



CANADIAN ARMED FORCES APPROACH TO INCREASING GENDER DIVERSITY IN PEACE AND SECURITY

Lieutenant-Commander Anonymous

JCSP 49

Exercise Solo Flight

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PCEMI n° 49

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CANADIAN FORCES COLLEGE - COLLÈGE DES FORCES CANADIENNES

JCSP 49 - PCEMI n° 49
2022 - 2023

Exercise Solo Flight – Exercice Solo Flight

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INTRODUCTION

Background

It is well established that the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) has long been a male-dominated institution, with women and gender diverse individuals facing barriers to entry, promotion, and retention. However, over the last fifty years there has been a growing recognition for the need to increase diversity and inclusion within the military. Following the women's rights movement of the 1970's, the 1979 UN Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) provided an important impetus for reform.¹ As CEDAW was the result of a greater societal evolution, the basis of inclusion was "not necessarily operational needs, a changing security environment, or arguments of military effectiveness that led to these changes, but rather general societal trends toward increased gender equality and emphasis on women's rights."² This led a large international movement in many nations, including Canada, to initiate attempts to gender balance their military forces. Though not without significant institutional push back and begrudging delays.

After the fall of the Soviet Union and the changing nature of warfare and security threats, modern conflicts became increasingly characterized by asymmetric warfare, unconventional tactics, and complex humanitarian emergencies requiring a broad range of skills and perspectives. In October of 2000, the "international imperative for change came with UNSCR 1325. This time, not only was the process of gender balancing continued, but it was also complemented by efforts to implement gender perspectives in organizations and operations."³ This resolution would facilitate the integration of women and gender diverse individuals with unique experiences, expertise, and perspectives to be able to contribute to the overall effectiveness of the military, including in areas such as intelligence gathering, cultural sensitivity, and conflict resolution.

Despite these initiatives, there remained a long way to go to achieve full integration of women and gender diverse individuals in the Canadian military. As integration moved forward at a glacial pace, the CAF faced significant challenges in relation to sexual harassment, assault, and discrimination. In 2015, following a damning article published in Maclean's magazine highlighting gruesome incidents of sexual assault in the CAF, an external review was conducted by retired Supreme Court justice Marie Deschamps. Her review identified a hyper-masculine culture driving widespread problems of sexual misconduct and "that there is an underlying

¹ Egnell, Robert and Mayesha Alam. *Women and Gender Perspectives in the Military: An International Comparison*, edited by Robert Egnell, Robert Egnell, Mayesha Alam and Mayesha Alam. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2019. P.256

² Egnell, Robert and Mayesha Alam. *Women and Gender Perspectives in the Military: An International Comparison*, edited by Robert Egnell, Robert Egnell, Mayesha Alam and Mayesha Alam. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2019. P.256

³ Egnell, Robert and Mayesha Alam. *Women and Gender Perspectives in the Military: An International Comparison*, edited by Robert Egnell, Robert Egnell, Mayesha Alam and Mayesha Alam. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2019. P.256

sexualized culture in the CAF that is hostile to women and LGBTQ members, and conducive to more serious incidents of sexual harassment and assault.”⁴ Hyper-masculinity glorifies traits traditionally associated as masculine such as strength, aggression, and dominance, while devaluing feminine traits such as empathy, collaboration, and emotional expressiveness. “Military training inculcates ‘exaggerated ideals of manhood’ that often rely on the devaluation of gendered others as well as those othered by race or sexuality.”⁵ This not only excludes women and gender diverse individuals but also harms men themselves, by creating pressure to conform to at times unrealistic and damaging gendered norms.

The integration of women and gender diverse individuals into the CAF is a complex and ongoing process that requires both external and internal agents of change. Following the external review conducted by retired Supreme Court justice Marie Deschamps, the CAF embarked on an internal initiative dubbed *Operation Honour* to “ensure sexual misconduct is never minimized, ignored or excused so that the CAF cultivates the inclusive and respectful work environment that embodies the ethical principles and core values of the profession of arms.”⁶ In February 2020, the CAF’s initiatives came crashing down following a series of accusations against high ranking officers. This triggered a subsequent external review followed by renewed initiatives to change culture towards one that is more inclusive to not only women and gender diverse individuals, but all members. This paper will seek to understand evaluate the actions taken by the CAF to integrate women and gender diverse individuals into the military by exploring the approaches that were taken to increase women in the military, as well as more recent approaches to create a favourable culture for all gender diverse individuals.

DISCUSSION

Efforts made by the CAF to increase the representation of women

Canada has been actively working towards integrating women into the Canadian Forces for several decades. Though slow to deliver tangible results, “The overall representation has grown from 11.4 percent in 2001 to 15.7 percent as of February 2019; an annual growth rate of 0.24%. Since 2014 we have been able to reach 0.7% annual increase, while experiencing constant attrition.”⁷ This has been a gradual process that has involved policy changes, legislative reforms, and advocacy efforts by women's groups and other stakeholders. Canada has undertaken various initiatives to promote the integration of women into the military, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN in 1948, the 1970 Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, the 1977 Canadian Human Rights Act, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women that the UN adopted in 1979, and the 1995 Canadian Employment Equity Act, the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2000 as well as the CAF Employment Equity Regulations of 2000. Though many of

⁴Deschamps, Marie. External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces. Ottawa, ON: DND Canada, 27 March 2017. P.i

⁵Eichler, Maya. "Militarized Masculinities in International Relations." Militarized Masculinities in International Relations. The Brown Journal of World Affairs, Fall 2014. Date accessed, 14 April 2016. P.83

⁶ Operation Honour: <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/services/benefits-military/conflict-misconduct/sexual-misconduct/about-operation-honour.html>

⁷Harding, Jolanta. "Representation of women in the Canadian armed forces; Challenge unfulfilled" 2019. <https://www.cfc.forces.gc.ca/259/290/405/305/hardingj.pdf>. P.3

these initiatives have had some degree of initial success in increasing the number of women who serve in the CAF, the implementations have largely been conducted from a gender balancing perspective and not a gender mainstreaming perspective.

As the CAF struggled to increasing the representation of women, gender balancing policy initiatives became a widely used gendered approach. Gender balancing can be defined as “the degree to which men and women hold the full range of positions in a society”⁸ Effectively, by relying on quantifiable metrics, efforts are made to increase the concentration of desired populations to achieve a certain gendered proportion. This quantifiable method had increased in popularity, with limited success in recruiting comparatively larger numbers of women in comparison to more recent efforts of gender mainstreaming. The more recent perpetual stagnation of gendered diversity in the CAF however has demonstrated that “without serious efforts to change the culture and the legal framework of the organization, it not only limits the results of women’s participation, it may even have negative effects for the women involved.”⁹ This can be evidenced as women increasingly become concentrated in the more stereotypical gendered roles disproportionately reflected in the support trades such as logistics and health services, and denies the full participation in all segments of the wider CAF organization. Gender balancing initiatives were achieved through various means such as targeted recruitment on a specified gender, or through other targeted approaches to leverage preconceived stereotypical traits. In Afghanistan “Female military personnel are not only effective interlocutors with local women but also with local men. The use of Female Engagement Teams in Afghanistan increases the number of trained female military on patrol who engage directly with local communities.”¹⁰ This success in employing gender balancing in operations has increasingly led to “the deployment of female soldiers serving in civil-military engagement, civil affairs, human terrain assessments, and intelligence extraction capacities in all missions and forward operating bases, and requiring inclusion of female soldiers and officers in outreach units and patrols.”¹¹

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN in 1948 is a foundational document that recognizes the inherent dignity and equality of all human beings. Article 2 of the declaration states that “everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.”¹² This declaration was one of the first guiding principle for Canada's efforts to promote gender equality in all aspects of society, including the military. As a result, the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service (WRCNS) was expanded to provided women with new opportunities to serve their country, the Canadian Army expanded the roles available to women, allowing them to serve in a wider range

⁸ Egnell, Robert and Mayesha Alam. *Women and Gender Perspectives in the Military: An International Comparison*, edited by Robert Egnell, Robert Egnell, Mayesha Alam and Mayesha Alam. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2019. P.29

⁹ Egnell, Robert and Mayesha Alam. *Women and Gender Perspectives in the Military: An International Comparison*, edited by Robert Egnell, Robert Egnell, Mayesha Alam and Mayesha Alam. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2019. P.259

¹⁰ North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). 2011. "How Can Gender Make a Difference to Security in Operations." NATO. Accessed April 4, 2023. https://www.nato.int/issues/women_nato/2011/1869-11%20Gender%20Brochure.pdf. P. 28

¹¹ Whitman, Tanya and Julia O'Neill. "Attention to Gender Increases Security in Operations: Examples from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)." *The Institute for Inclusive Security*, 2012. P.37

¹² Universal Declaration of Human Rights. G.A. res. 217A (III). U.N. Doc A/810 at 71 (1948). P.2

of occupations, including clerical work, communications, and vehicle maintenance, and the Women's Division of the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) allowed women to serve in the air force in a variety of roles, such as mechanics, drivers, and cooks. Although considered progressive at the time, this gender balancing approach did not allow for a full participation of women in the work force, nor did it attempt to create a culture that was inclusive or equitable.

In the 1970 Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, this landmark report highlighted the systemic discrimination faced by women in Canada and made recommendations on how to address it. Among the discriminatory laws identified in the report, pertaining to the military, the report highlighted that women were “in practice, restricted to certain low-level trades in the military, and those with children were released from service. They were not admitted to military colleges.”¹³ The report called for the full participation of women in all aspects of society, including in the military. As a result, “from 1974 onward, women were permitted to enlist in the RCMP and could enrol in military colleges after 1979.”¹⁴ The report also called for the elimination of discriminatory laws and practices that limit women's rights and opportunities. The report was influential in shaping Canada's policies and laws related to gender equality and paved the way for future initiatives to promote women's rights. Although this report identified and brought to light many of the legal barriers preventing Canadian women from joining the labour market, very little would be done to address the systemic and cultural barriers stemming from a male centric workforce.

The 1977 Canadian Human Rights Act was a significant legislative reform that prohibited discrimination on the basis of gender and other grounds in all areas of federal jurisdiction, including employment. The act established the Canadian Human Rights Commission, which has a mandate to investigate complaints of discrimination and to promote human rights in Canada. The act has been instrumental in promoting gender equality, and has been used to produce several landmark decisions in the Canadian Armed Forces. In a 1989 landmark women's rights case, *Brown v. Canadian Armed Forces*, “three women successfully challenged the Canadian Armed Forces policy of excluding women from certain roles, including combat. They argued that the differential treatment between women and men constituted discrimination on the basis of sex”¹⁵. The Canadian Human Rights Act was again instrumental in improving gender diversity in the 1992 precedent setting case *Haig v. Canada (Canadian Armed Forces)* whereby Captain Joshua Birch “launched a human rights complaint after being discharged from the Canadian Forces for disclosing he was gay. He successfully argued that the omission of sexual orientation from the Canadian Human Rights Act constituted discrimination under the equality rights guarantee.”¹⁶ As a result of this case, the CAF was found in violation of the Charter and was forced to immediately revoke all policies restricting homosexuality. Though incrementally progressive in removing bureaucratic barriers of entry, neither of these landmark cases would

¹³ 1970 Royal Commission on the Status of Women." History of Rights in Canada Encyclopedia. Accessed April 6, 2023. <https://historyofrights.ca/encyclopaedia/main-events/1970-royal-commission-status-women/>.

¹⁴ 1970 Royal Commission on the Status of Women." History of Rights in Canada Encyclopedia. Accessed April 6, 2023. <https://historyofrights.ca/encyclopaedia/main-events/1970-royal-commission-status-women/>.

¹⁵ The Canadian Encyclopedia. s.v. "Canadian Human Rights Act." Accessed April 6, 2023. <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/canadian-human-rights-act>

¹⁶ The Canadian Encyclopedia. s.v. "Canadian Human Rights Act." Accessed April 6, 2023. <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/canadian-human-rights-act>

address the hyper masculine culture identified in the Deschamps report, further denying full and equitable participation in the CAF.

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women adopted by the UN in 1979, is an international treaty that sets out the rights of women and calls for the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women. The convention “provides the basis for realizing equality between women and men through ensuring women’s equal access to, and equal opportunities in, political and public life including the right to vote and to stand for election as well as education, health and employment.”¹⁷ Canada ratified the convention in 1981 in principle, however it would take another 20 year before the Royal Canadian Navy lifted the CAF’s final restriction by opening up the submarine service to women on the 8th of March 2001.¹⁸ Although the convention was a critical tool for promoting gender equality in the CAF, and helped opened up many occupations in the forces, the 20 years it took to fully implement following Canada’s ratification was indicative of the CAF’s lackluster and reluctant desires to fully integrate women into the military workforce. This gender balancing approach sought to increase the number of women serving in the CAF by removing policy restrictions, however it did not result in any efforts to promote a gender diverse inclusive culture.

The 1995 Canadian Employment Equity Act was yet another piece of legislation intended to promote equal opportunities for women and other underrepresented groups in the workforce, including the military. The act required federal employers to take proactive measures to ensure that they were not discriminating against any group based on gender, race, ethnicity, or any other characteristic. The CAF became subject to the act in November of 2002 (a notable 7 years later), when “Employment Equity regulations were written to provide guidance to the Chief of Defence Staff in applying the Employment Equity Act to the CAF. Ever since, the CAF has striven to reflect the face of the Canadian population it serves. The first CAF EE plan was written in 2006”¹⁹ The act required employers to conduct employment equity reviews, establish goals and targets for representation, and take measures to eliminate barriers to employment for underrepresented groups. As required by the Act, the CAF Employment Equity representation goals were established at 25.1% for women, 3.4% for Aboriginal people, and 11.8% for visible minorities,²⁰ and were to be achieved by 2026. In 2010, representation stood at 14.8% for women, 2.1% for Aboriginal peoples, and 4.6% visible minorities²¹. As of 2020, representation stood at 16% for women, 2.8% for Aboriginal people, and 9.4% for visible minorities²². If we are willing to ignore that the target of 25.1% women is insultingly low, and representative of less than 50% of the representation of women in Canada, it quickly becomes evident that there remains no external accountability to follow the Employment Equity Act, and efforts to date

¹⁷ The United Nations. "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women." UN Women. Accessed April 6, 2023. <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/cedaw.htm>.

¹⁸ "Women in the Canadian Armed Forces." Canadian Armed Forces. Accessed April 6, 2023. <https://forces.ca/en/women-in-caf/>

¹⁹ "Canadian Forces Employment Equity Report 2010-2011" Government of Canada Publications. Accessed April 6, 2023. https://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2014/mdn-dnd/D3-31-2011-eng.pdf. P.2

²⁰ "Canadian Forces Employment Equity Report 2010-2011" Government of Canada Publications. Accessed April 6, 2023. https://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2014/mdn-dnd/D3-31-2011-eng.pdf. P.4

²¹ "Canadian Forces Employment Equity Report 2010-2011" Government of Canada Publications. Accessed April 6, 2023. https://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2014/mdn-dnd/D3-31-2011-eng.pdf. P.4

²² "Diversity in the Canadian Military: Culture or Just Numbers?" Canadian International Council. Accessed April 6, 2023. <https://iaffairscanada.com/diversity-in-the-canadian-military-culture-or-just-numbers/>.

have amounted to little more than rounding errors in the overall increase in representation in the CAF.

The CAF Employment Equity Regulations aimed to eliminate systemic discrimination and promote employment equity in the Canadian Forces. The regulations require the Chief of Defence Staff to “Conduct an analysis of the Canadian Forces workforce to determine for each military occupational group the number of positions held by women, aboriginal persons, persons who are members of visible minorities and persons with disabilities.”²³ In the event of an underrepresentation, the regulations require the CAF to “review the Canadian Forces employment systems, policies and practices to determine whether any of them is an employment barrier against persons in designated groups.”²⁴ These regulations required the CAF to collect and analyze data on the representation and to take proactive measures to address any underrepresentation. Although the analysis of data collected through this initiative represents a gender balanced perspective, the CAF Employment Equity regulations identifies a gender mainstreaming approach in its overall attempts to identify any employment barriers in under-represented designated groups.

Security Council Resolution 1325 was adopted by the United Nations in 2000 to recognize the critical role of women in peace and security processes. The security council resolution called for the full and equal participation of women in all efforts to maintain and promote peace and security, including in conflict prevention, conflict resolution, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding. This resolution also called for the protection of women's rights during and after armed conflicts and the prevention of gender-based violence. Canada has been a strong supporter of this resolution and as a result has promulgated the *CDS Directive for Integrating UNSCR 1325 and Related Resolutions into CAF Planning and Operations*²⁵ outlining four key pillars to promote its objectives. These key pillars include: prevention through the integration of gender diverse perspectives, active participation of gender diverse individuals, protection to promote safety and security of at risk populations, and relief and recovery to ensure equal access to humanitarian and developmental assistance of gender diverse individuals.²⁶ The CAF directive for integrating UNSCR 1325, also marked the first policy to acknowledge and include efforts to increase gender mainstreaming, rather than simply focusing on gender balance approaches to quantify gender diverse participation rates. By integrating gender diverse perspectives and leveraging gendered experiences, into conflict prevention and resolution strategies, gender mainstreaming served to leverage gender diverse experiences to increase perspectives and make better informed decisions. Through gender mainstreaming, the CAF could acknowledge and value the unique experiences and perspectives of gender diversity, and

²³ Government of Canada. "Canadian Forces Employment Equity Regulations. SOR/2002-421" Justice Laws Website. Accessed April 11, 2023. <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/regulations/SOR-2002-421/page-1.html>.

²⁴ Government of Canada. "Canadian Forces Employment Equity Regulations. SOR/2002-421" Justice Laws Website. Accessed April 11, 2023. <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/regulations/SOR-2002-421/page-1.html>.

²⁵ Government of Canada. "CDS Directive on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) on Women, Peace and Security." Canada.ca. Accessed April 11, 2023. <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/services/operations/military-operations/conduct/cds-directive-unscr-1325.html>.

²⁶ Government of Canada. "CDS Directive on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) on Women, Peace and Security." Canada.ca. Accessed April 11, 2023. <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/services/operations/military-operations/conduct/cds-directive-unscr-1325.html>.

work to reduce artificial barriers preventing the full and equal participation across all domains in the CAF.

Efforts of the CAF to Create a Gender Diverse Culture

In recent years, the CAF has been made aware, and acknowledged longstanding deficiencies in integrating gender diverse individuals, and has made positive advancements through more supportive approaches. In response to a number of reports and recommendations,²⁷ the CAF has implemented a range of initiatives aimed at creating a more inclusive and equitable workplace. Unlike many attempts in the past to increase the representation of women in the CAF through gender balanced initiatives such as simple recruiting metrics, more inclusive strategies intended to break down harmful cultural barriers to entry through a more gender mainstreaming approach are being implemented. The gender mainstreaming approach considers the “implications for men and for women of any planned action including legislation, policies or programs in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated.”²⁸ An excellent recent example in the CAF that was very well received are the changes made to the dress regulations. By removing all gendered language in the dress regulations, and being more permissive in terms of what is and is not deemed as acceptable appearances and self-reflections, the CAF has facilitated an environment that is not only culturally more inclusive, but is also more accepting of diverse gendered expressions. Though successful at breaking down barriers and creating more inclusive environments, a critique of gender mainstreaming is that it has often not had significant increase to gender diversity. A possible explanation for this can be found in numerous studies that “highlight the need for reaching a certain “critical mass” before women would have a substantial impact on organizations-especially when the existing culture is not only resistant but also contradictory in its masculine ideals.”²⁹ As a hyper masculine environment consisting of approximately 16% women, the CAF has arguably yet to reach a critical mass to have a significant effect on the recruitment of women.

As the CAF recognizes the importance of gender mainstreaming through the increase of gender diversity, the development of initiatives and policies to promote gender equality within the organization are increasingly being considered and developed through analytical tools. “In Canada, gender mainstreaming takes the form of GBA+. GBA+ is an analytical tool designed to help advance gender equality in Canada by assessing how diverse groups of women, men and non-binary people may experience policies, programs, and initiatives”³⁰ The implementation of the Canadian government's gender-based analysis plus (GBA+) initiative by the CAF necessitates the consideration of all types of oppression, including racism, homophobia, transphobia, and ableism, in the development of policies, programs, and support. For example,

²⁷ External Review Authority, Final Report. April 20, 2015. Accessed 24/04/23. <https://www.example.com/era-final-report-april-20-2015-eng.pdf>. P. ix-x

²⁸ Egnell, Robert and Mayesha Alam. “Women and Gender Perspectives in the Military: An International Comparison.” Georgetown University Press, 2019. P.29

²⁹ Egnell, Robert and Mayesha Alam. “Women and Gender Perspectives in the Military: An International Comparison.” Georgetown University Press, 2019. P.262

³⁰ Johnstone, Rachael and Bessma Momani. "Gender Mainstreaming in the Canadian Armed Forces and the Department of National Defence: Lessons on the Implementation of Gender-Based Analysis Plus (GBA+)." *Armed Forces & Society*, no. 1 (2020). P.252

the CAF has conducted gender analysis on its recruitment and retention policies to ensure that they are inclusive and accessible to individuals of all gender expressions. The CAF has also used a GBA+ approach in the development of its mental health programs to ensure that they are accessible and effective for individuals of all genders and identities. The use of gender-sensitive language and communication is important in promoting gender equality by recognizing and respecting the diverse experiences and identities of individuals. “The CAF are working on tailoring GBA+ guidelines to their own purposes, an effort led by its Gender Advisors (GENADs).”³¹ As a direct output of integrating GENADs, the CAF has implemented guidelines and training on the use of gender-sensitive language and communication to ensure that all members of the organization are using inclusive language and communication practices.

The implementation of GBA+ in the CAF from a cultural context is not without challenges. “The CAF is known to have a culture of militarized masculinity. Militarized masculinity relies on the valorization of a narrow range of hypermasculine traits, including courage and the capacity for violence, exemplified by the warrior ethos”³² As masculine characteristics continue to be idolized, “so too are feminine characteristics and behaviors devalued. Thus, becoming a soldier entails becoming a man, even if-especially if-the recruit is a woman.”³³ As an organization that is rooted in gendered distinctions, “female CAF members have described their experience of joining the military as “assimilation” rather than as integration, meaning that they had to conform to a male warrior culture of face professional and social exclusions.”³⁴ Fortunately as the study of gender perspectives matures, these unconscious character biases are being recognized and being directly challenged on their merits through analytical tools such as GBA+. As previously discussed, GBA+ has provided the analytics and justification required to help abolish any pre-conceived notions of what gender ought to look like. It was also foundational to the recently implemented removal of gendered perspectives in various dress and deportment policies pertaining to the wearing of uniforms and forms of personal expression such as hair and jewelry. The implementation of GBA+ has been a positive step forward for the CAF but does not represent an end state. It has begun to lay the ground work for a more inclusive and equitable approach to policy development, programming, and support by considering the intersecting impacts of various forms of oppression. As a result, the CAF is starting to better address the needs of its diverse workforce and help ensure that members feel valued and respected. The ongoing commitment to GBA+ will further strengthen the CAF's operational effectiveness and the well-being of its personnel.

Another key concept that has been integrated into the CAF's approach to diversity and inclusion is the recognition of how the impacts of intersectionality play a role in creating unique

³¹ von Hlatky, Stéfanie. "Chapter 4 – The Gender Perspective and Canada's Armed Forces: Internal and External Dimensions of Military Culture." In *Women and Gender Perspectives in the Military*, edited by Robert Egnell and Mayesha Alam. Georgetown University Press, 2019. P.81

³² Johnstone, Rachael and Bessma Momani. "Gender Mainstreaming in the Canadian Armed Forces and the Department of National Defence: Lessons on the Implementation of Gender-Based Analysis Plus (GBA+)." *Armed Forces & Society*, no. 1 (2020). P.255

³³ Johnstone, Rachael and Bessma Momani. "Gender Mainstreaming in the Canadian Armed Forces and the Department of National Defence: Lessons on the Implementation of Gender-Based Analysis Plus (GBA+)." *Armed Forces & Society*, no. 1 (2020). P.255

³⁴ Egnell, Robert and Mayesha Alam. “Women and Gender Perspectives in the Military: An International Comparison.” Georgetown University Press, 2019. P.77-78

experiences of discrimination. Intersectionality is a term that used to describe the cumulative impact of “social justice issues in such a way as to expose how social exclusion or privilege occurs differently in various social positions by focusing on the interaction of multiple systems of oppression.”³⁵ How these social identities intersect and interact with each other, creates complex and often unique experiences for individuals that must be considered in their aggregate rather than in isolation. The experience of a woman in the CAF, will be different from that of a biological male who identifies as a woman, will in turn be different than a racially marginalized women, that is again different from a woman who may also have a learning disability. The CAF has recognized that individuals from underrepresented groups may face barriers to accessing information about the organization and the opportunities it offers. To address this, the CAF has implemented a number of initiatives to reach out to diverse communities, including Indigenous peoples, women, and LGBTQ+ individuals. The CAF has partnered with community organizations to provide information about career opportunities, and has participated in events aimed at promoting diversity and inclusion. In addition to outreach efforts, the CAF has implemented policies and programs to create a more inclusive workplace for individuals with diverse identities.

An example of programs and policies the CAF uses to recognized the importance of intersectionality in increasing diversity, is through targeted recruitment and outreach efforts. The recently developed *Canadian Armed Forces Indigenous Entry Program (CAFIEP)* is an effort understand and address the unique cultural barriers and challenges associated within a specific group of marginalized individuals. The CAFIEP provides a three-week program exclusive to indigenous candidates considering a career in the CAF to gain first hand experience with military training, careers and lifestyle all with no requirement to sign a contract.³⁶ The indigenous community has traditionally lacked trust in government organizations, have different ideologies pertaining to seniority and leadership and due to the remoteness of many communities, have struggled with accessibility. As indigenous communities are typically closed and tight knit, this targeted approach directly reaches into indigenous communities to overcome accessibility issues, and provide a no obligations opportunity to experience CAF culture prior to making a more substantial commitment to becoming members of the CAF. By providing a condensed CAF cultural experience, it provides the CAF with an opportunity to showcase the new culture of inclusivity and provides indigenous candidates an opportunity to better understand how life in the CAF can be complimentary to their cultural beliefs, and hopefully dispel any pre-conceived beliefs of not being valued. Though not directly targeting gender diversity, by understanding and adapting to the cultural intersectionalities at play, the CAF can remove barriers to entry to increase access to all members of the indigenous community which is the largest growing segment³⁷ in Canada. This mutually beneficial opportunity not only helps with the underrepresentation of indigenous men, but also women, two spirited, and all gender diverse members of the historically marginalized community.

³⁵Romero, Maida. "Where Does Intersectionality Come From?." In *Introducing Intersectionality*, edited by Mary Romero, 1-15. New York: Routledge, 2017. P.9

³⁶Government of Canada. "CAF Indigenous Entry Program." Canadian Armed Forces. Accessed April 26, 2023. <https://forces.ca/en/programs-for-indigenous-peoples/cafiep/>.

³⁷ Statistics Canada. "Labour Force Survey, August 2022." *The Daily*, 21 Sept. 2022, <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/220921/dq220921a-eng.htm>. P.2

As the CAF continues to incrementally progress towards increasing its gender-based diversity, it must be understood that many external factors have been driving these changes, and if left to their own devices, would arguably not be progressing culture change initiatives with the vigor currently being experienced. Many of the recent changes are in response to external reports and recommendations that have highlighted failures in CAF culture related to gender diversity and inclusion in the military. The Deschamps Report, released in 2015, identified a number of systemic issues related to sexual harassment and discrimination in the military and provided a list of 10 recommendations.³⁸ Following the Deschamps Report, the CAF ushered in with great fanfare the rapid implementation of the Canadian Government's GBA+ program previously discussed. The CAF also implemented a number of recommendations from the report, including creating a Sexual Misconduct Response Centre and developing new training programs on harassment and discrimination. The CAF has also made changes to its policies and procedures related to reporting and investigating incidents of sexual misconduct. However, in a controversial move, the CDS at the time did not follow through with all recommendations and confirmed that investigations would remain within the current military justice system "apparently rejecting out of hand Deschamps's recommendation to allow victims to report to that independent center or have civilian police handle an entire investigation, if the victim chooses."³⁹ Although the implementation of several recommendations from the Deschamps Report contributed to some modest improvements in CAF culture, overall efforts and institutional credibility was stymied by the CAF's unwillingness to fully commit to the recommended changes such as relinquishing judicial oversight to civilian authorities to conduct investigations.

It is arguably this unwillingness to fully commit to changes that fostered perhaps a more muted if not veiled continuation of this discriminatory gendered behavior simmering across the CAF. The cultural cauldron would once more boil over in February of 2021 following allegations of inappropriate sexual conduct of the recently retired Chief of Defence staff. Giving confidence and agency to other victims, this event triggered a cascading effect that would see upwards of "13 Senior military officers – current – and former – have been sidelined, investigated or forced into retirement."⁴⁰ Those events significantly undermined the credibility and confidence of the senior most decision makers in the CAF, rallying cries for change that could no longer be ignored, suppressed, or placated. In response to those cries would be yet another external review. This time the report was conducted by former justice the Honourable Louise Arbour. As the report was being drafted, the CAF immediately began to take significant steps to address its deficiencies, acknowledging the requirement for a wholesale culture change. To do this, the CAF has established the Chief Professional Conduct and Culture (CPCC) organization, which is responsible for overseeing the implementation of cultural change initiatives and ensuring that they are effective. The Arbour Report, was finally released in May of 2022 and focused on the experiences of individuals who had reported sexual misconduct. Recommendations from this report include developing training programs to address unconscious bias, fostering a culture of respect and inclusion, and promoting accountability for

³⁸External Review Authority, Final Report. April 20, 2015. Accessed 24/04/23. <https://www.example.com/era-final-report-april-20-2015-eng.pdf>. P. ix-x

³⁹Cudmore, James. "Military's response to sexual misconduct report curtailed by general's orders." CBC News, May 11, 2015, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/military-s-response-to-sexual-misconduct-report-curtailed-by-general-s-orders-1.3071386>.

⁴⁰ CBC News. "Sexual misconduct in military linked to 'toxic' senior leaders, says damning report." October 29, 2021. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/sexual-misconduct-military-senior-leaders-dnd-caf-1.6218683>.

inappropriate behavior. What differentiates this report, from other reports and initiatives, and what is perhaps a beacon of optimism lies in the acceptance of the recommendations and acknowledgement that “as challenging as it is, this organization must demonstrate enough humility to accept external help and open itself to the outside world.”⁴¹ As of December 2021, “all military Police investigations into allegations of criminal offences of a sexual nature are to be processed through the civilian courts.”⁴² Although too early in the process to declare any wholesale success, optimistically, there now appears to be a more general understanding and acknowledgement of the harmful effects of the insidious cultural behaviours in relation to gender that have festered at the core of the CAF for generations. With great optimism, this cultural revelation will accelerate the pace with which the CAF erodes gender-based discrimination and increase the overall gender diversity present the CAF. Through greater gender-based diversity, and better representation of Canadian society, the CAF can more professionally address the security environment challenges of today as well as of the future.

CONCLUSION

The integration of women and gender diverse individuals into the CAF is a slow and ongoing process that requires continuous effort from both internal and external agents of change. Despite multiple setbacks eroding the trust and confidence in the CAF, the CAF remains committed to cultivating an inclusive and respectful work environment that embodies the ethical principles and core values of the profession of arms. As discussed in this paper, studies have shown a possible explanation for the CAF’s slow progression of increasing gender diversity may be a result of not yet having reached a critical mass whereby gender diverse individuals will start to have a significant impact on policies and culture.⁴³ It is not yet known if the CAF has yet reached this threshold, or even what that threshold would be. Further studies and analysis on this topic would need to be done. This paper has sought to understand the actions taken by the CAF to integrate women and gender diverse individuals into the military by exploring the approaches taken to increase the representation of women in the military and the more recent efforts to create a more favorable culture for all gender diverse individuals. Through such efforts, the CAF will continue to make progress towards creating a more diverse, inclusive, and respectful military that reflects the values of all Canadians.

⁴¹ Government of Canada. “Report of the Independent External Comprehensive Review.” Ottawa: Government of Canada, 2020. <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/report-of-the-independent-external-comprehensive-review.html>. P.1

⁴² Government of Canada. "Directive for Implementation of Recommendation 12 of the Independent External Comprehensive Review." Governance and Military Justice. Ottawa: Government of Canada, December 2022. <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/proactive-disclosure/nddn-arbour-recommendation-12-dec-2022/governance-and-military-justice.html>.

⁴³ Egnell, Robert and Mayesha Alam. “Women and Gender Perspectives in the Military: An International Comparison.” Georgetown University Press, 2019. P.262

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