouvoir rendre compte des événements dont elles ont été témoins. Les participants ont par ailleurs eu recours à plusieurs techniques de négociation (par exemple en provoquant ou en importunant la PM) qui ont été jugées inappropriées, compte tenu du type de mission en cause.

D'après les points évalués par le questionnaire, aucune différence constante n'a été observée entre les participants en ce qui a trait à leur perception de la responsabilité, du mandat, des émotions, et de l'issue du scénario. D'autres analyses ont mis en évidence certaines différences de perception entre les membres non dirigeants et les chefs des équipes. Plus particulièrement, les chefs des équipes ont jugé plus immoraux les actes de la PM et ont attribué une responsabilité plus grande à la PM, par rapport aux membres non dirigeants de l'équipe. Ils ont aussi davantage fait ressortir le caractère contraignant de leur mandat. Il se dégage de ces constats que le point de vue de l'observateur peut avoir une incidence sur la perception d'une situation morale.

Cette recherche jette aussi un éclairage important sur l'entraînement. En plus de souligner les comportements fréquents et peu fréquents, elle révèle dans une certaine mesure que le passage du comportement de soldat à celui de négociateur risque de s'avérer difficile lorsqu'on est en présence d'un cas de violation apparente des droits de la personne. C'est pourquoi le présent rapport recommande également de mettre davantage l'accent sur la constance de l'entraînement d'une séance à l'autre.



Executive Summary

The current experiment explored moral and ethical decision-making in an operational context. As part of CF pre-deployment training at a specific Canadian Forces base, military personnel participate in several realistic training exercises. One such exercise simulates a human rights violation. In this scenario, unarmed trainees encounter armed military police (MP), a Sergeant (Sgt) and Constable, verbally and physically abusing two civilians and forcing them to dig what could be their own graves. The civilians plead for their lives, continuously declaring their innocence and imminent death should the trainees leave. The trainees are kept at a distance (approximately 60 feet) from the two civilians by the lead MP, the Sgt. They must negotiate with him only. Trainees are challenged to use the negotiation skills they have learned to fulfil their mission mandate and to advocate for the fair treatment of the civilians in order to promote a successful resolution for all parties.

The following research is part of a long-term effort to advance the understanding of moral and ethical decision-making in an operational context by exploring how moral intensity impacts the process of moral and ethical decision-making. Moral intensity refers to the salience and vividness of a moral issue, as a product of several characteristics. These include the magnitude of consequences, social consensus, probability and concentration of effect (widespread vs. constrained damage or harm), temporal immediacy, and proximity (Jones, 1991). For example, very close proximity (social, cultural, psychological, or physical) to a moral issue is argued to heighten moral intensity. Similarly, a moral dilemma in which 100 people might die is said to be of greater moral intensity than a situation in which only 1 person might die. It has been proposed that moral intensity influences the perception and interpretation of moral issues, thereby impacting on how moral and ethical decisions are made.

The experiment described in this report attempted to manipulate moral intensity by varying proximity to the victim in a training scenario. Specifically, the level of moral intensity was varied by having the female victim come face-to-face with the team leader in the high intensity condition, but remain more than 60 feet away in the baseline moral intensity condition. In the experimental condition, as the trainees negotiated with the lead Sgt for the civilians' fair treatment and release, the female victim rushed from the site where she was forcibly detained by the Constable and pleaded for her life. She made eye contact with the trainee team leader and shouted five times "Help me! Why aren't you helping me? You're supposed to help me! Please help me!" The Sgt prevented the trainees from making any physical contact with her, explaining that "She's a terrorist. She's very dangerous." Following this, she was dragged back to her original position and resumed digging under the watchful eye of the Constable. To ensure that the only substantive difference between the high and baseline intensity condition was the proximity of the woman to the lead trainee, the female civilian shouted the same message at the same time in the baseline and experimental conditions. The entire scenario was videotaped (and later content analyzed) and trainees completed a questionnaire exploring their perceptions of responsibility, mandate, emotions and the outcome of the scenario. The outcome of the scenario was also analyzed in terms of whether the trainees left the civilians in the hands of the police, watched while the civilians were led into a dense forest, or followed the victims and police as they were led into a dense forest.

Results showed that there were important differences in how trainees actually behaved as a function of the intensity manipulation. Specifically, when teams came face-to-face with the female

victim, the most common response was to refuse to leave the victims in the hands of the MPs and to follow the civilians as they were escorted to the police station. In fact, teams that experienced a highly intense face-to-face interaction with the female civilian were more likely than teams in the baseline condition to accompany the police and the civilians through the forest. Moreover, in the high intensity condition, no team chose to disengage from the situation and leave the civilians in the sole custody of the armed MPs. This pattern of results suggests that heightened moral intensity may foster a greater commitment to civilians than is expressed in overt behaviours. Subsequent analyses showed that participants who had made a more definitive decision to either follow or leave the civilians also reported higher levels of satisfaction with their own performance and with the outcome of the scenario.

Moral intensity may also have impacted the kinds of negotiation behaviours exhibited during the training scenario. Behavioural analysis showed that teams in the high intensity condition made more attempts to make contact with the civilians and more attempts to diffuse the situation (by asking the MP to stop beating the civilians). After coming face-to-face with the female civilian, teams also showed higher levels of establishing situational awareness by taking notes, asking for names, and using the radio. This suggests an increased desire to provide testimony to what they were witnessing. However, trainees also engaged in various negotiation behaviours (e.g. provoking or annoying the MP) that were deemed suboptimal given the type of mission.

On questionnaire measures, there were no differences in trainees' perceptions of responsibility, mandate, and emotions, nor about the outcome of the scenario. Additional analyses showed some differences in perceptions of team non-leader members and team leaders. Specifically, team leaders rated the actions of the MPs as more immoral and ascribed more responsibility to the MPs than did team non-leader members as well as feeling more constrained by the limitations of their mandate. This suggests that the perspective of the observer may influence perceptions of a moral situation.

This research also provides some important information relevant to training. In addition to signalling both low and high frequency behaviours, it provides some indication that making the transition from soldier to diplomat may be difficult when witnessing what appears to be a human rights violation. Accordingly, this report also recommends that more consideration be given to issues of training consistency across sessions.

Sommaire

L'expérience portait sur le jugement et la prise de décisions moraux et éthiques dans un contexte opérationnel. Dans le cadre d'un entraînement de préparation à un déploiement offert dans une base des Forces canadiennes, des militaires prennent part à plusieurs exercices d'entraînement réalistes. L'un de ces exercices concerne la simulation d'un cas de violation des droits de la personne. Cette situation comporte une forte charge morale, car les personnes participant à l'entraînement doivent faire appel à leurs aptitudes de négociation pour protéger des civils qui font apparemment l'objet d'actes de violence.

Cette expérience vise à faire la lumière sur les conséquences de la hausse de l'intensité morale (soit la prépondérance et la vivacité de la question morale en cause) de cette situation en modifiant la proximité de la femme victime. Dans la situation de grande intensité, la victime devait se trouver face à face avec le chef de l'équipe, tandis qu'elle devait demeurer à une distance de plus de 60 pieds dans le scénario comportant une intensité morale minimale. La situation a été filmée sur bande vidéo (la vidéo a par la suite été analysée) et les participants à l'entraînement ont rempli un questionnaire portant sur leurs émotions, l'attribution des responsabilités et les perceptions de l'issue du scénario. Une analyse a aussi été faite de l'issue du scénario : les participants ont-ils laissé les civils entre les mains de la police, ont-ils joué un rôle d'observateurs pendant que les civils étaient amenés dans une forêt dense par la police ou ont-ils insisté pour les accompagner?

Les résultats ont montré qu'un degré élevé d'intensité morale avait des répercussions importantes sur le comportement des participants. Plus particulièrement, après s'être trouvés face à face avec la femme victime, les participants n'ont jamais laissé les victimes entre les mains de la police et étaient plus susceptibles de suivre les victimes lorsqu'elles étaient amenées par la police. Les comportements qui suscitaient des rapports négatifs avec la police militaire et les comportements positifs, comme l'acquisition d'une connaissance du contexte, étaient également plus fréquents dans les situations d'intensité morale élevée que dans les scénarios de faible intensité. L'incidence de l'intensité morale ressortait aussi des perceptions des participants au sujet de leur rendement et de l'issue du scénario. Plus particulièrement, les participants qui avaient pris une décision plus définitive, de suivre les civils ou de les laisser partir, se sont déclarés plus satisfaits de leur propre rendement et de l'issue du scénario que ceux qui se sont contentés d'observer les civils qui étaient amenés. D'après les points évalués par le questionnaire, aucune différence constante n'a été observée entre l'intensité morale, d'une part, et les perceptions des participants concernant la responsabilité, le mandat et les émotions. Les répercussions de cette étude sur les initiatives d'entraînement et sur les recherches à venir font l'objet d'une analyse.



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1 Background and Aim

As historic examples attest, military personnel at all levels often face difficult moral and ethical decisions and/or dilemmas in an operational context. Given the rapidly changing theatre in which the military operates today, it is likely that these examples will continue to grow. In-depth interviews with 15 serving and retired Canadian Forces senior officers generated numerous accounts of the difficult moral and ethical decisions that these personnel were called upon to make in operations throughout the conflicts of the 1990s (Thomson, Adams, and Sartori, 2006). These phenomenological accounts highlighted the prevalence of moral and ethical decision-making in military operations as well as underscored the complexity of these types of decisions. While traditional models of decision-making require the decision maker to adhere to strict rational principles or axioms and conscious deliberations, interview participants provided evidence that moral and ethical decision-making is also influenced by emotions (e.g. empathy and compassion) and intuition. Their reflections revealed the interplay of numerous sources of influence in the decision-making process (Thomson et al., 2006), which included moral intensity, duty as a member of the armed forces, and their own sense of personal responsibility. These phenomenological accounts confirmed the multifaceted process of moral and ethical decision-making in military operations.

Despite the potential impacts of moral and ethical decision-making on military personnel, little empirical research appears to have directly addressed the factors involved in these decisions. As such, how military personnel can be best prepared to make moral and ethical decisions in operational contexts remains a question of critical importance. The current study is part of a long-term effort to advance understanding of moral and ethical decision-making in an operational context. It aims at understanding how the moral intensity (Jones, 1991) of a situation (i.e. the salience and vividness of a moral issue) impacts the process of moral and ethical decision-making

It has been proposed that moral intensity influences the perception and interpretation of moral issues, thereby having a significant impact on how moral and ethical decisions are made.¹ As advanced by Jones (1991), moral intensity refers to the moral imperative in a situation and it is a product of the characteristics of a moral issue. These characteristics include magnitude of consequence, social consequences, probability of effect, temporal immediacy, proximity (social, cultural, psychological, or physical), and concentration of effect (i.e. the number of people affected by an act of a given magnitude).² For example, with regard to the magnitude of consequences, an act that causes injury to 100 people would carry a higher level of moral intensity than the same act that causes injury to 10 people. According to Jones (1991), moral and ethical decision-making models that fail to account for varying levels of moral intensity implicitly indicate that the decision-making process is identical for all moral issues.

Unfortunately, studies that explore moral intensity have been few in number and do not reflect a military context. In-person interviews with senior officers revealed the weight of moral intensity in

¹ The active construct in this research could also be called emotional intensity, and as moral sentiment is imbued with many different emotions, both constructs are clearly relevant. However, the situation in the Human Rights Violation Stand, in our opinion, does speak specifically to issues of psychological involvement and vividness of the situation with a distinctly moral flavour.

² For a full description of the characteristics with examples see Jones (1991). For military examples, see Thomson, Adams, and Sartori (2005).

their decision-making in an operational context. Soldiers' reflections on moral and ethical decision-making in operations showed, for example, that proximity influenced the "recognition of a moral issue that was otherwise underestimated by those who remained outside of the situation" (Thomson et al., 2006, p. 106). Face-to-face contact with people who were immediately impacted by one's ethical decisions made the decision-making process more difficult and intense. Moreover, the interviews also suggested that the moral gravity of the issue was largely a function of being *in* the situation. These findings are consistent with other classic social psychological research. For example, in Milgram's (1963, 1974) obedience experiments in the 1960s, proximity also shaped decision-making. When asked to administer what were thought to be increasing levels of electric shock, individuals' disobedience to the experimenter increased the closer they moved to the alleged victim (but see Mandel, 1998, for a critique of the applicability of these experiments to explaining moral breaches in the context of war and collective violence). These examples suggest that the proximity to relevant stimuli (or situation) may shape moral and ethical decision-making processes. As such, when ethical decisions are required, proximity to a victim's pleas may affect behaviour.

As part of their pre-deployment training, military personnel participate in several realistic training exercises. One such training exercise involves a human rights scenario. In this situation, trainees are challenged to use the negotiation skills they have learned to fulfil their mission mandate and to promote a successful resolution for all parties.

The following research investigated how moral intensity, operationally defined in terms of proximity to a victim, influences negotiation behaviours during a live realistic training simulation. According to the training curriculum, one function of military personnel can be negotiating with many different parties, such as military factions, local police, warlords, and the local population. Negotiation can be used to promote dialogue in order to minimize differences and produce agreements to maintain a stable environment. The goal of negotiation is to explore the interests of all parties in order to formulate common understanding of the situation and to propose solutions that are acceptable to all interested parties. This requires a complex set of skills that implicate knowledge and experience, and intense negotiations are likely to invoke attitudes and emotions as well as influence moral responsiveness.

To explore whether high or moderate moral intensity would foster different negotiation behaviours in trainees attempting to resolve a conflict, negotiation behaviours were observed, recorded and later coded. A critical aspect of this behaviour related to the actual choice that teams made at the end of the scenario, when teams had to decide whether to agree to leave the situation, to watch without intervening, or to risk their own safety and to follow the civilians in spite of potential threats to their own safety. This work also explored trainees' construal of the moral urgency of the situation, attributions of responsibility to all parties involved in the situation, their judgments of MPs ethical behaviour, as well as participants' assessments of the quality of their own response to the situation and the outcome of the situation. These questions were designed to explore how moral intensity might influence moral judgements and decision-making during a human rights violation.

This scenario provides an ideal opportunity to explore trainees' negotiation behaviours or patterns as they work to resolve an intense situation in which basic human rights are involved. By working through the various stages of negotiation during this training scenario, trainees will hopefully learn valuable lessons that will assist them in their real-world negotiations. This study aims to explore how moral intensity (i.e. the salience and vividness of a situation) influences the negotiation behaviours of trainees.



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2 Method

2.1 Overview of Training

This experiment occurs at a Canadian Forces Base (CFB) at which personnel about to deploy on overseas operations receive training to assist them during their deployment. These skills include negotiation and communication, as well as pragmatic skills likely to be important on most operations (e.g. first aid training). Further description with respect to the complete training context, the course name, and the participants themselves may compromise the training program and, therefore, has not been included.

As part of this CF pre-deployment training, trainees in teams also complete several dismounted field exercises where they must apply classroom instruction to realistic simulations. These exercises provide trainees an opportunity to react to live situations characteristic of their upcoming missions. For example, participants must practice the negotiation and communication skills gained during classroom training, along with other skills such as leadership and navigation. It is critical to note that though students know they will face many different challenges throughout the course to assess their skills and prepare them for their missions, they do not know the exact nature of these challenges. As such, the element of surprise is essential. In order to maintain the integrity of this training (e.g. the element of surprise), the exact nature of the pre-deployment training and location can not be disclosed. However, this study was conducted at one specific part of the field exercise, where a human rights violation is occurring, as described in the next section.

2.2 Human Rights Scenario

In this scenario, trainees encounter armed military police (MP), a Sergeant (Sgt) and constable, verbally and physically abusing two civilians and forcing them to dig what could be their own graves. The civilians plead for their lives, continuously declaring their innocence and imminent death should the trainees leave. Trainees have also received information that there have been reports of potential human rights violations in the area by the local police, including the possible killing and intimidation of non-combatants. The trainees must negotiate with the Sgt and attempt to build a positive relationship with the police in order to ensure the safety of the civilians.

The scenario unfolds in a clearing. Role players play the two civilians and two police officers, one is a Sgt and one is a constable. The Sgt is designated as the primary contact with the trainees, and his role is to prevent contact between the trainees and the civilians as well as to frustrate the efforts of the trainees to secure the safe release of the victims. The constable guards the civilians, and threatening and simulating beating to keep the civilians quiet. The MPs wear uniforms and carry light small arms.

The scenario begins when a female victim runs out in full view of the trainees screaming and being pursued by an armed police constable. This occurs approximately 100m ahead of trainees as they proceed down a road in the training area. The constable grabs the female victim, drags her back to a clearing where she joins a male civilian. They are forced to dig what looks like their own grave (demarcated by a couple of headstones) located at the back of the clearing. Throughout the

scenario, the armed police constable verbally and physically abuses the two civilians. Figure 1 shows the scenario in action.



Figure 1: Dig site, civilians, and police constable

Trainees who attempt to get closer to the civilians are stopped at a predetermined point by the police Sgt who carries a light small arm (see Figure 2).



Figure 2: Police Sgt at the predetermined point

Teams who are hesitant to enter the situation are drawn to the predetermined point by the Sgt, by telling the trainees to approach him if they wish to talk. Once teams are in arms length of the Sgt, they begin negotiating. The Sgt told all teams that the situation was police business and that the teams should go on their way. He explained that the two civilians were “terrorists,” and the constable was using intimidation techniques in order to help with the interrogation. When asked, he assured the trainees that he was acting under orders of his commanding officer, and if they had any questions, they should go to the police station in the village down the road. Meanwhile, the civilians shouted pleas to

the teams, insisting that they were innocent and the police were going to kill them. The constable continuously abused them and forced them to continue digging their graves.

2.3 Participants

Participants in this study included 52 military personnel (50 male and 2 female) undergoing training at a Canadian Forces Base. Thirty-nine were Canadians and 13 were foreign students. The majority of participants (62%) were more than 41 years of age, and 63% of participants had a university or college degree, 77% had served more than 15 years in the military, 15% were non-commissioned officers, 46% were junior commissioned officers, and 39% were senior commissioned officers, and 88% were married. The majority of participants (90%) spoke English or French as their first language. All elements of the armed forces were represented, but the majority were from the Army (47%), followed by the Air Force (31%) and then the Navy (22%). Many of the participants were infantry and engineers (e.g. Naval Combat Systems Engineer, Aerospace Engineer, Communications Electronics Engineer, etc.). Other trades represented included pilots, logistics officers, and training development officers.

2.4 Equipment and Set-up

With the same data being captured simultaneously on two different stands, it was critical to match these stands in every possible way. This was done on pre-experimental recces, which plotted distances and potential differences between the two stands. This ensured that all aspects of each area were as similar as possible (see Figures 3 and 4).

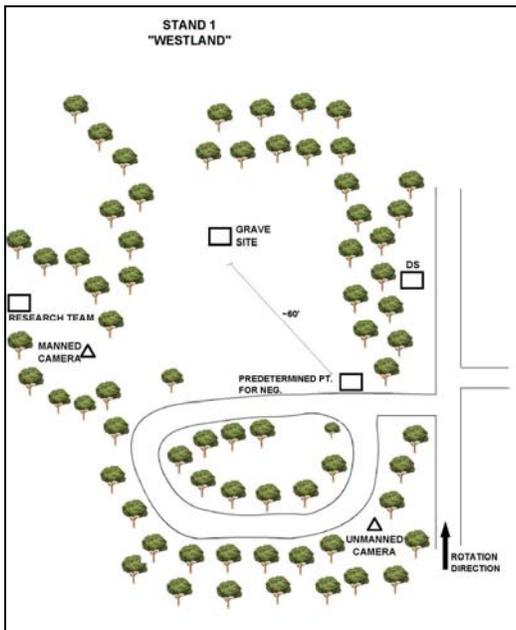


Figure 3: Stand 1 diagram

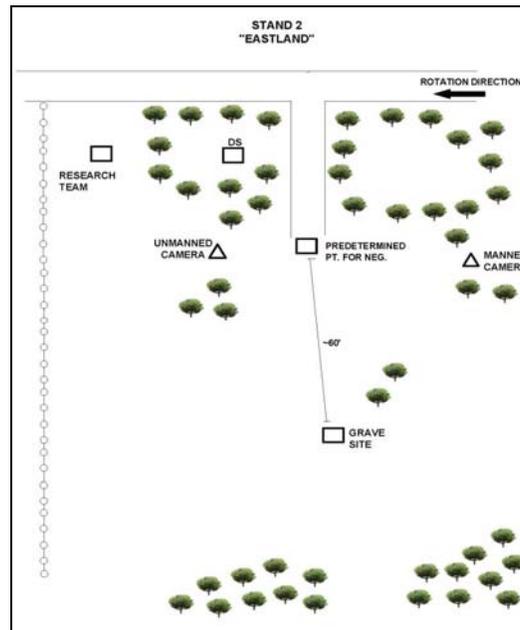


Figure 4: Stand 2 diagram

Figures 3 and 4 show the location of the dig sites as well as the hiding location of the research team and the Directing Staff (DS). To ensure that the negotiation between the trainees and the Sgt

occurred at the same distance from the dig site for each session on both areas, a predetermined point was established by the research team. This point was approximately 60 feet from the dig site. It was marked by a broken stick, so that it was not detected by trainees. The area where the negotiation occurred on each stand is identified by a box labelled “predetermined pt. for neg.”

In order to have minimal impact on training, Canon XL1 cameras were hidden in the bushes for video data collection on each stand (see Figure 5).



Figure 5: Canon XL1

Though camera positions varied between each testing area, they had similar perspectives and depth of field. One camera was positioned in order to film the negotiation process between the team leader and the Sgt. This camera was manned in order to ensure that the participants and Sgt stayed in the frame throughout the sessions. The other camera was positioned to capture the view of the victims and gravesite from the perspective of the participants. It was unmanned and activated throughout the experiment by either remote (Stand 1) or by a member of the research team (Stand 2). To pick up the audio, a Wireless LAV Microphone (Sony and Sennheiser) was mounted on the Sgt and merged with the video camera capture.

2.5 Experimental Procedures

Pre-experimental activities Prior to experimentation, we briefed potential participants on the study and elicited voluntary consent (Annex A). We explained that our aim was to conduct applied research in the field to learn more about the factors that influence decision-making in an operational context. However, in order to reduce the chance of demand characteristics, social desirability effects, and other potential methodological confounds, moral and ethical decision-making was not specifically mentioned. Participants were informed that we would be conducting the study during one of the training scenarios. They were not told, however, which stand would be used for the purposes of the study.



It was emphasized to participants that our research was designed to impact minimally on their training. They were informed that if they did not choose to participate in the research, this would in no way change the training that they received. Moreover, they were informed that completion of a short post-scenario questionnaire was contingent on time remaining in the rotation to allow time for proper debriefing to ensure that the training schedule was not impacted by this research. Participants were also informed that with their consent, their performance on the target stand would be videotaped in order to identify and code specific negotiation behaviours. It was also explained that this videotape and relevant results from it and the questionnaire would be provided to the staff in order to improve their high-quality training. The full consent of every team member was required before videotaping would occur. Participants who chose not to be videotaped could still choose to complete the questionnaires. Once participants had given their consent, we administered the Demographic Questionnaire (Annex B) and gave them an information sheet regarding the study (Annex C).³

On the morning of the experiment, the role players were briefed by training staff concerning general scenario requirements and received a general script. Following this, the research team explained the particular requirements for the study. There were a number of rehearsals at which time the research team made appropriate adjustments to ensure the consistency between stands and across sessions.

Experimental Manipulation The proximity of the female civilian to the trainees was manipulated in order to induce a higher level of moral intensity (high intensity condition). This was accomplished by varying the distance that the female civilian approached the teams. In the high intensity condition, approximately five minutes into the session, the female civilian escaped from her captor, the police constable, and ran toward the team. As she was running, she shouted “Please, help me!” The police constable pursued her, caught her at approximately four feet from the Sgt. and began struggling with her. At this point, she made eye contact with the trainee team leader and shouted five times “Help me! Why aren’t you helping me? You’re supposed to help me! Please, help me!” The Sgt was scripted to tell the trainees to “Please stay back. She’s a terrorist. She’s very dangerous.” After making this close contact with the lead negotiator (lasting about 15 – 20 seconds), the woman was pulled back to the dig site by the constable. On her way back, she shouted, “Please, help me!” Researchers recorded the time it took for the manipulation. In order to ensure that the only substantive difference between the high and baseline intensity condition was the proximity of the woman to the lead trainee, the female civilian screamed the same message at the 5 minute mark in both the baseline and experimental conditions.

Table 1 shows the team distribution for each condition and the date of data collection. The first set of data was collected in September 2005 and the second set in November 2005.

³ All trainees agreed to participate in this study by completing the questionnaire, but two trainees chose not to be videotaped. The sessions of these teams were not filmed.

Table 1: Date of Data Collection

Session	Baseline Condition	High Intensity Condition
September 2005	5	5
November 2005	4	5

Once a resolution had been reached⁴, the DS ended the scenario and videotaping was stopped. Participants immediately completed the 15-item questionnaire, which took approximately 5 minutes. A research team member was available to answer questions. The trainees were then debriefed concerning the specific teaching points of the scenario.

All participants were also verbally debriefed about the full purpose of the moral and ethical decision-making study at the end of training for that day. At this time, they were given the opportunity to give feedback and to ask questions about the research.

2.6 Measures

Development of Negotiation Behaviour Coding Scheme

Overview The negotiation process ideally proceeds through five stages, each related to both general activities and several specific behaviours. These stages include Preliminaries, Assessing the Situation, Relationship Building, Negotiating Skills, and Teamwork. These stages are not strictly hierarchical (i.e. one stage does not need to be complete before another is started), but are fluid and progression through these naturally varies from team to team. Nevertheless, these stages all have a critical role to play in the negotiation process.

Based on first-hand observations and discussions with focus groups as well as trainers, a draft behavioural coding scheme was designed by the researchers in accordance with both general activities and specific behaviours possible (both optimal and suboptimal)⁵ at each of 5 stages of negotiation. Along with the trainers, the research team refined the stages and general activities (Table 2) and developed a list of approximately 60 observable behaviours.

⁴ See Method for more information about the scenario's resolution.

⁵ Whether the type of behaviour was optimal or suboptimal was determined through focus group discussions between researchers and 4 SMEs, who were CF members charged with CF pre-deployment training at a CF base and who had prior mission experience in negotiation.

Table 2: Negotiation behaviours: stage and general activity

Stage	General Activity
Preliminaries	Engaging and establishing a relationship Having suitable body language in relation to MP
Assessing the Situation	Establishing situational awareness
Relationship Building	Building a positive relationship with the MP Building a negative relationship with the MP
Negotiating Skills	Diffusing the situation Searching for alternatives Making contact with the civilians
Teamwork	Team member intervention

After reviewing the initial video data, the research team met to further discuss and refine this list. From our experiences with the coding scheme, the distinctions among many of the behaviours were very subtle and definitions were sometimes overlapping. For example, in the earliest coding scheme, behaviours identified uniquely as “provoking or annoying the MP”, “threatening the MP”, “being opinionated”, “circumventing the authority of the lead MP”, and “being hostile, aggressive, confrontational” were behaviours that could meaningfully be subsumed under “provoking or annoying the MP”. In addition, a couple of behaviours that were not anticipated but were observed were added to the list, such as explaining the general purpose, task or mandate of the team. We ended with a list of 34 behaviours falling under nine general activities.

The lead researcher then watched the videotape for each of the 15 sessions and coded the occurrence and duration of the negotiation behaviours at the team level. As the team leader was typically the primary negotiator, the majority of observable behaviours were emitted by the team leader. However, the coding was constrained to one behaviour at a time. In the rare occasions when more than two team members acted simultaneously priority was given to the team leader behaviour. Researchers were able to identify the team leader from administrative documents, and this was further confirmed by the video data.

Resolving the Moral Dilemma Three resolutions to this scenario are possible. First, the trainees may decide to disengage from the situation and leave the police in charge of the civilians. At this point, the trainees prepare to leave the stand.⁶ As they reach the road, the police take the civilians into the forest and the civilians are shot. Second, after the negotiation with the MP has been broken off, the trainees may decide to remain at the site and watch as the civilians are lead into the forest by the MPs, purportedly to the police station. Once out of sight of the trainees, the civilians are shot. In the third resolution, trainees refuse to leave the civilians in the sole custody of the police,

⁶It should be noted the nature of the exercises prevent trainees from actually leaving the scenario area because they know they are being observed and that they are briefed by the Directing Staff at the end of the session. However, when teams motioned back toward the road after the MP had said good-bye, this was recorded as the team having left the Stand.

and therefore, they decide to accompany the police and civilians through the forest to the police station. In this case, the civilians live.

Questionnaire Items Participants completed 3 sets of questions that investigated a variety of constructs related to moral and ethical decision-making (Annex D). Participants responded to the majority of questions on a 9-point Likert scale.

The first set of questions required participants to rate the likelihood that civilians would be harmed, as well as assessing participants' emotional response to the Human Rights Scenario, by rating the levels of anger and fear they would have felt if the scenario been real, where the scale ranged from *not at all* to *extremely*. Another question asked participants to indicate whether they reported a higher degree of responsibility for the woman, to the man, or whether they felt equally responsible for both civilians. The scale for this question ranged from *much more for the man* to *much more for the woman*. A moral intensity account might argue that trainees who came face to face with the woman and her pleas in the high morally intense condition would feel greater personal responsibility for the woman. Participants were also asked about the extent to which their mission mandate prevented them from acting in this scenario, where the scale ranged from *not at all* to *completely*, as well as to gauge the probability that the civilians were terrorists, on a scale ranging from *extremely unlikely* to *extremely likely*.

The second set of questions assessed trainees' assessment of the conduct of the MPs. Participants were asked to what extent the MPs were "just following orders" (where the scale ranged from *far beyond orders* to *completely in line*), and whether they personally thought that the police were acting immorally or unethically (where the scale ranged from *not at all* to *completely*). This was meant to explore participants' attributions of responsibility in light of the civilians' pleas. Following Milgram (1963), one question asked participants to ascribe 100% of responsibility across the three groups within the scenario—namely, the civilians, the MPs, and the team.

The final set of questions asked participants to rate the overall quality of their team's response to the scenario and the overall quality of the outcome of the scenario, and to compare how they thought they did as a team compared to other participant teams. Participants were also asked to rate the extent to which their actions would change if they could redo the scenario. The final question asked participants to estimate how many courses of action they could have taken during the scenario. This question indicates whether trainees had established whether they had at least one alternative to their chosen plan. A final question asked trainees to indicate their willingness "to serve on a tribunal assessing past human rights behaviours", where the scale ranged from *not at all willing* to *extremely willing*. This question assessed participants' willingness to reaffirm "sacred" values that may have been challenged by witnessing the scenario. According to Tetlock et al. (2000), individuals distance themselves from normative transgressions (i.e. acts that go against one's moral beliefs) through expressions of moral outrage and/or moral cleansing. Moral cleansing involves ridding oneself of the guilt caused by moral transgression and can be expressed in behaviour that seeks to restore "sacred" values that have been transgressed. If trainees experienced moral outrage because of witnessing human rights being violated, they may be more likely to agree to participate in a human rights tribunal, because participating in such a tribunal might help to "undo" their outrage. Of course, they were not actually provided with such an opportunity.



2.7 Limitations

Conducting research at multiple stands on different days meant that there were a number of different role players. Though they were provided with the same script, there were some differences in terms of how the role players acted out their roles. Additional variance was also introduced by Directing Staff providing somewhat different training and instruction to role players. It is impossible to determine the actual impact of this kind of inconsistency on both training and session outcomes, it will nevertheless be important to ensure as much consistency as possible in future work.

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3 Results

Results are divided into several sections, including analyses of demographic data, negotiation behaviour, scenario outcomes and questionnaire data.

3.1 Demographic Data

It is important to note that although teams were randomly assigned to conditions, the average age range of teams in the high intensity condition (41 to 50 years) was significantly higher than the average age range of teams in the baseline condition (31 to 40 years).⁷ There was a statistically significant difference in the length of military service of teams. Teams in the baseline condition had between 11 and 20 years of service, whereas teams in the high intensity scenarios had over 20 years of service.

3.2 Negotiation Behaviours

3.2.1 Overall Negotiation Behaviours

To begin, Table 3 shows the total number of negotiation behaviours according to stage and general activity across all scenarios.

Table 3: Negotiation behaviours by stage and general activity

Stage	General Activity	Total Frequency ⁸	% of Frequency
Preliminaries	Engaging/establishing relationship with MP	233	19
Assessing the Situation	Establishing situational awareness	469	38
Relationship Building	Building positive relationship with MP	64	5
	Building negative relationship with MP	237	19
Negotiation Skills	Diffusing the situation	40	3
	Searching for alternatives	14	1
	Making contact with the civilians	159	13
Teamwork	Team non-leader member intervention	16	2
Total		1232	100%

Overall, the specified behaviours were coded 1,232 times. As the results show, the most common behaviours involved Assessing the Situation, with Preliminary and Negative Relationship Building behaviours being the next most common.

⁷ In order to simplify the demographic questionnaire, only age ranges were provided.

⁸ Total frequency refers to the number of times an individual behaviour was observed across all of the scenarios.

3.2.2 Negotiation Behaviours by Condition and Time

As the experimental manipulation occurred, on average, around the 5 minute mark of the scenarios, it was also important to explore the frequency of behaviours before and after the moral intensity manipulation.⁹ And, as the duration of time for each individual session before and after the manipulation and in the high and baseline intensity conditions differed somewhat (see Table 4), frequencies were calculated in terms of occurrences per minute.

Table 4: Duration before and after manipulation by condition

	Time before the manipulation (min)	Time after the manipulation (min)
Baseline	5.6	8.9
High Intensity	5.0	8.1

The following sections investigate the frequency per minute of observed negotiation behaviours in the high intensity and baseline conditions before and after the moral intensity manipulation.¹⁰ Although such a comparison speaks to the number of times the behaviour occurred per condition, it does not speak to the actual number of teams that showed the behaviour.¹¹ Thus, it was also necessary to calculate the proportion of teams that exhibited each of the behaviours. This is indicated in the “% of Teams Exhibiting Behaviour” cells on the right side of the following tables. For each of the following general activities and associated behaviours, the table represents the frequency of individual behaviours observed across each condition without time considerations, whereas, the chart that follows represents the frequency per minute of individual behaviours observed in each condition before and after the moral intensity manipulation.

3.2.3 Preliminaries

Two general activities associated with Preliminaries were identified. They included engaging and establishing a relationship with the MP and having suitable body language in relation to the MP. There were too few instances for the activity having suitable body language in relation to the MP to warrant reporting. Observable behaviours reflecting engaging and establishing a relationship with the MP are explored in more detail below.

3.2.3.1 Engaging and Establishing Relationship with Military Police

At the outset of the negotiation, engaging and establishing a relationship with the MP can be observed in social behaviours such as shaking hands, smiling, introducing oneself and team-mates, providing identification, and requesting introductions with the other MPs.¹² Table 5 shows the frequencies as well as the percentage of teams who exhibited the behaviours across the sessions.

⁹ Some of the behaviours might be expected to change as the result of the experimental manipulation. As such, it was also important to explore frequencies by condition as well as before and after the manipulation.

¹⁰ In the charts that follow, the uppermost value is either 5 or 12 occurrences per minute.

¹¹ In theory, a single team could be responsible for all occurrences of a given behaviour.

¹² In the case of the Human Rights Violation Stand, there are essentially three parties - the police, the civilians, and the trainees. “Request introduction” referred to trainee attempts to meet the constable, the second member in the police party.

Table 5: Engaging and establishing relationship with MP (A)

Behaviour	Type	Frequency			% of Teams Exhibiting Behaviour		
		Baseline	High Intensity	Total	Baseline	High Intensity	Total
shaking hands	Optimal	11	8	19	63%	67%	65%
smiling	Optimal	1	0	1	13%	0%	6%
introducing self	Optimal	40	15	55	100%	78%	88%
showing ID cards	Optimal	3	11	14	25%	89%	59%
requesting introductions with other MPs	Optimal	4	9	13	25%	44%	35%

Looking at the percentage of teams that showed these behaviours, approximately two-thirds of teams shook hands with the MP and 6% of teams were coded as smiling when entering the negotiation.¹³ Requesting introductions with other MPs in the scenarios was relatively infrequent, with only 35% of teams showing this behaviour.

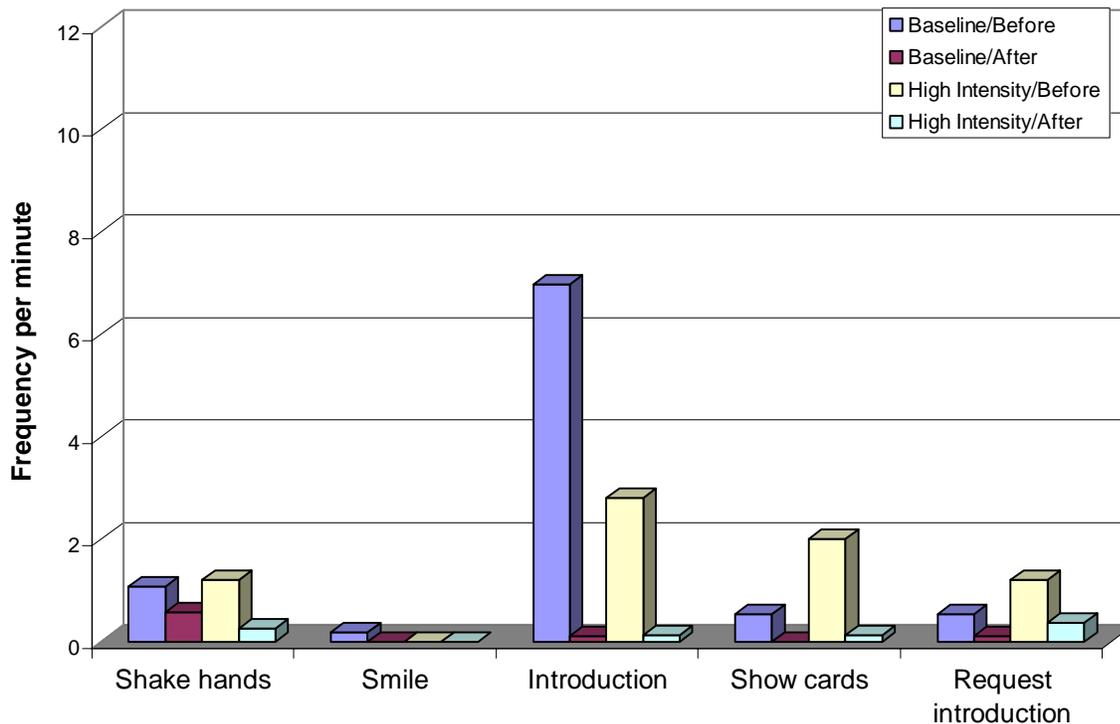


Figure 6: Engaging and establishing relationship with MP (A)

¹³ However, this behaviour may actually be under-represented because of the limited view provided by the camera. That is, team members not in the camera frame may have smiled as they entered the main scenario area.

As Figure 6 shows, most of these preliminary behaviours occurred relatively infrequently in the 15 sessions, with the exception of introductions. Introductory behaviour ranged from general introductions, such as shouting, “We’re unarmed. We’re friendly.” as participants approached the situation to more specific introductions, such as “Hello. My name is Capt -----” as participants came in direct contact with the MP. As such, introductions could occur more than once for any given team. Specific introductions were often accompanied by hand shaking. Although introductions were more common before the manipulation in the baseline condition, they occurred in both baseline and high intensity conditions. Shaking hands, smiling, showing ID cards and requesting introductions with other party members occurred fairly infrequently, with no significant differences between conditions and before or after the experimental manipulation.

Other behaviours typically occurring at the preliminary stage of the negotiation process, which helped engage and establish a relationship with the MP, included establishing a common ground (e.g. “I’m a military person. We have procedures too.”), explaining their mission purpose and mandate as well as the team’s current task and roles (e.g., to observe and report), and creating a social event (e.g. offering a cigarette or candy). Frequencies for these behaviours are shown in Table 6 and Figure 7.

Table 6: Engaging and establishing relationship with MP (B)

Behaviour	Type	Frequency			% of Teams Exhibiting Behaviour		
		Baseline	High Intensity	Total	Baseline	High Intensity	Total
Establishing common ground or identity and similarities, sharing point of view	optimal	10	4	14	63%	33%	47%
explaining general purpose, task, mandate	optimal	37	48	85	100%	100%	100%
creating a social event	optimal	21	7	28	63%	67%	65%

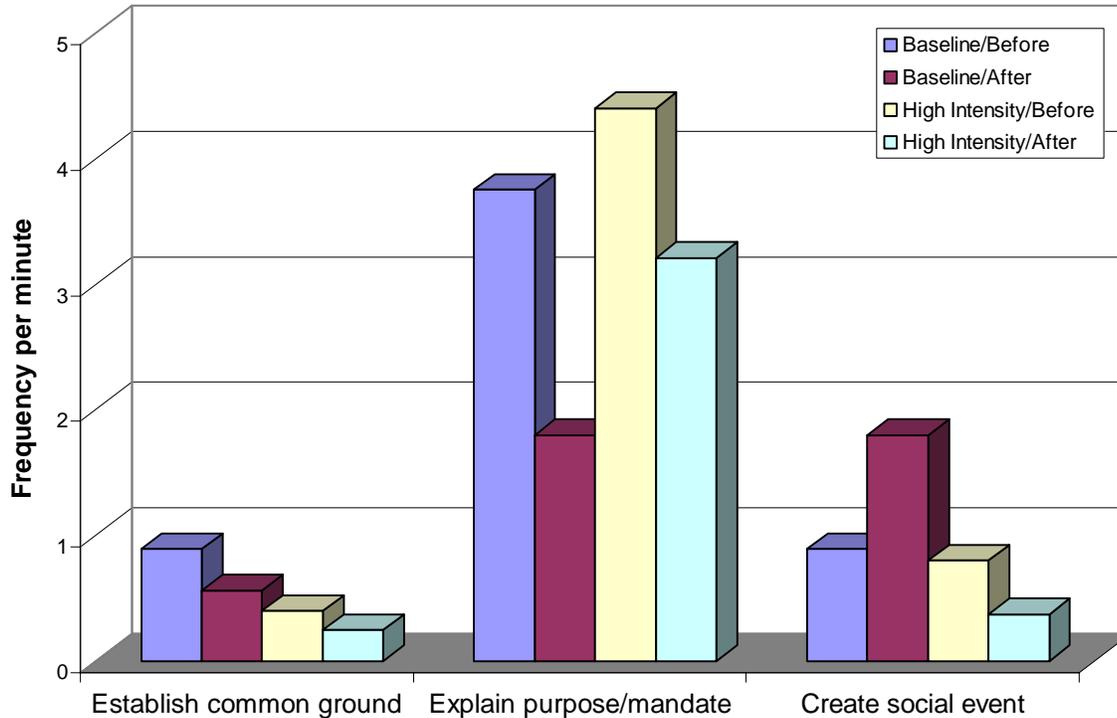


Figure 7: Engaging and establishing relationship with MP (B)

These behaviours show distinct patterns. For example, attempting to establish common ground with the MP was seen very infrequently, occurring only 14 times in total by only 47% of teams overall. Instances of trainees explaining their purpose and mandate as well as the team’s current task and roles were somewhat higher early in the session but slightly more frequent in high intensity scenarios. And all 17 teams took the time to share this with the MP at some point during the scenarios. Finally, trainees were most likely to create a social event in the baseline condition particularly after the 5 minute mark of the negotiations.

3.2.4 Assessing the Situation

Properly assessing the situation is a key goal of this scenario, which requires keen abilities to assess the situation and elicit accurate information in a timely manner.

3.2.4.1 Establishing Situational Awareness

Overall, behaviours associated with Assessing the Situation were very common, accounting for 38% of all observed behaviours. Several behaviours are implicated in establishing situational awareness. Key among these are conducting a general recce of the area, taking notes, asking for names of the people implicated in the situation (i.e. the police and the civilians), and using the radio to communicate with headquarters. Frequencies for these behaviours are shown in Table 7 and Figure 8.

Table 7: Establishing situational awareness (A)

Behaviour	Type	Frequency			% of Teams Exhibiting Behaviour		
		Baseline	High Intensity	Total	Baseline	High Intensity	Total
general recce of the area	optimal	5	4	9	38%	33%	35%
taking notes	optimal	9	36	45	50%	78%	65%
asking names for notes	optimal	15	29	44	75%	100%	88%
using radio	optimal	4	14	18	50%	78%	65%

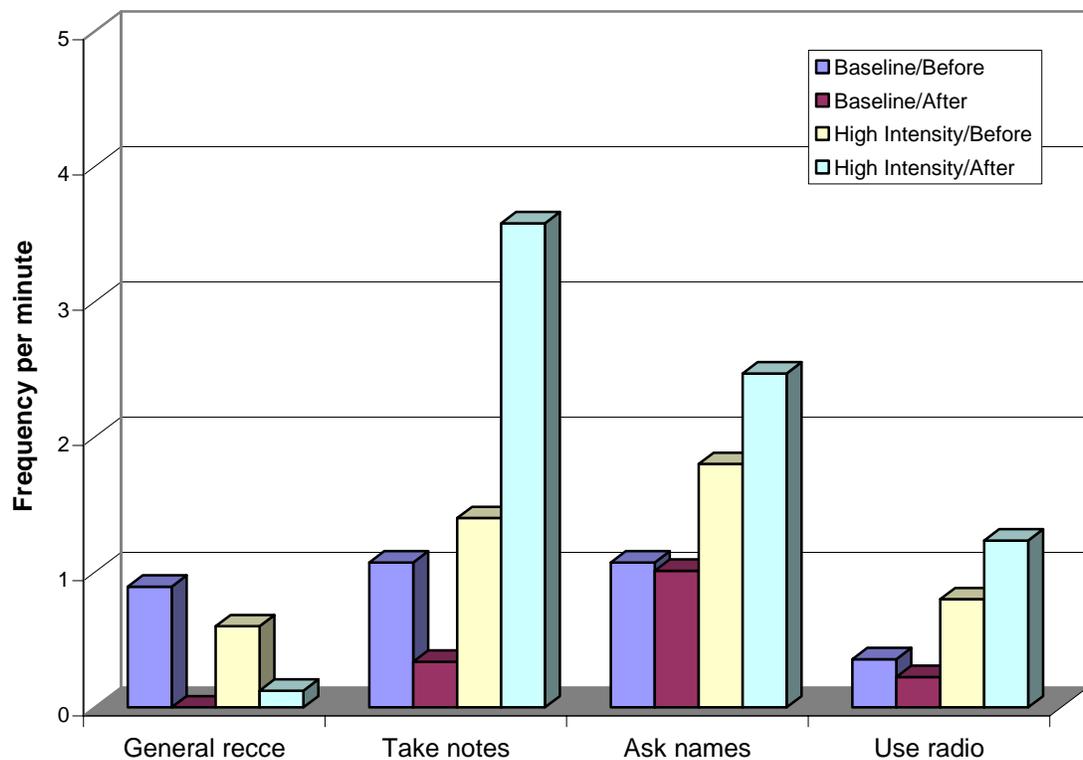


Figure 8: Establishing situational awareness (A)

Instances of a general recce conducted by team members were quite rare, as only 35% of teams showed this behaviour.¹⁴ Most teams (65%) took notes during the scenario, and the frequency of note-taking behaviour was somewhat higher after the highly intense experimental manipulation. Similarly, trainees were more likely to ask for names (both the police and the civilians) and to use the radio following the high intensity manipulation. This finding suggests that creating a highly intense situation during training may heighten trainee motivation for establishing a detailed record of events.

¹⁴ However, this behaviour may actually be under-represented because of the limited view provided by the camera. That is, team members not in the camera frame may well have conducted recce activities that went unrecorded.

Establishing situational awareness also includes gathering information about the events being observed. Asking relevant questions helps to clarify the issue at hand, by working to understand the other party’s underlying position and interests in the situation. The coding scheme distinguished between information directly relevant to the situation at hand (e.g. “What’s going on here?” “What are they doing?” “So they’re terrorists?”) and information of a more general nature (e.g. “You live in the area?” “Do you have a vehicle?”). Another critical aspect of situational awareness was seeking information about the nature of the infraction (e.g. “What did they do?”), including asking for evidence of the civilians’ guilt (e.g. “Have they been found guilty?”). Lastly, efforts to determine the MPs’ authority structure was also coded (e.g. “Who is your supervisor?”). These frequencies are shown in Table 8 and Figure 9.

Table 8: Establishing situational awareness (B)

Behaviour	Type	Frequency			% of Teams Exhibiting Behaviour		
		Baseline	High Intensity	Total	Baseline	High Intensity	Total
seeking information not directly relevant to specific situation	optimal	48	57	105	100%	89%	94%
seeking situation-specific information about what's happening; keeping focused on the topic at hand	optimal	113	86	199	100%	100%	100%
inquiring about nature of infraction, asking for evidence of civilians' guilt	optimal	10	15	25	63%	67%	65%
determining MPs authority structure	optimal	11	13	24	75%	67%	71%

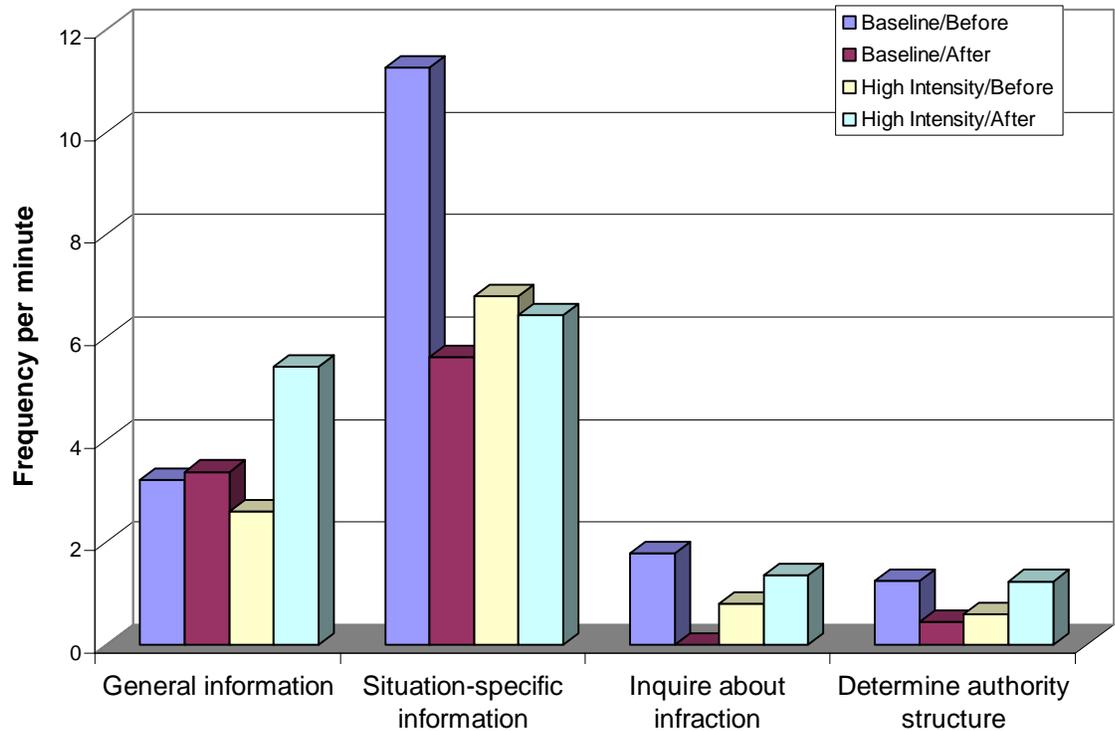


Figure 9: Establishing situational awareness (B)

Questions seeking information comprised a quarter of all observable behaviours across the sessions. As results show, seeking both general and situation-specific information occurred frequently, with 94% of teams seeking general information and 100% of teams seeking situation-specific information. Trainees were slightly more likely to seek general information later in the session than earlier in the session and were especially likely to do so after the high intensity condition. Seeking situation-specific information was most frequent in the early stages of the baseline sessions. Inquiries about the nature of the infraction were much less frequent and were observed only 25 times throughout the missions. A high percentage of teams made attempts to determine the authority structure of the MP.

Looking at the situational awareness patterns as a whole suggests that the teams did a very good job of asking many questions and obtaining a considerable amount of information about the situation that they encountered.

3.2.5 Relationship Building

Relationship Building was coded in terms of promoting either a positive or negative relationship with the MP.

3.2.5.1 Building Positive Relationship with MP

Overall, building a positive relationship with the MP accounted for only 5% of the total behaviours coded in all sessions. In a UN operational context, behaviours likely to build a positive relationship

with the lead MP include showing empathy and responsiveness for the lead MP, asking how teams might help resolve the situation, and showing respect for the authority of the MP by asking permission before acting. Frequencies for these behaviours are shown in Table 9 and Figure 10.

Table 9: Building positive relationship with MP

Behaviour	Type	Frequency			% of Teams Exhibiting Behaviour		
		Baseline	High Intensity	Total	Baseline	High Intensity	Total
empathy and responsiveness to the lead MP	optimal	17	11	28	88%	56%	71%
asking how teams can help to resolve situation	optimal	7	0	7	25%	0%	12%
asking permission of MP before acting	optimal	17	12	29	63%	44%	53%

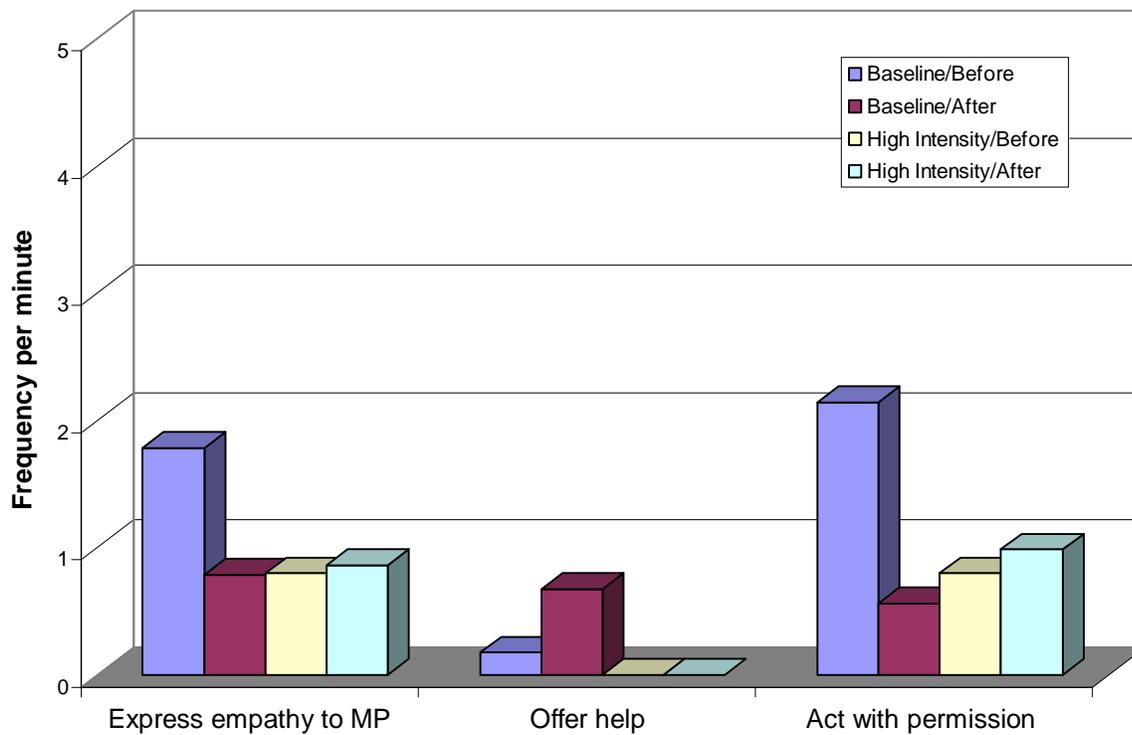


Figure 10: Building positive relationship with MP

As the results illustrate, 71% of teams expressed empathy and responsiveness to the concerns of the MP, and this behaviour was slightly more frequent in the baseline condition before the manipulation. Specific offers to help the lead MP occurred very infrequently, with only 12% of teams showing this behaviour. Asking permission before acting was shown by 53% of teams overall. However, as will be seen in the next section, teams acting with permission did occur more often than acting without asking permission.

3.2.5.2 Building Negative Relationship with MP

Subject matter experts (SMEs)¹⁵ identified a number of behaviours that they believed were conducive to producing negative relationships between the trainees and the role players during negotiations. These included provoking or annoying the MP (e.g. “I’ll tell you what’s going to happen.” “This is going to stop.”), being opinionated and judgemental (e.g. “What I see is slightly disturbing.” “What you are doing is wrong.” “This is a human rights violation.”), threatening the MP (e.g. “You can one day be in front of a criminal tribunal.”), being confrontational (e.g. “Why not try and move me?”), acting facetious or sarcastic (e.g. “...digging what...gardens?”), or being condescending (referring to the MP as “son”).¹⁶ Trainees showed a number of these throughout the sessions.

According to SMEs, other behaviours that are likely to promote negative relationships included acting without permission¹⁷ and stating relevant regulations, such as the Geneva Conventions and agreements regarding treatment of prisoners.¹⁸ Behaviours likely to produce a negative relationship with MPs accounted for 19% of total observed behaviours. Frequencies for these are shown in Table 10 and Figure 11.

Table 10: Building negative relationship with MP

Behaviour	Type	Frequency			% of Teams Exhibiting Behaviour		
		Baseline	High Intensity	Total	Baseline	High Intensity	Total
provoking or annoying MP; being opinionated; acting confrontational; threatening the MP; circumventing the authority of the lead MP	suboptimal	54	119	173	88%	89%	88%
acting without asking permission of MP	suboptimal	5	6	11	38%	33%	35%
stating relevant regulations	suboptimal	15	38	53	38%	89%	65%

¹⁵ Researchers liaised with 4 SMEs regarding optimal and suboptimal negotiation behaviours at the outset of the research. SMEs were CF members charged with CF pre-deployment training at a specific CF base. They were selected as a result of their previous operational experience and their experience in CF pre-deployment training.

¹⁶ The examples represent actual statements made by participants during the dismantled field exercise.

¹⁷ Instances related to attempting to communicate with civilians without permission were excluded from this category but were coded under making contact with civilians.

¹⁸ Although it is clear that stating regulations can be relevant in some situations, invoking reminders of formal regulations may drive a wedge into potential efforts to develop rapport with MPs, and as such, may not be effective.

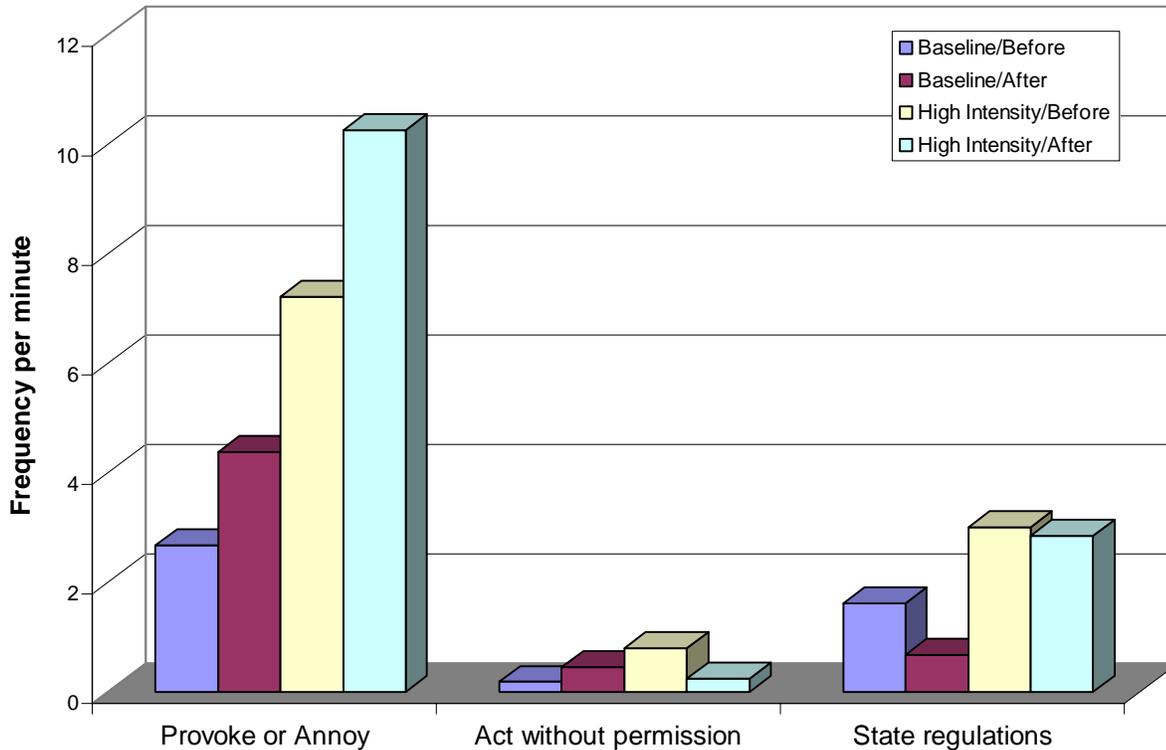


Figure 11: Building negative relationship with MP

The suboptimal behaviour, provoke or annoy the MP, occurred very frequently within the sessions, with 88% of teams showing this behaviour. This behaviour occurred especially regularly in the high intensity condition, primarily after the manipulation. Overall, this suboptimal behaviour was the second most frequently observed of all behaviours. Stating relevant regulations also occurred relatively often, with 35% of the teams exhibiting this behaviour and this occurred somewhat more often in the high intensity condition. Acting without permission of the MP, on the other hand, was very infrequent, occurring only 11 times in total.

3.2.6 Negotiating Skills

Negotiating Skills included specific efforts to diffuse the situation, to search for alternatives, and to make contact with the victim. Negotiating skills accounted for 17% of the total observed behaviours.

3.2.6.1 Diffusing the Situation

Perhaps the most immediate way to diffuse the situation in this Human Rights Scenario is by asking the lead MP to get his subordinate (i.e. the constable) to stop beating the civilians. Frequencies for this behaviour are shown in Table 11 and Figure 12.

Table 11: Diffusing the situation

Behaviour	Type	Frequency			% of Teams Exhibiting Behaviour		
		Baseline	High Intensity	Total	Baseline	High Intensity	Total
attempting to have the lead MP get the subordinate MP to stop beating the civilians	optimal	11	29	40	38%	78%	59%

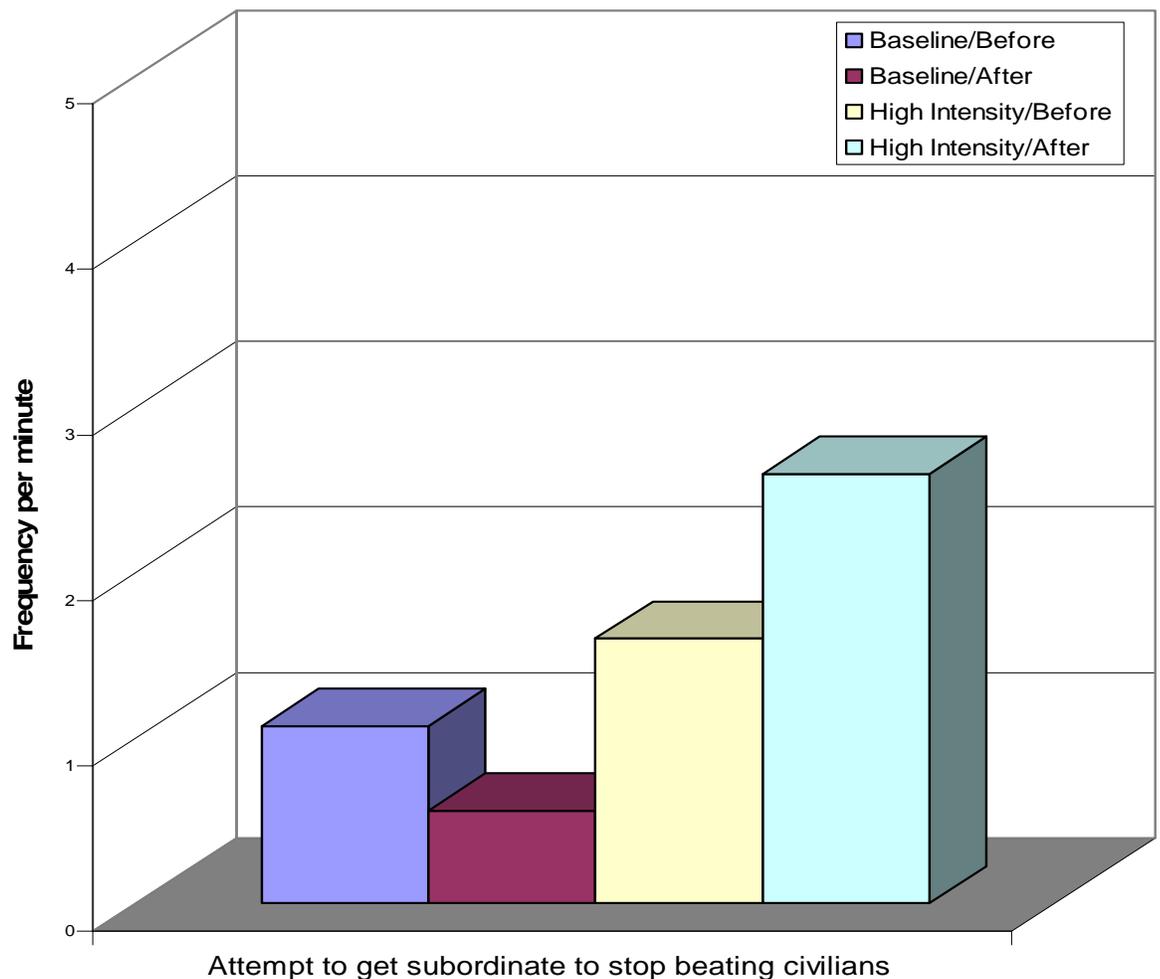


Figure 12: Diffusing the situation

In general, this behaviour was relatively infrequent in the baseline condition with only 38% of teams attempting to diffuse the situation. However, after coming face-to-face with the female civilian, teams were more likely to ask the lead MP if he would get his subordinate to stop beating the prisoners.

3.2.6.2 Searching for Alternatives

Two behaviours related to searching for alternatives to the current tactics of the MPs were coded. First, instances of trainees prompting or encouraging MPs to consider alternatives to their current behaviour were identified. Second, instances in which trainees asked MPs to reflect on whether beating civilians was the best way to realize their own goals were also coded. Frequencies for these behaviours are shown in Table 12 and Figure 13.

Table 12: Searching for alternatives

Behaviour	Type	Frequency			% of Teams Exhibiting Behaviour		
		Baseline	High Intensity	Total	Baseline	High Intensity	Total
prompting/encouraging MPs to consider alternatives to what's happening	optimal	8	4	12	38%	44%	41%
encouraging MPs to consider if beating civilians is best way to reach OWN goals	optimal	2	0	2	13%	0%	6%

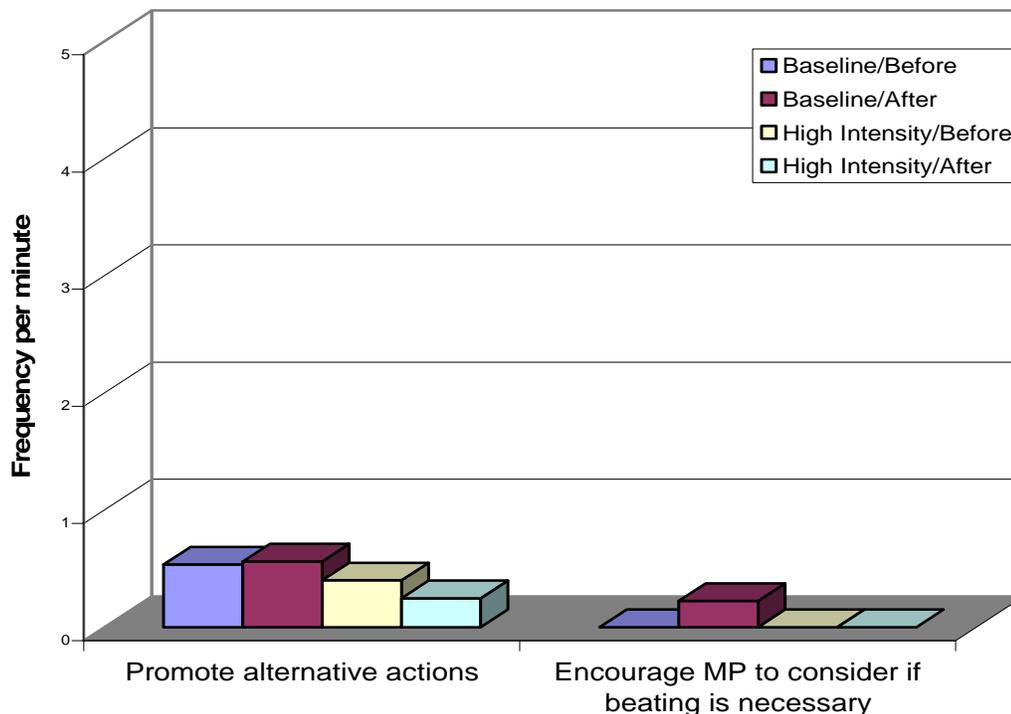


Figure 13: Searching for alternatives

Forty-one percent of teams prompted or encouraged the MP to consider alternatives to what was happening, and 6% of teams encouraged the MP to consider if beating the civilians was the best way to reach his own goals.

3.2.6.3 Making Contact with the Civilians

Efforts to make contact with the civilians included several behaviours. The first was showing empathy and responsiveness to the plight of the civilians (e.g. “These people seem to be in distress” “I care what happens to these people.”). Another more obvious means to make contact with the victims was initiating either verbal or physical contact. In some cases, trainees asked permission of the lead MP to connect with the civilians (e.g. “Could we speak to the ‘prisoners’?” “Could we have a look?”). However, in other cases, trainees attempted to make verbal or physical contact without permission. We recorded each as distinct. Lastly, specific offers to remain with the civilians were also coded as another form of making contact with them. Frequencies for these behaviours are shown in Table 13 and Figure 14.

Table 13: Making contact with the civilians

Behaviour	Type	Frequency			% of Teams Exhibiting Behaviour		
		Baseline	High Intensity	Total	Baseline	High Intensity	Total
empathy and responsiveness to the civilians	optimal	15	15	30	75%	67%	71%
initiating verbal or physical contact with permission	optimal	22	35	57	75%	78%	76%
initiating verbal or physical contact without permission	suboptimal	13	11	24	50%	67%	59%
remaining with the civilians as a team	optimal	22	26	48	75%	89%	82%

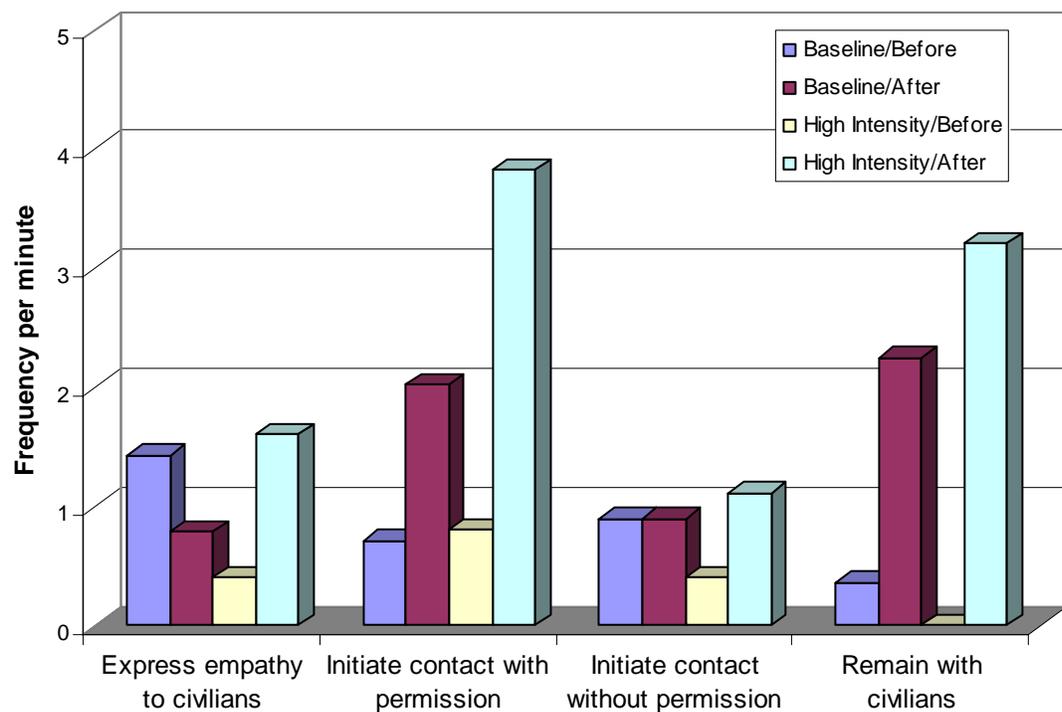


Figure 14: Making contact with civilians

Efforts to make contact with the civilians were fairly common. Most teams (71%) showed some form of empathy and responsiveness to the plight of the civilians, and 76% of teams actually asked for permission to initiate some form of contact with the civilians. However, 59% of teams did not ask for permission before attempting to establish contact with the civilians, and this was somewhat more common in the high intensity condition.

Overt expressions of empathy and responsiveness to the civilians were observed more often in the high intensity condition following the manipulation. Initiating contact with the victims with the permission of the MP was more common overall than initiating contact without permission, and it was more likely to occur in the high intensity/after condition than the baseline/after condition. In a couple of cases, trainees used their resourcefulness to try to make contact with the civilians by asking the MP if they could administer first aid to the civilians.¹⁹ Finally, offering to remain with the civilians was obviously more common toward the end of the mission, but occurred only slightly more frequent in the high intensity condition than in the baseline condition.

3.2.7 Team Member Intervention

Another specific behaviour not falling naturally into other categories was also coded. This behaviour was defined as efforts for team non-leader members to “take charge” from the lead trainee. In some cases, team non-leader members recognize that the discussion is either not proceeding well or is at an impasse. This may be a consequence of the lead trainee failing to connect with the MP or taking an ineffective approach (e.g. being confrontational rather than supportive), or it could be the result of a team non-leader member wanting to share an idea with the team leader. The discussion procedures might benefit from a change in style, approach, or even line of questioning. Interventions by another team non-leader member (i.e. “piggy-backing”), therefore, occur in an effort to refocus the discussion process. Overall, team non-leader member interventions accounted for only 2% of total behaviours. Team non-leader member interventions are depicted in Table 14 and Figure 15.

Table 14: Team non-leader member intervention

Behaviour	Type	Frequency			% of Teams Exhibiting Behaviour		
		Baseline	High Intensity	Total	Baseline	High Intensity	Total
intervention when one team non-leader member not effective ("piggy-backing")	optimal	9	7	16	50%	44%	47%

¹⁹ Despite these efforts, the lead MP was instructed by the DS to refuse any contact with the civilians.

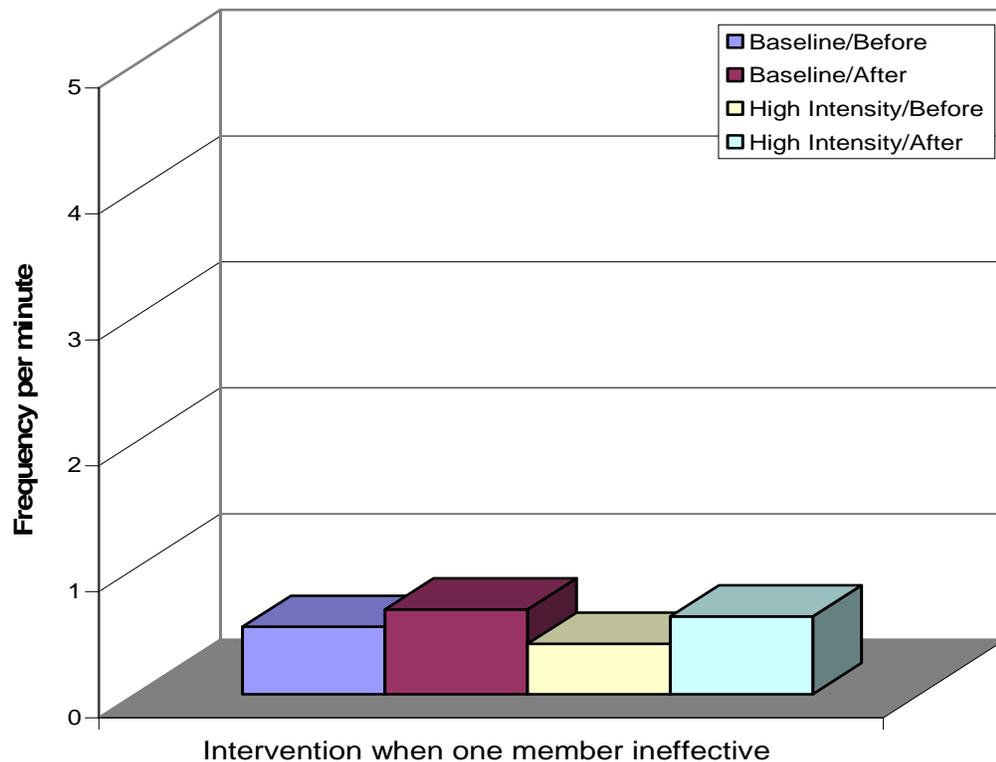


Figure 15: Team non-leader member intervention

Team non-leader member intervention was very low, occurring only 16 times throughout the entire 15 sessions, and it was distributed across 47% of the teams

3.3 Questionnaire Data

The first set of analyses used self-report questionnaire measures to explore if trainees’ experiences during the sessions were different in the baseline vs. high intensity conditions.²⁰

²⁰ In the baseline condition, at 5 minutes, the female civilian shouts “Please, help me! Help me! Why aren’t you helping me? You’re supposed to help me! Please, help me.” five times. In the high intensity condition, the female civilian frees herself from her captors and runs toward the trainees. As she runs, she shouts, “Help me, please!” When she is within approximately four feet from the Sgt and restrained by the constable, she shouts “Help me! Why aren’t you helping me? You’re supposed to help me! Please, help me.” After she shouted five times, she was pulled back to the gravesite by the constable.

3.3.1 Harm, Personal Responsibility, Mandate and Emotions

Table 15 shows the means and standard deviations for the measures of harm, personal responsibility, mandate and emotions as a function of condition. There were no significant differences between conditions on any of the questionnaire measures. Nevertheless, the overall pattern of results reveals some important general findings.

Table 15: Harm, Personal Responsibility, Mandate and Emotions

Question	Baseline			High Intensity		
	Valid N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Valid N	Mean	Std. Dev.
How likely was it that the civilians would be fatally harmed? (1 extremely unlikely to 9 extremely likely)	25	7.84	2.13	27	7.04	2.65
How angry would this experience make you feel if it had been real? (1 not at all to 9 completely)	24	7.67	1.69	25	7.32	1.49
How fearful would this experience make you feel if it had been real? (1 not at all to 9 completely)	25	6.84	1.70	26	6.85	2.20
How much did your mission mandate prevent you from helping the civilians? (1 not at all to 9 completely)	25	5.48	2.31	23	4.96	2.82
How much personal responsibility did you feel to help the two civilians? (1 more for man to 9 more for woman with 5 as no difference)	25	5.28	1.28	26	5.15	0.92
How likely was it that the civilians were terrorists? (1 extremely unlikely to 9 extremely likely)	25	3.76	1.94	26	4.19	2.17

As Table 15 shows, participants’ responses to the questionnaire items suggest that this training scenario is indeed an intense experience. For example, in both conditions, trainees considered it very likely that the civilians would be fatally harmed by the police, with mean likeliness ratings of 7.8 and 7.0 on a 1 to 9 point scale. Further, trainees in the baseline and high intensity condition reported that they would be very angry ($M = 7.7$ and $M = 7.3$ respectively) and fearful ($M = 6.8$, and $M = 6.9$) had they confronted a situation such as this in operations.

Though the role of a trainee in this scenario prevents the use of force to help the civilians, they did not appear to feel restrained by their mandate. They rated their mandate as only moderately limiting their desired response to the situation.

Results also show that trainees felt equally responsible for the male and female civilians. The result may suggest that their role requires equal concern for any person in danger. However, this finding could potentially be explained by attempts to respond in a socially desirable manner, as many people would endorse the view that one should not act preferentially toward one person over another simply on the basis of their gender.

In addition, the results suggest that trainees generally did not believe the MP’s position that the civilians were terrorists. This is perhaps not surprising given that the trainees received orders at the earlier that tasked them to investigate claims of intimidation and human rights violations by the local police. Thus, they had already been primed to suspect the local police.

3.3.2 Attributions of Responsibility

Several questions explored the attributions of responsibility trainees made for the situation they encountered. The combined results provide further evidence of the moral impact that this scenario has on trainees. Results are shown in Table 16.

Table 16: Attributions of responsibility

Question	Baseline			High Intensity		
	Valid N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Valid N	Mean	Std. Dev.
To what extent do you think the police officers were "just following orders"? (1 far beyond orders to 5 a little beyond orders with 9 as completely in line)	25	4.16	2.300	26	3.31	2.31
To what extent do you personally think the police officers' conduct was immoral or unethical? (1 not at all to 9 completely)	24	8.42	0.97	26	8.00	1.50
How would you allocate 100% of responsibility for the civilians' situation to the civilians? ²¹	24	8.75	10.66	25	12.80	13.93
How would you allocate 100% of responsibility for the civilians' situation to the police?	24	71.04	23.26	25	77.88	21.03
How would you allocate 100% of responsibility for the civilians' situation to the team?	24	22.29	25.24	25	9.32	12.07

As results show, irrespective of condition, trainees believed that the police activity on the stand went somewhat beyond orders and that police conduct was immoral or unethical with both conditions showing means close to the upper limit of the scale.

As well, trainees in both conditions ascribed the majority of the responsibility for the situation unfolding on the stand to the armed MPs rather than to the civilians or to their own teams. As Figure 16 shows, there was a main effect of condition regarding the ascription of responsibility to the trainees for the events unfolding on the stand.

²¹ Participants were asked to allocate, out of 100%, the percentage of responsibility for the events unfolding on the Human Rights Violation Stand to the civilians, the police, and the team. Participants were instructed that their three estimates should sum to 100% (e.g. 5%, 80%, and 15%).

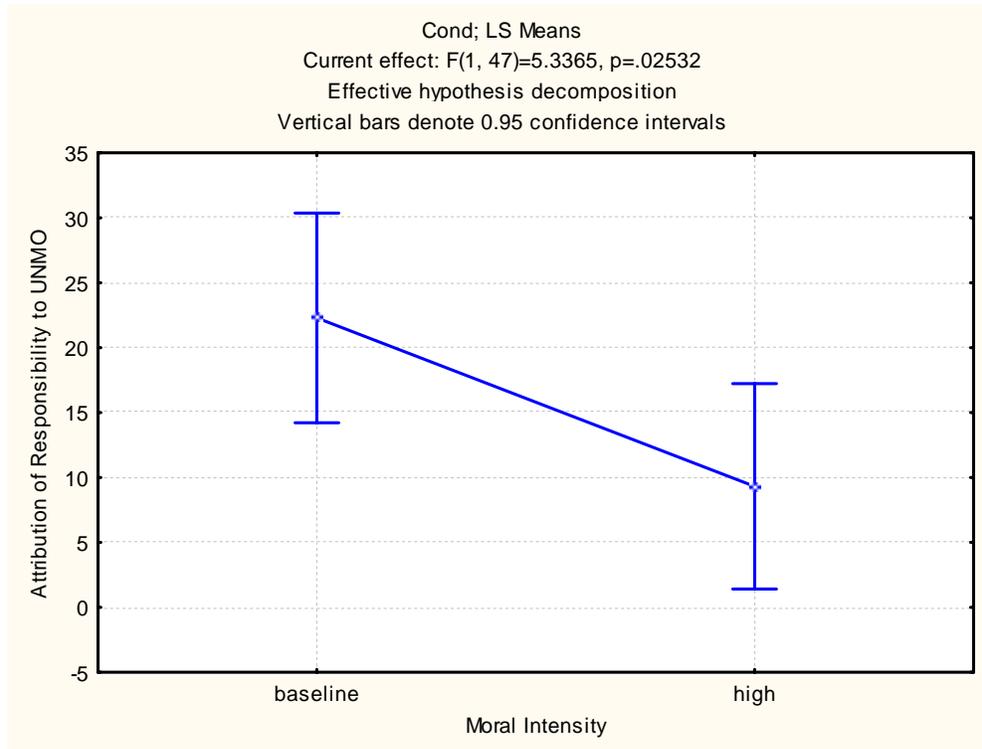


Figure 16: Attribution of team responsibility by condition

Specifically, in the high intensity condition, trainees ascribed less responsibility to themselves for the situation than did trainees in the baseline condition. As Table 16 revealed, the reduction of responsibility trainees allocated to themselves in the high intensity condition was distributed between the MPs and the civilians. There was, however, no significant difference in attribution of responsibility for either the MPs or the civilians between the baseline and high intensity condition.

3.3.3 Alternative courses of action and outcome

Another set of questions addressed topics related to number of alternative courses of action considered by the teams as well as the quality of the outcomes. Results are shown in Table 17.

Table 17: Ratings of outcome

Question	Baseline			High Intensity		
	Valid N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Valid N	Mean	Std. Dev.
How many alternative courses of action did you consider? (from 0 to 4 COAs)	21	2.00	0.95	24	2.17	0.87
If you had the chance to redo this scenario, how much would you change <u>your own</u> actions? (1 not at all to 9 completely)	22	4.45	2.34	24	3.79	2.00
How would you rate the overall quality of <u>your response</u> to this scenario? (1 worst possible to 9 best possible)	22	6.14	1.64	23	5.87	2.07
In comparison to other teams put in the same situation, do you think your team responded in a way that is likely to be better or worse than other teams? (1 much worse to 9 much better)	22	5.05	1.36	21	5.52	1.40
How would you rate the overall quality of the outcome of this situation? (1 worst possible to 9 best possible)	22	4.50	2.97	24	4.96	2.91
To what extent would you be willing to serve on a tribunal assessing past human rights violations? (1 not at all willing to 9 extremely willing)	25	7.68	1.75	26	7.35	1.72

Participants were asked how many alternative courses of action that they considered (other than the one that they took). Although there were no significant differences between conditions, on average, teams reported they considered 2 other courses of action that would, presumably, have led to an acceptable outcome to the scenario. A question exploring the extent to which trainees would have changed their responses during the scenario (if provided with the chance to do so) shows that all teams were moderately inclined to do so with the mean for baseline and high intensity conditions near the midpoint of the scale at 4.5 and 3.8 (out of 9) respectively. The results from the questionnaire suggest that teams generally considered other courses of actions, including how they might have done things differently (on the psychology of such “if only” thinking, see Mandel et al., 2005).

Trainees’ ratings of their own personal response to the scenario were generally positive, with means of 6.1 for the baseline condition and 5.9 for the high intensity condition. Teams were also asked to compare their own team’s response to that of the other teams. Teams in the baseline condition rated their performance about the same as teams in the high intensity condition. In terms of the quality of the scenario outcome, again, teams in the baseline and high intensity condition rated the quality of the outcome around the neutral midpoint of the scale ($M = 4.5$ and $M = 5.0$ respectively).

Lastly, trainees were asked to consider the extent to which they would be prepared to serve on a future tribunal assessing human rights violations. This item was included in order to test the hypothesis that moral outrage or anger towards others who have transgressed “sacred” values, leads people to reaffirm or reconstitute these values through moral conduct. Results showed that not only were trainees angry and judged the MPs conduct harshly because of what they witnessed in this scenario, but they were also willing to serve on a tribunal assessing human rights violations with



means of 7.7 for the baseline condition and 7.4 for the high intensity condition. However, trainees were equally likely to want to serve on a tribunal, regardless of the level of moral intensity that they experienced.

3.4 Resolving the Moral Dilemma

3.4.1 Actual Scenario Resolutions

As noted earlier, there are three possible resolutions to this scenario. After an extended negotiation, the MP is typically signalled by the DS to bring the negotiation to a close and to indicate to the teams that he and the other MPs intend to take the civilians into the dense forest, purportedly toward the police station. However, given the violence directed toward the civilians throughout the scenario, whether the MPs intend to lead the civilians to the “protection” of the police station or whether they will simply be killed once out of sight of the trainees is unclear. As such, the trainee teams face a difficult decision. First, they may decide to disengage from the situation and leave civilians fate in the hands of the military police. In this case, as the trainees motion to leave the stand, the MPs take the civilians into the forest and they are shot while still within earshot of the trainees. In the second resolution, once the negotiation with the MP has broken off, the teams choose to leave the MPs in charge of the civilians. They do not attempt to accompany the MPs as they lead the civilians into the forest toward the police station, but remain at the predetermined point and watch. Once out of sight of the teams, but still within earshot, the civilians are shot. In the third possible resolution, the trainees refuse to leave the civilians, and they accompany the police and civilians through the forest to the police station. In this case, the civilians live.

A critical question for this study was whether the manipulation of moral intensity would influence the choice that the trainees had to make as they approached the end of the session. Figure 17 shows the decisions that teams made in baseline and high intensity conditions.²²

²² Despite the fact that only 17 sessions were videotaped, the total number of outcomes, 19, equals the total number of sessions.

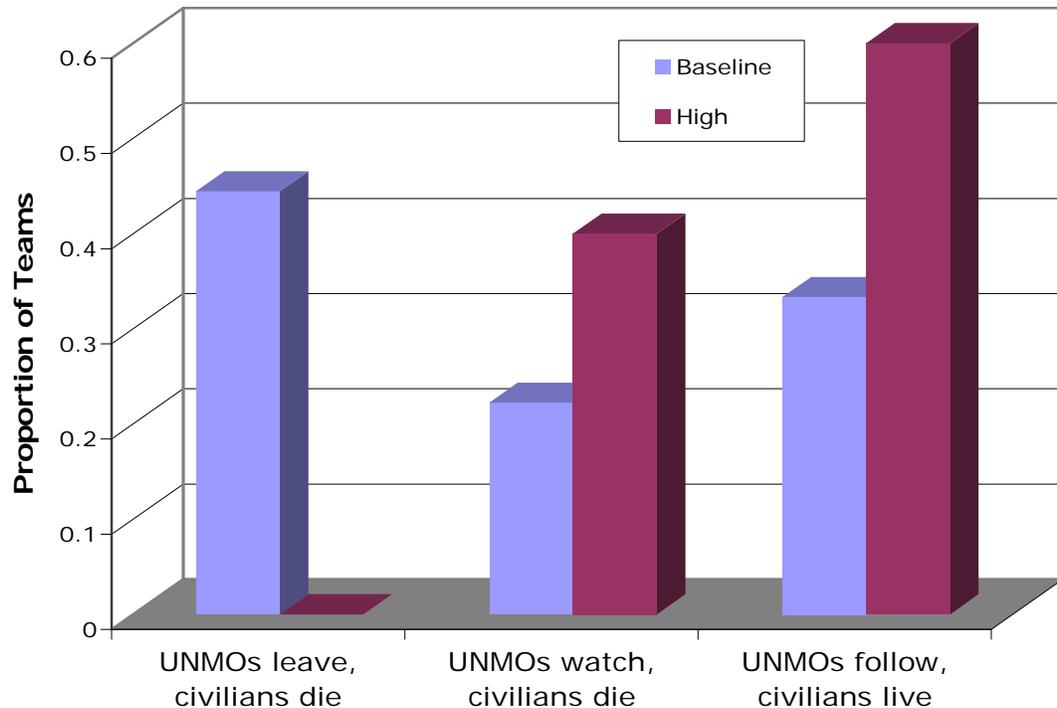


Figure 17: Resolving the moral dilemma

Results show that no team in the high intensity condition disengaged from the situation, (i.e. resumed their patrol and left the civilians on their own with the MPs). On the other hand, 44% of those in the baseline condition honoured the wishes of the lead MP and motioned to leave the situation, entrusting the civilians in the sole custody of the police. Teams in the high intensity condition were almost twice as likely as teams in the baseline condition to put their members at risk by following the police and the civilians into the forest. The former were also almost twice as likely as the latter to adopt the intermediate resolution of negotiating as long as possible prior to the MPs breaking off the interaction.

3.4.2 Scenario Outcome vs. Outcome Ratings

It was also important to explore whether teams with different scenario outcomes actually felt any differently about how the situation had been resolved. For example, teams that chose not to follow (and either left or watched) heard the gun-shot in the distance, and would have realized that the civilians had been shot, signalling the end of the scenario and just before completing the questionnaire. As such, analyses comparing the questionnaire responses in relation to the scenario outcomes for teams were undertaken. These analyses showed several significant differences in the perceptions of teams dependent on the actual scenario outcome.

Teams with varying outcomes did show a significant difference in how team members rated the quality of their personal responses to the human rights violation, as shown in Figure 18.

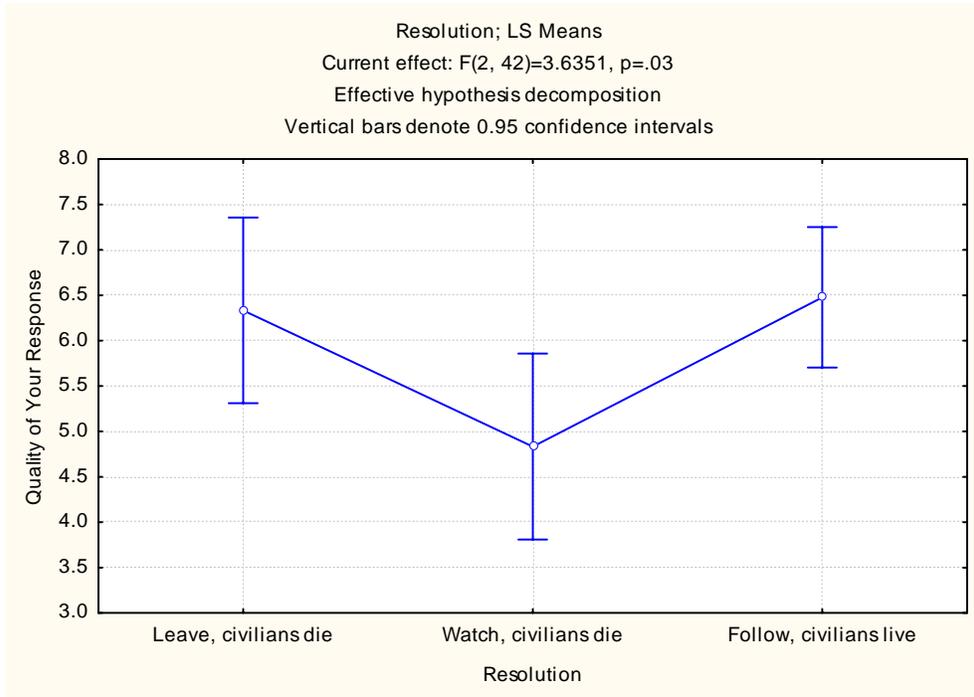


Figure 18: Quality of personal response

As Figure 18 shows, trainees who followed the police and the civilians through the forest and those who left the civilians on their own were significantly more satisfied with their personal responses than those who remained at the predetermined point and watched as the civilians were lead away. Additional analyses showed that teams who chose to watch the MPs lead the civilians into the forest rated the actual outcome of their scenario significantly less positively than those who either accompanied the MPs or disengaged and motioned to leave, as shown in Figure 19.

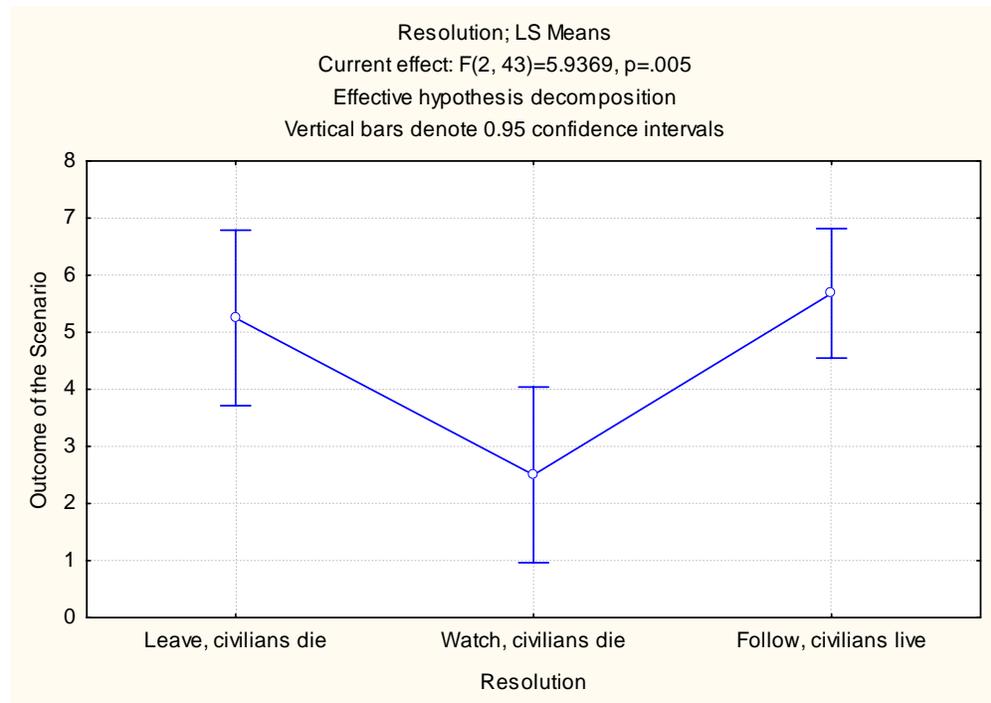


Figure 19: Overall quality of outcome

Lastly, there was a marginal difference evidenced for team member ratings of their own teams' response in comparison to other teams. The teams that followed the civilians felt that they had performed marginally better than teams who chose to either watch or leave the situation, as shown in Figure 20.

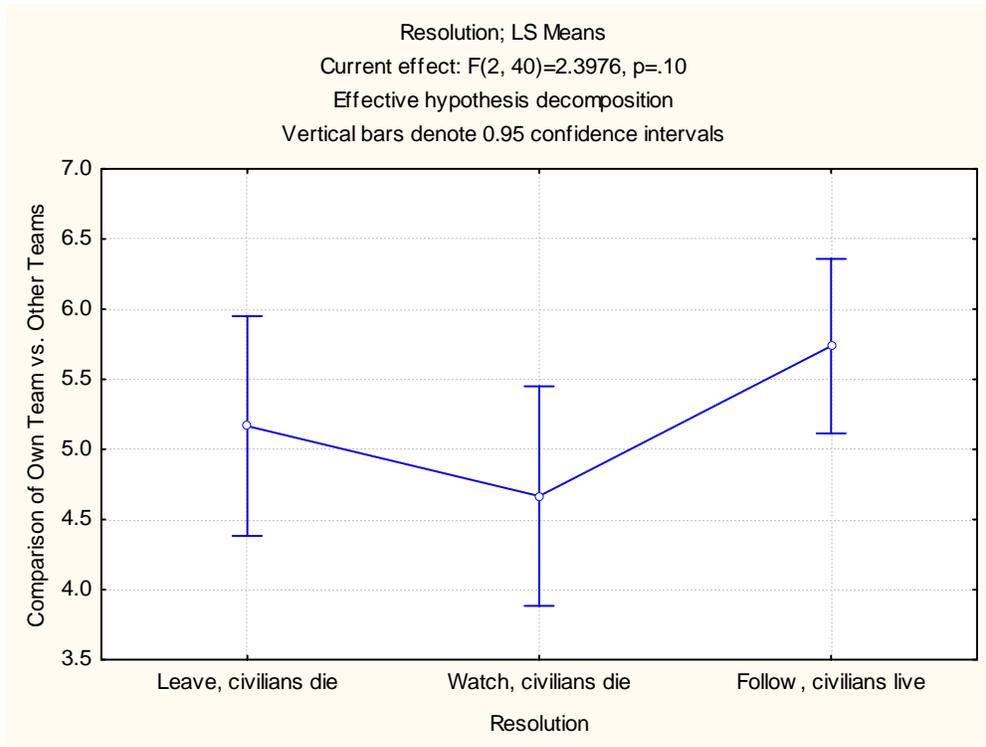


Figure 20: Comparison of own team’s vs. other teams’ response

These three analyses are consistent and compelling, and show that the two diametrically opposed responses of “following” the civilians and MPs into the forest (hence, ensuring that they will live) or “leaving” the civilians (to be quickly shot by the MPs) are associated with similar high levels of satisfaction with both personal and team performance, and with higher ratings of the quality of the outcome. On the other hand, failing to take a definitive stand either way by simply “watching” as the civilians are lead into the forest (and are quickly shot) seems to be associated with lower levels of satisfaction.

3.5 Additional Analyses

Two other sets of analyses were conducted exploring the relationship amongst demographic indicators, behaviours and questionnaire ratings, and potential differences in perceptions of team leaders vs. team non-leader members.

3.5.1 Correlational Analyses

Other analyses explored the relationship between various demographic indicators and negotiation behaviours. Due to the large number of possible combinations, only significant correlations are noted, and all analyses used an alpha level of .01.

One important indicator of military experience was the mean number of tours that the team had completed. The only significant correlation evidenced was that teams with more military experience were more likely to conduct reces in order to establish greater situational awareness ($r = .55, p <$

.05). Another indicator of military experience is the number of years serving in the military. This demographic was significantly correlated with several behaviours. For example, teams with more experience were more likely to show their U.N. cards ($r = .73, p < .05$) and to ask for names when taking notes ($r = .62, p < .05$). Highly experienced teams were also less likely to show empathy and responsiveness to the needs of the civilians ($r = -.61, p < .05$).

Demographic indicators showed only two significant correlations with questionnaire data. Older teams rated the likelihood that the civilians would be fatally harmed significantly lower than younger teams ($r = -.49, p < .05$) and were less likely to rate the conduct of the MPs as immoral and unethical ($r = -.55, p < .05$).

It was also critical to examine the relationship between team members' responses on the questionnaires and their observable behaviour during the scenario. That is, do trainee perceptions of the scenario and their reported reactions to the scenario match their behaviours during the scenario? As the sessions were coded at the team level, a mean questionnaire score for each team was calculated. Exploratory analyses were then conducted, correlating specific sets of behaviour with questionnaire data. Only behaviours with overall frequencies of more than 10 were considered and all correlations were conducted with an alpha level of .01 (to correct for the number of comparisons).

Teams that showed more recce activity were more likely to accept personal responsibility for the female victim ($r = .63, p < .05$). Teams who offered to remain with civilians as a team were more happy with the quality of the scenario outcome ($r = .67, p < .05$) than teams that did not. With respect to teamwork, teams whose non-leader members intervened on behalf of their team leader were more likely report wanting to do the session over if provided an opportunity to do so ($r = .67, p < .05$).

Of course, the psychological mechanisms underlying these exploratory correlations (see below) are not completely clear. As such, it will be important to replicate these patterns in future work in order to demonstrate their reliability.

3.5.2 Team Leader vs. Team non-Leader Member Analyses

The previous analyses considered the responses of all the members of each team. However, there is some reason to expect that the leader of the team (or the lead negotiator) could have a slightly different experience during the scenario than other members of the team. For example, team leaders may have assumed more responsibility because they took the lead in helping to negotiate for the welfare of the civilians. As such, it was important to explore if there were any differences in the questionnaire measures of the team leader in comparison to the other team non-leader members. These analyses were completed for all questionnaire items, and only significant differences are reported below.

One dimension on which there was a significant difference related to perceptions of being limited by the mandate of the mission. As Figure 21 shows, team leaders and non-leader members showed different mandate perceptions as a function of moral intensity.

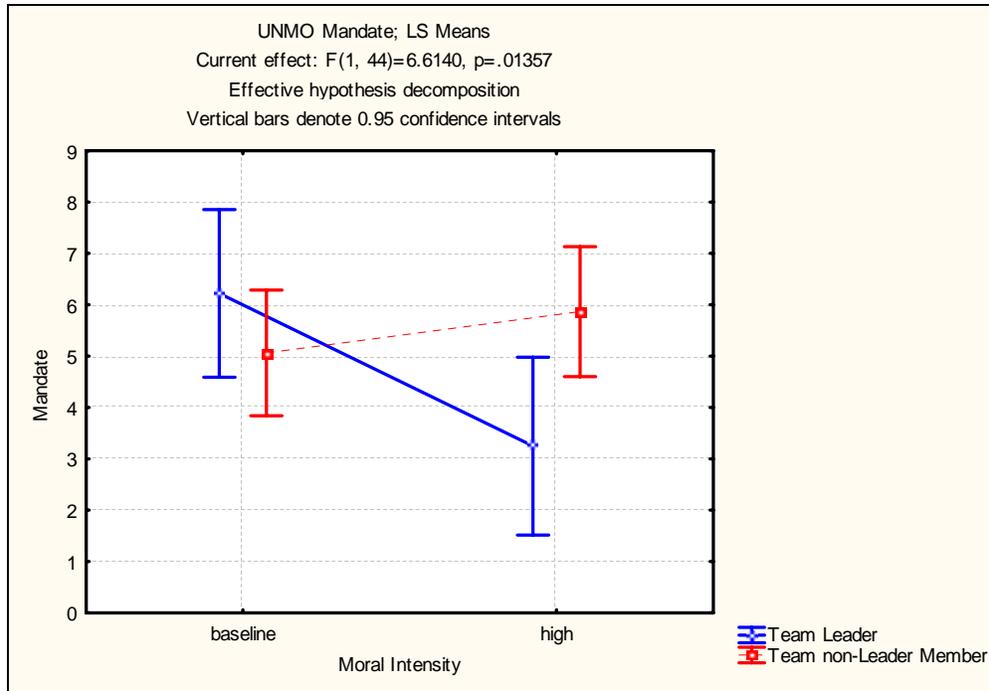


Figure 21: Perceived mandate by role and condition

More specifically, team leaders reported feeling more constrained by their mandate in the baseline condition than in the high intensity condition. By contrast, team non-leader members felt more constrained by their mandate in the high intensity condition than in the baseline condition.

Another analysis showed that team leaders and team non-leader members also differed in their perceptions of the immorality of the MP's conduct, as shown in Figure 22.

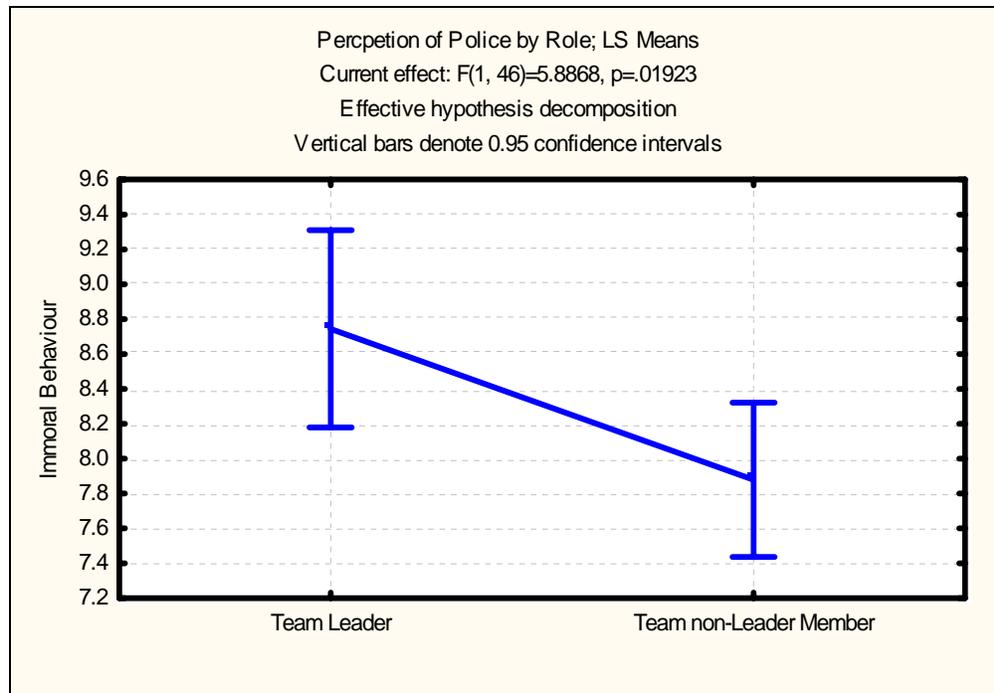


Figure 22: Perceived immorality of police behaviour by role

As shown in Figure 22, team leaders rated behaviour of the police on the stand to be more immoral than did team non-leader members. This suggests that the greater involvement of the team leaders might have influenced their perceptions of police behaviour. It is important to note that this effect was the same whether the team leader was in a high intensity or baseline condition.

Other analyses showed that team leaders and team non-leader members also attributed responsibility differently. Recall that participants had been asked to allocate responsibility to either the victims, the police, or to their own teams. As Figure 23 below shows, team leaders attributed less responsibility to trainees than did team members.

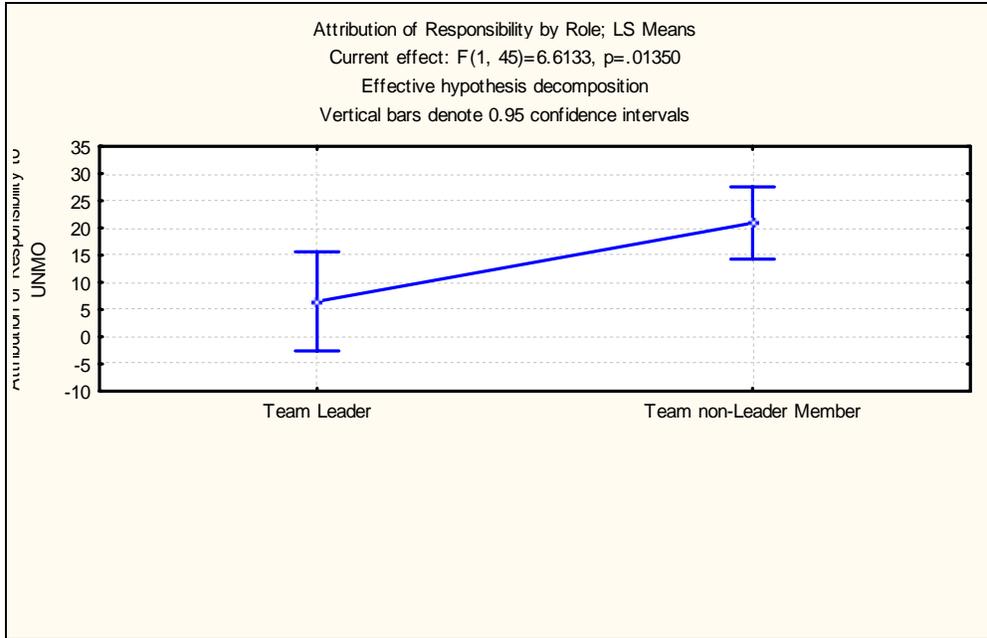


Figure 23: Attribution of team responsibility by role

Similarly, team leaders also ascribed significantly more of the blame to the police for the events unfolding on the stand than did team non-leader members, as shown in Figure 24.

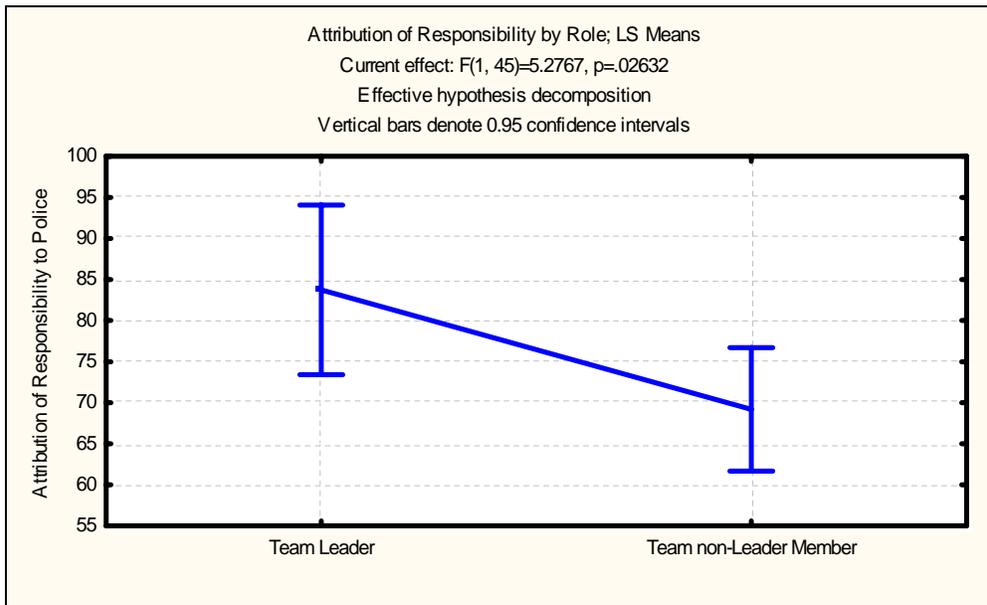


Figure 24: Attribution of police responsibility by role

As Figure 25 illustrates, team leaders also showed significantly less motivation than did team non-leader members to change their actions during the scenario.

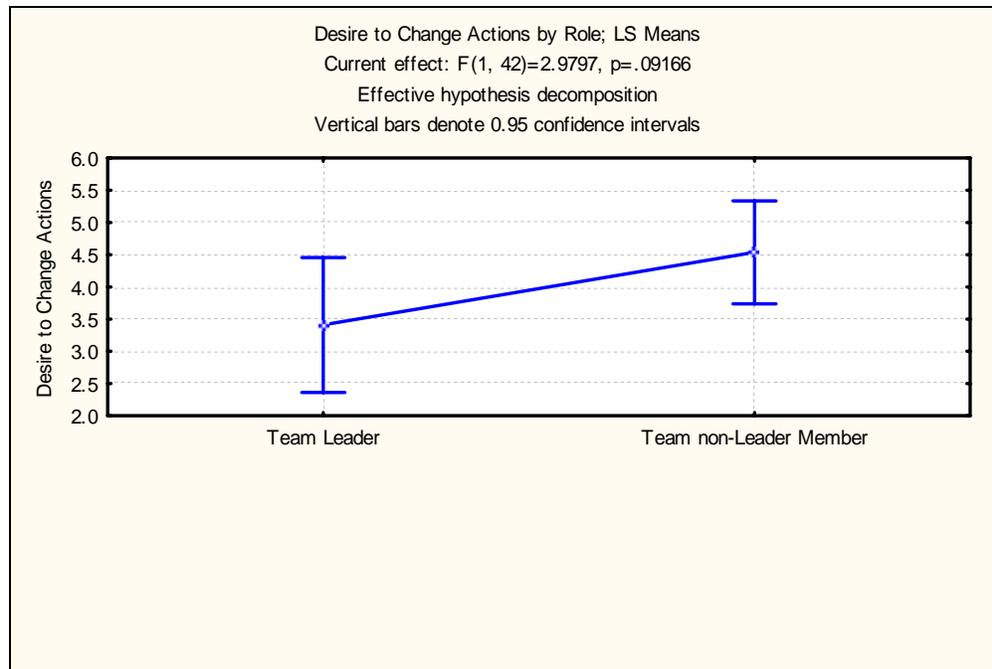


Figure 25: Desire to change actions by role

As a whole, then, these analyses indicate some key differences in how team leaders vs. team non-leader members perceived certain aspects of the scenario. Overall, team leaders felt less constrained by their mandate in the high intensity condition than in the baseline condition, and they saw the police behaviour to be more immoral and to attribute more blame to the police and less blame to themselves and their team members than did team non-leader members. Hence, the close involvement of the team leader in the scenario appears to have systematically influenced their perceptions of what was occurring in the scenario.

4 Discussion

4.1 Examples of Optimal and Suboptimal Negotiations

The present research provides insight into military negotiation processes. In order to fully comprehend optimal and suboptimal negotiations, below are two actual scenarios that outline the various negotiation behaviours that occurred. As the following examples illustrate, trainees often took very different approaches when resolving the conflict in this human rights scenario. Both teams in the following descriptions experienced the high intensity condition. Based on the behaviours identified by our research team and military instructors as important for effective negotiations, the first example represents an optimal negotiation.

Optimal Negotiation The negotiation began with a comprehensive introduction (e.g. name and rank, affiliated organization, and current task) initiated by the lead trainee, followed by introductions of other team non-leader members. The lead trainee then proceeded with a direct question pertaining to the situation. Through attentive listening, the trainees reiterated the position of the MP in the form of further questions. For example, when the MP mentioned that he was carrying out an “investigation”, the leader rejoined with “Investigations for what?”, “How long’s the investigation been going on?”, and (later in the scenario) “Are there other investigations?” Being responsive to the MP’s account, the trainees were able to diversify their questions and used open-ended rather than closed-ended questions, thereby obtaining a greater elaboration of the activities unfolding on the stand. This approach ensured that the negotiation remained dynamic and focused. More importantly, asking questions for clarification rather than making accusatory or threatening statements toward the MP helped the team maintain a good rapport with the MP throughout the mission. On a number of occasions, they attempted to diffuse the situation and make contact with the victims while still respecting the authority of the MP (i.e. they asked his permission to speak with the prisoners). They showed strong teamwork in that they were well coordinated, there was a clear leader, and each non-leader member had an opportunity to ask questions, which they did without speaking out of turn. There was one instance of “piggy-backing”. As this optimal team illustrated, listening carefully to cues in the MP’s statements and spontaneously diversifying questions, promoted enhanced situational awareness and helped to develop rapport with the lead MP.

Suboptimal Negotiation In comparison, a suboptimal negotiation began with the lead trainee of this team pleading with the MP to “Please. Please. Hold your horses.” as he entered the situation, and, as a result, introductions were initiated by the MP rather than the trainee. Counter to engaging the MP and establishing situational awareness through diverse, situation-specific questions, the team leader tried to get the MP to admit the wrongness of the police’s actions (i.e. beating the “prisoners”), and this preoccupation with the impropriety of their actions seemed related to the team accusing and threatening the MP on more than one occasion (e.g. “We’ll judge you.”). This was an instance where trainees were both opinionated and disagreeable, showing little respect for the authority of the MP. In fact, the team leader insulted the MP, stating “You’re like these people...like a terrorist.” He also emphasized the fact that he outranked the MP, declaring “You are a Sgt. I’m a Major.” Moreover, there was a clear failure of teamwork in this scenario, and the lead trainee did not have control of his team, as multiple team non-leader members attempted to question the MP simultaneously. Any attempts, therefore, to make contact with the civilians or to

diffuse the situation were lost. Ultimately, they failed to develop a rapport with the MP, and frequently annoyed him.

In the first example, trainees exercised many of the behaviours that the military instructors identified as effective for negotiation in an operational setting, including asking diversified questions, demonstrating strong listening skills, respecting the authority of the MP, and attempting to diffuse the situation and make contact with the victims. In the second example, trainees seemed readily annoyed, and accused and threatened the MP, appearing to show little respect for his authority. Indeed, the team leader often shouted to the MP's subordinate even after he had been instructed not to do so.

Yet, despite the difference in approach between these two groups, the resolution on the stand was the same. Both teams followed the police and civilians through the woods. But the MP's response to the trainee team's decision to accompany the police and civilians was different than in the suboptimal negotiation. In the optimal example, he replied "Alright...I'm not responsible for your safety." and addressed the leader as "sir". In the suboptimal example, the MP replied two times "You're endangering yourself." This response can be interpreted as a more direct threat to the team's safety and not merely a negation of responsibility as in the former case. The outcome, therefore, could have been radically different had this been an actual mission and not a training exercise.

These two examples show diverse approaches taken by the teams. In the first case, the team took time to work to establish a positive relationship with the MP, as well as showing responsiveness to the information that the MP provided. The second team attempted a different approach, and took a strong stand against the actions of MPs. In so doing, this team may have missed opportunities to develop a better rapport and to show a concerted approach to the negotiation.

4.2 Training Implications

4.2.1 Negotiation Behaviours and Outcomes

Based on our earlier observations of negotiation training, many of the negotiation behaviours that trainees displayed seemed in keeping with their training. But, other behaviours seemed to occur less frequently than might be optimal, and others occurred more frequently than might be optimal.

For example, one area of behaviour that was underrepresented, but that was often encouraged by the instructors, was creating a social event (such as offering a cigarette or candy, commenting on the MP's country or asking about the MP's family) at the outset of the negotiation. Creating a social event at the start of a negotiation can serve both to develop rapport with the other negotiator and to demonstrate sensitivity to cultural practices. However, teams did not often initiate social events at the very start of the negotiation, but more often quickly introduced themselves and defaulted to getting down to business as soon as they approached the lead MP. When social events did occur, these were more frequent later in the session. In fact, in watching the videotaped scenarios, there were cases when trainees seemed to use the initiation of social events as a strategy to regroup rather than as a way of connecting with the MP at the start of the scenario. The low prevalence of creating a social event might be explained both pragmatically and ethically. First, teams have a limited amount of time to complete each of the stands during the training exercise. They are given approximately 20 minutes to resolve the situation, and, as such, they may be very motivated to be focused. Second, given that civilians are being beaten in plain view, socializing

may not seem morally impermissible if not as an implicit explicit act of condoning the MPs' behaviour toward the civilians. As such, although social events are important in typical negotiations, the urgency of the situation unfolding in this scenario might detract from small talk, compelling trainees to respond quickly and automatically by getting to the core of the issue and assisting the people under duress. However, to the extent that creating social events is a critical aspect of a good negotiation, this data suggest that trainees might benefit from further elaboration of the importance of this skill. For example, offering a cigarette to the Sgt in this particular kind of situation might be a way in which trainee get the Sgt to lower his weapon. Although creating a social event is likely to be an effective strategy at many different stages of negotiation, further articulation and practice of this behaviour may be helpful during classroom training.

Other preliminary behaviours that were underrepresented included smiling, recces, trainees asking how they could help, and promoting alternatives to the current situation (i.e. abusing the civilians). It is important to note, however, that some negotiation behaviours appeared to have dual meaning, depending on when and how they were used. For example, trainees readily explained their mission's purpose and mandate as well as the team's current task and roles to the MP. In some cases, trainees explained that their mission mandate was to keep the peace between the warring factions, and that to ensure that mission personnel had a right to unrestricted movement. In this case, describing their current task, role and general team activities seemed to assist relationship building and to help break the ice. In other examples of this behaviour, however, trainees described their current task to patrol the area and explained that their roles were to observe and to report these observations back to headquarters. Such actions could be interpreted as a veiled warning to the MP. Trainees may benefit from more specific training that addresses the nuances of this behaviour, and, more importantly, when it should be exercised given potential differences in meaning. As such, the behaviour of explaining the task and role appeared to carry multiple meanings (having both positive and negative implications for relationship building) in the sessions observed.

With respect to Assessing the Situation, asking general and situation-specific questions accounted for a quarter of the total number of observed behaviours with teams showing more than 300 occurrences of both general and specific questioning across the 17 videotaped scenarios. In some cases, the teams asked fairly diversified, systematic questions, which seemed to be partly a consequence of careful listening and responding to the MP's statements regarding the activities he and the other MP were carrying out. However, other teams asked a very narrow set of questions and sometimes failed to 'pick up' on points that could have aided negotiations. In terms of actual content, the low frequency of inquiries about the nature of the victims' infractions may suggest that trainees did not take full advantage of the range of questions that they could have pursued. Although such analyses were outside the scope of this work, further content analysis on the flow of conversation (e.g. specific questions that teams asked over the course of the sessions in response to the MP's statements) might help to identify patterns of optimal and suboptimal questioning.

One of the most common behaviours observed was building a negative relationship by either directly provoking or annoying the MP. In this study, teams who were in the high intensity condition provoked and annoyed the MP more often than those in the baseline condition.²³ In some

²³ The high frequency of the suboptimal behaviour of building a negative relationship with the MP (e.g. provoking or annoying the MP) is a potentially important finding. As civilian researchers, our coding may have been sensitive to the power inequality between trainees and the lead MP and may have stressed potential rather than actual danger. If so, our coding would overestimate the frequency of this behaviour. As such, it will be important to work with instructors to understand their expert definition of negative relationship building behaviour. Even if somewhat inflated, however, the frequency and extremity of the negative relationship building behaviours seen in these scenarios are potentially important future training points.

cases, trainees overtly expressed their opinion that what they were witnessing was “wrong”. This seems to run counter to both training curriculum and the very objective of negotiation, in which negotiating parties seek to move from particular positions to more general areas of interests and agreement. According to the written material that trainees receive they are supposed to “keep *strictly* neutral and display impartiality to all parties in the dispute” (emphasis added). Moreover, “maintain[ing] impartiality and the awareness of the power of the perception of impartiality” is acknowledged as a recognizable challenge for military personnel in operations. Of course, this is likely to be especially difficult when witnessing a human rights violation, as the frequency of negative relationship building behaviours attests. Trainees who stated that what they witnessed was wrong themselves took a position and risked turning the negotiation into a heated debate.

Some of these suboptimal behaviours may be the product of experienced military personnel having difficulty assuming a new role. Negotiation is a “diplomatic” activity, which requires trainees to adopt an “unaccustomed role” and alter their “character” and very “approach.” Essentially, trainees are expected to go from being a soldier to being an “in-theatre diplomat.” Role discrepancy might account for the high frequency of negative relationship building behaviours toward the MP. Moreover, there is some indication from the data that this might also be hampered by the age or experience of the soldier. As helping trainees to make the transition from “warrior” to “diplomat” may be critical to their future effectiveness in all military missions, there may be some benefit in devoting more training time to this topic. Instruction related to assuming the role of diplomat as well as emphasizing specific strategies to promote positive relationships and to avoid building negative relationships may be particularly helpful.

It should be noted, however, that students encounter this scenario quite early in their training and this might explain the prevalence of suboptimal behaviours and the lack of optimal behaviours on the part of the trainees. This scenario may represent a huge test of their ability to remember teaching points and a serious test of their ability to apply skills in such a volatile situation. Given the importance of this scenario in training, moving it to later in the training cycle may allow students the time to internalize the material and gain experience with negotiation.

Reflecting on the various possible resolutions of this scenario, it is important to consider if the implicit messages given to trainees in this specific stand are entirely adaptive. On one hand, putting one’s own life at risk in order to protect the lives of civilians is an act of great courage and self-sacrifice, which is consistent with the normative expectations of many countries. On the other hand, it is unclear if reinforcing potentially risky behaviour during the training exercise is the best possible resolution to the situation. The outcome on the stand seems to at least implicitly reinforce risk taking behaviour because failure to accompany the police and civilians through the forest results in the death of the civilians. It might be important to reconsider whether “rewarding” the behaviour of courageous teams who are willing to venture into a potentially dangerous area (i.e. by having the civilians “live” at the end of the scenario) would be the absolute best training outcome. In fact, another option was suggested by at least one of the teams in this study. They insisted that rather than going through the forest to the police station, the police and civilians could travel with them by road instead. The emergence of this kind of creative thinking on behalf of the team may be a more adaptive training outcome (in the long term) than is encouraging teams to take risks without leading them to question if these are critical risks.

Moreover, the middle resolution, where the teams choose to leave the MPs in charge of the civilians, but stay at the predetermined point and watch (sometimes the team moves down to the gravesite), might be the most prudent course of action because it shows an investment of effort to

save the civilians' lives while minimizing the chances of being killed. However, it is worth noting that those trainees who chose this resolution rated their personal response to the situation and the overall quality of the outcome worse than those who decided to either leave or follow. An important lesson for trainees then is that doing what is right does not always feel like it is right, especially when the outcome of the scenario is unfavourable.

Nonetheless, the training ethic promoting the notion that there are “no wrong answers” during training scenarios is critical to promoting the confidence of trainees. However, attention should also be given to the implicit message communicated by the outcome of the scenario. The results of this study could be used as a case in point in future training sessions. Namely, trainees could be informed that in past sessions those who demonstrated commitment without taking on what might be considered unacceptable risk tended to regard their performance as relatively poorer than those who either showed little commitment or who took extremely high risks.

4.2.2 Training Consistency

From our frequent observations of the scenario, it is clear that all trainees have an excellent opportunity to face a serious human rights challenge and to be fully debriefed about what they can do to improve their future responses in similar situations. There is some level of consistency in the individual Directing Staff's (DS) approach to the stand. However, there is also some potentially important variance in how they manage the stand, and in some cases they appear to take a somewhat idiosyncratic approach to training. For example, during one observation, the DS opted to have one of the civilians “shot” in the leg during the scenario because it would put even more pressure and urgency on the trainees. In this sense, for an individual DS to be free to direct the stand as he or she sees fit could potentially be a very important value for trainers within the training course, as different groups of students would each benefit from having a unique and tailored training experience.

On the other hand, it might also be important to consider the desired balance between instructor creativity and training consistency. If there is a desire to make progressive and systematic improvements to the training curriculum, for example, being able to compare sessions across DS over time would help this effort. Certainly, many forms of variance will likely never be controlled (e.g. different role players each session, etc.). However, if an approach such as shooting one of the civilians during the negotiation is seen to have training value (and if this is consistent with the desired outcome for the exercise), consistently providing this experience to all teams may be optimal, as this would assist cross-session comparison. Although there are clearly many advantages to providing a unique experience to trainees, being able to compare across sessions in order to track training effectiveness over time will only be achievable with a relatively high level of training consistency. One possible compromise that would promote both consistency and DS creativity would be to develop and introduce systematic variants into the training curriculum (e.g. planning for variants such as shooting the civilian the leg). Given that trainees may have talked to past trainees, this would assist in preserving the element of surprise for each session of the course. This controlled variation of training may help to promote comparability from session to session while ensuring that the element of surprise is maintained.

Further discussion amongst instructors may be one way to promote an even higher level of training consistency. Although there is currently relatively good convergence amongst instructors, it is important to note that there are also subtle (but potentially important differences) in the views of optimal vs. suboptimal behaviours amongst instructors. For example, our informal observations

suggest some different instructor opinions about the appropriateness of stating regulations regarding the treatment of prisoners when faced with an armed police officer, and about how far trainees should attempt to “push the envelope” when negotiating with armed MPs. In such complex training, it is clear that a wide range of opinions and views is critical to promote consistent self-examination, and there are clearly no simple or easy answers about the “best” course of action in every situation. However, greater consensus about whether behaviours are optimal or suboptimal may well be helpful to ensuring a more concerted approach and a wholly consistent message to trainees during classroom discussion and exercise debriefs. Though it is impossible to fully prepare trainees for what they will face in operations, promoting the highest possible level of training consistency during instruction is an important prerequisite.

Training consistency could also be promoted by enacting a more formal validation process. This would help to determine the extent to which the current categories are valid and maximally useful from the perspective of the trainers. Ideally, this validation would involve the research team meeting with instructors, and providing objective definitions of the behaviours as well as videotaped examples of the relevant behaviours. Discussion would then focus on the extent to which the current behavioural definitions match those of trainers, as well as assessing the extent to which each behaviour is seen as critical to capture and code.²⁴

The end product of this formal validation process could be a checklist of optimal and suboptimal behaviours that are likely to be evidenced by trainees during this scenario. This list would allow for the identification of behaviours that are occurring at either higher or lower than desired levels of frequency, and could be used in several different ways. At the most labour intensive level, the Directing Staff or designate could complete the checklist in real-time. Used in this way, the training checklist would create a tangible measure of student performance during the pre-deployment training course. However, given the nature of the current scenario, it may be very difficult to capture all the “action” in real-time, depending on the number of items in the checklist. Alternatively, once the video was captured, it could be coded using the checklist in order to create a post-hoc measure of trainee performance. The checklist could be used during the debrief in order to highlight optimal and suboptimal behaviours evidenced during the scenario. Lastly, this training checklist could be used to supplement current course training materials, as well as to provide feedback to instructors about the effectiveness of training, in terms of which behaviours are hitting the desired standards and which might require more elaboration in future training sessions.

In theory, such a checklist could also explore the relationship between negotiation behaviours (both optimal and suboptimal) and actual negotiation outcomes.²⁵ Just as importantly, the very act of creating this checklist would likely promote critical discussion around the behaviours that instructors should promote or discourage in the classroom and simulation exercises, and this is likely to promote an even higher level of training consistency.

Another possibility for further strengthening the training systems already in place would be to ensure routine filming of this scenario, and to use these videos and the formal checklist as part of the After Action Review in the classroom. This would provide trainees with an opportunity to

²⁴ Of course, many behaviours have been coded for this first study, but only a small subset of these behaviours may ultimately be relevant for training purposes. Similarly, some behaviours may be relevant for research purposes that would be less critical for training purposes.

²⁵ However, given that real world negotiations are not necessarily highly related to the outcomes of the situation (i.e. one's best efforts may not always lead to a positive outcome), the value of this tool for linking to actual scenario outcomes may be limited.

deconstruct their own teams' performance on the stand with instructors following the training exercise. Again, using a checklist that identifies optimal and suboptimal behaviours, trainees and instructors could work together to identify behaviours that promote or frustrate positive negotiation outcomes. Similarly, selected clips²⁶ from the videos created during this study could potentially assist in future classroom lectures to identify both positive and negative approaches to negotiation during the training stage.

Overall, however, the benefit of realistic live training simulations cannot be understated. These exercises provide excellent opportunities for trainees to immerse themselves in an extremely challenging situation and to test their abilities to respond effectively prior to overseas deployments. In this regard, the aforementioned suggestions are intended as possible ways to improve on training that is already exemplary; these suggestions are in no way meant as a critique of current practice.

4.3 Research Implications

This study provides valuable insight into how trainees undertake a difficult negotiation with a strong moral dimension. Negotiation behaviours observed during the scenario provide a very important indicator of what trainees were experiencing during this session. Importantly, on these behavioural indicators, there were some observable differences in trainee behaviour in the baseline vs. high intensity sessions. For example, establishing situational awareness by taking notes, asking for names, and using radios occurred more frequently for teams who had come face-to-face with the female victim. The close proximity to the female civilian in the high intensity condition may have prompted the trainees to record and document what they were witnessing more readily. Providing testimony to the events on the ground is consistent with the general training principles. This study suggests that these behaviours increase when the moral intensity increases. Results also showed that trainees that experienced the high intensity manipulation also worked to diffuse the situation by asking the MP to get his subordinate to stop beating the civilians. Experiencing moral intensity may have also raised the frequency of attempting to initiate contact with the civilians with the MPs' permission. This suggests that a face-to-face encounter with a victim may enhance moral responsiveness.

With respect to Relationship Building, results showed that the second most frequently observed behaviour across all of the sessions was annoying or provoking the MP. Annoying and provoking the MP also included behaviours such as being opinionated, accusing, threatening, condescending, sarcastic, etc. Surprisingly, in one extreme instance, a trainee directly challenged the armed MP who was requesting that the teams move on. The trainee (a team leader) retorted "Why not try and move me?"²⁷ Moral intensity may have increased the likelihood of building a negative relationship with the MP. On the other hand, as teams in the high intensity condition were on average older than those in the baseline condition, it is difficult to know whether moral intensity or age/experience might underlie this effect.

More importantly, however, the present research suggests that heightened levels of moral intensity may increase the level of risk that trainees were willing to take in order to protect civilians. Teams were forced to choose among adhering to the expressed wishes of the lead MP and to continue on their way, to watch while the MPs led the civilians into a forest (supposedly toward the police

²⁶ These clips would need to be carefully chosen in order to maintain the element of surprise for students.

²⁷ This example was an extreme case, and was not the norm.

station), or to follow the armed MPs and civilians into the forest on the way to the police station. These options, of course, pose differing levels of risk to the personal safety of trainees. Agreeing to the MPs request and leaving constitutes a low level of personal risk, whereas remaining but watching until the civilians are led away and following the MP and civilians are both progressively riskier choices. Results show that no teams in the high intensity condition disengaged from the situation, whereas almost half of the teams in the baseline condition honoured the wishes of the lead MP and motioned to leave the situation, entrusting the civilians in the custody of the police. After experiencing a highly intense face-to-face interaction with the female civilian, teams were two times more likely than teams in the baseline condition to accompany the police and the civilians. This result is consistent with the higher frequency of efforts to diffuse the situation and to make contact with the civilians following the highly intense manipulation (see Fig 12 and 14 respectively). This suggests that moral intensity may have contributed to the critical decision that teams made at the end of the scenario.

One interpretation of this result is that moral intensity may contribute to teams taking more risks than would be advisable under normal circumstances. Some teams in the high intensity condition were willing to accompany unknown armed police officers into a forest. The “line” between advocating for vulnerable people aggressively and persistently versus putting oneself in danger is perhaps not an easy one to define. By advocating too strongly for the civilians, team members could risk being harmed and therefore could not act as witnesses. In contrast, if they do not advocate enough, their chances of saving the civilians may be much lower. This increase in risk taking behaviour may have occurred for a number of reasons. For instance, it may be that high intensity situations evoke a greater sense of empathy in military personnel, thus causing them to put forth more effort into saving lives. Alternatively, such a high intensity situation may also cause team members to react without thinking about potential danger to themselves and to the civilians. There appears to be a fine balance between feeling empathy toward the civilians, thus putting forth greater effort, while still controlling one’s emotions and being able to work optimally through the negotiation. Understanding the mechanisms behind this risk taking behaviour is an important step in preparing for high intensity missions. However, it is unclear whether the risk-taking behaviour evidenced in the high intensity human rights scenario would actually generalize to actual theatres of war. It may be the case that given a realistic situation, military personnel may disengage even when moral intensity is high, as the situation has real consequences. This is especially important given that the mandate is to stay alive so a subsequent report can be made.

However, the fact that there were no statistical correlations between negotiation behaviours and actual session outcomes might suggest that the session outcomes may have been too constrained to provide a reliable or valid indicator of how successful the negotiation was. Indeed, the actual relationships between moral intensity, negotiation behaviours and session outcome cannot be determined through this research. Whether moral intensity impacts session outcomes directly or indirectly (i.e. through negotiation behaviours) is an important empirical question that requires further examination.

This research also suggests that trainees who made a more definitive decision to either follow or leave the civilians reported higher levels of satisfaction with their own performance and with the outcome of the scenario than did those that simply watched while the civilians were led away. This finding is intriguing and might suggest that trainees who acted more decisively were better able to accept both positive and negative outcomes. As such, even teams that had honoured the MPs request to leave may have done so only after deciding that the civilians were likely to be harmed whether they put their own teams at risk or not. If this were the case, it would only make sense for

the trainees to save their own lives rather than committing themselves to the same fate as the civilians. This option may thus represent the best possible compromise, as it allowed trainees to stay with the civilians as long as possible negotiating for their safety, while avoiding entering an even more risky situation that may jeopardize the trainees' ability to report on the incident if they are killed either by the MPs or by mines (which they were told were placed in the forest area).

On explicit questionnaire measures, moral intensity did not seem to have a significant impact on trainees' self-reported perceptions of responsibility, mandate, and emotions during the realistic training exercise. Even without the experimental manipulation used in this study, this scenario presents a highly intense situation. Indeed, accounts from current the military instructors suggest it is one of the most difficult simulations trainees confront during their training exercises. As such, trainees may have experienced a high level of moral intensity whether they had face-to-face contact with the victim or not. To further increase the moral intensity when faced with any person screaming for help while still in view may be very difficult, and this might explain the failure to find an effect of this manipulation on the questionnaire items.

Despite the lack of significant differences between the high and baseline conditions on the questionnaire measures, however, questionnaire results were encouraging in several ways. On the whole, there is good evidence that this training scenario invokes a strong moral and ethical sentiment within trainees, and as a result they make strong moral judgements. Participants in this study clearly believed that, if this had been a real situation, the civilians were likely to be fatally harmed, and rated the MP actions as immoral and unethical. For example, they reported feeling equally responsible for helping the female and male civilians; they reported high levels of anger and fear, and perhaps as a consequence, reported a strong willingness to serve on a future tribunal assessing human rights violations. Trainees also ascribed the majority of the blame for the situation to the military police, whose activities were seen as beyond orders and immoral or unethical. The questionnaire measures point consistently to the commitment and concern of the trainees.

It is important to note that team members in charge of leading the negotiation did have some different perceptions from other team non-leader members who were not in charge of the negotiation. Specifically, team leaders felt differently about the constraints of their mandate, dependent on the intensity of the scenario that they experienced, feeling more constrained in the baseline than in the high intensity condition. Team non-leader members, on the other hand, showed the opposite pattern. It is difficult to know what might underlie this effect, but one could speculate that team leaders may have been influenced by the fact that the outcome of high intensity sessions was generally more positive, with the civilians surviving in more than 50% of these sessions (see Figure 17). With this level of success in the high intensity sessions, team leaders might not have seen their constrained mandate as an impediment. For team non-leader members not in charge, on the other hand, the reverse pattern might indicate the frustration of being constrained in a more emotionally intense situation with little control. Team leaders also rated the MPs' conduct as more immoral than did team non-leader members, and ascribed more responsibility to MPs for the situation and less to teams than did team non-leader members. This suggests that being in charge and actively engaged with an adversary who is unwilling to make concessions may increase blame attributed to the MP for the situation. However, team leaders showed significantly less inclination to change their actions than did team non-leader members. As observers, team non-leader members may have evaluated their team leader more critically, thereby accepting more responsibility for the overall situation. Not being fully engaged in the negotiation, observers might have the luxury of attending to more information in the environment and considering other courses of action. This might explain why team non-leader members were significantly more inclined to change their

actions than team leaders. Indeed, research suggests that observers tend to attribute behaviour to the actor's dispositions as opposed to the situation (Ross, 1977). As a whole, these analyses suggest that the perspective of a team member may vary depending on whether they are immersed in the negotiation or watching it (as team members most often did).

This research has potentially important implications for military training in modern operations that involve complexity and additional roles beyond traditional combat. It suggests that promoting a higher level of moral intensity in the scenario can be facilitated by ensuring a higher level of victim proximity to the trainees. Thus there may be real value in maximizing the intensity of certain scenarios in order ensure that trainees have the opportunity to face an incredibly difficult ethical decision within the safe confines of a training. The results of the current study do suggest that increasing the intensity of scenarios can increase risk-taking behaviours

Overall, then, this research showed important differences in how trainees actually *behaved* as a function of heightened moral intensity, i.e. the increased vividness and salience of the moral situation. After coming face-to-face with the struggling female victim, trainees never left the victims in the hands of the police and were more likely to follow the victims as they were escorted away by the police. On the other hand, trainees who did not come face-to-face with the female victims were more likely to agree to disengage from the situation and to entrust the civilians to the police, even though it was clear from the MPs behaviour that this would likely endanger the civilians. For the future, it will be important to explore the mechanisms behind the differences in risk-taking behaviour at varying levels of moral intensity. Whatever choice the teams made, a critical benefit of this training scenario is the opportunity provided to trainees to reflect on their choices and to understand how their thinking and actions were influenced by the intensity of the situation and by their own beliefs and expectations.



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Annex A: Voluntary Consent Form

VOLUNTARY CONSENT FORM

Protocol Number: L521

Research Project Title: Decision-making in Operations: A Field Study (L521).

Principal Investigators: Dr. Barbara Adams, Michael Thomson

DRDC Toronto Principal Investigator: Dr. David Mandel

Co-investigator: Dr. Megan Thompson (DRDC Toronto)

I,

	(name)
	(address)
	(phone number)

hereby volunteer to participate in the study, “Decision-making in Operations: A Field Study” (L521).

I have been told that an experiment will be conducted at one of the scenarios that I will go through in my regular pre-deployment training and preparation.

I understand that:

1. My participation in this study is completely voluntary, and I understand that I may undertake my training without participating in this study.
2. I am free to refuse to participate, and should I consent to participate may withdraw at any time without prejudice or hard feelings at any time.
3. Should I withdraw my consent, my involvement as a participant will cease immediately. In this case, I will have the option of requiring that any data that I have provided be destroyed.
4. The Investigator(s), or their designate, may terminate my participation at any time, regardless of my wishes.
5. If I agree to participate, I will be video- and audio-taped during the stand and immediately after the stand. These recordings will be used to help identify behaviours and communications that are likely to be associated with successful resolution of the stand.



6. The video and audio recordings of the sessions are done only at the full consent of the team. Despite my informed consent, therefore, I understand that one or more of my team members may decline. In this case, the session will not be recorded with no penalty to me or my teammates.
7. I will be asked to fill out two short questionnaires exploring the factors that are associated with decision-making. These questionnaires should take me no more than 5 minutes.
8. My questionnaire responses will be treated with complete confidentiality, and will not be revealed to anyone other than the DRDC Toronto research team and the Humansystems research team without my consent except as data unidentified as to source.
9. I may decline any individual items on the questionnaire that I prefer not to answer.
10. I will not receive any remuneration for my participation.
11. An experimental debriefing will be provided to me by on-site researchers.
12. All efforts have been made to minimize risks to the disruption to my training by integrating the study into a scheduled scenario, by data collection *only if time permits and at the discretion of the training instructor* and via unobtrusive video and audio recording.
13. The questionnaire, though remaining completely confidential, asks personally sensitive questions. I understand that some participants might feel discomfort answering these kinds of questions, and that the debriefing will provide us with an opportunity to talk about these issues should they arise.
14. I have been informed that the questionnaire, though remaining completely confidential, asks questions that I may find to be sensitive. I understand that I will be debriefed thoroughly about the goals of the study and will have the opportunity to ask questions of the researchers.
15. My questionnaire data and videotaped data will be accessed only by members of the research team, and my responses will remain anonymous and confidential.

I have read the information sheet, and have had the opportunity to ask questions of the Investigators. All of my questions concerning this study have been fully answered to my satisfaction. However, I understand that I may obtain additional information about the research project and have any questions about this study answered by contacting Dr. David Mandel (416-635-2000, ext. 3146).

There are no other known or anticipated risks to participants in this study.

For Canadian Forces (CF) members only: I understand that I am considered to be on duty for disciplinary, administrative and Pension Act purposes during my participation in this experiment. This duty status has no effect on my right to withdraw from the experiment at any time I wish and I understand that no action will be taken against me for exercising this right.

I understand that I will receive a copy of the information sheet so that I may contact any of the above-mentioned individuals at some time in the future should that be required. I give my voluntarily consent to participate in the study “Decision-making in Operations: A Field Study” (L521) as explained to me by Humansystems Inc, and therefore agree to fill out the questionnaire.



Volunteer's Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

I also grant permission to have my training in one scenario at the training school videotaped and audio recorded and for my footage to be used for future training purposes. I grant permission to the principal investigator to quote me directly from the scenario but without attribution or reference to my identity.

Volunteer's Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Name of Witness to Signature: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

FOR SUBJECT ENQUIRY:

Should I have any questions or concern regarding this project before, during, or after participation, I am encouraged to contact Defence R&D Canada - Toronto (DRDC Toronto), P.O. Box 2000, 1133 Sheppard Avenue West, Toronto, Ontario M3M 3B9. This contact can be made by surface mail at this address or in person, by phone or e-mail, to any of the DRDC Toronto numbers and addresses listed below:

- Principal DRDC Toronto Investigator: David Mandel, (416-635-2000, ext. 3146), david.mandel@ drdc-rddc.gc.ca.
- Chair, DRDC Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC): Dr. Jack Landolt, 416-635-2120, jack.landolt@ drdc-rddc.gc.ca.

I understand that I will be given a copy of the information sheet so that I may contact any of the above-mentioned individuals at some time in the future should that be required.



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Annex B: Demographic Questionnaire

DECISION-MAKING: FIELD STUDY

PARTICIPANT NUMBER (e.g. "Echo 1 Bravo" or "E1B"): _____

STAND NUMBER: _____

SESSION NUMBER: _____

Please provide your background information in the spaces provided.

What is your current Rank? <input type="radio"/> 2Lt <input type="radio"/> LCol <input type="radio"/> Lt <input type="radio"/> Col <input type="radio"/> Capt <input type="radio"/> NCO <input type="radio"/> Maj <input type="radio"/> Other _____	What is your elemental command? <input type="radio"/> Army <input type="radio"/> Navy <input type="radio"/> Air Force <input type="radio"/> Other _____
What is your current trade in the armed forces? (Please indicate the name of your current trade, e.g. engineer, etc.)	How many years of service in the military have you completed? <input type="radio"/> 1-5 years <input type="radio"/> 6-10 years <input type="radio"/> 11-15 years <input type="radio"/> 16-20 years <input type="radio"/> over 20 years
What tours have you completed? For each tour, list location of tour, year, and your job during the tour.	How old are you? <input type="radio"/> 21-30 years old <input type="radio"/> 31-40 years old <input type="radio"/> 41-50 years old <input type="radio"/> 51-60 years old <input type="radio"/> over 60 years old
What is your nationality?	What is your official first language?
What is your highest level of education? <input type="radio"/> Some high school <input type="radio"/> High school diploma <input type="radio"/> Some university or college <input type="radio"/> University or college degree <input type="radio"/> Graduate degree	Sex <input type="radio"/> Male <input type="radio"/> Female
Marital Status <input type="radio"/> Single (includes divorced, widowed, separated) <input type="radio"/> Married (includes common law)	



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Annex C: Information Sheet

INFORMATION SHEET

Decision-making in Operations: A Field Study (L521)

This work is being conducted by a consulting firm named Humansystems in Guelph, Ontario. Humansystems has been contracted by Defence Research and Development Canada Toronto, a human protection and performance laboratory within the Canadian Department of National Defence (DND), to conduct this study of decision-making in an operational context. We would like to provide you with more information about this project and what your involvement would entail, should you choose to participate.

The issue of operational decision-making is clearly fundamental to the success of military operations. However, currently, there is only a small amount of applied research that directly addresses operational decision-making in the context of a military mission. The experiment that will occur during one of the stands during your training here at (SCHOOL NAME DELETED) will explore some of the factors that may influence decision-making in this context. As part of the experiment, we will also be videotaping and recording all consenting teams at the given stand, in order to identify behaviours and communications likely to influence the successful resolution of the scenario as you work through it. At a later date, we intend to provide the training school with the data from these recordings to help them further refine their training for other military personnel coming through the system. We will also be asking you to complete two short questionnaires regarding your decision-making following one of the scenarios that you will go through in your regular training and preparation. The questionnaires should take no more than 5 minutes.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary, and you may undertake your training without participating in this study, with no penalty to either yourself or teammates. As well, video and audio recordings of the sessions are done only at the full consent of all members of your team. In cases where one team member chooses not to be videotaped, we will not record the session that includes the non-consenting individual. Whether you have agreed to be videotaped or not, you may choose to participate in the study by filling out the questionnaires. Again, you may choose to undertake your training at the stand without participating in this study in any way and you will not be videotaped or be asked to complete a questionnaire. You may also end your participation in the study at any time, and may decline to answer any of the items on the questionnaires.

All information you provide on the questionnaire is considered completely confidential. Videotaped information collected during the scenario and debriefing will be coded and categorized. At a later date, we will provide the training school with these recordings so that they can further enhance training and preparation for future trainees. Results communicated or reported will contain no identifying information. You may withdraw from this study at any time with no penalty to you or your team-mates.

We have worked to minimize any risks that are associated with your participation in this study. We have attempted to minimize the potential for disruption of your training by integrating our research into a standard training scenario which all trainees experience. You will still receive your full debriefing of training points from the training instructor, as well as our short experimental debriefing. This will ensure that you understand what the study is aimed to achieve, as well as to ensure that the study questionnaire(s) has not caused you any distress. We have also worked to



ensure that cameras needed to tape the stand will be as unobtrusive as possible and are not likely to change your training experience. In addition, to minimize potential disruption to training, we will also only collect data if time permits at the discretion of the training instructor. Lastly, the questionnaire, though remaining completely confidential, asks personally sensitive questions. Because decision-making in an operational context is often very difficult, some participants might feel discomfort answering some of the questions. The experimental debriefing that we will provide to you will also give us an opportunity to talk about these issues if they arise. Indeed we encourage you to provide us feedback about any of your questions, suggestions or concerns about the study.

In addition, all your questionnaire data and videotaped data will be accessed only by members of the research team, and your responses will remain confidential. There are no other known or anticipated risks to participants in this study.

Should you have any questions or concern regarding this project before, during, or after participation, feel free to contact Defence R&D Canada Toronto (DRDC Toronto), P.O. Box 2000, 1133 Sheppard Avenue West, Toronto, Ontario M3M 3B9. This contact can be made by surface mail at this address or in person, by phone or e-mail, to any of the DRDC Toronto numbers and addresses listed below:

- Principal DRDC Toronto Investigator: David Mandel, (416-635-2000, ext. 3146), david.mandel@ drdc-rddc.gc.ca.
- Chair, DRDC Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC): Dr. Jack Landolt, (416-635-2120), jack.landolt@ drdc-rddc.gc.ca.

This project has been reviewed by and received ethics approval from the Human Research Ethics Committee at DRDC Toronto (Protocol Number L521).

Thank you in advance for your interest in this project.

Annex D: Participant Questionnaire

PARTICIPANT NUMBER (e.g. “Echo 1 Bravo” or “E1B”): _____

STAND NUMBER: _____

SESSION NUMBER: _____

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS REFER TO YOUR EXPERIENCE IN THIS STAND. PLEASE CHECK THE CIRCLE THAT BEST DESCRIBES YOUR EXPERIENCE. ALL OF YOUR RESPONSES ARE CONFIDENTIAL.

1. How likely was it that the civilians would be fatally harmed?	Extremely unlikely <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>	50/50 chance <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>	Extremely likely <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>
2. How would you allocate 100% of responsibility for the civilians' situation to the following groups? Please write a number below each column and make sure your three estimates add up to 100 (For example, 35%, 30%, 35%).	The civilians _____	The police _____	The team _____
3. How much <u>personal</u> responsibility did you feel to help the two civilians?	Much more for the man <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>	No difference <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>	Much more for the woman <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>
4. How likely was it that the civilians were terrorists?	Extremely unlikely <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>	50/50 chance <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>	Extremely likely <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>
5. How much did your mandate prevent you from helping the civilians?	Not at all <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>	Moderately <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>	Completely <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>
6. How angry would this experience make you feel if it had been real?	Not at all <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>	Moderately <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>	Extremely <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>
7. How fearful would this experience make you feel if it had been real?	Not at all <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>	Moderately <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>	Extremely <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>
8. To what extent do you think the police officers were “just following orders”?	Far beyond orders <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>	A little beyond orders <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>	Completely in line <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>
9. To what extent do you <u>personally</u> think the police officers' conduct was immoral or unethical?	Not at all <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>	Moderately <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>	Completely <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>
10. To what extent would you be willing to serve on a tribunal assessing past human rights violations?	Not at all willing <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>	Moderately willing <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>	Extremely willing <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>



PARTICIPANT NUMBER (e.g. “Echo 1 Bravo” or “E1B”): _____

STAND NUMBER: _____

SESSION NUMBER: _____

11. How many alternative courses of action did you consider?	0 <input type="radio"/>	1 <input type="radio"/>	2 <input type="radio"/>	3 <input type="radio"/>	4 <input type="radio"/>
12. If you had the chance to redo this scenario, how much would you change <u>your own</u> actions?	Not at all <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>		Moderately <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>		Completely <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>
13. How would you rate the overall quality of <u>your response</u> to this scenario?	Worst possible <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>		Neutral <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>		Best possible <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>
14. In comparison to other teams put in the same situation, do you think your team responded in a way that is likely to be better or worse than other teams?	Much worse <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>		The same <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>		Much better <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>
15. How would you rate the overall quality of <u>the outcome</u> of this situation?	Worst possible <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>		Neutral <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>		Best possible <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/> <input type="radio"/>

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DOCUMENT CONTROL DATA <small>(Security classification of the title, body of abstract and indexing annotation must be entered when the overall document is classified)</small>		
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4. AUTHORS (First name, middle initial and last name. If military, show rank, e.g. Maj. John E. Doe.) Michael H. Thomson; Barbara D. Adams		
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12. DOCUMENT ANNOUNCEMENT (Any limitation to the bibliographic announcement of this document. This will normally correspond to the Document Availability (11). However, when further distribution (beyond the audience specified in (11) is possible, a wider announcement audience may be selected.)) Unlimited announcement		

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DOCUMENT CONTROL DATA

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13. **ABSTRACT** (A brief and factual summary of the document. It may also appear elsewhere in the body of the document itself. It is highly desirable that the abstract of classified documents be unclassified. Each paragraph of the abstract shall begin with an indication of the security classification of the information in the paragraph (unless the document itself is unclassified) represented as (S), (C), (R), or (U). It is not necessary to include here abstracts in both official languages unless the text is bilingual.)

(U) This experiment explored moral and ethical judgement and decision-making in an operational context. As part of pre-deployment training at a specific Canadian Forces base, military personnel participate in several realistic training exercises. One such exercise involves a situation that simulates a human rights violation. This is likely to be a highly charged moral situation as trainees must use their negotiation skills to protect the civilians who appear to be being violently abused.

This experiment explored the impact of heightening the moral intensity (i.e. the salience and vividness of the moral issue) of this situation by varying the proximity to the female victim. In the high intensity condition, the female victim was scripted to come face-to-face with the team leader, but to remain more than 60 feet away in the baseline moral intensity condition. The entire scenario was videotaped (and later content analyzed) and trainees completed a questionnaire exploring their emotions, attributions of responsibility and perceptions related to the outcome of the scenario. The outcome of the scenario was also analyzed in terms of whether the trainees left the civilians in the hands of the police, watched while the civilians were led into a dense forest by the police, or insisted on following the police and victims as they were escorted to another location.

Results showed that heightened levels of moral intensity had important effects on trainee behaviour. Specifically, after coming face-to-face with the female victim, trainees never left the victims in the hands of the police and were more likely to follow the victims as they were escorted away by the police. Behaviours that promoted a negative relationship with the military police, and positive behaviours such as gaining situational awareness were also more frequent in the high moral intensity scenarios than in the baseline scenarios.

The impact of moral intensity was also reflected in trainee perceptions about their performance and the outcome of the scenario. Specifically, trainees who had made a more definitive decision to either follow or leave the civilians reported higher levels of satisfaction with their own performance and with the outcome of the scenario than did those that simply watched while the civilians were lead away. On questionnaire measures tapping trainees' perceptions of responsibility, mandate and emotions, however, there were no consistent differences related to moral intensity. Implications of this study for training efforts and for future research are discussed.

(U) L'expérience portait sur le jugement et la prise de décisions moraux et éthiques dans un contexte opérationnel. Dans le cadre d'un entraînement de préparation à un déploiement offert dans une base des Forces canadiennes, des militaires prennent part à plusieurs exercices d'entraînement réalistes. L'un de ces exercices concerne la simulation d'un cas de violation des droits de la personne. Cette situation comporte une forte charge morale, car les personnes participant à l'entraînement doivent faire appel à leurs aptitudes de négociation pour protéger des civils qui font apparemment l'objet d'actes de violence. Cette expérience vise à faire la lumière sur les conséquences de la hausse de l'intensité morale (soit la prépondérance et la vivacité de la question morale en cause) de cette situation en modifiant la proximité de la femme victime. Dans la situation de grande intensité, la victime devait se trouver face à face avec le chef de l'équipe, tandis qu'elle devait demeurer à une distance de plus de 60 pieds dans le scénario comportant une intensité morale minimale. La situation a été filmée sur bande vidéo (la vidéo a par la suite été analysée) et les participants à l'entraînement ont rempli un questionnaire portant sur leurs émotions, l'attribution des responsabilités et les perceptions de l'issue du scénario. Une analyse a aussi été faite de l'issue du scénario : les participants ont-ils laissé les

civils entre les mains de la police, ont-ils joué un rôle d'observateurs pendant que les civils étaient amenés dans une forêt dense par la police ou ont-ils insisté pour les accompagner?

Les résultats ont montré qu'un degré élevé d'intensité morale avait des répercussions importantes sur le comportement des participants. Plus particulièrement, après s'être trouvés face à face avec la femme victime, les participants n'ont jamais laissé les victimes entre les mains de la police et étaient plus susceptibles de suivre les victimes lorsqu'elles étaient amenées par la police. Les comportements qui suscitaient des rapports négatifs avec la police militaire et les comportements positifs, comme l'acquisition d'une connaissance du contexte, étaient également plus fréquents dans les situations d'intensité morale élevée que dans les scénarios de faible intensité. L'incidence de l'intensité morale ressortait aussi des perceptions des participants au sujet de leur rendement et de l'issue du scénario. Plus particulièrement, les participants qui avaient pris une décision plus définitive, de suivre les civils ou de les laisser partir, se sont déclarés plus satisfaits de leur propre rendement et de l'issue du scénario que ceux qui se sont contentés d'observer les civils qui étaient amenés. D'après les points évalués par le questionnaire, aucune différence constante n'a été observée entre l'intensité morale, d'une part, et les perceptions des participants concernant la responsabilité, le mandat et les émotions. Les répercussions de cette étude sur les initiatives d'entraînement et sur les recherches à venir font l'objet d'une analyse.

14. **KEYWORDS, DESCRIPTORS or IDENTIFIERS** (Technically meaningful terms or short phrases that characterize a document and could be helpful in cataloguing the document. They should be selected so that no security classification is required. Identifiers, such as equipment model designation, trade name, military project code name, geographic location may also be included. If possible keywords should be selected from a published thesaurus, e.g. Thesaurus of Engineering and Scientific Terms (TEST) and that thesaurus identified. If it is not possible to select indexing terms which are Unclassified, the classification of each should be indicated as with the title.)

(U) Canadian Forces, ethics, moral, decision-making, moral intensity, training

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