





ARGUMENTS AND CONCEPTS SURROUNDING VEGAN ACCOMMODATION IN THE CANADIAN ARMED FORCES

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JCSP 44

Exercise Solo Flight

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ARGUMENTS AND CONCEPTS SURROUNDING VEGAN ACCOMMODATION IN THE CANADIAN ARMED FORCES

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ARGUMENTS AND CONCEPTS SURROUNDING VEGAN ACCOMMODATION IN THE CANADIAN ARMED FORCES

Vegetarianism¹ is currently supported in Food Services in the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF), as are Religious and Spiritual accommodation for diets. There are options in all types of meals provided to members from base kitchens, box lunches, in flight feeding, and combat rations better known as Individual Meal Packs. A minimum of one vegetarian choice per meal is provided through the national cycle menu, which has been nutritionally evaluated by the dietitians at Strategic J4 Food Services and tested by diners and cooks for acceptability for preparation and taste. Vegan² meals are increasingly being requested at base kitchens, and current vegetarian options in combat rations do not respect the requirements for some Religious and Spiritual diets which vegan combat rations would address. CAF members are drawn from all parts of Canadian society, which is based on multiculturalism and diversity with equal rights without discrimination.³ Canada's Defence Policy, Strong Secure Engaged (SSE) espouses diversity, members' total health, carbon footprint reductions, recruitment and retention.⁴ Each of these elements are improved by the inclusion of veganism in CAF menus, as is the protection of Human Rights according to Canadian Law. When a member is restricted to CAF provided meals as a condition of duty, CAF vegan accommodations in Food Services are necessary to fulfil Canada's Defence Policy 2018 for the diversification of the overall force.

¹ A vegetarian diet for this analysis is defined as lacto-ovo vegetarian, in that dairy and eggs are included.

² A vegan diet for this analysis is defined as excluding all products that are from animal sources even if the animal is not consumed including dairy or honey.

³ Leo Driedger, *Multiculturalism: Sorting Identities, Rights and Conflicts* (Canadian Ethnic Studies Etudes ethnique au Canada), 222.

⁴ Department of National Defence, *Canada's Defence Policy: Strong Secure Engaged* (Ottawa: Canada Communication Group, 2017)

Current CAF meal adaptations are restricted to religious and Spiritual accommodations and limited Special Diets of medical natures.⁵ Special diets are assigned by a Medical Officer and do not currently include allergies or gluten intolerance.⁶ Food Services direction is that Dining Facilities are to make every attempt to adhere to the provision of Special Diets but at times it may be beyond the training, infrastructure or capacity of the system.⁷ The Commanding Officer at the local level has the initial authority to approve or disapprove the provision of anything beyond the standard menu. Yet, this must be balanced with the overall principles of the CAF Directorate of Human Rights and Diversity as they are the responsible authority.⁸ According to the Canadian Human Rights Act, The limitation to the Freedom of Conscience duty to accommodate is the concept of undue hardship. It is possible that an inequitable policy is defensible if the institution establishes that the necessary practice imposes excessive difficulty in terms of health, safety, or cost.⁹

Since the early 2000s, vegetarian combat rations have been available for exercise and deployment.¹⁰ The CAF Food Services' Religious and Spiritual accommodation direction of 2016 stems from the recommendations of two separate Ministerial Inquires.¹¹ Their findings were that the CAF was legally obligated to provide meals that were congruent with Religious

⁵ Department of National Defence, *Food Services Manual*, A-85-269-001/FP-001, (Ottawa: Canada Communication Group, 2019)

⁶ Hilda-Anne Troupe, *Considerations for Accommodating Vegan diets in the CAF*, (Ottawa: Strategic J4 Food Services, 1 May 2019.

⁷ Department of National Defence, *Food Services Manual*, Chapter 6 Nutrition and Special Diets.

A-85-269-001/FP-001 (Ottawa: Canada Communication Group, 2019) Chapter 6 Nutrition and Special Diets. ⁸ Capt S. Seymore, e-mail to LCdr L. Hinch, 24 May 2019.

⁹ Department of Justice, *Canadian Human Rights Act R.S.C. 1985, c.H-6 (Section 15, para 2.)*, (Ottawa: Canada Communication Group, 2019)

¹⁰ Mme. E. Jutras, e-mail with author, 24 May 2019.

¹¹ Capt S. Seymore, conversation with author, 22 May 2019.

and Spiritual beliefs, and that institutional challenges such as a lack of staffing or funding were not sufficient justifications to not accommodate these dietary requirements.¹²

In the analysis of this policy and courses of action, the individual vegan member is an intentional actor while the CAF is the institution with whom they interact. Target groups could also be considered in potential recruits as the CAF is necessarily always turning over and retention of skilled members is a key policy issue as well. The varied makeup, and attitude of acceptance towards diversity, of successive generations is changing in Canada.¹³ Being "inclusive … and having diverse colleagues"¹⁴ are attractive to potential recruits. The equity of including vegan menus in the CAF Food Services will not detract from other's right and only bolster the mean to provide effective sustainment to members. The feasibility and acceptability of adding vegan options will be in line with the first of our major Allies to also trial vegan menus the United Kingdom's Royal Navy who are testing a menu across one fleet.¹⁵

Expression of Conscience

Currently before the Ontario Human Rights Tribunal is a case regarding vegan beliefs and the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources and Forestry. The employer is arguing that they need only recognizes religious and spiritual beliefs in dietary accommodations since being a vegan for ethical reasons is not a creed, even though the definition of creed was expanded in 2015 "to

¹² LCol N. Boisvert, telephone conservation with author, 22 May 2019.

¹³ A.K Okros, *Slide to Unlock: Implication from the Harnessing 21st Century Competencies Project*, Military Personnel Research and Analysis, Aug 2015, 3.

¹⁴ Eddy S. W. Ng and Charles W. Gossett, *Career Choice in Canadian Public Service: An Explorations of Fit With the Millennial Generation* (Sage Publications, 2013) 2.

¹⁵ Imogen Holland, "Can you be Vegan in the Military?" last accessed 21 May 2019, <u>https://www.forces.net/news/can-you-be-vegan-military</u>

include non-secular beliefs".¹⁶ The claimant suggests that his human rights have been violated in that his dietary needs were well known, and his supervisors in some cases deliberately debased them.¹⁷ It would be comparable that if CAF policy does not change to adapt current Food Services to include veganism, the CAF would be open to cases of similar nature.¹⁸ This would likely result in the same ensuing media attention, as the CAF has already been asked to comment on the above case and on current policy by reporters.¹⁹ If a current vegan member of the military chose to draw this type of media attention to the CAF they could act out of a strategic instinct as an intentional policy actor or in CAF nomenclature a 'strategic Corporal'; a disruptor with more significance than their rank would typically allow.

At the federal level, the concept of Freedom of Conscience "falls within Section 2(a) of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom and is a fundamental right. Positive measures must be taken to facilitate the request [for vegan meals], to the point of undue hardship, as it becomes a legal issue"²⁰ counter to current policy. As a federal institution, the CAF is beholden to the Canadian Human Rights Act rather than provincial policies, such as the case on veganism and creed. SSE policy is directly concerned with increasing diversity and recruitment which tie into the CAF's Food Services for members on duty or choosing to eat in CAF Dining Facilities.

¹⁶ The Canadian Press, "Is access to vegan food a human right? Ontario firefighter says it is," CBC.ca, last accessed 22 May 2019, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/ont-vegan-firefighter-1.5143655

¹⁷ Ibid.,

¹⁸ LCol N. Boisvert, e-mail with author, 22 May 2019.

¹⁹ Capt P. Smith, e-mail with author, 23 May 2019.

²⁰ LCol N. Boisvert, telephone conversation with author, 22 May 2019.

In support of the argument for Freedom of Conscience, 67% of adherents have followed a vegan diet for more than 5 years which demonstrates their commitment to their food choices.²¹ 87% of vegans adhere to their diet for ethical and moral reasons, and 11% for health benefits.²² Only 2% of the demographic site faith as their decision to practice veganism.²³ This lends weight to the separation of this practice from the Religious and Spiritual dietary accommodations as it is the minority of people who chose veganism due to their devoutness. Those who are vegan tend to have long term commitment in their belief, and clear purpose for their actions. Currently CAF Dining Facilities are reliant on members self-identifying their dietary requirements and completing the corresponding paperwork, which some chose not to do for potentially a variety of reasons. There can be a private nature of this public interest policy even for the end beneficiaries.

Recruitment and Retention

SSE recruitment targets for women and minorities include the increased reflection of the entire Canadian society in the CAF.²⁴ The CAF has devoted significant resources to the integration and increased proportion of women in the forces, particularly in the past 30 years, yet the fraction remains at only 15% despite efforts.²⁵ There is no data on the number of vegetarians or vegans in the CAF. Not only is that an issue in forecasting Food Services, but it is also a gap for any analysis of trends in age, gender, trade, element etc. The Israeli Defence Force reports a 20 fold

²¹ Vegetarian Times Editors, "Vegetarianism In America," last accessed 10 May 2019,

https://www.vegetariantimes.com/uncategorized/vegetarianism-in-america

 ²² Vegan Bits, "Vegan Demographics," last accessed 15 May 2019, <u>http://veganbits.com/vegan-demographics/</u>
²³ *Ibid.*,

²⁴ Department of National Defence, *Canada's Defence Policy: Strong Secure Engaged* (Ottawa: Canada Communication Group, 2017) 20,23.

²⁵ Department of National Defence, *Women in the Canadian Armed Forces* (Ottawa: Canada Communication Group, 7 March 2019).

increase in the number of vegan members from 2015 to 2018, then standing at 5.5%.²⁶ The overall force contains 10,000 vegan members including the Deputy Chief of Defence Staff.²⁷ One complaint is that "many of the meals intended to be for vegan soldiers are eaten by non-vegan soldiers,"²⁸ which displays a high interest in the meals provided for vegan members. Since 2015 Israel has included a vegan menu at static Dining Facilities, and introduced vegan combat rations in 2017.²⁹ US data suggests that vegans represent up to 4% of the population, that 80% of vegan's are female,³⁰ and 42% of vegan's are between 18 and 35 years old.³¹ US vegans are also of both conservative and liberal political ideology³² which may play a part in a person's interest in a career in an armed force, and should reinforce that decision makers cannot dismiss this demographic as one that would not potentially join the CAF.

Millennials³³ are "the driving force behind the global shift away from meat."³⁴ Current trends reported show that "70% of the human population is either reducing meat consumption or leaving meat off the table altogether. ... [The Millennials are] spearheading that worldwide dietary change."³⁵ "The shift towards plant-based foods is being driven by millennials, who are most likely to consider the food source, animal welfare issues and environmental impacts when

²⁶ Anna Ahronheim, "The Most Vegan Army in the World," The Jerusalem Post, last accessed 22 May 2019, https://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/The-most-vegan-army-in-the-world-568595

²⁷ Ibid.,

²⁸ Ibid..

²⁹ *Ibid.*,

 ³⁰ Taste Editors, "Veganism Is A Woman's Lifestyle, According To Statistics," Huffington Post, last accessed 21 May 2019, https://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2014/04/01/vegan-woman-lifestyle-n-5063565.html?guccounter=1
³¹ Vegetarian Times Editors, "Vegetarianism In America," last accessed 10 May 2017,

https://www.vegetariantimes.com/uncategorized/vegetarianism-in-america

³² Niall McCarthy, "Who Are America's Vegans And Vegetarians?," Forbes, last accessed 15 May 2019, https://www.forbes.com/sites/niallmccarthy/2018/08/06/who-are-americas-vegans-and-vegetarians

³³ Millennials (DOB ~ 1980-1995. From age 18 could have between 6 and 21 years of service)

³⁴ Joe Loria, "Forbes: Millennials Driving Force Behind Global Vegan Movement," Mercy for Animals, last accessed 15 May 2019, https://mercyforanimals.org/forbes-meillennials-driving-force-behind-global-veganmovement

³⁵ Ibid.,

making their purchasing decisions."³⁶ The Millennial recruits, or who are currently in the CAF, as a demographic are more open to veganism than preceding age groups. This is an opportunity to shift the Food Service operations of the CAF and test implementations prior to the largest potential demand for vegan accommodation from Generation Z^{37} .

Generation Z, arguably the CAF's current target for recruitment, is an even larger consumer of vegan meals than any previous generation.³⁸ They are also 25% of the current population and demographically a larger cohort than the Baby Boomers.³⁹ Generation Z purchases 60% more tofu, 266% more avocados, 550% more plant based 'milk' than Generation X⁴⁰ Indicating a significant change in overall diet choices by potential recruits and members of the CAF with six years or less of service. Additionally, those in Generation X who are the senior decision makers in the CAF, with 20 to 40 years of service, likely do not reflect the emerging trends in dietary choices and would presumably have natural biases towards the status quo⁴¹, particularly as meal choices are often tied to emotion, comfort and familiarity.⁴²

Strategic J4 Food Services Issues

³⁶ Niall McCarthy, "Who Are America's Vegans And Vegetarians?" Forbes, last accessed 15 May 2019, https://www.forbes.com/sites/niallmccarthy/2018/08/06/who-are-americas-vegans-and-vegetarians

³⁷ Generation Z (DOB ~1995-2005. From age 18 could have between 0-6 years of service. Those born between 2001 and 2005 have yet to turn 18.)

³⁸ Joe Loria, "Forbes: Millennials Driving Force Behind Global Vegan Movement," Mercy for Animals, last accessed 15 May 2019, https://mercyforanimals.org/forbes-meillennials-driving-force-behind-global-vegan-movement

³⁹ Anne Gherini, "Gen-Z Is About to Outnumber Millennials, Here's How That Will Affect the Business World," INC, last accessed 21 May 2019, https://inc.com/anne-gherini/gen-z-is-about-to-outnumber-millennials-heeres-how-that-will-affect-business-world.html

⁴⁰ Generation X (DOB ~1960-1980. From age 18 could have between 21-41 years service)

⁴¹ Behavioral Economics.com, "Status Quo Bias," Behavioral Economics.com,

https://behavioursconomics.com/resources/mini-encyclopedia-of-be/status-quo-bias.

⁴² EUFIC, "The Factors That Influence Our Food Choices," European Food Information Council, last accessed 21 May 2019, https://www.efuic.org/en/healthy-living/articles/the-determinants-of-food-choice

To meet the SSE policy for diversity, the inclusion of a vegan menu is necessary. Follow on implications for Strategic J4 Food Services includes: the review of redesigns for kitchens to eliminate cross contamination, the realignment of the National Cycle Menu, testing and procuring a vegan Combat Ration to be integrated into the supply system, increased training for Cooks and Food Handlers, and deployed feeding. Israel has introduced specific vegan cook training⁴³ ensuring the nutritional content and palatability of meals which is critical for soldier's energy needs and abilities to perform their tasks. If a member will not eat the food provided, it matters not how nutritious it is. Particularly with vegetable sourced proteins and macronutrients, vegan meals provided by the CAF would need to be planned carefully, and prepared and stored properly. While it is common practice for most soldiers to bring one's own snacks on exercise, it is not reasonable to assume that those following a vegan diet should provide all of their own food, just as it was not reasonable for members to procure their own Kosher or Halal food prior to the CAF adopting the policy to provide Religious and Spiritual accommodations. It is the CAF's responsibility to ensure all members are provided with the necessities for health when restricted to CAF exercises and deployments.

The necessities of life; food, water, shelter, proper clothing, and hygiene are all obligations of the CAF towards its members in reciprocation for the ultimate potential sacrifice of giving one's life in the service of one's country. This mutual agreement of support between the CAF and the members extends well past the written conditions of employment. Loyalty and trust includes the holistic well-being of the member and is reflected in the SSE policy on total health.

⁴³ Anna Ahronheim, "The Most Vegan Army in the World," The Jerusalem Post, last accessed 22 May 2019, https://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/The-most-vegan-army-in-the-world-568595

Total Health

SSE states the requirement to consider the total health of members throughout their careers.⁴⁴ Positive aspects of a vegan diet are typical decreases in blood pressure, cholesterol, body mass, heart disease, risk of type 2 diabetes, and metabolic syndrome.⁴⁵ Negatives consequences of a vegan diet are that they most often result in a higher requirements for zinc, iron, calcium, B12, and can include foods with low energy density and poor bioavailability of nutrients.⁴⁶ Balancing adequate nutrition for the energy expenditures of CAF members on duty would require further study by Strategic J4 Food Services to ensure vegans are adequately served by any developed CAF menus.

Without proper nutrition the vegan Fire Fighter in the Ontario Human Rights Tribunal stated he became weak, exhausted and unable to carry on his duties fighting forest fires after a few days.⁴⁷ These experiences are echoed from personal blogs of current US vegans in the military.⁴⁸ These physical and mental exertions may be similar to the efforts required of CAF soldiers in comparison. The current lack of fulsome balanced meals will lead to the inability to perform tasks and members not contributing to objectives. As a matter of deployability and ability to fulfil their duties to the military, it is in the CAF's best interest to ensure all members are eating a

⁴⁴ Department of National Defence, *Canada's Defence Policy: Strong Secure Engaged* (Ottawa: Canada Communication Group, 2017) 25.

⁴⁵ Hilda-Anne Troupe, *Considerations for Accommodating Vegan diets in the CAF*, (Ottawa: Strategic J4 Food Services, 1 May 2019.

⁴⁶ Hilda-Anne Troupe, *Considerations for Accommodating Vegan diets in the CAF*, (Ottawa: Strategic J4 Food Services, 1 May 2019.

⁴⁷ The Canadian Press, "Is access to vegan food a human right? Ontario firefighter says it is," CBC.ca, last accessed 22 May 2019, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/toronto/ont-vegan-firefighter-1.5143655

⁴⁸ Hilda-Anne Troupe, *Considerations for Accommodating Vegan diets in the CAF*, (Ottawa: Strategic J4 Food Services, 1 May 2019.

well-rounded diet. By accommodating meals to vegans, the CAF can ensure that they are presented with sufficient micronutrients and macronutrients to meet their exertion level.

Environmental Initiatives

With the aim of reducing the CAF's carbon footprint as stated in SSE policy, ⁴⁹ including vegan meals and encouraging others to partake in them as healthy options would be an advantage to the forces. The average greenhouse gas emissions from the production of vegan food is 80% less than a typical diet.⁵⁰ The vegan diet has been studied as the ' "single biggest way" to reduce your environmental impact' in daily life.⁵¹ Which, combined with additional initiatives, could contribute to the greening of the CAF. The development of the CAF's vegan menus could be shared with other Federal Departments responsible for Food Services such as Public Safety Canada and Correctional Service Canada for the improvement of all departments.

Vegan menus will not resolve all Special Diet accommodations

Including vegan meals in all CAF Food Services will not eliminate the need for additional Special Diets or Religious and Spiritual accommodations. At a minimum the CAF would still need to ensure there were Kosher meals, as items such as baked goods containing no animal protein or by-products still need to be prepared and blessed in accordance with the faith.⁵² Equally Halal meals cannot include alcohol sources which could be such ingredients as vanilla

⁴⁹ Department of National Defence, *Canada's Defence Policy: Strong Secure Engaged* (Ottawa: Canada Communication Group, 2017) 16.

⁵⁰ Center for Sustainable Systems, "Carbon Footprint Factsheet." University of Michigan, Pub. No. CSS09-05, 2018

⁵¹ Olivia Petter, "Veganism is 'single biggest way' to reduce our environmental impact on planet, study finds," Independant.uk, last modified 1 June 2018, https://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/health-and-families/veganism-environmental-impact-planet-reduced-plant-based-diet-humans-study-a8378631.html

⁵² Capt S. Seymore, conversation with author, 29 April 2019.

extract or soy sauce for example.⁵³ Veganism would comply with the dietary restrictions of Sikhs who do not consume meats ritually blessed for other faiths (i.e. Kosher or Halal).⁵⁴ Depending on the sect of Sikhism, the consumption of meat varies, allowing some to choose any non Kosher or Halal CAF prepared meal including meat. At the most restrictive of Sikh diets, lacto-vegetarianism is acceptable to all Sikhs for religious purposes so a vegan meal would be acceptable. The current CAF lacto-ovo vegetarian combat ration is both Kosher and Halal certified. Dependant on the Sikh's inclusion of meat in their diet, the standard menu combat rations may suffice as they are neither Kosher nor Halal, but if a serving Sikh is also a laco-vegetarian, there are no current options for them within combat rations. Access to acceptable meals would vary for a lacto-vegetarian Sikh depending on the current national cycle menu which includes up to 30% vegan recipes as the vegetarian choices offered at every meal and local choice for box lunches or fresh meals from CAF Dining Facilities.

The majority of society and CAF members remain omnivores. The current direction for Food Services meets the needs of the largest population of members but it does not encourage diversity and sustain differences in culture and effort to encourage new segments of society to view the CAF as an employer of choice. In creating new menus, Finland's military offers a vegetarian choice at all meals, and twice a week all menu items are vegetarian in their Dining Facilities. Thus, Finland is providing all members of the forces only vegetarian meals at certain times.⁵⁵ In a form the CAF regulated the diets of its members already, particularly on exercise

⁵³ *Ibid.*,

⁵⁴ BBC, "Sikhism Rites Rituals Gurdwara," last accessed 15 May 2019,

http://www.bbc.co.uk/religion/religions/sikhism/ritesrituals/gurdwara_1.shtml

⁵⁵ Imogen Holland, "Can you be Vegan in the Military?" last accessed 21 May 2019, https://www.forces.net/news/can-you-be-vegan-military

and deployment when personnel are restricted in their movements to only have access to CAF meals. The CAF national cycle menu and combat rations are balanced nutritionally through the work of the specialists and dietitians in Strategic J4 Food Service. Attention is paid to incorporating appealing healthy choices, yet what a member physically consumes remains their responsibility. In this way, the CAF is acting as the responsible authority obligated in the provision of sustenance to its members and also concerned for their long term wellbeing. The Finnish military has chosen to regulate the diet of their forces at least twice a week to only vegetarian options, which would be a new step for the CAF. The city council of Amsterdam has also chosen to use a vegetarian menu as the default for all council events, with the option of adding meat.⁵⁶ These changes would be supported by the Canada's Food Guide's direction to choose meatless proteins "more often".⁵⁷ The Canada's Food Guide is the basis for the nutritional policy for all CAF Food Services. Updates to the guide in 2019 include specifics on meatless meals a "couple times a week"⁵⁸ and increased consumption of vegetable protein. The changes to the Food Guide from March 2019 are still being analysed and drafted into new CAF menus by Strategic J4 Food Service.

Beyond meals, further vegan accommodations are being investigated by Britain's Ministry of Defence⁵⁹ for their members particularly for leather boots. Leather gloves, wool uniforms and blankets, down feather sleeping bags, shearling Arctic mitts, and the fur Yukon hat are items in the current CAF supply systems vegans may be opposed to. Since 2014, the Israeli Defence

 ⁵⁶ Senay Boztas, "Amsterdam to serve vegetarian food by default at all council events," last accessed 21 May 2019, https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2019/05/21/amsterdam-serve-vegetarian-food-default-council-events/
⁵⁷ Health Canada, *Canada's Food Guide*, (Ottawa: Canada Communication Group, March 2019)

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*,

⁵⁹ Imogen Holland, "Can you be Vegan in the Military?" last accessed 21 May 2019, https://www.forces.net/news/can-you-be-vegan-military

Force has found replacement items for uniform pieces for their 10,000 vegan members. Some vegans justify the use of animal products as a requirement of the job and differentiate between the two as the animal bi-products in the equipment is not being ingested by them.⁶⁰ Items such as vegan sunscreen, medical treatments without gelatine, and a further analysis of CAF supplied items would need to be conducted to fully integrate veganism beyond dietary accommodations which would be a potential secondary phase to introducing vegan menus.

Conclusion

Accommodation of a vegan diet is the correct course of action according to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and SSE policy. By not moving towards accommodating veganism the CAF is vulnerable to legal challenges and limits recruiting and retention. As with Religious and Spiritual accommodations, the need to recognise veganism as a fully supported ethical choice is enshrined in the governing policy directly applicable to the CAF as a Department of the Federal Government. This additionally assists the CAF in meeting a number of SSE policy themes for personnel and the environment.⁶¹ The evolution of CAF Food Services, material, training, infrastructure and understanding of diversity are positive factors towards a more inclusive workforce, members' total health, and a greener armed forces.

⁶⁰ Jemima Webber, "How to Survive as a Vegan when you are in the Military," last accessed 15 May 2019, https://www.livekindly.co/how-survive-vegan-military/

⁶¹ Department of National Defence, *Canada's Defence Policy: Strong Secure Engaged* (Ottawa: Canada Communication Group, 2017)

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