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Gender and the Canadian Armed Forces

The cover of Issue 41.2 shows *Figurative Camo* by Jessica Lynn Wiebe. The painting expresses the human condition and the many ways we grapple, physically and emotionally, with external forces that we face on a daily basis. This painting directly references a variety of Brazilian Jiu Jitsu techniques that are used to create a figurative repeat pattern. The pattern repeats across the painted surface and is further broken down using shape and colour to disrupt and camouflage the repeat pattern.

Jessica Lynn Wiebe is an interdisciplinary artist and a former artillery soldier in the Canadian military whose body of work centres on reflections of militarism, military life, memory, and commemoration. Her interdisciplinary approach investigates the mechanisms of war, including the complex politics around gender, economy, architecture of war, and the human condition. By engaging and challenging deeply-held beliefs and emotions about the military and war, her work generates dialogue among members of the public, government, and those who serve. Jessica was born and raised in Brandon, MB, and currently practices in K'jipuktuk/Halifax, NS. Wiebe participated in the Canadian Forces Artist Program (CFAP) 2018–2019 through the Canadian War Museum (CWM) in Ottawa.

www.jessicalynnwiebe.com

Gender and the Canadian Armed Forces: Does Change Mean Feminist Progress?

Maya Eichler holds the Canada Research Chair in Social Innovation and Community Engagement and is an associate professor in Political and Canadian Studies and Women's Studies at Mount Saint Vincent University. She is the author of *Militarizing Men: Gender, Conscription, and War in Post-Soviet Russia* (Stanford University Press 2012) and the editor of *Gender and Private Security in Global Politics* (Oxford University Press 2015). Her current research focuses on gender integration and sexual violence in the Canadian Armed Forces, military-to-civilian transitions, and community stories of war and peace. Her articles have appeared in *Critical Military Studies*, *Études internationales*, *Armed Forces and Society*, *Critical Studies on Security*, *Citizenship Studies*, *International Journal*, *Military Behavioral Health*, and *The Journal of Military, Veteran and Family Health*. She is currently the GBA+ Convenor for the DND-MINDS funded Defence and Security Foresight Group.

Abstract: An introduction to the special issue *Gender and the Canadian Armed Forces: Does Change Mean Feminist Progress?* It situates the special issue within the significant gendered changes that have occurred within the Canadian Armed Forces over the past two decades. The introduction highlights the importance of continued feminist critique of, and engagement with, the military to achieve feminist progress.

Keywords: Canadian Armed Forces, change, gender, feminism, military, women

Militaries are an important site for feminist investigation because they are one of society's key institutions of gendered power. Militaries privilege and empower men and masculinities, reinforce gendered protection myths, and perpetuate discrimination and violence against women. Militaries also claim a large part of societal resources—resources that could be directed towards non-militarized security concerns that disproportionately impact women's lives, such as human and food security. While some feminists emphasize the importance of military service to women's full citizenship, most feminists are critical of, if not opposed to, militaries and militarism, seeing the end to war and militarism as part of broader feminist struggles for change. But in the early twenty-first century, feminists in Canada and globally need to grapple with a new reality—one in which states wage wars in the name of protecting women's rights, foreign policies are declared to be feminist, and militaries themselves are actively recruiting women and integrating gender perspectives into planning and operations (Eichler 2020).

Twenty years ago, *Atlantis* published a special collection of articles dedicated to feminist analyses of the military. "Women and the Canadian Military" (Gouliquer 2001) highlighted the many ways in which women had contributed to the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF), even as discriminatory policies and gender norms had limited their ability to participate. That special collection included articles on women's roles as soldiers and as partners of servicemen and servicewomen. With the current special issue presented here, we revisit the topic of women's involvement in the Canadian military by examining recent changes within militaries and in feminist scholarship on militaries.

Changing Context

Much has changed within the CAF over the past twenty years, and it is therefore an opportune time to reconsider questions of feminist progress in relation to the Canadian military. Three distinct shifts have taken place that inform the contributions of this special issue. The *first* is the war in Afghanistan (2001-2014), the longest military engagement in Canadian history. The CAF opened combat occupations to women in 1989 as a result of a Human Rights Tribunal Decision, but it was Canada's more than decade-long military deployments to Afghanistan that changed the public's perception of women's role in war. With ten percent of deployed troops being women, Canada's war in Afghanistan led to a greater recognition of the contributions of servicewomen. The war brought the first death of a female combat soldier in Canadian history. But the death of Captain Nichola Goddard also highlighted the continuing unease in Canada's relationship to its servicewomen. Media reporting oscillated between contradictory portrayals of a military in which gender no longer mattered and a military that was eager to emphasize the apparent utility of military women in counter-insurgency warfare (Chapman and Eichler 2014). The war in Afghanistan also stood out as one of the first in Canadian history that was justified on the basis of protecting and promoting women's rights, a common gendered justification put forward in the Global War on Terror (see Hunt and Rygiel 2006).

The *second* significant shift we have seen in Canada is the military's public acknowledgement of military sexual violence as a systemic problem. While media reports had drawn attention to sexual harassment and sexual assault in the military since the 1990s, it was only in 2014—in response to another series of media reports—that the Chief of Defence staff ordered an external review into the matter. The *External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the CAF*, known as the Deschamps Report and referenced in several of the contributions in this special issue, was released in 2015. It found that the military had a sexualized culture hostile towards female and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer/questioning members (Deschamps 2015). The first external survey on sexual misconduct in the CAF was conducted in 2016 by Statistics Canada and confirmed the findings of the Deschamps Report. That survey found that four in five military members had reported "seeing, hearing or experiencing inappropriate sexual or discriminatory behaviour" in their workplace during the previous 12 months, and that more than one in four women in the Regular Force and close to one in three women in the Reserves have experienced sexual assault during their military service (Cotter 2016, 25). In response to the Deschamps Report, the military embarked on Operation HONOUR, a mission aimed at ending sexual misconduct in the CAF. Despite these efforts, the military continues to struggle with finding an effective way to address military sexual violence (Eichler 2019). Operation HONOUR has been recently reframed as an ongoing and long-term culture change strategy in recognition of its limited success so far (National Defence and CAF 2020).

The *final* notable shift has been the passage of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in 2000. Referred to as the Women, Peace and Security agenda, this resolution, together with its nine follow-up resolutions, deals with a host of issues related to the protection of women and girls during armed conflict and their participation in peacekeeping, conflict resolution, the prevention of conflict, and post-conflict recovery. As one of the non-permanent members of the United Nations Security Council at the time, Canada was at the forefront of global efforts to adopt UNSCR 1325 but was slow in its own implementation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda over the following decade. This trend was reversed under the first Trudeau government. In early 2017, the Chief of Defence Staff passed a directive that follows through on Canada's international commitments to gender mainstream its defence policy through UNSCR 1325 and its follow-up resolutions. The directive commits the military to apply a gender perspective and gender-based analysis "plus" (GBA+) to all CAF planning and operations (Chief of Defence Staff 2016a). As a result of this directive, most Department of National Defence (DND) employees and CAF members have

completed GBA+ online training through the Department of Women and Gender Equality. The CAF has also established three Gender Advisor positions, has committed to having Gender Advisors on all military operations, and has created a Directorate for Integration of Gender Perspectives that works jointly with the DND Directorate for Gender, Diversity, and Inclusion (Eichler 2020).

The three shifts described here highlight some of the key changes we have seen in the CAF over the past two decades. They have taken place within the context of other noteworthy changes such as Canada's adoption of a feminist foreign policy (Woroniuk 2020), the implementation of a new defence policy that explicitly includes gender concerns (National Defence and CAF 2017), and many other initiatives such as the development of a CAF Diversity Strategy (Chief of Defence Staff 2016b). The last decade has also been one of immensely strong activism from current and former military members challenging the military's gender culture. Two class action law suits were settled in 2018 and 2019: the LGBT Purge Class Action and the CAF-DND Sexual Misconduct Class Action. Many of the significant changes we have seen within the CAF over the past few years would not have happened without the pressure of this legal activism.

Contributions to this Special Issue

What do these changes mean for feminist progress? What is their transformational potential? Does the increasing recognition of women, acknowledgement of military sexual violence, and adoption of gender perspectives by the Canadian military indicate feminist progress or a co-optation of women and feminism? These are the questions this special issue of *Atlantis* tackles. In doing so, the contributors take up the challenge put forward by British scholars Claire Duncanson and Rachel Woodward (2016). In their 2016 article "Regendering the Military: Theorizing Women's Military Participation," they argued that we need to consider and pay attention to the possibilities of transforming military institutions—both their masculinized ideals of soldiering and their primary purpose as agents of violence. They cautioned against assuming that militaries are necessarily and deterministically hypermasculine and violent.

This special issue showcases critical, feminist-informed research on the CAF by five emerging scholars. The first two contributions, by Victoria Tait and Vanessa Brown respectively, most directly engage with the argument put forward by Duncanson and Woodward (2016). Both Tait and Brown find that there are tentative signs of a regendering of the CAF, while both offer cautionary notes about its present limitations.

Tait's article, "Regendering the Canadian Armed Forces," examines how Canadian military personnel think about recent initiatives aimed at changing the military's gender culture—in particular the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and the use of Gender Advisors on deployments. Based on interviews with military personnel, Tait finds that servicemen's attitudes towards women and other military minority populations are changing for the better, while servicewomen themselves are more willing to embrace attributes stereotypically associated with femininity (and historically devalued in militaries) and champion the use of gender perspectives. Tait cautions us, though, that the results presented in her article may not reflect the CAF as a whole and that changing attitudes also run the risk of being framed in ways that construct Canada as more progressive and "civilized" compared to other countries, thus reproducing a racialized global hierarchy of states.

Brown's article, "Locating Feminist Progress in Professional Military Education," similarly finds seeds of change in the military's gender culture, but locates these in the introduction of feminist ideas into Professional Military Education. Based on interviews with officer students as well as teaching and other support staff in the Joint Command and Staff Programme at Canadian Forces College, Brown shows that Professional Military Education can be a mechanism through which Canadian military personnel achieve greater awareness and understanding about intersectional social inequalities within and beyond the military. Yet Brown also notes that, in their current form, initiatives to integrate gender perspectives and GBA+

in training and education are likely not sufficient to create culture change within the military. Significantly, though, she argues that feminist change within militaries can happen and that feminists should continue to engage with militaries.

The next three contributions, by Tammy George, Leigh Spanner, and Walter Callaghan, offer critical assessments of how far the CAF has come in terms of transformational change. George's article, "Troubling Diversity and Inclusion: Racialized Women's Experiences in the Canadian Armed Forces," outlines recent diversity and inclusion initiatives in the CAF and juxtaposes these initiatives with the lived experience of racialized women who have served in the military. As George shows through analysis of interview transcripts, the experiences of racialized servicewomen demonstrate the limits of current military diversity and inclusion initiatives and their neoliberal logic of governing racialized minority subjects. George warns that these initiatives create illusions of progress instead of meaningful change, and leave the work of inclusion up to individual racialized servicewomen rather than challenging the integral place of racism, sexism, heteronormativity, homophobia, and other intersecting forms of power in military culture.

In "The Strength Behind the Uniform: Acknowledging the Contributions of Military Families or Coopting Women's Labour?" Spanner details the changes to family policies and support services over the past two decades and the shift in the military's position from taking for granted spousal support to explicitly acknowledging it. But this shift, she argues, is informed by neoliberal ideas of self-reliance, resilience, and independence and a heteropatriarchal division of labour in support of the operational goals of the military. Military spouses, the majority of whom are civilian women, are instructed on how to care for an ill and injured spouse, ensure intimacy in their military marriage, and pursue personal growth in the midst of the demands of military life. In a similar vein to George's contribution, Spanner's article concludes that the military's explicit acknowledgement of the indispensable role of the military family cannot be read as a sign of feminist progress as it has, in fact, exacerbated the exploitation of today's military spouses.

Callaghan's article takes a critical look at the CAF's response to sexual misconduct in its ranks. As a veteran, veteran advocate, and ally to survivors of military sexual trauma, Callaghan is deeply embedded in the community he studies. He takes aim at the military's framing of the problem of military sexual misconduct, insisting that the military pay more attention to how servicemembers' reactions and responses to this problem are embedded in the military's sexist culture. Utilizing an existing taxonomy of sexism, he explores three archetypes of behaviour he has observed in his ethnographic research with veterans: (1) potential allyship with victims/survivors, (2) wilful blindness to the prevalence and harms of military sexual misconduct, and (3) a toxic and misogynistic response that denies the problem and blames victims/survivors. He concludes that in order to address sexual misconduct, the military will have to address the fact that toxic and wilfully blind responses towards instances of sexual misconduct are embedded within its culture and intimately linked to the self-perceptions and identities of military members.

The special issue is rounded off by a short story and a film review by established feminist scholars, some of whom have themselves served in the military. In "Khaki and Emerald Green," Nancy Taber tells the fictional story of Ruth, who serves in the CAF. Taber weaves together the many threads of her protagonist's life: her deployment to Afghanistan, her experience of military sexual trauma, and her role as a parent and military spouse. The story invites the reader to share in Ruth's pride, her disappointment and sense of institutional betrayal, and her search for closure and healing. Connecting with the story of another female impacted by war and militarization—a girl in the Ugandan civil war—brings Ruth one step closer to being able to share her own story publically.

The final piece is a review of *The Fruit Machine* by Lynne Gouliquer, Carmen Poulin, and the Psycho-Social Ethnography of the Common Place (P-SEC) Research Group at the University of New Brunswick. Directed by Sarah Fodey, *The Fruit Machine* is a

groundbreaking documentary of Canada's LGBT Purge. The LGBT Purge was a decades-long government campaign, running from the 1950s to the early 1990s, that aimed to identify, investigate, harass, and remove "homosexuals" from the Canadian public service. While the authors of our review acknowledge the significant contribution of *The Fruit Machine* in making visible this part of Canadian history, they also offer critical reflection. They suggest, for example, that the documentary could have done more to connect the Purge campaign and the experiences of gender and sexual minorities in the military to an analysis of a military culture rooted in sexual violence, heteronormativity, femmenegativity, and hegemonic masculinity.

The cover image of this special issue has been contributed by Jessica Lynn Wiebe (see www.jessicalynnwiebe.com). Wiebe is a Canadian veteran who served in Afghanistan in 2008. After leaving the military, she embarked on a fine arts programme and graduated from the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design. She uses interdisciplinary art forms—including storytelling, performance, and painting—to make sense of her military experiences and the gendered politics of war and conflict more broadly. Creating dialogue between military and civilian actors, and challenging the worldviews of both, are central to her practice as an artist, and also reflect what we hope to achieve with this issue of *Atlantis*.

This special issue includes the voices of CAF servicemembers and veterans—both through the qualitative research presented and the perspectives of those contributors who are themselves former military members. This speaks to the feminist conviction that we must hear the voices of those most affected by, and embedded within, the world we seek to understand and change. Today's feminist scholarship goes beyond earlier feminist debates that were polarized between advocating for women's "right to fight" and opposing women's co-optation into militarism. Today's generation of feminist scholars is engaged in the daunting task of critiquing, and even opposing, militaries while also engaging with them more deeply than ever. This puts us in a precarious position. But only through feminist engagement with the military—by feminists inside and beyond the military—is there hope that the many changes we have seen over the past decades will lead to feminist progress.

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Regendering the Canadian Armed Forces

Victoria Tait is a PhD candidate in the Political Science Department at Carleton University (Ottawa). Her research focuses on feminist security studies, and her dissertation examines how Women, Peace and Security policy has been framed and implemented within the Canadian Armed Forces. She works directly with Canadian soldiers to identify challenges in the military's gender culture(s) while creating space for female-identifying soldiers to shape the academic and political narrative of their experience. Victoria's work has appeared in the Canadian Defence Academy Press, Springer Publishing, Sage Research Methods Cases, and *SITREP: The Journal of the Royal Canadian Military Institute*. She has held doctoral grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, Ontario Graduate Scholarship Program, and has been awarded the Women in International Defence Memorial Scholarship (2016) and the Franklin Pinch Award for Best Graduate Student Paper at the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society Canada (2018).

Abstract: Although feminist scholars agree that there exists a systemic relationship between masculinity and militarism, the exact contours of that relationship are debatable. Most feminists argue that as a primary goal, the women's movement ought to seek approaches for the abolition of militarism, rather than using women's participation in the military as a means of enhancing gender equality. Despite admonitions about the dangers of pursuing gender equality through military service, feminists must also weigh these concerns against women's advances within the military and the use of the military in peacekeeping and humanitarian operations, both of which are essential to the Women, Peace and Security agenda. This article therefore turns a critical feminist lens on theories of military regendering. I explore whether military organizations that have traditionally valorized militarized masculinity can be transformed—both at an individual and systemic level—to embrace an egalitarian iteration of masculinity and contribute to a more peaceable international system. To examine the possibility of re-gendering in the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF), I review 17 interviews that I conducted with members of the CAF from 2017-2018 using theories of military regendering. My analysis indicates that servicemembers are engaging in critical examination of the military's gender culture, and their position within that culture. By critically engaging with questions about the relationship between gender and militarism, military personnel may be participating in the incremental—and fragile—process of improving the gender culture of the CAF.

Keywords: Canadian Armed Forces, feminist, gender, military

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United Nations (UN) Security Council resolution 1325 (2000), which initiated the global Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda, has been adopted into National Action Plans in 86 UN member states (Peacewomen.org 2020) as well as in international organizations like the UN and NATO (Davies and True 2018). The WPS agenda can be distilled into two key areas of focus: the importance and enhancement of women's participation in international processes of peace and security, with a particular emphasis on women's roles in the prevention and cessation of violent conflict, and the recognition and remediation of the inordinate impact of conflict on women and children (United States Institute of Peace 2020). Although it would be incorrect to essentialize all women as inherent peacemakers, a flaw that several prominent scholars argue is embedded in discussions on the WPS agenda (El-Bushra 2007; Shepherd 2011), women's antiwar movements have provided a vital source of labour, organization, and thought toward the advancement of a more peaceable international order (Etchart 2015). The WPS agenda is rooted in decades of women's peace activism; from the founding of the International Council of Women in 1888 to the work of the United Nations Working Group on Women, Peace and Security today, women's antiwar activism has served as an organizational backbone for the peace movement (Ibid.). This activism is undergirded by a vast body of academic research, which has demonstrated that women and children suffer the deleterious effects of conflict in ways that differ from the experiences of men (see Davies and True 2018; Lorentzen and Turpin 1998). Although feminist security scholars agree that there exists a systemic relationship between masculinity and militarism, the exact contours of that relationship—and possibilities for change—are debatable (Duncanson 2009; Duncanson and Woodward 2016; Higate 2007; Sjoberg and Via 2010). Most feminists argue that as a primary goal, the women's movement ought to seek approaches for the eradication of militarism, rather than using women's military participation as a channel for enhancing gender equality (see Cockburn 2010; Frazer and Hutchings 2014; Peach 1997).

Despite admonitions about the dangers of pursuing gender equality through militarist channels, there is a growing awareness that feminists must take seriously the changes to the international security environment following the end of the Cold War (Duncanson 2009; Duncanson and Woodward 2016). After the collapse of the Soviet Union (1991), instances of interstate warfare declined, while nation-building processes amongst former Soviet satellite states prompted an upsurge in violent civil wars, many of which ended in brutal genocides (Mann 2018). The increase in civil war has been met with widespread agreement amongst UN member states that if a state cannot protect its people from genocide, the international community has a responsibility to protect the people of the affected state, through military intervention if necessary (United Nations 2005). Modern humanitarian interventions and peacekeeping operations are therefore reliant on national armed forces to provide security, enforce peace mandates, and distribute goods and resources. These requirements, alongside an increase in servicewomen in the member states of NATO forces, have prompted several scholars to re-engage with the military to discern if national and coalition forces can be relied upon as credible sources of security and, ultimately, peace (Bastick and Duncanson 2018; Duncanson 2015).

The question of whether militaries are capable of advancing peace is indeed difficult and multifaceted. Many militaries entrusted with peacekeeping duties are themselves guilty of employing troops that have committed human rights abuses; though disagreement remains about the degree to which the guilt for these abuses lay in the military in a systemic sense, or with the soldier(s) involved. Feminist security scholars see the issue of human rights abuses during warfare—and warfare itself—as *systemic* issues; these abuses are imbricated in the militarized international system itself (Cockburn 2011; Eichler 2014; Enloe 2014, 2014; Sjoberg 2013; Sjoberg and Via 2010; Whitworth 2004). From this perspective, war crimes are rooted in the larger historical trajectory of patriarchy; an inegalitarian gender order that ensures the dominance of men and the subservience of women through socio-historically contextual gender norms. Within this system, gender norms surrounding masculinity have been reinforced by the practices and discourse of militarism.

Maya Eichler (2014) further defines the process of militarizing masculinity as one in which, "what it means to be a man in a particular time and place becomes closely tied to the military—militarism and masculinity reinforce each other," and together, subordinate women and femininity in domestic and global systems of power (Eichler 2014, 83). For example, within North American society during WWII, military service was seen as a source of authentication of men's strength, bravery, and patriotism while men who did not enlist were chastised through jeers designed to emphasize their fragility and passivity; qualities only deemed acceptable in women (Canaday 2003; see also Bulmer and Eichler 2017; Eichler 2014; Nagel 1998). Historical processes like these are believed to have created and sustained "the gendered dichotomies that are instrumental in the persistence of violence, such as the association of combat with masculinity and peace with femininity" (Duncanson and Woodward 2016, 7). Within this view of the military, relying on the armed forces to assist in the pursuit of a more egalitarian, peaceable international order may seem an unlikely approach.

As unlikely a vehicle as the military is for advancing peace, Canadian feminist scholars would be remiss not to explore possibilities for change in the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF), particularly as women continue to be targeted in modern recruitment efforts by the organization (Berthiaume 2020). This article therefore turns a critical feminist lens on theories of military regendering; I explore whether military organizations that have traditionally valorized militarized masculinity, like the CAF, can be transformed—both at an individual and systemic level—to embrace an egalitarian iteration of masculinity and the creation of a more peaceable international system (Bastick and Duncanson 2018; Duncanson 2009, 2015). This is a particularly salient debate in the Canadian context, as the CAF has been repeatedly exposed by news media and reprimanded by civilian politicians and the Canadian public for the persistence of sexual misconduct within its ranks; it is now re-evaluating its culture in an effort to eliminate sexual misconduct (Connolly 2020; Deschamps 2015; O'Hara 1998; Statistics Canada 2018). Therefore, the culture of the CAF, and its gender culture in particular, are of key interest to Canadian policy makers. My contribution to this special issue ends on a hopeful note. My research demonstrates that the CAF is at a critical juncture in the process of identifying and dismantling the hegemony of masculinity premised on violence and domination. This stage is what Claire Duncanson (2015), drawing on R.W. Connell's works (1995, 2002a, 2002b, 2005; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005) refers to as a "transitional" stage in the "re-gendering" of hegemonic masculinity, a stage where "hegemonic masculinity shifts to adopt traits, practices, and values that are conventionally associated with femininity" (Duncanson 2015, 241). It is through this "softening" of hegemonic masculinity that more egalitarian iterations of what it means to be a servicemember can begin to take hold.

To examine the possibility of regendering in the CAF, I critically examine 17 interviews that I conducted with members of the CAF in late 2017 through 2018 using theories of military regendering introduced by Claire Duncanson, Rachel Woodward, and Megan Bastick (see Bastick and Duncanson 2018; Duncanson 2009; Duncanson 2015; Duncanson and Woodward 2016). In doing so, I am responding to Duncanson and Woodward's (2016) call for increased research on "military personnel's self-understandings in terms of both their gendered subjectivities and their position within gendered organizations" (14). My analysis indicates that servicemembers are engaging in critical examination of the military's gender culture, and their position within that culture.[1] More broadly, servicemembers recognize that diverse gender experiences are valuable within the CAF, and that hypermasculine performances of masculinity can be detrimental to the goals of the organization. By critically engaging with questions about the relationship between gender and militarism, military personnel may be participating in the incremental—and fragile—process of transforming the gender culture of the military (Duncanson and Woodward 2016, 12). The question remains however: will this transitional period lead to the erosion of violent masculinity within the gender culture of the CAF? Or will it simply shift to a more insidious variant, better adapted to achieving militaristic goals by using the language of modern liberal democracy? While it is too

early to assess the end results of this process, I argue that feminists' sustained engagement with the CAF has produced positive change within the culture of the military, and that continued engagement will remain essential to secure progress. I place the discussion of regendering the CAF in conversation with feminist and post-colonial critiques, as discussed in the following section. I close with some suggestions on how we might anticipate the outcome of this shift.

Masculinities and the Combat Masculine Warrior Paradigm: A Canadian Perspective

Theories of military regendering have emerged in the context of changes in the operational scope of NATO missions and the composition of NATO forces, including the CAF. The priorities and composition of NATO forces have changed considerably since the end of the Cold War; as of 2018, women represented 25% of NATO's senior management (NATO 2018). Though deterrence remains a key concern, a new emphasis has been placed on counterinsurgency and stabilization operations, and therefore closer collaboration with local people in the nations where NATO and UN troops are stationed. Duncanson (2015) argues that we can begin to see how changing military demographics in combination with a shifting security paradigm are disrupting masculinist norms. This shift has driven an increased emphasis on the importance of consensus, peacebuilding, and cooperation, which requires that soldiers exercise traits and capabilities that have been traditionally regarded as feminine (Ibid., 235, 241; see also Duncanson 2009). Furthermore, these changes are complemented by the diversifying composition of many NATO forces; all treaty members have now opened combat positions to female personnel (Duncanson 2015, 238). Amidst these changes, Duncanson highlights new socio-historical conditions that could undermine the hegemonic masculinities within the military that are premised on violence and domination. Building on Connell's collected works, Duncanson suggests that the two-stage process through which we can begin to see this transformation in military gender culture is: (a) the transitory stage where "the hegemonic masculinity shifts to adopt traits, practices and values which are conventionally associated with femininity" and (b) a "disposition towards equality and democracy" emerges among genders. Thus, change must be measured not just in change towards the practices associated with masculinity, but in the relational interactions between genders and within gender groupings (241). Similarly, Georgina Waylen and Louise Chappell (2013) refer to these transitional periods as crisis tendencies within masculinized institutions, wherein the "inherent instability and internal contradictions" of masculinity render the institution vulnerable to feminist pressures to transform its gendered nature (603).

In "Hegemonic Masculinity and the Possibility of Change" Duncanson (2015) conducts a comprehensive review of existing literature on militarized masculinities, with a particular focus on Connell's seminal work on hegemonic masculinity. Duncanson's literature review emphasises the hegemony of a "combat-oriented masculinity" within North American and European militaries, characterized by violence, domination, and "heterosexual prowess"; she suggests that this iteration of masculinity has been "linked to violence against women by soldiers, including the use of rape as a weapon of war, domestic violence, and sexual exploitation of women on peacekeeping operations" (Ibid., 235). Hegemonic masculinity in this instance works to transcend the ethnic and class-based divisions that permeate the culture of military personnel in order to coalesce around a shared ideal warrior type, ultimately fusing the social construction of masculinity with bellicosity and femininity with "weakness and passivity" (Ibid.). This creates an environment wherein team cohesion is premised on adherence to aggressive and violent iterations of masculine identity. This is not to suggest that masculinity is somehow inherently bad, rather that in order to achieve hegemony over other expressions of gender, hegemonic masculinity has adopted traits we might consider toxic, such as belligerence and hostility (Cockburn 2011; Eichler 2014; Hinojosa 2010; Sjoberg 2009; Whitworth 2004). Sandra Whitworth (2005) argues that these qualities can become wedded to masculinity through processes of military indoctrination; "qualities demanded by militaries, such as the requisite lust for violence when needed and a corresponding willingness to subordinate oneself to

hierarchy…must be self-consciously cultivated…[as] few new male recruits arrive as ready-made soldiers" (99). Accordingly, new recruits must become assimilated into a socio-historically specific iteration of masculine culture that reshapes civilian inclinations and teaches military personnel to serve (and kill) at the behest of the state. Traditionally, these conditions promote bellicose iterations of masculinity while femininities and subordinate masculinities are de-valorized (Peterson 2007, 10).

Theories of hegemonic masculinity emphasize that although gender norms are socially constructed, gender performances will be judged against a standard or ideal of masculinity that has become hegemonic within a given socio-historical moment. Accordingly, someone in a body coded as male may not meet masculine ideals; they may fail to meet these socially constructed standards, or they may disregard them of their own volition. Likewise, someone in a body coded as female may not perform in ways that are considered feminine, or they may fail in their attempt to live up to the standards of idealized masculinity in the case of military service. For example, a 2003 study on female leadership in the CAF combat arms found that four of the eight female leaders interviewed warned against adopting traditionally feminine roles and attributes, arguing "you do have to have a certain degree of, kind of non-sexuality about you…as a leader in the combat arms, you don't want men to think a certain way, you cannot dress like that when you go to a military social function" (Febbraro 2007, 111). These gender performances are seen not simply as subordinate to masculinity but are capable of "contaminating" it as in the case of "pariah femininities" (Schippers 2007, 95). Pariah femininities, like that of the "lesbian" or "slut" for example, are seen to distort the idealized relationship between aggressive men and passive women and are subject to particularly stringent stigmatization and punishment (Ibid.). Mimi Schippers' work emphasizes that although many gender identities exist across the gender spectrum, only certain gender performances will be rewarded, while others receive punishment from the dominant gender culture.

As feminist security scholars now realize, women's security and labour are both profoundly degraded in humanitarian crises and during periods of conflict (see *Report of the Secretary General on Women, Peace and Security* 2019). As a result, practices of militarized masculinity perpetuate a violent, inegalitarian gender order through systems of state-sanctioned belligerence, while feminized persons and institutions are marginalized. I argue that these gender norms are not inexorable, and that hegemonic masculinity can be weakened, though the process is difficult to initiate and it is certainly not immune to regression. Similarly, Duncanson and Woodward (2016) reject deterministic arguments that militaries must necessarily remain bastions of militarized masculinity, and instead suggest that seemingly small changes in military culture (for example in personnel, or in operational approaches) can, over time, produce radical transformations in gender culture. As they explain:

> A re-gendered soldier assumes a peacebuilder identity that is equally open to women and men, that equally values "masculine" and "feminine" traits, so much that they cease to become masculine and feminine…. In such a military, soldiering is not a masculine identity, but becomes much more fluid, and is constructed through relations of equality, empathy, care, respect and recognition of similarities and shared experiences. (Ibid., 12)

The authors recognize the value of hegemonic masculinity theory but reject the pessimistic determinism inherent in how Connell's work has been interpreted; as feminists we must continue to explore—through theory and empirical research—how violent iterations of hegemonic masculinity "may fail" (Duncanson 2015, 232). Importantly, Duncanson's approach allows for a theorization around the dominance of masculinity in the ritual, history, and practice of the CAF without rendering invisible servicewomen's work to transform the institution (see also Davis 2007, vii-xiv).

Although I argue below that the CAF has entered a transitional period in the erosion of masculinity wherein the viewpoints of servicemembers have be-

come more open to gender performances traditionally considered feminine, it is important to take stock of the challenge that lies ahead for the organization. As Matthew Hurley (2018) notes in an analogous study with two NATO military men, gender norms are being renegotiated "through mutual respect, empathy and interdependence," but at this stage they are "embryonic, not hegemonic" (87). Therefore, the changes to the CAF's gender culture detailed in this article are promising but are by no means immune to relapse into the kinds of militarized masculinity that Whitworth (2004) and others have highlighted. To begin, there is evidence that militarized masculinity remains a problem within the CAF, and that this form of militarized masculinity remains violent and exclusionary (Mercier and Castonguay 2014; Deschamps 2015). This problematic form of masculinity is encapsulated in Karen Dunivin's (1994) "combat masculine warrior paradigm" (533). In her examination of the American military cultural paradigm, Dunivin emphasizes that the military exists to enable and prepare for "the conduct of war" while the institution itself is "comprised primarily of men, its culture is shaped by men…. Thus a deeply entrenched cult of masculinity (with accompanying masculine norms, values and lifestyles) pervades military culture" (Ibid.). In a military culture where this iteration of masculinity is hegemonic, women "may not be regarded as real soldiers until they are able to do what 'real' soldiers do which is to kill and die in combat" (Ibid., 534). Within a combat masculine warrior paradigm, the "soldier's world is characterized by a stereotypical masculinity. His language is profane; his professed sexuality rude and direct; his maleness is his armor, the measure of his competence, capability and confidence in himself" (Marlowe 1983, 192 cited in Carreiras 2006, 42). Even if the reader accepts that segments of the CAF are transitioning to egalitarian gender relations, the ubiquity and historical endurance of the combat masculine warrior paradigm is likely to present an obstinate challenge to a reformed military gender culture.

Canadian studies on masculine norms in the military (Davis 2007; Lane 2017; Taber 2017, 2018; Tait 2015; Winslow and Dunn 2002) have revealed the continued prevalence of the combat masculine warrior paradigm within the Canadian military following the removal of combat barriers to women in 1989. Early studies demonstrated that this challenge was particularly pronounced within the "combat arms" of the CAF (Canada 1998). The "combat arms" refers to trades that are responsible for direct engagement: infantry, armoured, artillery, and combat engineers. Today these trades still contain very few servicewomen; just 2.9% in the Regular Forces and 6.7% in the Primary Reserves (Canada 2019, 9). Although militarized masculinity will vary by time and place, and the definitions used here are indicative of the context within which they are embedded, these militarized masculinities tend to share a predisposition towards valorizing the effective performance of violence and dominance through physical strength. The consequences of indoctrinating Canadian servicemembers to value and perform violent masculinity are significant. As feminist scholars have demonstrated, militarized masculinity in training practices and rituals may have helped incite the 1993 Somalia Affair, which involved horrific human rights abuses culminating in the beating, torture, and murder of Somali teenager Shidane Arone by the Canadian Airborne Regiment (Whitworth 2004; Razack 2000). The Canadian Airborne Regiment was disbanded after the incident, but not before the Somalia Inquiry revealed its racist, alcohol-laden hazing rituals, which many argue aided in cultivating the violent behaviour witnessed in Somalia (Whitworth 2004; see also Razack 2000; Winslow 1999, 2000). These rituals inculcated a brutal iteration of militarized masculinity in their participants; masculinity within these training rituals was premised on domination, scoffing at gender and racial equality, and violent heterosexual performances (Razack 2000; Whitworth 2004). Five years after the Somalia Affair was made public, a series of articles in Maclean's (O'Hara 1998) detailed the horrendous sexual abuse that servicewomen had been forced to endure during their training and deployment with male CAF members. Women in the Maclean's interviews recall that trainees were told to "hate women and officers" and that this behaviour was "copied by other male recruits" (Ibid., 3). Recent studies, like the 2015 *External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual*

Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces (also known as the Deschamps report, after former Supreme Court Justice Marie Deschamps who headed the review) and Statistics Canada reporting (2018) have illustrated that both gender-based discrimination and sexual misconduct remain a challenge in the CAF to this day (Deschamps 2015; Statistics Canada 2016, 2018).

Methods

In this paper I analyze 17 semi-structured interviews I conducted with Regular and Reserve CAF personnel in late 2017, through 2018. These semi-structured interviews lasted approximately one hour and focused on understanding how UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security has been framed and communicated to CAF personnel as part of my larger, related project on norm translation in the CAF and the Canadian WPS agenda. The interviews also provided an opportunity to discuss the suite of CAF initiatives aimed at integrating gender and changing military culture, including Operation HONOUR and Gender-based Analysis Plus (GBA+). Operation HONOUR, initiated in 2015 by Chief of Defence Staff Jonathan Vance refers to a CAF-wide initiative to eliminate sexual misconduct amongst troops, sailors, and aviators. GBA+ refers to Gender-Based Analysis Plus, a Canadian governmental initiative administered by Women and Gender Equality Canada that seeks to utilize an intersectional gendered lens to assess the impact of Canadian governmental policies and programs on diverse groups of Canadians. I coded responses to the interview questions as "positive" or "negative" or in some cases "not applicable" where the participant felt they could not comment given their experience. Several of the interview questions focused exclusively on gender as a concept and the importance of gender in military operations and are therefore well-suited to tackle the inquiry pursued in this article. The interviewees were recruited using a snowball methodology, focusing on participants with 5+ years of service (YOS), and preferably at least one deployment (international or domestic). The interview population breakdown is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Interview Participant Population. n = 17

Gender Identity	Men	7
	Women	10
	Gender non-conforming	0
Component	Regular Forces	7
	Reserve Forces	10
Rank	Non-Commissioned Members	6
	Officers	11
Deployment History	1+ Deployment on Expeditionary Mission	13
	0 Deployment on Exp. Mission	4
Occupation	Operators	9
	Support	8
Years of CAF Service	Average	19 Years
	Median	17 Years
Element	**Air** (Royal Canadian Airforce – Aviators)	3
	Sea (Royal Canadian Navy – Sailor)	1
	Land (Canadian Army – Soldier)	13

This modest sample is not designed to be representative of the CAF population. Rather the goal is to provide a snapshot of perspectives and attitudes amongst servicemembers in the CAF. The responses have been used to determine if processes of regendering, as described by Duncanson, Woodward, and Bastick, are evident in the Canadian military. This sample constitutes experienced servicemembers (both in years of service and in deployment history) and tends to favour officers and Army personnel, while over-representing personnel that identify as women. Soldiers were not asked their sex or gender in this study, but rather if they identify with a "masculine or feminine gender, either, both, or neither?" In this regard, I aim to understand how my participants negotiate their subjective gendered experience through an approach informed largely by post-structural feminism (Butler 2011; Connell 1995); this allows participants to consider their understandings of war and conflict, their relationships with colleagues, their bodily performances of gender, and those of their peers.

Results

To establish a standard amongst participants, I quantitatively analyzed responses to four of the interview questions, starting with participants' attitudes towards women in combat. All 17 participants responded in ways that I coded as positive when asked, "Generally speaking, what do you think about women serving in the combat arms?" We can therefore discern that, in

the most basic sense, the participants have no opposition to women in combat roles and in the CAF more generally. The second question asked, "When Canada sends troops on a United Nations mission, should one or more of the authorized positions be reserved for Gender Advisors (GENADS)—and do you think they should be women, men, or either?" GENADS are Canadian military personnel trained to advise commanding officers, peers, and subordinates on gender-based issues in operations, training, and personnel policies within the CAF. In response to this prompt, two participants rejected the notion of deploying GENADS on UN missions, and the remaining 15 responded that GENADS should be deployed and that the work could be completed by any gender. Third, after discussing Canada's implementation of UN Security Council resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security and related CAF gender integration initiatives, I asked participants if their "experience in the military suggests that there is a need for this kind of guidance? Why or why not?" 12 participants responded that their experience suggests a need for this guidance, two suggested that there was no need, and three responses were registered "N/A." Finally, when asked if they "believed that gender-sensitive rules and regulations[2] allow you to better complete your job as a soldier [or sailor/aviator], why or why not?" 11 participants answered affirmatively, one did not believe that current rules and regulations were useful, and five servicemembers did not believe that they could answer given that they had not had, in their opinion, an opportunity to apply these principles. The majority of participants therefore had positive attitudes towards servicewomen, improving gender awareness in the CAF, and expanding gender perspectives in operations.

Although many of my participants espoused positive views towards servicewomen (in combat and in general), existing research calls for caution in interpreting the results of my study too optimistically as my participant group contained a disproportionate number of officers and women in comparison to the CAF's general population. Officers have generally received more education than non-commissioned members (NCMs) through civilian and military programming and hold leadership positions within the CAF (Gill and Febbraro 2013, 280). It is therefore possible that my participants hold more positive views towards women and the integration of gender-based analysis in the CAF than the broader CAF membership. However, my participants demonstrate that attitudes towards marginalized communities in the CAF are shifting—even within those areas of the military that we might expect members would hold fewer progressive views than their peers. Recall that women were excluded from combat service in Canada until 1989, and combat trades still contain a very low percentage of servicewomen (Canada 2019). An infantry officer with 10+ YOS discussed how he has pursued more considerate interactions with his peers in the CAF by highlighting that he had long since eliminated misogynistic and homophobic language from his vocabulary. He recounted that the Deschamps report had been a turning point for him; even if "everything everyone says about it—that is bad—is true, let's just realize that even if there's a tiny bit of truth to this report, all we have to do is to stop saying [derogatory homophobic and misogynistic terms]." He went on to say that he was not interested in being part of the army that is depicted in the Deschamps report. This quote shows not only that masculinities traditionally considered subordinate (in this interview context, gay men) are accepted within his community, but that in his view, homophobia and misogyny are in direct contradiction of his values. Another infantry officer with 30+ YOS argued that "[in] planning and analysis…I find when there's too much testosterone in the room, we tend to overlook certain key factors that need to be considered…." He went on to state that he is unsatisfied with the current slate of gender training available to him in the CAF because, "it's not robust enough." Similarly, a non-commissioned officer from the armoured trade with 20+ YOS explained that he was interested in gender perspectives

> from the point of view that you want to be a better facilitator, a better leader…you need to accept that this is here to stay and it's not an old boys' network approach anymore. In order to be a decent human being you've got to do that sort of stuff…. There's a lot more in the world than middle aged white dudes, and you have to think about that and it's not just gender, its ethnic-

> ity…. It's different ways that people perceive what you're doing…and how you carry out your role and your job.

This soldier's emphasis on the importance of diversity to soldiering was echoed by a non-commissioned member within the armoured trade who argued that "Having our different genders is what makes us unique as Canadian soldiers and since we have such a small force, we need to have all the diversity we can in our forces, because we're a thinking army. It's not just 'here's a rifle, shoot,' right?" This connection was reiterated by an infantry officer with 15+ YOS who stated that one of the female platoon commanders he was deployed with was

> much better than the rest of us to be brutally honest, at building relationships with our senior NCOs, and…anytime she was making a decision, they were fully involved in that decision making process and it came more naturally… the decisions were being made as a group, and so you already had buy-in from your subordinates.

Although this constitutes only a small selection of the discussions I shared with male-identifying combat arms soldiers, it suggests that within these communities, the valorization of exclusionary masculinity is weakening. Progressive attitudes regarding gender have emerged amidst growing experience working with servicewomen, and these attitudes may help to erode the traditional combat masculine warrior paradigm.

My interviews also show that there is a parallel trend of embracing traditionally feminized attributes in operations. This coincides with entering the transitional phase in the erosion of hegemonic masculinity and a move to democratic gender relations (Duncanson 2015). In particular, servicemembers in my interviews were keen to emphasize the value of feminized attributes on deployment, such as the importance of compassion and sensitivity when dealing with trauma survivors, and used gendered perspectives to achieve humanitarian goals. A senior NCM with 20+ YOS discussed that during her deployment, she found her gender identity essential as it allowed her "access to people that I wouldn't have had access to if I had been a male…I was able to meet with the families of mullahs and gain their trust in a different way that my male counterparts would never have been able to engage in." Examples of women using their gender identity to more effectively "infiltrate" host communities are frequently articulated in NATO manuals on gender integration; they do not in-and-of themselves represent a transformative viewpoint on gender. However, my interviewee went on to argue for the importance of gender-based perspectives stating that, "the majority of refugees are women and children and if you're dealing with a delicate population then you need to be aware of the traumas that they've suffered at the hands of their aggressors and how that's going to affect how they receive the military." This observation suggests that this soldier has not simply used her gender identity to better influence or manipulate civilian populations, but that she recognizes the importance of gender-based analysis to ensuring more thoughtful care of vulnerable peoples, an effort that is entirely in line with peaceable feminist priorities.

Similarly, a combat arms officer emphasized that she reached out to the NATO GENAD during her deployment to see how she could best assist her in bringing gender aware perspectives to the mission. When the GENAD responded that she should be the "voice in the room that starts challenging assumptions and perspectives," the officer stated "that really stayed with me because a lot of the work I do involves looking at different information and assessing intelligence and there is a lot of bias built into that…" She recognized the difficult position of the GENAD and used gender-based perspectives to critically engage with assumptions made by her colleagues. In doing so, this soldier both helped to support gender expertise during her deployment and internalized that knowledge to eliminate gender-blind viewpoints in her workplace. These viewpoints were echoed by an officer in a medical trade who argued in relation to a previous deployment, "[the citizens of X country] have rules… about talking to other genders and you still want to help them but maybe you need to put those genders [on teams] to help the people so they can actually have a conversa-

tion and seek help." Again, this officer emphasized the importance of collaboration with local communities, which highlights both the diverse roles performed by modern military personnel and that she recognized the importance of a gender lens in protecting populations in positions of vulnerability. These examples serve to underscore the findings of Duncanson, Woodward, and Bastick's research: militaries are deployed for far more than high-intensity warfare, and CAF members often serve various humanitarian roles during operations. These interviews demonstrate that in these instances, Canadian military personnel have recognized the importance of gender and cultural sensitivity in more effectively meeting the needs of vulnerable peoples.

The snapshot I offer suggests that CAF servicemembers may currently be more receptive to reconsidering the relationship between gender and conflict and the hierarchical gender relations between and amongst groups of servicemembers than they have been in previous decades. Comments made by military personnel indicate that the CAF may be at a critical juncture in which conditions are well-suited to interjections by feminist advocates looking to pursue lasting change in favour of gender equality. This is what Connell (1987) refers to as the "transitional" stage of hegemonic masculinity, when a "version of masculinity is established which is open to equality with women," it becomes "hegemonic among men," and hierarchy among genders is subsequently eradicated (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, 853 cited in Duncanson 2015, 243). The incorporation of feminized traits could then create a version of masculinity that is premised on equality of genders rather than subordination of the feminine. If this new masculinity became hegemonic, then the inegalitarian qualities of what it means to embody masculine norms in the military could begin to dissolve. My findings reveal a decoupling of gender norms from the ideal performance of soldiering; servicemembers identified feminized traits as not just acceptable, but laudable. Moreover, these servicemembers demonstrated that they are open to more respectful, informed, and egalitarian gender relations within the CAF, and that they are committed to assisting people in positions of vulnerability during deployment.

Is the Masculine Warrior Ideal Weakening or Evolving?

The qualitative and quantitative findings of my interviews suggest that the CAF may be entering a transitional stage in the erosion of toxic masculinity. These soldiers' responses imply that amongst their communities, individual identification with violent masculinity is on the wane, and that militarism within the institution is being replaced, or at least augmented, with concern for a more robust understanding of human security. A highly optimistic reading of these results would indicate that we can foresee a regendered military, one less concerned with the traditional machismo of warfare and more focused on egalitarian relationships within the institution and dedicated to peace and stability on operations. Yet, Duncanson (2015) and Duncanson and Woodward (2016) argue that this apparent shift could also be indicative of a more insidious trend: re-establishing hegemonic masculinity in accordance with a colonial narrative of "civilizing" amidst the "chaos of tribal warfare" (Razack 2000, 128). In other words, male dominance is not eroding, but it has become increasingly untenable to maintain that dominance through brute force. In response, military institutions have begun to cloak racist and imperialist aims behind the guise of humanitarianism and gender equality without fundamentally changing the structures that permit exploitation of women and racialized processes of othering. To return to the example of the Somalia Affair, Sherene Razack (2000) demonstrates that the national mythology of Canadian peacekeepers has been employed to conceal horrific human rights abuses perpetrated by Canadian soldiers against Somali citizens. Although the Canadian Airborne Regiment was disbanded, it serves here to point to the dangers of trusting in the "powerful and seductive story of the west bringing human rights and democracy to non-Western countries" (Razack 2004, 47 cited in Duncanson and Woodward 2016, 237). Additional research will be necessary to determine if traditional militarized masculinity is being replaced by new hierarchical relationships along intersections of race and culture, and if feminine attributes are being co-opted to accomplish military objectives that are at odds with the WPS agenda.

As Duncanson (2015) emphasizes, the hegemony of masculinity can only be extricated from the military if men are encouraged to "not so much change their ways as to change the way in which they negotiate their identities in relation to others" (233). This admonition underscores that undoing hegemonic masculinity is primarily about how masculinity is employed to develop and justify gender hierarchy; masculine gender performance is only problematic in so far as it rationalizes oppression and violence. In other words, if Canadian soldiers are using the archetype of the "white knight" to justify neo-colonialist militarism, then this is clear evidence that militarized masculinity has simply adopted a new vocabulary, rather than being indicative of a transformative shift in the gender culture of the organization (see Razack 2004).

Unfortunately, the interview questions selected for this study could not be used to examine if militarized masculinity in the CAF has adopted a vocabulary of neocolonialist militarism. Although my interview questions did ask if "gender guidance was something that some countries would benefit from more than others?", responses could not clearly be used to suggest this kind of othering was at play. Many interviewees responded affirmatively to suggest that Canada was more advanced in its attitudes towards women but failed to indicate what nation or culture they believed Canada surpassed. Several participants suggested Canada was "more advanced than the Americans" or "the British," which does not indicate the establishment of a new racialized hierarchy. Nevertheless, some interviewees suggested that several countries, particularly in Africa and the Middle East, were not "advanced" enough to implement GBA+. An interviewee suggested, "how about worrying about getting food and water and then we'll worry about some other things…. For other nations, if all of your basic needs aren't satisfied then why don't you work on those first?" Perhaps more problematically, another participant argued that, "anyone in the western world will have the same sensibilities…. You have these despot dictators and how these people are raised, they don't have the same sensibilities as us…unless you're a first world nation that's actually been able to develop a culture where you respect people…." This, in combination with other disparaging comments about these regions, suggests that there are still misunderstandings about how GBA+ is to be applied and how gender impacts security and access to vital resources. These misunderstandings demonstrate not just ignorance about the relationship between gender equality and national security, but such sentiments could also spill over into the growing neocolonial logic within peacekeeping by perpetuating a racist binary of civilized/uncivilized peoples (Razack 2000). This is a crucial line of questioning as we move forward in examining shifting gender dynamics in the CAF, and feminists need to remain attuned to the ways in which this new form of apparently more "civilized" masculinity is being used to justify attitudes about racial and national superiority (see Whitworth 2004).

Scholars concerned with regendering the armed forces must also deal with the "means-ends" rationality that underpins debates about women's involvement in the military: is the application of violence ethically tenable if it serves peaceful ends? (Elshtain 1995; Pratt 2013; Sjoberg 2006). For example, the "liberation of Muslim women" was problematically used to justify the US-led invasion and occupation of both Afghanistan in 2001 and Iraq in 2003 (see Abu-Lughod 2013; Riley 2013). What is the point in women's enlistment if their deployment (both domestically and internationally) produces inegalitarian outcomes that ultimately undermine security for women (Al-Ali and Pratt 2010)? Likewise, if the CAF participates in discourses that frame women as a "force multiplier" (see Summers 2013) they run the risk of encouraging local peoples to conflate the original peaceable objectives of the WPS agenda with gathering human intelligence and improving targeting, and therefore violent militaristic outcomes. Within the Canadian defence community, there is concern that this could breed distrust of military personnel within operations, and therefore it risks undermining the legitimacy of the WPS agenda and its ability to produce goodwill and stable peaceable outcomes. Those involved in drafting policy must be extremely cautious in selecting the language used to invoke the importance of servicewomen in operations to ensure they do not confuse the discourse of

the WPS agenda with the goals and priorities of combat operations. Emphasizing the importance of recruiting and retaining women in the combat arms to improve operational efficacy must be distinguished from enhancing the representation of women in peacebuilding efforts. This will be challenging as the two approaches are profoundly intermingled in UN and NATO foundational texts on WPS, but it is essential to unpack the complementary and oppositional goals contained within gendered security sector reform as Canada moves forward. Due to the violent nature of work required in combat operations, the CAF and the Department of National Defence carry the unique burden of reconciling the military's traditional mandate with the Canadian government's current feminist approach to foreign policy. This challenge can be more easily traversed by improving engagement with the academic community and carefully reflecting on the design of GBA+ course material.

Finally, is Canada's current emphasis on "leveraging" Canadian diversity to enhance the operational capacity of the CAF (see Canada 2017, 105) encouraging military personnel to tokenize female soldiers (Duncanson 2015, 9)? The problem with language that encourages soldiers to view servicewomen instrumentally is that it reinforces the argument that the representation of women and women's perspectives ought to be increased because these increases will enhance the CAF's ability to achieve and sustain peace. Gender should not be seen as synonymous with "women" nor should masculinized, or feminized attributes be tethered to bodies assigned "male" or "female" at birth. In treating servicewomen as a tool to achieve peace, we fail to recognize the complex relationship of gender and vulnerability in warfare. For example, Canada's experience in Afghanistan demonstrated that young boys were particularly vulnerable to sexual predation and abuse by members of the Afghan Security Forces—this is a gendered, and indeed feminized, process that impacted only those children and teens coded male at birth (see, Parry 2016; Pugliese 2009). Likewise, servicewomen may not want to be lauded for their roles as peacekeepers and consensus builders, and any policies or approaches that limit a woman's agency in defining her professional identity are inherently at odds with feminist priorities. For this reason, future initiatives premised on gender analysis must emphasize that gender does not equal women, and women, for that matter, is not synonymous with peace. The goal of this work must be to problematize and transform gender stereotypes to create more egalitarian relationships amongst soldiers, not to reconstruct institutionally valuable typecasting to achieve internal and operational objectives. Extra care must be taken to ensure that military postings reflect the ambitions and capability of the soldier in question, and training material on GBA+ emphasizes gender fluidity, rather than suggesting it is a fixed biological reality.

Conclusion: Can Incremental Change Yield Transformative Results?

The question of change, and of measuring change, is indeed a difficult one. In this article, I focused on CAF servicemembers' self-perception, both individually and relationally, as one possible avenue through which we might apprehend feminist progress. I am not suggesting that my research findings can be used to demonstrate that the problems within CAF gender culture have been resolved. Instead, I am suggesting that within the CAF, there exist opportunities to pursue feminist change in order to attain a more egalitarian military and a more peaceable international community. Comments made by military personnel interviewed in this article indicate that personnel within the CAF are open to enhancing their education on gender-based issues both institutionally (within the CAF) and in operations (during deployment), and to finding ways to relate more equitably with their colleagues. Despite the recurring cases of gender-based discrimination and sexual misconduct, feminists ought not to give up on the military. As Duncanson, Woodward, and Bastick highlight, what is needed now is greater engagement. Moreover, there are numerous institutional openings through which engagement is now possible; gender-based analysis and the WPS agenda are featured prominently in Canada's current defence policy (Canada 2017), and the Department of National Defence has a strong mandate from the current government to prioritize inclusivity in all of its decisions.

The goal of this article has been to optimistically probe my interview data with a feminist lens; to pull at areas of weakness in the combat masculine warrior paradigm and to identify points where we can continue to push for change. This further substantiates Duncanson and Woodward's (2016) argument, that through incremental change and continued engagement, we may ultimately witness a larger transformation in military gender culture. The success of initiatives in pursuit of change in the gender culture of the CAF will not just depend on members' attitudes, but also on the policies enacted to enable change, and the language invoked in service of these initiatives. CAF policy must reflect the full diversity of experiences and perspectives of its members to ensure it is not limited by the views and assumptions of the military's majority culture.

Endnotes

1. Servicemembers refers to the soldiers, sailors, and aviators of all genders who comprise the Canadian Armed Forces.

2. Rules and regulations in this question referred to items including but not limited to mandatory Gender-based Analysis Plus (GBA+) training to ensure the application of a gendered lens to policy making and implementation, the instatement of Gender Advisors in the Canadian military, bystander training designed to discourage servicemembers from turning a blind eye to sexual misconduct, and mandatory NATO Women, Peace and Security courses prior to deployment.

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Locating Feminist Progress in Professional Military Education

Vanessa Brown is an assistant professor at the Dallaire Centre of Excellence for Peace and Security within the Canadian Defence Academy. She facilitates graduate level learning in senior officer education programmes offered by the Canadian Forces College. Vanessa teaches in the broad areas of military sociology, gender and security, military leadership, operations, and policy. Her graduate research and written work focus on gender, intersectionality, and (in)security through the domain of Professional Military Education and the institutional social dynamics of the Canadian Armed Forces.

Abstract: A continuing debate in feminist scholarship on gender, security, and the military has been whether militaries can facilitate feminist progress and be forces for good. Feminists committed to working outside of militaries note that gender perspectives have often been used to advance the military's goals of winning wars rather than commitments to feminist social transformation of military institutions and societies. However, influences from international normative frameworks on Women, Peace and Security; Canada's feminist foreign policy; and an emphasis on diversity and inclusion within Canada's Defence Policy have presented the Canadian Armed Forces with a solid platform from which it has begun to make change. The central tenets of this broad feminist platform have begun to permeate Canadian Professional Military Education (PME) through the collective efforts of educators, staff, and military students at Canada's defence colleges. Drawing on a review of policy and programmes as well as a qualitative analysis of interviews with educators, staff, and military students, the article demonstrates that feminist transformational change by military members is possible by exploring its nascent reality. The article highlights the challenges and benefits of incorporating feminist perspectives in Canadian PME and demonstrates how and under what conditions military graduates with this education have begun to apply gender and cultural learning to make local feminist interventions both within and outside their institution. Ultimately, this research shows that collective efforts toward localized and incremental changes by military members are paving the way for meaningful feminist progress within the military.

Keywords: Canadian Armed Forces, feminist, gender, intersectionality, leadership, military, Professional Military Education

The views expressed in this article are solely those of the author. They are not intended to reflect the views and values of the Department of National Defence or the Canadian Armed Forces. This research was granted ethics approval by Carleton University Ethics Review Board, which follows national standards for the conduct of research involving human subjects outlined by the Tri-Council Policy Statement. The research has also been approved through coordination with DGMPRA Social Science Research Review Board, with the finding that the research falls under the programme evaluation category in accordance with DAOD 5062-0 and 5062-1.

As a feminist anti-racist scholar researching the integration of gender and cultural perspectives in the Professional Military Education (PME) of Canadian military personnel, I have struggled intellectually and personally with the possibility for transformational change within militaries as well as the potential for militaries to be "forces for good" (Duncanson and Woodward 2016, 13). After all, militaries are sanctioned by states to apply lethal violence. Their members are called upon to kill or be killed (Ibid.). Historically, military violence has served to uphold the world's most oppressive socially constructed systems: patriarchy, colonialism, imperialism, and capitalism (Razack 2004). These systems of oppression are noted to be reproduced in militaries including the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) through intense processes of military socialization (Whitworth 2005). On the other hand, militaries have been used to end conflict, protect civilians, and provide humanitarian aid and disaster response domestically and internationally. In the process, militaries have been engaged in improving women's social, political, economic, and legal conditions particularly through the implementation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda, a set of United Nations Security Council Resolutions aimed at achieving gender equality and addressing the disproportionate impact of crises and conflict on women and girls (Kirby and Sheppard 2016). Thus, the military's relationship to feminist progress is complicated. In view of this complicated relationship, might militaries be capable of transforming the very systems of oppression they have traditionally helped to develop and reproduce?

The question of whether the military can be a force for good continues to present a significant dilemma for feminists. There has been recurring debate on whether feminist scholars should work to intervene to transform the inner workings of militaries in hopes of making feminist change from within (Duncanson and Woodward 2016). Some feminists committed to working outside of militaries note that feminist goals of gender equality are often eclipsed by institutional goals of operational effectiveness and winning wars (Cockburn 2011). However, international organizations such as the United Nations (UN) as well as states have increasingly privileged militaries as primary actors in the provision of peace and security (Kirby and Sheppard 2016). Thus, expecting the military to do this work without feminist engagements from within could result in militaries pushing feminist conceptions of peace and security even further from feminist visions. While some feminists choose to forgo relationships with the military altogether and focus attention on collaboration and advocacy with non-governmental organizations and civil society groups (Cockburn 2011), other feminists argue that it is possible to shape the content and process of military engagements in peace and security for good (Duncanson and Woodward 2016).

Indeed, influences from international normative frameworks on peace and security, Canada's Feminist Foreign Policy (adopted in 2017 following Sweden's lead), and a focus on gender and diversity within Canada's Defence Team have created a solid platform from which the CAF has begun to make change. The Canadian military has committed to creating an inclusive culture where each member is treated with dignity and respect (Chief of Defence Staff 2009). It has also committed to applying gender perspectives and analyses in all mission plans and actions (Chief of Defence Staff 2016b). But does this change within the military indicate feminist progress? Drawing from research on transformational change within militaries as well as findings from my PhD research, I provide a "conceptual approach to understand how, and under what circumstances, militaries can change" and support feminist progress (Duncanson and Woodward 2016, 11). Feminist progress in militaries could include work towards more equitable and inclusive working conditions for women, men, and non-binary personnel with diverse ethnicities, languages, cultures, gender identities, sexualities, and abilities. Feminist progress through military engagements could mean exploring the military's role in the facilitation of gender equality in societies and pursuing ways and means to prevent violence against the most marginalized groups in Canada, and societies abroad. More broadly, feminist progress through military engagement could mean working to understand how policies, plans, and actions of the Canadian military

could lead to inclusive security and enduring peace for all people.

I argue that feminist progress of this sort is possible with concerted efforts to support military professionals in learning about the root causes of social, political, and economic inequality in the military and societies, and the military's role in facilitating change. I posit that military members can be important agents for change when: they become aware of and work to confront masculinist institutional norms and oppressive intersectional social orders (Razack 2004; Taber 2015); they commit to a process of "regendering" to redefine the soldierly identity as inclusive of femininities, masculinities, women, men, and non-binary people, as well as racialized, sexual, and linguistic diversity (Duncanson and Woodward 2016); they reframe professionalism around principles of recognition, equality, empathy, care, and respect (Ibid.); and they examine and work to address inequalities within the military, domestically and internationally.

In this article, I show that the integration of gender and cultural perspectives within PME can help military members to achieve the institution's goals of fostering an inclusive military culture and facilitating feminist objectives within the Women, Peace and Security agenda in domestic and international engagements (Chief of Defence Staff 2016b). PME programmes like the graduate level learning offered in the Joint Command and Staff Programme (JCSP) have promise precisely because they can include curriculum that helps to highlight the ways in which gender and intersectional inequalities are perpetuated systemically, institutionally, and interpersonally. These programmes can be mechanisms through which Canadian military personnel achieve greater awareness and understanding about social inequalities outside of, but also within, the institution. Yet in their current form, initiatives to integrate these perspectives in training and education have not been enough to create the institutionally desired critical thinking capacities in military members that are required to create culture change within the military and to facilitate gender equality domestically and internationally (Chief of Defence Staff 2016b). As my research illuminates, education on the critical race, feminist, and intersectional theories behind Gender-based Analysis Plus (GBA+; described in greater detail below) is necessary for military professionals to fully understand how to apply this tool. In addition, my research illuminates how the incorporation of gender and cultural perspectives in curriculum helps military members to achieve the military's commitments to the Women, Peace and Security agenda (Chief of Defence Staff 2016b). This institutionally mandated feminist progress (Ibid.) requires the calibre of feminist training and education only made possible through the concerted efforts of military and civilian faculty and staff.

This article demonstrates that transformational change within the military is possible by empirically exploring its nascent reality. In the first section, I build the case for this position by presenting feminist thinking on gender and security and the potential for militaries to facilitate transformational change. This presentation is followed by a review of feminist work in PME to incorporate gender and cultural perspectives in curriculum, to create inclusive learning environments, and to apply feminist pedagogy. The next section describes the qualitative ethnographic methods I employed to collect data as well as my application of Critical Discourse Analysis to interpret the data collected. The remaining sections highlight findings on the impact of integrating feminist theory and frameworks in the PME of senior officers to feminist progress in the Canadian military. Drawing from the narratives of research participants, I explore how military professionals have applied gender and cultural learning to make local feminist interventions. Ultimately, I demonstrate that "what might seem like limited progress, or superficial changes" made by military members could pave the way for meaningful feminist transformations (Duncanson and Woodward 2016, 11).

Feminist Thinking on Gender and Security: Towards Transformational Change

Patriarchal societies—those in which social organization upholds men's normative and material control over social, economic, and political power—ascribe in

varying degrees to a two-sex system (Shildrick 1997). In a two-sex system, body parts, chemistry, and bodily practices are constructed in hierarchical and binary ways that classify individuals into two distinct and differentially valued biological sexes—male and female (De Beauvoir 1949). The physical materiality of bodies is grounded in what bodies essentially are and what they essentially do (Butler 2007; Cook 2007). What is understood as socially innate to men and women, however, happens through myriad and historical processes of gender socialization to embody idealized archetypes of masculinity and femininity. These narratives often include normalized and taken-for-granted conceptions of men as natural soldiers and leaders with the relational understanding of women as requiring male leadership and protection (Elshtain 1987). In this way, while sex is a biological category, gender is a social one. In the military, members are consistently engaged in the social process of aligning with institutionally idealized masculine characteristics and norms associated with the soldierly identity.

While the ways in which each body is understood and valued in patriarchal societies is subjective, all patriarchies privilege masculinity. Material power and resource inequalities between women and men happen culturally and ideologically through the "elevation of ways of being and knowing associated with men and masculinity over those associated with women and femininity" (Hooper 1998, 31 cited in Eichler 2014, 83). Masculinist ideologies in societies tend to make invisible the processes through which men and masculinity gain status, authority, and power over women and femininities by presenting male power as inevitable, natural, or desirable—including in the running of states and militaries (Ibid.). Feminist research demonstrates the various ways in which gender is socially constructed in diverse societies (Hacking 1999) and speaks to the supposition that associations about masculinities, or "what men do," and femininities, or "what women do," have the possibility to be constructed differently (Schippers 2007). In other words, as gender is a social construction, it is subject to transformational change (Duncanson 2015). The dominant gender order does not have to be this way, and as such, through scholarship and practice feminists have pursued recognition, justice, redistribution, and equality.

A key insight from the field of feminist International Relations and feminist sociological theory is that war and conflict are deeply gendered (Cockburn 2010; Segal 2008). Oppressive gender dynamics are relational to power and struggle in and among societies. In many ways, gender is ritualized and normalized, and masculinity's privileged status is continually performed and legitimized through expressions of power, control, and dominance (Butler 2007). As such, patriarchal social organization predisposes societies to the underlying antagonisms of conflict (Cockburn 2010). But gender is not the only social system underlying conflict. Gender relations are interwoven with connecting and mutually constituting systems of power such as racialization, imperialism, and coloniality (McClintock 1995; Razack 2004), sexuality (Duriesmith 2019; Eriksson Baaz & Stern 2009; Theweleit 1987), economic factors and systems (Cockburn 2010), clashes of cultures, ethnic, and religious communities (Duriesmith 2017; Kaldor 2012), as well as control and struggle between states and nation-states (Cockburn 2010, 139).

Feminists have also demonstrated how gender is used to justify war. Gender has been used in narratives that attempted to legitimize and draw popular support for both World Wars, the Cold War, the First Gulf War, the Yugoslav Wars, the Second Chechen War, and the ongoing conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq (Sjoberg 2011, 121). Gendered narratives of good and bad guys, protector and protected, civilized and brutish, and good and bad masculinity influence and shape conflict. As Claire Duncanson notes, "the association of masculinity with toughness, aggression, and war, and femininity with weakness, passivity, and peace privileges 'tough' responses to conflict and feminizes nonviolent alternatives, reinforcing the systems of war and militarism" (2015, 235).

Militaries often draw on these gendered dualisms to "persuade people (mostly men) to fight" (Sjoberg 2011, 122). Examinations of the Canadian military (Davis 2007; Whitworth 2005) and British Armed

Forces (Woodward and Winter 2007) demonstrate that militaries tend to draw on idealized notions of manhood in relation to the military identity. Laura Sjoberg explains that tropes, stereotypes, and archetypal identities of bravado, virility, and masculinity are common across militaries. Her work demonstrates that sexist jokes, name calling, and chants are used to shape the sorts of gendered behaviours militaries associate with warriors (Sjoberg 2011, 122). She explains "rather than just being incidental, this sexist language and behavior is endemic" as militaries very intentionally use gendered narratives to turn ordinary people into soldiers (Ibid.).

Yet, the processes through which ordinary citizens are made and molded into soldiers are unique to each military's culture (Masters 2005; Sasson-Levy 2003; Segal 1999). Hence, idealized identities within militaries are relational to militaries' unique histories, norms, and contexts. Those military masculinities that rise to ascendency do so in constant negotiation with other competing militarized masculinities and femininities (Duncanson 2015; Parpart and Partridge 2015).

For example, my research as well as Duncanson's (2015) study of the British Armed Forces indicates that militarized masculinities and femininities do not always promote violence and masculinist values, though they often do. Our mutually reinforcing research demonstrates that the military is also capable of constructing masculinities and femininities that do not support patriarchal social arrangements but facilitate conditions for transformative change both within armed forces and societies. These more transformational gender constructions are in competition with dominant constructions which do uphold patriarchal social orders. As the following section demonstrates, feminist pedagogy in PME has worked to expose patriarchal social orders and highlight the capacity for militaries and societies to work for change.

Applications of Feminist Pedagogy in PME

Historically, militaries have spent significant resources and attention on the education of their officers, especially in relation to winning wars, understanding shifts in geopolitical contexts (Allen 2010), and the resultant "changing needs of military learners" (Persyn and Polson 2012, 5-6). Since the Cold War's end, increased complexities and changes in military missions and operations have triggered calls for critical thought, empathy, and intellectual flexibility (2012, 453). Several nations, the United States in particular, have renewed focus on investigating and influencing local cultures (Brown and Okros 2018). Moreover, research on the delivery and applications of PME have often concentrated on its value in increasing military competencies and effectiveness, specifically in aligning military thinking with military ethos, doctrine, and ideology (Brown and Syme-Taylor 2012; Taber 2009). PME is also typically reactive to events that have led to civil mistrust of the armed forces. For example, revisions to Canadian PME to include education on military ethos and values of dignity and respect occurred in the wake of the 1993 military scandal known as the Somalia Affair, referring to the torture and murder of Shidane Arone by Canadian military personnel (Whitworth 2005). Additional revisions to include education on harmful and inappropriate sexual behaviour were influenced by findings of the Deschamps Report (2015) that confirmed the military's sexualized culture. These changes are illustrations of the use of PME to set the military on the right side of civil-military relations, and to align the thinking of officers to value the dignity and respect for all persons (Brown and Syme-Taylor 2012; Taber 2009).

Nancy Taber argues that what is needed in the current context is education that is focused on feminist transformations of the Canadian military's organizational culture by challenging binary gender constructs and destabilizing masculinism (Taber 2018, 105). I suggest that the groundwork for such feminist advances in PME has already been laid by the interventions of, largely, women activists who lobbied for international policy to break down hierarchical gender relations and transform patriarchal systems of power, including militarism (Cohn 2008). Their work seeks to increase global awareness about the differential impact of violence, conflict, and poverty on women and girls. It was their advocacy that resulted in the adoption of the

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979), the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995) (UN Women), UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 and related resolutions on Women, Peace and Security (WPS). These international instruments have called on UN member states to work towards gender equality and consider the differential impact of conflict particularly for women and girls (UNSCR 2000). They have been used by feminist military and civilian faculty to push for the inclusion of gender and cultural perspectives within Canada's PME programmes (Brown and Okros 2018) including the Joint Command and Staff Programme (JCSP).

Drawing on these frameworks, current policy and guidance on the application of gender perspectives in the CAF such as the Chief of Defence Staff directive on the integration of UNSCR 1325 (Chief of Defence Staff 2016b) and the Gender Aide-Memoire (2019) have opened up space for educators to facilitate military professionals to consider the root causes of conflict, unequal systems such as gender, race, economic and social class, and their cultural specificity in PME. These instruments have further enabled feminists within Canadian military colleges to push critical thinking about hierarchical gender orders, masculinism, and militarism both inside and outside of the military.

Methods

My methodological approach intentionally aimed to advance gender equality and anti-racism in the process of conducting research. To do this I drew from literatures on intersectionality, militarized masculinities, and postmodern feminism to inform my sociological and ethnographic research questions, to look for and interpret themes within the data collected, and to make concrete recommendations for continued feminist change. Drawing from a review of primary literature as well as qualitative in-depth interviews and focus groups, my investigation was guided by the following questions: To what extent have gender and cultural perspectives been integrated into JCSP curriculum? If and in what ways have military socialization and culture shaped the learning environment and influenced the reception of gender and cultural education? Finally, if and in what ways has this learning facilitated feminist transformations and institutional culture change?

I employed multiple methods to conduct this research. The initial stages of research included information collection on policy guiding the integration of gender and cultural perspectives in PME and a review of curriculum, learning outcomes, evaluation/assessment guides, and syllabi to uncover the extent to which gender and cultural perspectives have been integrated into JCSP. The following stages comprised Critical Discourse Analysis (Dijk 1993) of the semi-structured interviews I conducted in the form of focus groups and individual interviews (Deschaux-Beaume 2012). Ethnographic data was collected in six semi-structured focus groups and 16 in-depth interviews that gleaned observations and experiences from staff and students at Canadian Forces College (CFC). Participants were recruited through internal College email which solicited volunteers interested in sharing their experiences with the integration of gender and cultural perspectives in JCSP curriculum. This sampling method may have resulted in capturing bias for the integration of gender and cultural perspectives in curriculum, particularly among individual interview participants. Of note, however, focus groups served as a counterbalance as they contained a broad range of opinions, as those who were curious about, or vocally opposed to the integration of gender and cultural perspectives did attend. In addition, focus groups and interviews were arranged across the College's various subgroups of curriculum developers, deliverers, and students to gain a fulsome understanding of the social setting and culture.

The first set of focus groups were intentionally sex segregated to capture the diversity of gendered experiences among same sex groups. These focus groups drew from the perspectives of female (n=10) and male (n=10) student volunteers enrolled in JCSP. Focus groups were also conducted with volunteers from Military Faculty (n=8), military Curriculum and Training Developers (n=7), Information Resource Centre staff (n=6), and civilian Academic Faculty (n=4). In-depth

individual interviews were conducted with nine additional students (female n=3 and male n=6). Individual interviews were also conducted with Military Faculty (n=3), civilian Academic Faculty (n=2) and Information Resource Centre staff (n=2). Follow-up interviews were then conducted with eight graduates of JCSP (n= 4 females, n= 4 males) after they had been in staff and leadership roles for a minimum of three months. These follow-up interviews aimed to assess if and how graduates applied learning about gender and cultural perspectives such as gender-based and intersectional analysis and content on diversity, equity, and inclusion to their daily work in the military, and if this learning facilitated efforts toward culture change desired by the institution (Chief of Defence Staff 2016b).

Policy Review Findings

Findings from my initial review of policy show the commitments Canada has made to international policy that advances gender equality and the WPS agenda. As explained in detail below, these high-level policy commitments have been further articulated in national defence and internal military policy in ways that have direct implications for PME. These commitments have led to institutional policy within the Department of National Defence (DND) and CAF to mainstream gender perspectives across all aspects of their work and to incorporate gender and intersectional perspectives into military training and education. As signatory to the Beijing Platform, Canada committed to mainstreaming gender perspectives in all its policies and programs (UN 1995, s. 202). In 1995, the Canadian government formally adopted a Gender-based Analysis (GBA) approach to be used across federal departments and agencies (Office of the Auditor General 2009). In 2011, GBA+ was introduced (Status of Women Canada 2018a). The plus "goes beyond biological (sex) and socio-cultural (gender) differences" to examine "many other identity factors, like race, ethnicity, religion, age, and mental or physical disability" (Status of Women Canada 2018b). Canada's defence policy notes the intent to leverage the CAF to advance the meaningful participation and empowerment of women and to apply GBA+ institutionally, domestically, and internationally (National Defence 2017).

The defence policy also "commits to gender equality and providing a work environment where women are welcomed, supported and respected" (Ibid., 21). It stresses that "training and education are at the core of the Defence Team's commitment to GBA+ as a means to advance gender equality in Canada" (Ibid., 24). In 2016, the Chief of the Defence Staff issued a directive for the military "to integrate…GBA+ into its operational planning, conduct of missions, and across its institutions" (Chief of Defence Staff 2016b, s. 10). The directive asserts that in an effort to mainstream GBA+ across the Canadian military "the initial focus will be the integration of these considerations into the design and delivery of operational effect" by "incorporating GBA+ into CAF training and education" (Ibid., s.13).

The directive also intends to "spur cultural change, by requiring all members of DND-CAF to familiarize themselves with GBA+ and to take responsibility for its implementation" (Johnstone and Momani n.d.). However, a significant challenge presents itself in developing the calibre of education and training necessary for military members to acquire competencies in applying gender and intersectional perspectives across a range of functions and responsibilities. Currently, all CAF personnel are required to complete a GBA+ training module. This course is under two hours and is directed broadly to federal department personnel (Status of Women 2018b). The military also has a GBA+ infrastructure that includes: a Joint-Responsibility Centre on GBA+ with Directors appointed to oversee GBA+ initiatives; Gender Advisors (who give advice to Commanders responsible for the integration of GBA+ in plans, actions, and evaluations); and Gender Focal Points (tasked with assisting the integration of GBA+ within their branches) (Johnstone and Momani n.d.). In theory, Gender Advisors and Gender Focal Points receive requisite training on the theoretical frameworks of GBA+ and its applications to military plans and actions. In practice, however, there is a significant gap to be filled in both the training available and the adequacy of present education (Brown 2018).

CAF Gender Advisors can attend courses approved by NATO (Swedish Armed Forces 2020) as well as courses on WPS and gender perspectives offered by the

Australian Defence Force (Australian Government 2020) and British Ministry of Defence (2020). Aside from a mobile NATO Gender Advisor course offered at CFC in 2018, Gender Advisor training of this nature is not yet offered by the Canadian military (Brown 2018). However, a two-day course on GBA+ that qualifies Defence Team members as Gender Focal Points is available (Global Affairs Canada 2018).

There are also additional institutional policies that influence the integration of gender and intersectional perspectives within PME. For example, Operation HONOUR aims to eliminate inappropriate sexual behaviour and calls for culture change led by Canadian military leadership and increased education on harassment prevention (Chief of Defence Staff 2015, s. 13-14). The CAF Diversity Strategy also calls for increased diversity, inclusion, and culture change (Chief of Defence Staff 2016a). These institutional policies serve to improve the social status and power of women within the organization, and ultimately place women's right to freedom from violence and discrimination into a policy framework that has been translated into curriculum in PME.

However, ongoing challenges with the inclusion of women and members of diverse sexualities and ethnicities within the Canadian military can make transformational possibilities for CAF difficult to imagine. Historically, any progressive change to diversify Canadian military demographics was a consequence of external pressure and not directly because of an institutional desire to evolve (Madsen 1999). Systemic gender and intersectional inequalities present in the Canadian military include challenges with the integration and treatment of women (Davis 2007) and LGBTQ2I personnel (Okros and Scott 2015); institutionalized racism and challenges with the integration of Indigenous peoples and people of colour within the institution (Joost 2015; Razack 2004; Whitworth 2005); as well as a sexualized culture hostile to women and LGBTQ2I members (Deschamps 2015).

While CAF reproduces gender and intersecting inequalities, there are areas in which the institution has also demonstrated its work towards change. While doctrine such as Duty with Honour (Chief of Defence Staff 2009) as well as programmes and direction such as the Standards of Harassment and Racism Prevention, Operation HONOUR (Chief of Defence Staff 2015), and the CAF Diversity Strategy (Chief of Defence Staff 2016a) have been reactive to the publicity of systemic issues within the military, these frameworks have created a foundation for critical thought. While these programmes have not been enough to foster meaningful transformations within the institution, the expansion of feminist and intersectional learning in PME provides hope that meaningful transformation can be achieved.

Ethnographic Findings

JCSP has gradually added content on gender and cultural perspectives over the years and offers modules on GBA+ in operations and institutional policy, gender and military socialization, and diversity and identity (Brown 2018). Notwithstanding these advances, there are a range of organizational challenges that contribute to apathy and resistance to critical gender and intersectional thought. Using Critical Discourse Analysis, I was able to identify these challenges in the discourses produced, circulated, and negotiated among participants. In doing so, I traced common narratives of participants to determine the extent to which social practices that produce gender inequality and equality were proliferated through language and what hegemonic processes were represented in alliances, discords, and silences within focus groups.

The challenges can be grouped into three broad areas. The first area is the ad hoc and superficial way in which gender and cultural perspectives were often presented within the curriculum. Second, participants observed a masculinist culture that privileged a narrow intersectional identity of male, white, and masculine warriors. The warrior identity and masculinist culture were observed to be roadblocks to thinking critically about unequal gender relations. Third, participants noted unsatisfactory explanations of gender and racial inequalities, and of tools such as GBA+. This inadequate explanation, participants observed, created con-

fusion about intersectional inequalities and discrimination and was perceived to lead to apathy about feminist change within the military and in societies. Despite these challenges, participants also noted that the curriculum on gender and cultural perspectives that did resonate well enabled them to challenge their latent biases, raise awareness about intersecting inequities, and work towards change.

Ad hoc and Superficial Presentations of Gender and Cultural Perspectives

Participants commonly observed a fair degree of resistance to the presentation of gender and cultural perspectives by College leadership and educators due to existing intersectional social hierarchies and exclusionary cultural practices. Many expressed that hierarchies and internal resistance equated to ad hoc presentations and sometimes poor delivery of these ideas. Despite recognition of narrow idealizations of militarized masculinity in the culture at CFC, many participants reflected that the education on gender and cultural perspectives that was delivered effectively enabled a shift in their perspectives. Some noted that the lessons they received helped them to identify and disrupt the privileging of maleness, masculinity, and whiteness in the learning environment. These efforts indicate that gender and intersectional learning can set conditions for military students and College staff to think critically and engage in discussion about gender and cultural inequality in the classroom, the institution, Canada, and society more broadly.

As the following reflection of a female graduate demonstrates, the superficial way in which gender and cultural perspectives are sometimes taught may present a barrier to their reception:

> This is the challenge. We are trying to provoke a culture change with giving two PowerPoint presentations…. It has to be incorporated in everything that we do, otherwise we will never get there. We need to change the way leaders are thinking and the way that the troops are respectfully interacting with their peers.

Participants of my study observed that there is opportunity for the College to erode barriers to gender and cultural education by mainstreaming these areas across programming. In doing so, participants reflected that CFC could become an international leader among PME institutes by offering more robust content on gender and cultural perspectives about the military and security (Brown 2018).

Masculinist Culture and the Warrior Archetype

Participants observed a masculinist culture that privileges whiteness, the English language, heterosexuality, and combat warrior identities at CFC. CFC culture was determined to constitute a significant social barrier to the equal and equitable treatment of female, racialized, linguistic, and sexual and gender minorities in the learning environment. This dominant intersectional identity is described in the responses below from two female students. The first notes that there is an institutional bias towards a masculine warrior archetype, where the combat identity is privileged over others. The second points to a cultural preference for institutionally masculinized "operator" roles that are *boots-on-the-ground* and *door-kicking* rather than more feminized "support" roles.

> Oh no, it is not equal. But the rivalries inside the military are very prevalent at JCSP. There is definitely a bias towards the combat arms, but that is the reality. It is not just a JCSP thing.... I think there is an order in the military, and I think it is reproduced in JCSP.

> Operators are the most important and they are always right.... I have even heard people say, "I don't care, you are just going to support wherever we decide to go."… It is viewed as a competition.

These inequalities of power and status were also observed along other intersectional lines such as language, racialization, and gender, or through idealizations of "alpha" warrior masculinities, ethnocentric views, and in some cases, misogynist thinking. Student participants perceived that these idealizations and norms created a culture antagonistic to women, racialized, and Francophone members; noting in par-

ticular the feminization, or marginalization of, Francophone culture comparatively to Anglophone culture. The following exchange between male student participants highlights the marginalization of Francophone culture:

> The white male who is standing over me ticking me [marking my participation] is the one judging how you think, how you sit, how you talk and how you present yourself. That has tremendous impact on anyone, and when you speak French, and someone right away corrects you for doing that, that affects everyone. That micro aggression: "everyone who is French, or Franco speaking, has to leave and go to another room because we have to sort out the bilingual problems you guys have" well, what does that say?
>
> That was brilliant. That was awesome [sarcasm].
>
> How is that inclusive and how does that help the bilingual problem within the College? It's not everyone who speaks French who has the problem, and they need to leave! Then the micro aggression and things that go on at this school, when you start to pick at it, is huge!

This exchange and the previous quotations combine to show the intersectional and gendered social hierarchies produced in the learning environment. They indicate the narrowly idealized ways in which military identity is understood in relation to maleness, masculinity, whiteness, Anglophone culture, and heterosexuality. Participants across all subgroups overwhelmingly noted the hegemony of the Army, and in particular, Army warrior constructs. Participants routinely spoke to how these constructs were given meaning in and through intersecting idealizations of gender, race, language, and sexuality. The privileging of these intersecting identities was observed to produce clear intersectional social hierarchies in the classroom where the attitudes, worldviews, and behaviours that destabilized dominant gender constructions were heavily policed by some educators and peers but were also actively pursued by others (Brown 2018).

Inadequate Explanations of Gender and Intersectional Inequality

Participants observed that the integration of gender and cultural perspectives was incoherent and sometimes presented in confusing ways. Gender, as a concept, was identified to have often been left unexamined. As one of the female student participants noted:

> I think the way that gender is being instructed is not well explained, people still don't understand the difference between masculinity and femininity as traits and what that means from a gender perspective…. People associate gender with men and women…. A lot of people are getting fed up with talking about gender, but I think they just don't understand what it means and that is why we need to talk about it more.

Participants also noted that gender perspectives were often conflated with women. For example, a military faculty member argued that:

> We have a tendency in this group to talk about gender equaling women. Alright, but gender equals much more than just women. So, when we did the case study and they wrote on gender in Colombia, that whole paper started to focus on women and women's rights in Colombia. When we talk about gender, we need to broaden our perspectives ourselves as in "this is actually broader than just a women discussion."

Furthermore, participants expressed that applications of GBA+ in curriculum were often related to women's integration and Operation HONOUR (sexual misconduct) exclusively and prevented discussion of gender, power, and inequalities. As one female student observed:

> A lot of times when we talked about gender in the military, the discussion about Operation HONOUR always comes back. And Operation HONOUR is not just about women. So, they associate the two together, the same way they associate gender with women.

These conflations and misunderstandings were linked by participants to feelings of fatigue and apathy about applications of gender perspectives and GBA+.

Limitations in teaching about cultural perspectives were also observed. Faculty members noted that the absence of these perspectives in JCSP curriculum has minimized opportunities for senior military officers to develop critical reflection skills necessary to confront personal and institutional bias. They found that limited content on cultural perspectives may have constrained students' opportunities to learn about the views and experiences of people located at the margins of power in society. Despite these limitations, my research also indicates the positive impact that learning about cultural perspectives has had on senior officers' leadership and work.

Feminist Progress in Military Leaders' Localized Practices of Transformation

Drawing on follow up interviews with eight programme graduates, my research illuminates how senior officers have applied their learning towards localized practices of transformation aimed at disrupting patriarchal social orders and fostering intersectional equality. Some examples include awareness raising, bias interruption, and facilitating shifts in thinking.

The following experience was recounted by a male graduate:

> We needed to do a suicide awareness brief on the wing. The intent was to bring in the families. So, automatically…the idea was for the families, for the spouses, we would do a briefing at night because automatically that's the best option right?... So that's when I stopped like "Ok, let's look at who we have … what about if the spouses are not working or they are at home during the day? It might be easier for them to come in [the day] because their kids are at school. And what about the ones that have a child at home?"… So, it was kind of questioning the assumption that "the spouses will come at night and that's it."… Outside of that, it's been mostly in terms of discussions with other soldiers … [on] assumptions about recruitment, the quotas about how many women we need in the CF and things like this. So that's how I kind of include it in my daily work…the few times that it came up, it was obvious that what I've learned was of value.

In addition to awareness raising, some participants also spoke about their work towards broader organizational shifts by advocating for policy change. Some reflected on their role in changing procurement policies to reflect the needs of diverse Canadian military members, while others recalled their influence to shifts in comportment and dress policy to better accommodate diverse bodies and gender identities.

The following reflection from a female graduate shows her experience of mainstreaming gender and cultural perspectives in personnel policy:

> I make sure it's included. It would be part of the GBA+ protocol, but nobody was doing it before I got here. I work mostly with the Gender Advisor of the Command…. A good example, men are able to wear a beard now. So, the minute that conversion came out, I contacted the dress company and I asked "Ok so when are we going to do the full gender, like the GBA+ analysis and consider some changes for women?" And as an example, like the way women have to wear their hair. And they go "We're not ready for that." I'm like "I don't care if you are not ready, we as a society are there, so we need to move on with it."

In addition to ensuring that gender and cultural perspectives are included in military policy, some participants also indicated that they used their knowledge to request disaggregated information on sex, gender, and other intersectional identity factors such as ethnicity, age, and ability to inform policy, procurement, and operational planning decisions. These actions and analyses by senior officers set the conditions for meaningful feminist progress within the institution, changes that create a more inclusive and equitable work environment for women, men, and gender diverse individuals.

Two officers deployed on international missions described using gender and cultural perspectives to tailor their approach and conduct in operations with local communities. Each reflected on power disparities in gender, sex, and age, as well as competing cultural interests in specific regions. Both indicated the value of applying gender and cultural perspectives to their work, but, each also stated that gaps in PME about how to conduct gender and intersectional analyses led them to do more independent learning on the fly during missions such as consulting online courses and reaching out to peers that had formal gender education and training (Brown 2018). These examples of the application of gender and intersectional perspectives indicate deep consideration of institutional, interpersonal, and personal bias. They demonstrate efforts to uncover and address inequalities. They illuminate how gender and cultural learning in PME has contributed to military members' localized efforts towards meaningful social transformation and change.

Conclusion

The transformational work of these senior officers to influence military policy, raise awareness, and address gender and intersectional inequality breaks with generalized narratives of the self-serving motivations for militaries to employ gender perspectives. The officers' articulation of cases, practices, and examples in which they intentionally used a range of gender expressions and perspectives to promote peace and security and work towards broader visions of intersectional equality demonstrates that the integration of feminist perspectives within PME has transformative potential. The insights of this research contribute to a small but growing literature that views the military as a space within which feminists can work towards meaningful change.

The experiences and observations of this study's participants indicate a process of negotiation and efforts to disrupt inequitable social hierarchies within the military and societies. Work to make "small changes that [may] seem superficial" (Duncanson and Woodward 2016, 11) illustrates that some military members are drawing on feminist education for the intrinsic goal of achieving gender equality and peace rather than leveraging gender to win wars. Such localized interventions resist determinist thinking "even in an institution where change might appear least likely" (Ibid.).

Taber writes that the military "must fundamentally rethink what it means to be a man, a woman, or someone who does not fit into that binary" (2018, 105). She argues that "masculinization must be challenged as a route to successful military membership just as feminization must be challenged as a way to devalue and objectify people" (Ibid.). My research demonstrates that some senior officers have used this learning to do just that. Their internalization and practice of the few feminist and intersectional theories and frameworks that have been presented to them has enabled their contributions to feminist progress, even within a context resistant to feminist thinking and practice. Their localized interventions have worked to "regender" the military by presenting alternative feminist visions to counter dominant patriarchal and white-privileging constructions.

Yet, more work is required to integrate gender and cultural perspectives "to the degree that [they are] always considered as an essential and integral element of all CAF activities" (Chief of Defence Staff 2016b). Gender and cultural perspectives must be formally built into core elements of training and education. This education must be delivered by military and civilian faculty with demonstrated knowledge and expertise in these areas. Importantly, this education must work to identify and challenge patriarchal power arrangements, masculinist constructions of military identity, and cultural resistance to intersectional equality. It must encourage equity, social justice, and the full and meaningful participation of women, Black, Indigenous, people of colour, and LGBTQ2I people. This education must promote diversity and inclusion. Finally, this education must situate military members within the process of transformative feminist progress, so they can see themselves as important agents of change.

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Troubling Diversity and Inclusion: Racialized Women's Experiences in the Canadian Armed Forces

Tammy George is an assistant professor in the Faculty of Health Science, School of Kinesiology in the area of Critical Socio-Cultural & Policy Studies in Sport & Physical Activity at York University. She is an interdisciplinary scholar whose current research lies at the intersection of mental health, critical military studies, feminist theory, and racial violence.

Abstract: This article centers on the *lived* experiences of racialized servicewomen in the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF). Drawing on qualitative interviews with racialized servicewomen, I problematize the function of contemporary diversity and inclusion initiatives within the CAF. Focusing on the intersection of race and gender in their lives provides a way to think through structural inequities within the Canadian military. By examining how these structures of power operate within the CAF, we are better situated to understand how current diversity and inclusion initiatives work to consolidate hegemonic power. Informed by feminist critical race theories and critical geography, I trace the experiences of racialized servicewomen to understand how they make sense of their inclusion and belonging and how they assess their everyday experiences in the context of diversity and inclusion strategies presented by the CAF. Their lived experiences reveal the importance of race and gender in their lives, and expose the limits of diversity and inclusion practices, particularly, in their inability to address deeper structural issues of white supremacy, heteronormativity, and patriarchy within the CAF. While concepts of diversity and inclusion are typically concerned with the inclusion of those on the margins, this research suggests that we must seriously interrogate the theoretical, practical, and political work of diversity and inclusion initiatives within a multicultural context. Troubling inclusion and diversity initiatives in the CAF demands we disrupt structures of dominance and reflect on how to re/conceptualize and re/integrate meaningful difference more substantially throughout institutional life in multicultural Canada.

Keywords: Canadian Armed Forces, diversity and inclusion, gender, intersectionality, race

In response to increasing demographic changes within Canadian society, the question of diversity politics has plagued institutional life in the contemporary moment. The Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) is no exception. The 2016 Canadian Armed Forces Diversity Strategy, the CAF's guiding document and policy on diversity and inclusion, includes strong language on improving issues of representation, cultural sensitivity, and discrimination in the workplace. It defines diversity as "respect for and appreciation of differences in ethnicity, language, gender, age, national origin, disabilities, sexual orientation, education and religion. It is about understanding each other and moving beyond simple tolerance to embracing, celebrating, and integrating the rich dimension of diversity within each individual" (Chief of Defence Staff 2016, 1). While this definition does offer possibilities to think through the complexity of identity at the individual level, the CAF has failed to implement a diversity strategy that is attentive to overlapping marginalities and instead has focussed on the siloed nature of diversity. Goals towards inclusion have been largely about representation and demographic shifts rather than centering on the much-needed cultural shift or the lived experiences among marginalized servicemen and servicewomen.

In what follows, I draw on qualitative interviews with racialized servicewomen to problematize and challenge the function of diversity and inclusion initiatives within the CAF. Focusing on the intersection of race and gender in women's lives provides a way to think through what bell hooks (2006) refers to as, the "imperial, white supremacist, heteropatriarchal" structure of institutional life (60). By examining how these structures of power operate within the CAF, we are better situated to understand how current diversity and inclusion initiatives work to consolidate hegemonic power. I draw on the lived experiences of racialized servicewomen to understand how they make sense of their inclusion and belonging and how they assess their everyday experiences in the context of diversity and inclusion strategies put forth by the CAF. Their lived experiences reveal the saliency of race and gender as constitutive in their everyday lives, and expose the limits of diversity and inclusion practices, particularly, in their inability to address deeper structural issues of white supremacy, heteronormativity, and patriarchy within the CAF. The implications of this research suggest that we must seriously interrogate the theoretical, practical, and political work of diversity and inclusion pursuits within a multicultural context. Additionally, thinking through the figure of the racialized servicewoman who at present is both target *and* agent of gendered and racial violence on the home front and in theatres of war deserves our attention.

Typically, research on soldiers does not take into consideration the intersections of identities. While scholarship on intersectionality is a growing area within the field of gender and International Relations, intersectionality as a concept has been absent in studies of military personnel and military sociology which are often concerned with stratification and hierarchies within military organizations (Henry 2017). Although there has been ample research and scholarly work on race and gender as separate entities in the military from a variety of perspectives (i.e. racial patterns in enlistment, officer promotion rates, administration of military justice, risk of death in combat, and health care for wounded soldiers), particularly in the American context, very little academic scholarship in Canada has brought together various bodies of work centering on the lived experience of racialized servicewomen and how they negotiate national belonging within the Canadian multicultural context. Literature on war and soldiering has largely dealt with markers of identity such as race, gender, and sexuality as characteristics, attributes, and/or separate entities, rather than focussed on the practices of racialization and gendering as they are produced institutionally and lived out on a daily basis (Henry 2017; Ito 1984; Roy 1978; Walker 1989; Ware 2012).

The focus on racialized women is important because they are a largely neglected subpopulation as diversity initiatives in the CAF tend to be siloed or focused on singular markers of identity (i.e. race or gender or sexuality or Indigeneity). My research fills a void within the military literature by developing an intersectional analysis (Crenshaw 1991) specifically cen-

tering on race and gender. Furthermore, understanding racialized servicewomen's experiences makes an important contribution toward understanding how intersecting identities and systems of power inform the everyday experiences and the institutional culture of the CAF. The role and lived experience of racialized servicewomen within a multicultural framework is a key component to the making of the Canadian racial state and articulations of citizenship.

This article is organized as follows: first, I unpack how institutional racism and whiteness operate in the Canadian context and how they are currently embedded through certain components of neoliberal policy and ethos. These theoretical underpinnings serve to ground and explain the data presented. The first data section examines how racialized women see themselves within the military institution and how their intersecting identities coincide with the ethos of the military soldier. Next, I expand on how the white male gaze is experienced and how institutional whiteness is consolidated within the CAF. I explore how racial neoliberalism manifests itself within the CAF often through a culture of silence, pointing to the limits of diversity and inclusion initiatives. Finally, the significance and implications for racialized servicewomen within the CAF are discussed, suggesting that while diversity and inclusion initiatives may sensitize us to individual differences, they do little to challenge existing relations of power.

Understanding Institutional Racism and Whiteness in Canada[1]

Central to this research study is understanding how white supremacy and racism operate institutionally within the CAF. Critical race scholars have critiqued the state's role in racist and/or exclusionary acts (Bannerji 2000; Razack 2004; Thobani 2007) to show how racism operates both historically and into the present day. Drawing on these scholars, I was able to trace the connections between the state and racial exclusions and examine how they manifest conceptually, theoretically, materially, and spatially. Patricia Price (2010) addresses the intersection among embedded structures of whiteness through critical race theory, as well as how whiteness is embodied using critical geographies of race. Before we can attempt to negate racialized discourses, we must understand how deeply structured and embedded white supremacy is in our colonial histories, economic institutions, and political structures and how this embeddedness continues to have an impact on the present.

Several scholars have documented how the existence of racism in Canadian society is grounded in different historical events involving racialized groups in Canada. They have further examined how these encounters with racism operate institutionally (Bannerji 2000; Mensah 2010; Razack 2002; Thobani 2007). For example, Himani Bannerji (2000) argues that the labour market acts as a barrier for racialized individuals because Canada itself is constructed as a "white" nation, thereby discriminating against racialized bodies in its social, political, and economic spheres. Elaborating on this point further, Bannerji states the following:

> "Canada" then cannot be taken as a given. It is obviously a construction, a set of representations, embodying certain types of political and cultural communities and their operations. These communities were themselves constructed in agreement with certain ideas regarding skin color, history, language (English/French), and other cultural signifiers—all of which may be subsumed under the ideological category "white." (Ibid., 64)

The problematic stereotypes that are created about racialized groups in Canada contribute to the social construction of whiteness that permits white Canadians to maintain a specific place of privilege. Offering a historical and spatial analysis of how Canadian society and its laws were constructed on the foundations of a "white settler society," Sherene Razack (2002) describes how mythologies of Canada's origins paint a picture of white European settlers as the "bearers of civilization" and that people of colour arrived in this country after most of its development transpired. This myth promotes the idea of a Canadian national identity rooted in a systemic racial hierarchy that promotes whiteness and excludes racialized bodies and the histories of Indigenous peoples. It is through these national mytholo-

gies, where European settlers become the bearers of civilization, that the racial state is made (Goldberg 2002). This process is deeply connected to the Canadian landscape and largely informs the racialized hierarchies that situate white settlers as fundamentally national subjects. Razack further contends that these myths are spatialized, and that each of these narratives work to prop up white European settlers as being entitled to this land and using the governing structures to make this law.

It is the production and reproduction of these myths, grounded in the disavowal of Indigenous peoples and people of colour, that permit white settlers to assert themselves as overseers of the nation. It is the white settlers who maintain positions of power that can organize their space, sustain unequal social relations, and in turn use these relations to shape racialized spaces. Through social and political means, they can then determine who can and cannot legitimately belong to the nation. Exposing the association between racialization and space is critical to analyzing space as a site of power relations. White Canadians obtain senses of selves through the construction of rigid boundaries that establish specific spaces as places reserved for national subjects.

Audrey Kobayashi and Linda Peake (2000) refer to the concept of "Geographies of Whiteness." They bridge critical race theory and geography by suggesting that place contextualizes the construction of race and the nation, generating geographically specific ideologies of racism and nationalism. Certain places assume more power than others by restricting or controlling spatial access. As an important site of power, the CAF is often an "overlooked form of national work and belonging" in academic and popular discourse (Cowen 2008, 20). The Canadian military is an important site of analysis because it is a crucial nerve centre for the formation of Canadian identity and the construction of the Canadian nation, notions that are deeply gendered and racialized. According to Kobayashi and Peake (2000), spatial interpretation needs to take into account "empty spaces" that result from silence, exclusion, and denial, and that serve as a basis for reproducing normative whiteness. Therefore, the bridging of geography and critical race theory offers a nuanced exploration of gendered and racialized individuals' experiences navigating life in the CAF.

The Impact of Neoliberalism on the Racialized Soldier Subject

A central feature of a racial state such as Canada is that it is often characterized as "colourblind" or "raceless" (Goldberg 2010). That is to say, the structural inequities are obscured by the neoliberal tenants of individualism and privatization. It becomes important, then, to trace how this colourblindess or raceless condition takes form and comes to have symbolic and material effects on people. David Goldberg (2010) asserts that colourblindness is a contemporary form of white supremacy constitutive of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism has been generally described as a set of top-down economic and political policies, whereby nation states should reject social welfare in favour of free-market capitalist policies geared towards the liberalization of trade regulations and tariffs, the deregulation of industry, privatization, deep cuts to social programs, and tax cuts to private and corporate interests (Harvey 2005, 13). I contend that diversity and inclusion policies and practices, particularly around race and racism, are extensions of this notion of colourblindness.

In the racial state, neoliberalism becomes visible when deconstructing and naming its strategies and characteristics. One of the tactics used is to suggest that everyone, regardless of social location, is equal and treated the same. Goldberg (2010) describes this strategy as "the national fantasy of homogeneity," where histories around colonial, racial, and gendered violence are deliberately forgotten or seen to have no bearing on the current understanding and imaginings of the nation-state formation (140). Quite effective, then, is the racial state's desire to avoid centering race or racial inequalities grounded in historical relations of domination. The result is a denial of history, a dehistoricization, and inequalities are then naturalized.

While much has been written about neoliberalism as a heightened capitalistic ideology, in this article, I am more concerned with neoliberalism as governmentality

—relying on Foucauldian approaches that regard neoliberalism as a mentality of government (Barry, Osborne, and Rose 1996; Foucault 2008). Under neoliberalism, individual subjects are construed as entrepreneurs (Brown 2005) who surveille and work on themselves to better themselves. How racialized soldiers become entrepreneurial and moral subjects that are productive of good citizenry within the military industrial complex is key to understanding how white supremacy and neoliberalism operate at the level of the subject within militaries.

Gender and Racial Diversity within the CAF

The Canadian military's attempts to address diversity in its recruitment efforts is connected to historical and political struggles for justice, and the expansion of citizenship rights in the 1960s and 1970s. In fact, much of the political legislation of the period, as Deborah Cowen (2008) writes, "aimed to bring the federal government and public institutions in line with the values of multiculturalism, bilingualism and gender equity—values that were a core part of the Canadian 'rights' revolution" (160). Research on gender and the military in Canada has largely focused on the challenges to women's integration into the CAF (Davis 2020; Eichler 2016). Karen Davis (2020) argues that a central theme that has dominated much of the debate about the participation of women in Western military organizations is the relationship among gender, sex, and the "warrior" (37). In these debates, while sex refers to biological classification and assignment of people to male, female, and intersex categories, gender refers to the socially constructed norms, expectations, and roles associated with masculinity and femininity (Eichler et al. 2020). Gender is a primary way of organizing relationships of power in societies as well as in institutions such as the military. Significantly, this notion of the "warrior" is socially constructed as stereotypically male to the exclusion of those who present themselves outside the masculine warrior norm. In this context, women are constructed as the substandard warrior who compromises operational effectiveness.

In relation to CAF diversity and inclusion policy and initiatives, women have been primary targets for recruitment because of the need for more military labour and legislative changes. However, as Maya Eichler (2016) points out, even though legal barriers to women's full military integration in Canada were removed in 1989, women's social integration, especially in the combat arms, is still impacted by the powerful idea that soldiering centers on the construction of the male warrior (6). Consequently, women's representation in the CAF currently resides at 16% and remains uneven across the organization. Regarding their roles in the CAF, Davis (2013) has shown that women are concentrated in occupations that are stereotypically gendered such as in medical, dental, or clerical, and are often underrepresented in senior leadership. Other research has noted that the climate and culture of the military is unwelcoming and at times hostile towards women and LGBTQ members (Davis 2013; Gouliquer 2011). This is not all that surprising given the findings of the *External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces* (The Deschamps Report) released in March 2015 that revealed a sexualized culture within the CAF. Former Justice Marie Deschamps stated in her report that the CAF is an "environment characterized by the frequent use of sexualized language, sexual jokes and innuendos, discriminatory comments with respect to the abilities of female members of the military and less serious but unwelcome sexual touching" (14) and noted that this sexualized culture contributes to "more serious incidents of sexual harassment and sexual assault" (Deschamps 2015, 21). This sexualized culture is rightly connected to the challenges surrounding women's integration into the CAF. This is a salient point as the diversity and inclusion of women in the CAF is not only about quantifiable representation of women, but it also requires a systemic cultural shift around gender relations.

In the 1980s, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the implementation of Employment Equity laws further pushed the military to diversify. With respect to racialized groups, specialized programs to recruit Indigenous soldiers into the CAF were long standing and have a complex history (Cowen 2008, 178). For ex-

ample, the Oka crisis of 1990, an important moment for Indigenous resistance, marked a low point in Canada's military history and revealed its ongoing fraught relationship with Indigenous peoples whilst shining a bright light on the CAF's role in settler-colonial relations. Canada deployed almost 14,000 military personnel at the height of the crisis to quell the resistance (Cowen 2008). Throughout this turbulent period, the Canadian military continued to recruit Indigenous peoples, but did so cautiously and with minimal reference to the "Oka Crisis" and other Indigenous resistance (Edwards 2002). While the Oka crisis remains a contentious issue for Indigenous communities, the CAF nonetheless invests heavily in its recruitment campaigns targeting Indigenous communities.

Targeted recruitment among non-Indigenous racialized groups did not occur until the 1980s and the CAF did not have an official policy on racism until 1993. Cowen (2008) demonstrates that the Canadian Forces Personnel Applied Research Unit (CFPARU) was trying to grapple with the notion of ethnicity and how that would impact targeted recruitment. As Cowen explains, "Ethnicity was furthermore conceptualized as something of an obstacle to recruitment. It was constantly conflated with immigration status in CFPARU reports, as though they were interchangeable concepts, well into the 1990s" (Ibid., 170). A lack of engagement with racism in the ranks persisted even though there was a growing interest in recruiting racialized citizens. In fact, "the CFPARU initially attributed the low participation rates of people of colour in the military to the failings of their own cultures rather than the systemic racism or hegemonic whiteness of the military" (Ibid., 170). Cowen also explains that racialized groups were perceived as difficult to recruit because, in the words of the military, of a "built in resistance to any move that will take the youth away from the cultural group to which they belong" (CFPARU 1975a, cited in Cowen 2008, 170).

Theoretical and Methodological Considerations

This article is informed by critical race theory, feminist poststructuralist theory, and critical geography (Bhabha 1994; Cowen 2008; Kobayashi and Peake 2000; Minh-Ha 1995; Weedon 1997). From such a standpoint, an individual's subjectivity is made possible through the already gendered and racialized discourses to which he or she has access. I thus attempted to not only map the range of discourses to which racialized soldiers have access in constructing their meanings, but also to investigate how they position themselves in relation to these discourses. For example, there is a specific set of discourses for what it means to be a "good" and "loyal" soldier, which are articulated by individuals to define themselves as such. The discursive construction of what has been termed as the "military ethos" demarcates the boundaries within which soldiers can negotiate what it means to be a "good," "effective," and "dutiful" soldier within the military context. As a result, it is these discourses that subjects engage with when coming to understand themselves as soldiers. Deploying a "race cognizant poststructuralism" also means that I was interested in "constructions," a term that reflects the notion that reality is made and not found; racialized soldiers then construct "reality" through language and cultural practices. Drawing on Michel Foucault (1973), discourse refers not only to the meaning of language, but also to the real effects of language use. Discourses are regimes of truth and, as such, they specify what can be said or done at particular times and places, they sustain specific relations of power, and they construct particular practices. It is through discourse that meanings, subjects, and subjectivities are formed. Although discourse is not equivalent to language, choices in language point to those discourses being drawn upon by speakers and to the ways in which they position themselves and others. Like Chris Weedon ([1987] 1997), I understand that experience is given meaning in language and through a range of discursive formations that are often contradictory and that constitute conflicting versions of social reality.

The results of the qualitative study presented here draw

from a larger study comprised of one-on-one semi-structured interviews with a total of 30 retired or serving CAF members (17 men and 13 women) from the Toronto, Ottawa, or Halifax regions who identify as racialized. Results in this article reflect interviews with 5 of the 13 racialized women from various racial backgrounds (East Asian, South Asian, Caribbean, and African). The participants varied in age, rank, and commission status. Purposeful and snowball sampling techniques were used, and all the participants were approached through contacts with retired and reserve soldiers in the CAF (Babbie and Benaquisto 2002). The conversations with the participants occurred between 2013 and 2016 and lasted between one and three hours. For the purposes of this article, I have chosen to focus only on racialized women in order to explore the layered experiences of their lives and to illustrate the complexities of their identities. I also chose to focus on racialized women because they are often an ignored subpopulation with respect to research in the CAF. Through my interviews, I sought to understand how soldiers' racial and gendered positioning shapes their experience of the military, their relationship to military life, citizenship, and organized violence more broadly. I posed questions to explore the values placed on military service as a profession, what it means to be a soldier in the post 9/11 era, their experiences with training and education on equity (for example, the military's Standard for Harassment and Racism Prevention Program and cross-cultural pre-deployment training), and their encounters with various forms of oppression. Furthermore, I asked about their experiences of being a racialized subject in a predominantly white space and how they themselves constitute "diversity." Moreover, I asked questions about their nuanced encounters with racism with fellow soldiers, superiors, and civilians, in Canada and during their deployment overseas, to trace the complex expressions of whiteness operating in the Canadian military. The conversations were tape-recorded, transcribed, and then organized with the assistance of the QRS Nud*ist qualitative data analysis package. To ensure anonymity, self-chosen pseudonyms were used in the transcriptions and ensuing publications. Any information that could place the participants or identify them was also given a fictitious name to further protect the privacy and anonymity of the participants. In the remaining sections, I engage with racialized servicewomen's narratives as they make sense of their inclusion within the CAF.

Joining the Military Family: Negotiating Racialized Femininity in the CAF

In this section, I highlight how racialized servicewomen negotiate inclusion within the CAF. Several racialized women spoke about how and why they entered the CAF. Some approached recruitment centers on their own and others' curiosity was piqued at events where the military was present. In some cases, racialized women were motivated to join after 9/11, while others needed employment and had very few options, if any, available to them in the Canadian job market. What is perhaps most striking is their desire to belong to and be an active, participating member of Canadian society. In some cases, the military afforded a semblance of purpose and belonging; in other soldiers' narratives, this notion of belonging is heavily critiqued. Here, Evelyn, a Chinese woman in the Reserve Force, and Lana, of mixed Asian descent, reflect on how they negotiated their identities and difference within the CAF:

> **Evelyn:** When I first joined, I realized that being completely obedient is a good feature in the military. Chinese culture is different from Westernized culture…I guess traditional, Chinese culture is being obedient and as a female, being obedient, quiet, and listening to your elders, don't speak unless you're talked to, there's a rigid kind of mentality and I think that is engrained in me. So, when I turned to the military, I found it very, very natural and I excelled. And so, I see a lot of similar traits of how I grew up and my military experience.
>
> **Lana:** As a female and being Asian, I think I fully stood out. Like, you notice people watching you. But I never felt like I was discriminated, no, but watched, yes. And I kind of just made a conscious effort to ignore it. If anything, I would be pointed out for being small and fe-

male. So maybe my Asianness had something to do with it? Because we tend to be on the smaller side and then there's the assumption you can't perform as well, but I was definitely watched.

Both Evelyn and Lana are aware of their noticeable presence within the military through the function of the gaze on their respective bodies. The intersecting features of their identity around gender, race, and physical physique are expressed. In Evelyn's case, she speaks to the features of being Chinese and what is expected of her within Chinese culture. What is striking is how she is able to link elements of Chinese culture to what is expected from her in the CAF. She articulates that there is a connection between how she grew up and what was expected from her and how that connects to being a "good" soldier. The connections she draws from her Chinese culture, in terms of obedience, submissiveness, and listening to her elders, to the military culture itself appear to resonate with her and explain her ability to adapt.

Lana also articulates that she stood out but places an emphasis on her physique and being female, both gendered and racialized markers of identity grounded in stereotypes of Asian women. The association that Asian American women make between their features and personality characteristics stems directly from stereotypes created by dominant Western culture (Kaw 1993). Eugenia Kaw (1993) argues that "portrayals of Asian women through Western popular culture rarely deviate from stereotypical depictions and are often represented as dull, passive, hypersexualized, and non-sociable personalities often in the form of common stereotypes of China dolls, Geisha Girls or as the shy Polynesia beauty" (80). Presently, stereotypes of Asians as "model minorities" serve a similar purpose. This stereotype expands on older ones of passivity and dullness and has also expanded to refer to someone who is hard-working and technically skilled, but lacks creativity, sociability, and leadership. In Lana's case, her physique is constitutive of her gendered and racial make-up and this, in turn, is evaluated through the constant gaze that she receives, marking her questionable in her ability to perform her duties as a soldier. The intersection of race and gender, on the one hand, requires paying attention to the nuances of difference. On the other hand, however, it also makes us aware of the larger relations of power in terms of the disciplinary function of the gaze that is experienced by these servicewomen. The persistence of the white male gaze and privilege is often experienced through relationships among colleagues, the military culture, policies, and CAF leadership. This power and prominence of the gaze is further illustrated in the following section.

The White (Male) Gaze and Spaces of Whiteness

In the interviews conducted for this research, encounters racialized women experienced across military life in the CAF should not be interpreted as isolated events, nor should they be divorced from historical influences. Below, Charlotte and Shannon's narratives demonstrate the significance of the racialized woman's body and how they are read in two distinct military spaces:

> **Charlotte:** I remember my first posting and experience walking onto a garage floor. I was pumped because I had a female Captain. I remember walking down the garage floor in this huge hangar. I was in Transport, so on each side there were trucks lined up with mechanics working on and servicing them. When I first walked into the building—and her office was at the very back, so I had to walk across the hangar floor, I felt like all work stopped. And I don't know whether or not that was the case, but that was the feeling I got. All of a sudden, these sets of eyes were on me and I felt so closely examined for the first time in my life. And I don't know if it was being a woman or being of colour or both or what? Like the uniform, the combats are like olive grey and you don't look attractive in combats. No one does. Like, it's a uniform for a reason. They're supposed to erase all that, right? I felt like fresh meat walking down the hangar. I felt objectified. I felt like a streetwalker. I felt like I had 50 pairs of eyes on me. I felt icky and definitely not comfortable in my own skin.

Charlotte, a retired Captain of mixed-race descent, recounts and theorizes the gaze upon her racialized and gendered body within an all-male, predominantly white space. In this particular instance, she feels that despite the function of the uniform, which is described as attempting to eliminate or reduce all difference, she remained starkly noticeable. Reflecting on this notion of the gaze or "the look," anti-colonial psychiatrist and scholar Franz Fanon (1967) states, "the movements, the attitudes, the glances of the other fixed me there" (112). Describing the objectifying nature of the gaze, he goes on to say, "Sealed into that crushing objecthood, the look imprisoned me" (Ibid., 113). While Charlotte is unsure whether it was her gender or race or a combination that made her the object of the white male gaze, she is made to feel objectified in that moment. Although she has a female Captain that she is excited to work with and report to, this does not influence how Charlotte is able to exist on a corporeal level in this space.

In the narrative below, the entrance of the Black female figure is received quite differently. As Nirmal Puwar (2004) states, "this [Black] presence is still capable of inducing a state of ontological anxiety, for it disturbs a particular 'look'" (39). Shannon explains how her body was perceived during a run one morning while residing on a military base:

> **Shannon:** I remember when I was jogging through the PMQs, which is the married quarters, and this little kid, maybe he was like 10 years old, but this white kid said to his friends, who were all white as well, says, "Oh, look, there goes a mommy niggy." It was just a surprise. These kids are just used to a homogeneous society because that's largely what the Canadian Forces is.
>
> **Tammy:** Did you respond?
>
> **Shannon:** No because I was shocked.… I just kept running but I remember looking at him strange. I saw he was a product of his parents, but you know, it was quick and I'm running, and in that moment, he says that to his friends. It was almost like it was the first time that he saw somebody who wasn't white. For him, in front of his friends he was like, "Ah, look! There's a mommy niggy." Where would he even get that from except from his parents?

Shannon's racist and sexist encounter is startling, but not all together surprising in the larger context of anti-Black racism and the pervasive racism experienced by other soldiers of colour (George 2016). However, the utterance "There's a mommy niggy!" grabs one's attention, as if there is something to be seen, looked at, noticed, and observed. The entire scene is corporeal and felt viscerally by Shannon. In a similar vein, Fanon (1967) writes about his experiences when a little white boy "sees" him on the street:

> "Look, a Negro!" I made a tight smile. "Look, a Negro!" It was true. It amused me. "Look, a Negro!" I made no secret of my amusement. "Mama, see the Negro! I'm frightened!" Frightened! Frightened! Now they were beginning to be afraid of me. I made up my mind to laugh myself to tears, but laughter had become impossible. I could no longer laugh because I already knew that there were legends, stories, history and above all historicity. (112)

Fanon (1967) observes that this look happens without verbal communication in various everyday spaces, including institutional spaces, and further demonstrates what this repetitive practice of "the look" does to the Black body. Puwar (2004) elaborates on Fanon's notion of the colonial gaze stating, "Empire was contemplated in such a way that its gaze put into play a corporeal racial schema of alien other(s) which helped to glue collectivities of whiteness with a superior sense of their 'natural' right to occupy privileged spaces of institutional representation on both a national and international scale" (40).

What is evident in Charlotte and Shannon's narratives is how female bodies of colour in the West signify meaning that is articulated through space (Mohanram 1999). The Black body is read by the dominant as rooted in other places, apart from respectable space, while whiteness remains unmarked and unnamed

(Nelson 2008). Puwar (2004) explains "disorientation" as one of the processes that highlights the space-invader status of racialized bodies in privileged occupational positions:

> The claims "black bodies" make on institutions by occupying spaces they are not expected to be in are constantly challenged by a look which abnormalises their presence and locates them, through the workings of racialized framings, belonging elsewhere. It is important to note though, that the black body is fixed by a white gaze, the white gaze itself is disoriented by the close proximity of these foreign bodies. (42)

I draw on Fanon and Puwar to illustrate how this colonial, racialized experience is not unusual. While Fanon writes of the colonial condition in the French colony of Martinique, his works helps to show that Charlotte's experience is part of an ongoing colonial gaze that marks racialized and gendered bodies as out of place. Similarly, Sara Ahmed (2000) examines the concept of strangeness to conceptualize how bodies are constituted as "Other" when they are "out of place" in neighbourhoods, institutions, or nations. She explains that "strange bodies are precisely those bodies that are temporarily assimilated as the unknown within the encounter: they function as the border that defines both the space into which the familiar body…cannot cross, and the space in which such a body constitutes itself as a home" (Ahmed 2000, 54). Therefore, in various contexts, but more specifically in the CAF, what becomes evident is that through the mechanism of the look or white male gaze, the racialized woman's body is rendered outside legitimate space, "its movement dictated by tacit rights of occupancy" and as such "cannot simply be" (Nelson 2008, 40). This is particularly instructive because the making of dominant subjects in spatial terms is contingent on how differently marked subjects take on disparate meanings through their ability to enter and remain in certain spaces.

Fostering a Culture of Silence

As previously discussed, currently, institutional racism is embedded through neoliberal policy and ethos. As a result, racism in the CAF manifests itself as a pervasive colourblindness. What this means is that it is difficult to address and name issues of race and racism in the CAF. Colourblindness operates by encouraging homogeneity and by blaming the individual, both of which lead to less accountability, the inability to name racism, and the discouraging of reporting. In this context, current diversity and inclusion initiatives perpetuate institutional racism in that they do not provide avenues to name the material and symbolic impacts of racism in the CAF. Goldberg (2010) argued that: "It is not that race is simply silenced, if silenced at all. It is shifted to less formal domains for the most part, embedded in structures, without being explicitly named, where it is more difficult to identify, more ambivalently related to, more ambiguous" (90). He goes on to suggest that because of this shift, "as race evaporates from the socio-conceptual landscape, racisms (in their plurality) are pushed further and further out of the sight, out of existence, unmentionable because the terms by which to recognize and reference them recede, fade from view and memory" (Goldberg 2010, 360). Consequently, this condition can permit racism to flourish and prevent detection by the general public (Goldberg 2010). Following Goldberg, I contend that racism and racial microaggressions remain embedded within the military structure and have been increasingly difficult to recognize. One of the main ways in which the discourse of silence operates around race and gender in the CAF is by redirecting blame onto soldiers themselves, where they are in effect responsible for their hardship and oppression because of their inability to "handle it" or "work it out." This was most visible through the claim of "playing the race card." My conversation with Liza illustrates this point:

> **Liza:** I've thought many times about mentioning something about race. The problem is, every time you try to bring it up, someone is saying that I'm too sensitive or that I'm playing the race card or making a bigger deal of the issue than needs to be. If I have a problem with someone, it turns into me being the problem.

Suggesting that race and racism are factors in the CAF is often met with strong opposition, as evidenced by Liza's comments. Liza is accused of being "too sensit-

ive" for even mentioning that race may be operating in a situation. This claim of sensitivity attributes qualities grounded in the feminine that are not conducive to being a "good" soldier. On the one hand, sensitivity is required by female soldiers in terms of being a good friend or confidante, but at the same time it is rebuked when the same soldier is trying to express a problem or concern. As my broader research has shown, this feminization of sensitivity also applies to male soldiers who suggest race and racism might be operating within the institution (George 2016). Consequently, this works to discredit racialized soldiers who may be also considered disloyal and unpatriotic for "rocking the boat." Behind the statement, "playing the race card," is the moral assertion that, within the CAF, grievances with respect to race are unmentionable. The assertion of the "race card" is not compatible within Canadian multicultural spaces. The very accusation of "playing the card" has become a way of disqualifying the attempt to discuss past and present racial injury (Williams 2001). Consequently, policing the use of the race card serves to discredit racialized suffering and is turned into an inconvenience. This tactic contributes to the culture of silence around racism and works to consolidate whiteness.

The servicewomen I interviewed often engaged in "mitigation strategies" which refer to "the processes through which individuals seek simultaneously to downplay or deny incidences of racism and to exonerate those accused of engaging in such acts. This involves offering alternative explanations with the purpose of refuting intentionality and responsibility on the part of the person(s) under scrutiny" (Burdsey 2011, 268). According to Ashley Doane (2006), these strategies of denial also reproduce colourblindness, relegating racism to an individual problem with individual solutions. Liza's narrative reveals the limits of institutional diversity and inclusion. If naming racism and injustice are seen as a personal problem with no recourse, then diversity can only ever be tokenistic and superficial, leaving the status quo intact.

Conclusion: Doing Away with Diversity and Inclusion?

Through an analysis of the ways in which racialized servicewomen in the CAF make sense of themselves and their experiences, it is evident that their "inclusion" is contingent on the white, patriarchal, colonial, and heteronormative structure that characterizes life in the contemporary CAF. Racialized servicewomen in my research study are living in a moment where they are marked by a striking paradox—one in which they are both targets and agents of racial and gendered violence. That is to say, within the CAF their experiences are at times fraught with sexism and racism, marking them as targets, but they are simultaneously also invited into imperial endeavours globally in order to sustain larger global structures of power.

This article asks to engage with the intersections of race and gender in the lives of racialized servicewomen, intersections that are often overlooked in discussions on diversity within the CAF. Complicating this notion of diversity, narratives reported here reveal that whiteness, hegemonic masculinity, and heteronormativity are integral to the military structure and culture and to daily negotiations of military life itself. It is impossible to separate identities as simply raced, sexed, gendered, or grounded in any singular marker of identity. The complexity of identities and experiences demand that we think through their operations as constitutive. What we see from these soldiers' experiences is that "diversity" in terms of current strategies and initiatives cannot mean anything beyond assisting racialized women to learn to function within an institution marked by larger systems of oppression.

If a national institution like the CAF continues to present strategies for inclusion in ways that only focus on the individual, the organization will fail structurally because it will not be able to respond to the unfamiliar and nuanced identities lived and experienced by its most marginalized members. Those marginalized through the interconnected issues of racism, sex-

ism, and homophobia, in addition to other intersections of power, will continue to go unrecognized and be virtually erased by the institution. Diversity and inclusion initiatives, in their current form, are not able to capture the complex lived experiences of racialized servicewomen and will continue to serve as mere distractions. From the data presented here, these soldiers can always make concessions to belong and reproduce the status quo, but at what cost? According to Veterans Affairs Canada (VAC), women are more likely than men to report a difficult adjustment to civilian life. Based on a 2016 study, female veterans had higher odds of living with a disability, reported a lower quality of life than males, and had a higher prevalence of mental health conditions (Hachey et al. 2016). In 2017, VAC indicated that the ratio of female veterans who commit suicide compared with women in the Canadian general population is higher than for men, but they did not indicate what this means for racialized communities (Simkus et al. 2017). Most recently, Toronto Public Health has declared anti-Black racism a public health crisis (Boisvert 2020). Given these findings, diversity and inclusion work cannot be relegated to simply "image work" (Ahmed 2012), that is, work that makes an institution appear welcoming and diverse, where the words diversity and inclusion become ritualistic and continue to shield institutions from meaningful structural change. Racialized servicewomen's experiences within the CAF rupture the band-aid solutions that institutional diversity and inclusion initiatives reproduce, often creating the illusion of progress instead of meaningful social transformation.

Endnotes

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"The Strength behind the Uniform": Acknowledging the Contributions of Military Families or Co-Opting Women's Labour?

Leigh Spanner is a postdoctoral fellow at the Centre for Social Innovation and Community Engagement in Military Affairs (SICEMA) at Mount Saint Vincent University. At SICEMA, she is undertaking research funded by a SSHRC Insight Grant, which explores the gendered dynamics of the transition from military to civilian life in Canada. Her work examines gender norms and power relations in state militaries and Canadian defence and security policy, with a particular focus on how intimate lives and households are integrated into, and shaped by, national security objectives. Leigh received her PhD in Political Science from the University of Alberta in 2019. Her research has been published in *International Journal: Canada's Journal of Global Policy Analysis* and *Critical Military Studies*.

Abstract: Since 2008, the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) has called the military family "the strength behind the uniform." The contributions and sacrifices of military families, and in particular spouses, are now formally recognized as essential to operational effectiveness, such as the ability to deploy troops quickly and easily. This represents a departure from previous eras, which took for granted the "naturalness" of a gendered division of labour in military households in support of organizational goals. Making visible and valuing this work parallels recent efforts by the CAF to improve the wellbeing of its people and advance gender equality in the organization and on operations. This article considers the gendered labour and power implications of formally recognizing the contributions of military families and spouses to the CAF. What does recognizing the military family as "the strength behind the uniform" mean for women and the gendered labour relations in military families? By drawing on analyses of policies, programs, and institutional rhetoric, alongside interviews by military family members, the article argues that in formally recognizing the family's contribution to operational effectiveness, the CAF is co-opting the labour and loyalty of women spouses in military families. The institutional emphasis on "taking care of its people" obscures the ways in which the service required of military families is gendered and relies on women being constrained by traditional gender norms. These findings have implications for the genuine wellbeing of military families and for assessing feminist progress, or lack thereof, within the CAF institution.

Keywords: Canadian Armed Forces, gender, gendered division of labour, heteropatriarchy, military, military families, military spouses

> [Military families] are an integral part of our Canadian Armed Forces, and their support, commitment and contributions are essential to the success of our operations…Today, join me in paying tribute to the military families whose commitment and support make such a difference to our women and men in uniform. Their personal sacrifices, which sometimes go unnoticed, deserve our heartfelt thanks. Military families, you truly are the strength behind the uniform. Thank you very much.
>
> Honourable Harjit Sajjan
> Minister of National Defence
> (Sajjan 2019)

Since 2008, the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) has called the military family "the strength behind the uniform." As expressed in the tweet above by Canada's Minister of National Defence on International Day of Families, the contributions and sacrifices of military families, and in particular spouses, are now formally recognized as essential to operational effectiveness, including recruitment and retention, as well as to morale and deployability. This represents a departure from previous eras, which took for granted the "naturalness" of a gendered division of labour in military households in support of organizational goals. Feminist scholarship reveals the ways in which militaries are indebted to the everyday, reproductive labour of women in the household (Basham and Catignani 2020, 2018; Chisholm and Eichler 2018; Enloe 2000, [1983] 1988). As articulated in the Atlantis (2001) special issue on "Women and the Canadian Military" published 20 years ago, combat readiness, specifically deployments, do not just happen at the level of the institution, but require the deliberate work of women at various stages in the process, in the family and in the home (Norris 2001). The work of military spouses in the home is feminized by heteropatriarchal divisions of labour sustained by a separation of the public from private sphere. This reproductive labour is feminized by its location in the private sphere and association with women's work, which renders it unpaid, undervalued, taken-for-granted, invisible, and subordinate to work in the public sphere (Basham and Catignani 2020, 3). This division of labour sustains male dominance in militaries and in families. Recognizing the crucial contributions of military families and spouses suggests that the gendered order of military family life may be changing, however as we see in this article, this is in question.

Strategies to secure the feminized labour by military families require ongoing adaptations to be effective (Enloe 2000) and are characterized in Canada today by a more formal recognition of military families. Making visible and valuing the work of military families is complemented by the CAF's commitment to support family wellbeing through the provision of programs and resources, such as deployment, mental health, and relationship support. These initiatives parallel recent efforts by the CAF to improve the wellbeing of its military members and to advance gender equality in the organization and its operations.

This article considers the gendered labour and power implications of formally recognizing the contributions of military families and spouses to the CAF. Specifically, I ask: what does recognizing the military family as "the strength behind the uniform" mean for women and the gendered labour relations in military families? I argue that in formally recognizing the family's contribution to operational effectiveness, the CAF is coopting the labour and loyalty of women spouses in military families. By appealing to their indispensable roles and in providing programs and resources that support wellbeing, the CAF is changing the conditions and logics through which military spouses provide labour in support of the organization and its goals. The CAF assists military spouses in being "the strength behind the uniform" through resilience training and support for strong military marriages, but it is the military spouses' ability to adhere to a heteropatriarchal division of labour that is being strengthened. That is, intimate relationships and the emotional labour provided by the military family, most often wives, is being instrumentalized for operational goals, such as deployment (Howell 2015a; see also Howell 2015c). This intensifies the work required of military families and spouses and raises questions about the genuine wellbeing of military families within the CAF.

This research is informed by thematic analyses of policies, programs, institutional rhetoric, and interviews I conducted with 28 Canadian military family members between 2016 and 2018. The interviews focused on the contributions made by military spouses and families, how the CAF supports them in return, and how these contributions and supports are informed by gendered ideas and practices. Interviewees represented diverse identities and family arrangements. I spoke with civilians and service members; men and women; members of dual-service couples, dual-income families, single-income families; families with and without dependent children; single parents; and individuals identifying as Indigenous and as LGBTQ. The interviews were face-to-face and took place in people's homes (both on and off base), coffee shops, and libraries in various cities across Canada. While the contributors to this study represented a diverse group, most military spouses were civilian women married to men in service. This is reflective of Canadian military families and marriages, where 98% of military spouses are female and 85% of service members are male (Canadian Forces Morale and Welfare Services (CFMWS) 2019b, 7). Thus, this research is about "where the women are" (Enloe [1990] 2014, 1-36) in Canadian military families. It is also about the gendered norms and labour practices that inform military family life, which can persist regardless of the sex of the individuals because of militarism's reliance on heteropatriarchal norms, such as the gendered division of labour (Basham and Catignani 2020).

This article proceeds in three sections. I begin by outlining how the contributions of military families and spouses have shifted away from being taken for granted, if not concealed, to being formally acknowledged as crucial to operational effectiveness. The second section considers the partnership with and support for military families through military separation, such as deployments, training, and exercises. By both instructing military families in resilience and in requiring that caregiving plans be in place for family separations such as deployments and exercises, the military reaffirms its reliance on military spousal labour and their primary responsibility for the "home front." The third section of this article evaluates the institutionalized support for "healthy" military marriages and relationships. These wellbeing initiatives signal the CAF's ongoing reliance on particular forms of kinship and its associated labour practices. The article concludes by discussing the implications of these new strategies in understanding progress for women in the CAF.

Incorporating the Military Family into Operational Effectiveness

> The [CAF] has tried to be more family caring and understanding…. [There are] two reasons they do that. One, [the] public eye is on them. Two, they're trying to get the family [to] support [the CAF] a little more…the family's support [has been] drifting. (Author interview with military spouse)

Military spouses recognize that their work and commitment is essential to the effective functioning of militaries. As indicated by the military spouse above, whose husband has served for over 13 years and has been deployed on several missions, the need to maintain the labour and loyalty of military spouses has provoked the CAF to direct more energy and resources to military family wellbeing. This section traces how the military family has become co-opted by the CAF as partner in operational and organizational effectiveness.

The labour and loyalty of military spouses and families have not always been formally acknowledged as crucial to the CAF, nor supported with institutional resources (Harrison and Laliberté 1994; Military Family Services (MFS) 2016). The contributions of military spouses have long been assumed to take place naturally and free of cost because of the gendered ideas about what wives ought to do in support of militaries and their husbands (Enloe 2000). A heteropatriarchal "privileging of binary gender relations, masculinity and heterosexuality," which characterizes military norms (Basham and Catignani 2020, 3), sustains a gendered division of labour whereby male breadwinners are able to participate in the public sphere, such as military service, because a feminized spouse provides unpaid and undervalued reproductive

labour in the private sphere (Basham and Catignani 2018; Chisholm and Eichler 2018; Gray 2016; Hyde 2016). It follows from the gendering of spheres that only some labour is deemed relevant to global security practices (Chisholm and Stachowitsch 2016, 826; see also Elias and Rai 2015; Elias and Roberts 2016). As the reproductive labour undertaken in military homes, which includes the material and physical reproduction of the military labour force as well as emotional and affective activities (Hedström 2020, 6-7), is devalued through processes that render it apolitical and invisible, "male domination of both spheres" results (Basham and Catignani 2018, 154). That is to say, the public/private divide and its associated labour practices sustain the privilege of men and masculinity in international security through militaries, as well as in the economy and politics more broadly.

Due to the gendered valorization of labour in militaries, military spouses have less power and privilege in the military and in military families. As noted in the 2001 special issue of Atlantis, because spouses are not official military members and due to the primacy of the institution and its commitment to combat readiness, "female military partners are relegated to a subordinate position within their families and within the military institution" (Norris 2001, 57; see also Gray 2016; Hyde 2016). Through a combination of patriarchal and military norms, the military spouse is socialized to acquiesce to the serving spouse and to the military in exchange for social belonging and economic security associated with being married to a military member, such as a built-in military family community and a stable family income. The spouse's contributions are acquired through social pressures, such as praise, criticism, and self-censorship (Harrison and Laliberté 1994, 83), and real or perceived career ramifications for the military member, such as promotion and postings (Norris 2001, 57). Through gendered ideologies, norms, and social and institutional pressure, military spouses internalize a requirement to support operational readiness, which includes the ability to deploy on short notice and to be relieved of domestic concerns (Enloe 2000; Harrison and Laliberté 1994; Norris 2011).

Over time, military families and spouses have demanded more from the CAF in exchange for their contributions. For instance, in 1984 military wives at CAF Base Penhold, near Red Deer, Alberta, founded the Organizational Society of Spouses of Military Members (OSSOMM) as the impetus for formal recognition and support for Canadian military families. OSSOMM advocated for wives' perspectives to be integrated into department policies that affect them and for an improved quality of life for CAF families. Specifically, OSSOMM campaigned for resources such as dental care, pensions, and childcare assistance, as well as rights, including the right to organize politically on or off base. Canadian military wives threatened to withdraw their unpaid labour in support of the military if these demands were not met (Harrison and Laliberté 1997, 42). Because it threatened to undo the cohesion and effectiveness of the military, the political organizing and advocacy of military spouse groups in the 1980s, such as OSSOMM, resulted in Senate hearings on the question of family wellbeing. In fact, military wives' dissatisfaction, and the risk of losing their labour and support, became a threat to national security (MFS 2016, 2). This galvanized the CAF to acknowledge the military family's important contributions to organizational and operational effectiveness.

OSSOMM's activism led the CAF to produce a series of studies, working groups, and reports, such as the *Study Report on Spousal Family Associations* (1988), to consider how to improve military family wellbeing because of its relationship to organizational effectiveness. In particular, CAF leadership was concerned that spousal advocacy and organizing, resulting from dissatisfaction with military life, would threaten the military chain of command and discipline within the CAF. By reviewing British and American military family associations, the CAF concluded that the military chain of command could be strengthened if a family organization committed to military family and community wellbeing was established in partnership and consultation with CAF leadership (MFS 2016, 3-4). The *Study Report on Spousal Family Associations* recommended a consultative relationship between civilian spouses and the CAF on matters affecting family and community wellbeing, and new support centres to support military family wellbeing.

Together, OSSOMM's activism, the findings of the family associations report, and political will resulted in the formation of Military Family Services (MFS) in 1991. Institutional approval for MFS was granted on the basis that the military family's contributions to the CAF "called for a bond of mutual responsibility and commitment between the Canadian Armed Forces and military families" (MFS 2016, 4-5). In other words, the CAF acknowledged that sustaining the support provided by military families requires institutional intervention to keep them committed to military life.

Recognizing the military family as a partner in operational effectiveness began to emerge more strongly following the Standing Committee on National Defence and Veterans Affairs (SCONDVA) Report of 1998, titled *Moving Forward: A Strategic Plan for Quality of Life Improvements in the Canadian Armed Forces* (Parliament of Canada 1998). SCONDVA officially linked the contributions and sacrifices of military families to the operational effectiveness of the CAF, with a particular focus on recruitment and retention. The study itself was motivated by the CAF's concern with the decreasing quality and quantity of recruits, as well as service retention problems, which characterized the mid-1990s. SCONDVA concluded that the CAF has an obligation to enhance military members' wellbeing and quality of life because of its implications for retention and recruitment. The report prompted the creation of Defence Administrative Order and Directive (DAOD) on Families 5044-1 in 2000, a policy which outlines the CAF's responsibility for military family wellbeing and the military family's crucial role in the military community.

The relationship between military families and the CAF is governed under DAOD 5044-1, Families (National Defence 2000). DAODs are issued by or under the authority of the Deputy Minister of Defence and the Chief of Defence staff, establish the administrative directions for civil servants of the Department of National Defence (DND), and serve as orders for members of the CAF. Directive 5044-1 states, "the organization requires its members to place service to country and needs of the Canadian Armed Forces ahead of personal consideration…[which] may create profound disruption for the families of the Canadian Armed Forces members" (National Defence 2000). The directive acknowledges the contributions and sacrifices made by Canadian military families, and as such, commits to reducing the negative impacts of frequent family separations and postings on the family. The directive formalizes the CAF's commitment to supporting military families, especially considering "the ever-changing structure, composition and function of Canadian families" (National Defence 2000). The CAF has adjusted their programming to respond to the changing needs of military families, including shifting family demographics and the increasingly combat orientated nature of missions, deployments, and training.

Contemporary wisdom acknowledges that the military family's, and in particular the spouse's, satisfaction with military life is positively correlated to organizational and operational effectiveness (Laplante and Goldenberg 2017). As indicated at the top of this section by a military spouse of 13 years who has three young children, maintaining the support and securing the essential contributions of military families has required that the CAF increase its attention to and support for them. The newest strategy to secure the family's support for the military has been to formally acknowledge the military family's contributions as partner in operational effectiveness—as "the strength behind the uniform"—and, accordingly, to provide institutional supports and resources in this regard.

This recognition was prompted by the combat-oriented missions and onerous operational tempo of the late 2000s, due especially to the war in Afghanistan (2001-2014). During this time, 40 000 CAF members were deployed to the region, which took an immense toll on CAF personnel and their families, including family separation, service-related injuries, and death. This prompted the CAF to formalize their partnership with military families through the Canadian Forces Family Covenant, issued in 2008. A covenant is a contract between two parties; in this case it is an agreement on the part of the CAF to support military family wellbeing in exchange for their "key

contributions in enabling an operationally effective and sustainable military force" (CFMWS n.d.(a)). Emphasizing military families as allies in operational effectiveness, the Covenant asserts, "The strength and resilience of military families contributes to the operational readiness and effectiveness of the Canadian Forces" (CFMWS n.d.(a)). Indeed, the tagline of the Covenant is "Military Families: The Strength Behind the Uniform," signalling that the CAF would not be as effective without the support and labour of military families and spouses. As a visible reminder of the military family's contributions to readiness, the Family Covenant is displayed in DND buildings, on wings, bases and units, and Canadian Military Family Resource Centres across the country (Dunnett 2014).

Formally acknowledging the service of military families in the Family Covenant reinforces the CAF's "responsibility to ease the burdens of service life of military families" (CFMWS n.d.(a)) and to continue improving services directed at family wellbeing (Dunnett 2014). Over time, the CAF's philosophy around families has shifted away from the sentiment "if the military wanted you to have a wife, it would have issued you one," to the present philosophy "we recruit a member, but retain a family" (Dursun 2017, 2). Accordingly, military families receive more institutional support than ever before (Daigle 2013). Indeed, "well-supported, diverse, resilient people and families" is a central theme in Canada's 2017 defence policy *Strong, Secure, Engaged* (National Defence 2017). While these shifts may signal progress for the wellbeing of families and spouses, the formal recognition of military families and the associated policies and programs that support them, do little to dismantle the unequal gender norms and divisions of labour required by the CAF in decades before. Rather, viewing the military family as a partner in its operational goals, the CAF has formalized its dependence on the feminized labour and loyalties of military spouses, as we see in the next section on military separation.

Ensuring Operationally Ready Families

Military family life is characterized by frequent and prolonged separations. CAF members are separated from their families for operational reasons ranging from deployments, exercises, and courses. It is a service requirement that CAF members "remain mobile and deployable" and "place service to country above personal considerations" (National Defence 2000). As partners in operational effectiveness, military families are tasked with unpaid work in the private sphere, specifically providing a home and family life that facilitates the CAF member's mobility and deployability, which enables the service member to participate in the public activity of military service. This section details the ways in which the CAF organizes military families as partners in operational readiness, with a focus on the division of labour called for during family separation. Since 2000, the CAF has formally acknowledged the profound disruptions and sacrifices born by military families, especially through family separation, and provides resources to offset them. While the CAF's attention to family wellbeing throughout separation might signal progress for military wives, it is the terms upon which they are incorporated into operational effectiveness that reinforce a division of labour, thus appropriating the work of women. In particular, institutional interventions that enhance personal and family resilience and ensure that there are care plans for dependents download social reproductive responsibility onto spouses and make them more effective at providing unpaid labour in the home during military separations, such as deployments.

Military separations require daily material, emotional, and symbolic labour, which is undertaken disproportionately by women. This work is also gendered as women's work, especially those of "wives" and "mothers," through militarism's dichotomous constructions of masculinity and femininity (Hedström 2020). The labour involved in military separation can include: preparing the service member's equipment and uniforms before they deploy; practices of staying connected through separation, like creating and sending care packages and reading two stories to children at bedtime to offset the absent parent; and the affective work

of managing feelings of loneliness and fear of the remaining family members, often children, and renegotiating household dynamics when the service member returns. These practices are what Deborah Norris refers to as "working them out and working them in" (Norris 2001). A military spouse I interviewed in 2017, who has a young child and who suffered postpartum health issues reflects on the labour involved in military separations, including attending to the emotional needs of her child and her husband:

> [The] hardest element [of military life is] frequent separations. People make comments like, "you knew what you were getting yourself into." Actually, no I didn't. I truly didn't. Until my husband got deployed for the first time, I had no idea, and now we have children. Seeing my daughter cry at night looking at pictures of her dad, it's heartbreaking. When they come back home, they're supposed to fit back in, and it doesn't work. [My husband] tries to pick up the slack cause I'd been carrying the load, but it doesn't help, because he doesn't know how I've been doing it. He feels defeated cause he's trying to help. I don't know how to make that smoother. It is what it is. It's not going to change. You gotta get through it. (Author interview with military spouse)

At each stage of military separation come new challenges, requiring a flexible military spouse who readjusts the focus of her labour accordingly. As military families are recognized as "the strength behind the uniform," they are being called upon to "get through" the challenges of military separation. The terms of this partnership do little to rewrite the gendered division of work that supports operational effectiveness, but rather enhance these dynamics through the institutionalization of "resilience" as a skill and ethos.

"Canadian military families are resilient" is a new refrain touted by CAF officials, politicians, and military families themselves, and corresponds to CAF initiatives aimed at developing resilience in its employees and families. Resilience refers to the ability to thrive in the face of adversity (O'Malley 2010). Colloquially, to be resilient means to "bounce back," if not flourish, or "bounce forward" after hardship (Howell 2015b, 69). Now recognized as crucial to the success of military operations, military families are supported in developing resilience to the hardships of military separation through programs such as the Road to Mental Readiness (R2MR) (CFMWS n.d.(e)) and the Canadian Army Integrated Performance Strategy (National Defence n.d.). Here, families are provided with guidance and techniques to be more effective at handling "extended separations, increased workloads, anxiety over the safety of their loved one, and managing transition and reintegration issues upon completion of the tour" (National Defence 2016a). Techniques for building resilience and reducing stress include maintaining a healthy lifestyle, such as proper sleep, nutrition, and exercise; mindfulness techniques, such as controlled breathing and positive self-talk; and building a community, by nurturing a support system and asking for help.

Resilience training compels spouses to enhance the military member's experience in deployment and their own success during family separation through neoliberal logics that make individuals responsible for their wellbeing (Joseph 2013). Neoliberal policies and norms, which privilege privatization, individualization, and familialization (Brodie 1997, 235-36), call on citizens to employ "technologies of the self" to withstand crises and insecurities (Neocleous 2013, 5). In the context of the military, Alison Howell refers to this as emotional self-governance required of military members and their families, which produces more efficient and capable militaries while reducing the military's healthcare costs (2015a; 2015c). Like the economically rational neoliberal subject who must overcome the insecurity and instability of capitalism (Joseph 2013), the military spouse must overcome the insecurities and instabilities associated with family separation through appropriate self-management (Howell 2015a). Prevention is the guiding principle of resilience training in the CAF. Averting the stressors of military life, such as deployment, is based on personal preparation and the acquisition of appropriate skills. Military families are told that they can prevent burnout, exhaustion, and stress by developing their flexibility and introspection, and by being adequately prepared.

Individualized notions of wellbeing divert institutional and political attention away from structural inequalities and vulnerabilities (Joseph 2013), such as the operational requirements and corresponding demands on military families, especially women. Through resilience, military families and spouses must now devote time to restructuring their habits, mindsets, and thoughts, so that they may be more effective partners in operational effectiveness. Importantly, military spouses are partners in operational effectiveness based on their ability to withstand the challenges associated with providing reproductive labour in the military home. By promoting and supporting military family wellbeing, the CAF is demanding even more of military spouses on top of the unpaid labour already provided by them. Through resilience training, military spouses become responsible for their wellbeing and for enhancing their capacity to provide unpaid reproductive labour. This becomes a challenge for military families who do not have a feminized spouse to fulfill this role, such as single parents who often rely on extended families or are forced to leave the military (see Brewster 2017; Falvey 2017).

Policies aimed at partnering with military families and supporting them through military separation, normalize a gendered division of labour in military family life, in particular the downloading of dependent care onto civilian spouses in the name of operational effectiveness. At the forefront of the CAF's recognition of the military family's contributions and the institutional attempts to alleviate the conflicting demands of service life and family life is the Family Care Plan (FCP) (CFMWS n.d.(b)). The FCP, which was instituted as a support initiative in 2002, ensures that military families have a plan in place for the care of dependents when the service member is obliged to be separated from their family. Specifically, the military member must designate a caregiver for dependents when they are required to be away from them for duty reasons. At its core, the plan ensures that service members remain deployable and operational, irrespective of the care requirements of their dependents. While the FCP is not legally binding, military members who fail to prepare an FCP and file this with their Commanding Officer risk administrative or disciplinary action.

Through the FCP, which aims to support military families through separation, the CAF transfers dependent care from the military and service member to a spouse in the name of operational effectiveness. Accordingly, the FCP reaffirms the heteropatriarchal power relations in the military family, where the service member holds principal authority over the family, and this authority permits delegation of caregiving responsibility to "usually the spouse" when they are required to be away for duty reasons (CFMWS n.d. (b)). Said another way, the military service member is the paternal head of household who has the authority to make strategic and managerial decisions about the care of their family and to assign the responsibility for quotidian caregiving of the family to their spouse. These mechanisms of support institutionalize the premise that, as many of my interview respondents noted, "There is a wife at home." Thus, these supports shape ideas about who is primarily responsible for domestic labour in military families. A stay-at-home military wife reflects on the division of labour in her family:

> It's me. That's why I ended up staying at home for now and making my own business…. If he's gone, what are you going to do? It's easier for us. Our life is planned [such] that I do it all and if he's [at] home it's a bonus. (Author interview with military spouse)

Formalizing the downloading of the responsibility for dependents onto military spouses revitalizes the male breadwinner/female caregiver formation of the family, under the guise of institutional support. That is to say, the CAF initiatives for family wellbeing rest on, and reproduce, the assumption that military spouses will downplay their careers and employment so that they can prioritize unpaid labour in the home and the care of dependents in the name of operational effectiveness (see Spanner 2020). This is significant, given that military spouses are more likely to experience unemployment and make less money than their civilian counterparts (Wang and Pullman 2019). Policies and corresponding ethos that insist on gendered divisions of labour in support of operational effectiveness raise important questions about family wellbeing, gender equality in the CAF community, as well as the genu-

ine integration of women in the CAF as military members.

Military families are now formally recognized as essential to operational effectiveness, especially through their sacrifices and contributions related to family separation. CAF efforts to reduce the burden of military separation on military families through resilience training and the FCP normalize a gendered division of labour and the appropriation of women's unpaid labour. Such initiatives are based on essentialist ideas of femininity and the privileging of heteropatriarchy, which inform ideal notions of conjugal relationships in military families. How the CAF supports military marriages to bolster operational and organizational effectiveness is the focus of the next section.

Co-Opting Military Marriages

The military family's contributions to operational effectiveness, which are characterized by heteropatriarchal power dynamics and gendered divisions of labour, are accomplished through normative ideas about the conjugal couple (Wool 2015, 27). Studies show that military members' satisfaction with their conjugal relationships, perceived spousal support, and spousal support for the member's career are positively correlated with the member's personal wellbeing, as well as "organizational outcomes, such as organizational commitment, morale and turnover intentions" (Laplante and Goldenberg 2018, 30). That is to say, the very idea of the military family as partner in operational effectiveness relies on military marriages and relationships characterized by civilian spouses who structure their activities, identities, and efforts in support of the military member (Enloe 2000). As military spouses are recognized as crucial to the functioning of the organization, their intimate lives and relationships become a matter of military concern and institutional strategy, evident by the institutional investment in strengthening military marriages. These initiatives include the CAF's Healthy Relationships Campaign (CFMWS n.d.(c)), guides to intimacy (CFMWS n.d.(d)), and resources for military caregivers (Government of Canada 2019; Ottawa Public Health et al. 2016).

Because of the crucial contributions of military spouses, the CAF has an interest in keeping military marriages healthy and intact. In fact, resilience programs for militaries were developed, in part, to reduce the divorce rates among military families (Seligman and Fowler 2011, 84). The supports offered by militaries to keep military marriages together suggest that they would not be able to meet their institutional requirements without the commitments and unpaid labour of military spouses. Thus, as the CAF partners with military families to support military marriages, they secure the loyalty and labour of the military spouse for operational purposes.

CAF initiatives to support military marriages, such as the Healthy Relationships program, offer tips for navigating the challenges of military life and provide guidance on the continuum of intimacy, while normalizing ups and downs (CFMWS n.d. (c); Government of Canada 2019). Likewise, the CAF's resilience training includes resources for the conjugal military couple with a section of the training program titled "Reuniting with Your Partner or Spouse" (National Defence 2016b). The purpose of this resource is to facilitate the reintegration of the service member back into the home following deployment. Similarly, spouses who are caregiving for injured and ill military members are provided with guidance on how to navigate intimate relationships, including emotional and sexual intimacy with their partners who have service-related injuries and illnesses, such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (CFMWS 2019a). Here, military caregivers are educated about the reasons injured and ill members withdraw from intimacy.

Acknowledging the military family as crucial to the operational effectiveness of the Forces legitimizes treating the physical and emotional intimacy in conjugal relationships as a matter of military concern. CAF support resources are devoted to strengthening the military marriage and to normalizing challenges and self-sacrifice by military spouses. Consider the following tips for a successful transition: "Ease back into intimacy. It's not easy to regain physical and emotional closeness after stressful situations," and "Tone down the fantasy—often how we structure it in our heads is

much different in reality!" (National Defence 2016b). Guides for military caregivers struggling with intimacy with their spouse suggest coping mechanisms for the caregiver/partner, such as positive thinking and self-talk: "I have a right to my emotions" and "I have the right to have my needs met" (Government of Canada 2019). Despite an acknowledgement of a military spouse's needs in marriage, she is being socialized to accept a military marriage/conjugal relationship characterized by a lack of intimacy, both sexual and emotional. Accordingly, self-sacrifice in military marriage by the military spouse, perhaps in the form of celibacy, becomes normalized. As revealed in my interviews, this expectation, which is now a part of a resilience mindset, works alongside the social expectation of monogamy by military wives and an associated condemnation of military wives who are unfaithful (see also Ziff and Garland-Jackson 2019, 8). Military spouses who embrace personal techniques, like positive self-talk, in order to be more amenable to the pressures associated with military marriages, such as loss of intimacy and self-sacrifice, are idealized in CAF resources designed to strengthen military marriages.

A strong military marriage secures the emotional and material labour provided by a military spouse, promotes and sustains a deployable and healthy force. Through a culture of resilience, the military spouse assumes responsibility for preventing operational stress injuries by providing a stable home-life and military marriage, as expressed by this military spouse of 18 years:

> [I read an] article recently [that] having support at home is the first line of defence of PTSD. Studies show [that] members who have support before and after they leave [on deployment] and come home to a family environment that is stable, [they] have lower chance of PTSD. We see that with the members that come back [to no support]. [However,] families can't be to blame; sometimes there's nothing that could have been done. [But] it helps with the resiliency of the member... [to have a] supportive family. [And] culturally, relationship-wise, we think we should leave unhappy relationships. [But] being happy all the time versus being abused isn't the same thing. (Author interview with military spouse)

The resilient military marriage, as characterized above, reinforces gendered images of conjugal relationships exemplified by a doting and nurturing civilian spouse, who need not be "happy all the time." To the military spouse above, being unhappy is not a sufficient reason to leave a military marriage. In a sense, the military spouse's rationale for staying in a military marriage echoes the "suck it up" and "work it out" mentality required of the ideal soldier in combat (Howell 2015b, 146). Institutional supports that keep conjugal relationships intact encourage spouses to take on the challenges of a military marriage in support of an operationally ready force, and military spouses internalize this requirement so long as the marriage difficulties are not too egregious, such as being "abused." It bears mention that we know that intimate partner violence in military marriages is experienced at a higher rate than in the civilian sector because of the gendered culture in militaries, and an organizational structure and norms that encourage secrecy (Harrison 2002). Indeed, research of the British military reveals that institutional resources to address military family violence are centred not around the abused family member, but around the military member's ability to deploy (Gray 2016).

As the CAF formalizes its partnership with military families through attention to military marriages, it revives the expectation that military spouses will acquiesce to the military member's career and to the requirements of the institution (Enloe 2000; Harrison and Laliberté 1994). CAF marriage resources normalize the military marriage as challenging and require the civilian spouse to accept the burdens of military relationships by adapting to them. In fact, the marriage resources are directed at military families and caregivers—not at the military member. This placement suggests that it is the military spouse who needs to accommodate and adjust to the needs of the military member, and to be the one to sacrifice in marriage. A military wife of five years reflects on the sacrifices she makes in a military marriage,

> First and foremost, in military [marriage], you are not first, you are second sometimes third… and you have to be content with that. Because at the end of the day, he's gotta pick the army over me. (Author interview with military spouse)

The exemplary gender practices in military marriages are ones where the spouse accepts being subordinate to the needs of the institution, and to the member's commitment to it. These institutional supports suppose that as a partner in operational and organizational effectiveness, the military spouse will self-sacrifice in terms of intimacy, caregiving, and so on.

A military marriage characterized by a spouse who is devoted to the member and to the CAF is an operational asset. She will find ways to get through deployment smoothly, provide a stable home life, and nurture family relationships, and will care for her injured and ill partner when required. The unpaid labour provided in military marriages is essential to operational effectiveness and to the wellbeing of its members and has become a matter of military concern through the CAF's increased attention to and partnership with military families. The military spouse's incorporation into the institution has been furthered by support for military marriages, characterized by patriarchal dynamics and feminized practices of care.

Conclusion

Just shy of 20 years since *Atlantis'* last special issue on women, gender, and the CAF, military families remain bound by traditional gender ideologies, which are necessary for the military to function as it does. The "self-reliant wife" who is independent and takes on the role of "husband" and "wife" while her husband deploys and who defers to him once he returns (Norris 2001, 60-61) has been updated to the "resilient military spouse" who enhances her ability to weather deployment by improving herself and seeing military separation as an opportunity for personal growth. Similarly, the importance of family cohesion and the military wife's work in making sure the family runs smoothly to combat readiness (Norris 2001, 59-60) now involves efforts to increase the health and longevity of military marriages and enhance the spouse's role in preventing and repairing injury in members. Then and now, the CAF relies on the feminized labour and loyalty of military spouses and points to the limits of feminist progress in contemporary military families.

It is the strategies through which gender norms and practices in military families are acquired that look different two decades on. The sacrifices and contributions of military families are no longer rendered invisible or trivialized. Rather, the military family and spouse is recognized as crucial to military effectiveness and organizational outcomes. Their contributions are recognized in policy and in statements by military and political leadership and substantiated with institutional programs and resources. Alongside this acknowledgment, and as the CAF attempts to alleviate the burden service life places on military families, the CAF is reinforcing traditional gender norms and dynamics. Through resilience training, caregiving plans, marriage supports, and military caregiver resources, the CAF is enlisting the military family into operational effectiveness based on unequal gender norms. These strategies relieve the CAF from providing more substantial support to military families and personnel. The adage that military families are "the strength behind the uniform" signals the CAF's reliance on spousal labour and evokes patriarchal ideas about families that are comprised of spouses who are both devoted and subservient to the service member and the military. Present-day strategies to value the military family's contributions privilege a particular gendered contribution, which raise doubts about gender equality in CAF families and the broader CAF community.

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Missing the Point: A Critical Reflection on Operation HONOUR and Reactions to Military Sexual Misconduct by Veterans of the Canadian Armed Forces

Walter Callaghan is a PhD candidate (medical anthropology) in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Toronto. His dissertation is tentatively titled "The Subjective Experience of Moral Injuries: Canadian veterans and the meaning they make of psychological distress." He is also a veteran of the Canadian Armed Forces, having served as a commissioned officer from 2001 to 2010.

Abstract: While there has undoubtedly been progress made in regards to the inclusion of women and LGBTQ+ individuals as full members of the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF), it is questionable as to whether the organizational culture has shifted since these efforts were initiated almost thirty years ago. This article argues that resistance to culture change is based in sexist beliefs and attitudes, which are most noticeable in discussions related to Operation HONOUR, the CAF initiative meant to purposefully change military culture in an effort to eliminate sexual misconduct. The article critically reflects on how the CAF has presented results from surveys aimed at examining the beliefs and perceptions of current serving members in regards to sexual misconduct in the military. It argues that the CAF is missing key points of analysis, particularly in failing to identify and analyse the beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours that make up a problematic and misogynistic military culture. To address this, the article presents a taxonomy of sexism to help understand the attitudes of soldiers and veterans. Based on this taxonomy and informed by long-term and ongoing ethnographic research, the article then outlines a spectrum of behavioural archetypes, namely: (1) allyship to victims; (2) wilful blindness to the prevalence of and harms caused by military sexual misconduct; and (3) a negative and misogynistic response tied to what has been termed as toxic masculinity. Understanding these behaviours and their embeddedness in veterans' self-perceptions and the military's culture is key to achieving CAF culture change in the context of systemic sexual misconduct.

Keywords: Canadian Armed Forces, ethnography, military culture, military masculinity, sexism, sexual misconduct

The last century (and a bit) has seen remarkable gains in terms of women serving in the Canadian military, from being limited to roles as nursing sisters to being able to serve in any position within the military.[1] But this access and integration is overshadowed by an organizational culture that has been described by the Deschamps Report as highly sexualized and hypermasculine (Deschamps 2015). The Deschamps Report was the product of an external review of the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF), commissioned by General Lawson, then Chief of Defence Staff, in response to media reports on incidents of sexual harassment and sexual assault within the CAF. Operation HONOUR, the official response of the CAF to the findings of the Deschamps Report, has as one of its fundamental objectives to change the hypermasculine culture of the CAF.

This article explores the culture of the CAF by examining the social attitudes and related behaviours of serving members and veterans in response to sexual misconduct in the CAF, and in response to initiatives like Operation HONOUR. Sexual misconduct, as defined by the CAF, ranges from sexual harassment and gender discrimination to sexual assault.[2] In an effort to understand what is happening in the CAF in terms of sexual misconduct, the implementation of Operation HONOUR, and the potential for culture change, this article first examines several iterations of the Survey on Sexual Misconduct in the Canadian Armed Forces (SSMCAF), a survey administered to serving members of the CAF by Statistics Canada (Cotter 2016, 2019). The findings of these surveys have been largely limited to internal reports in the Department of National Defence, though some results have been made publicly available by Statistics Canada.

In this article, I discuss how the survey results have been disseminated by the CAF, using conference presentations I attended as an example. The CAF has publicly framed the survey findings by focusing on (1) the extent to which members of the CAF know about Operation HONOUR; and (2) if they believe that there is a problem with sexual misconduct within the CAF. By focusing on these two areas, I argue that the CAF continues to "miss the point" on how to create culture change because they do not address the values and their associated behaviours that underpin the prevalence of sexual misconduct within the CAF. History seems to be repeating itself, as the Deschamps Report called out the CAF for having a similarly narrow, misleading, and erroneous focus in how it responded to and represented findings from earlier surveys on harassment, diversity, and employment equity (Deschamps 2015).[3]

After identifying what is missing from the CAF analysis, I introduce an extant taxonomy of sexism developed by Lauren Young and Margaret Nauta (2013) to help make sense of military members' attitudes towards sexual harassment and assault. This taxonomy consists of *old-fashioned sexism*, *modern sexism*, *hostile sexism*, and *benevolent sexism*. While elements of this taxonomy have been around since at least the 1990s, they have not been picked up and applied, particularly in military settings where this taxonomy can be of use in understanding the value systems that underpin military culture and how that culture impacts and creates space for military sexual misconduct and trauma to occur.

Finally, I use Young and Nauta's taxonomy to identify a spectrum of behaviour I have observed during my ethnographic research among veterans in response to the findings of the Deschamps Report and Operation HONOUR: (1) potential allyship with victims; (2) wilful blindness to the prevalence of and harms caused by military sexual misconduct; and (3) a negative and misogynistic response tied to what has been termed as toxic masculinity. These three moments or archetypes are not static but contextually fluid and dependent on the social relations of the actor, the situation, and the victim, as will be explained.

The findings and discussion in the third section of the article are based on long-term, ongoing ethnographic research I am conducting with veterans of the CAF as part of a dissertation project in medical anthropology that examines the subjective experiences of psychological distress and moral injuries.[4] This ethnographic research has included intensive participatory observation

in multiple field-sites, involving both in-person and virtual/online settings. During interactions with veterans in this way, by attending protests, meet-and-greets, hearings at government panels, and a wide variety of other events, the focus has been on how veterans interact with each other in a natural setting, observing what topics are discussed and how they are discussed, with the discussions being led completely by the veterans rather than by an external research protocol being applied to them. Similarly, in observing interactions between veterans in online/virtual social networks, such as Facebook groups, I am able to track and capture how veterans are presenting themselves and what they think about or how they react to certain situations. Many of the quotes used in the third section are based on interactions that occurred in several social media forums in reaction to reports in the news media about the Government of Canada settling a class-action lawsuit filed by victims of sexual misconduct in the CAF (Brewster 2019; Tasker 2018; Tunney 2019).

Readers may wonder why this ethnographic research was conducted with veterans and not with current serving members of the CAF. The simple answer is that it was easier to obtain access to veterans because research access to serving members of the CAF is tightly controlled by the Department of National Defence. Complicated by levels of bureaucratic control, active and intensive ethnographic research with current serving members of the military was not feasible. However, being a veteran of the CAF myself, and an active advocate for veterans, I find myself intimately involved in the wider veterans' community in Canada (and abroad), and well-situated to ask some of the questions that led to the development of the ideas in this article. Many of the veterans involved in this research have remarked on how they find themselves in what I would call a liminal place between the military and civilian worlds. The values and behaviours developed during their time in the military still affect their perceptions and behaviour while trying to live new lives in the civilian world. Given the role and impact of the intensive indoctrination that occurs during basic training, and how the values and beliefs introduced during that indoctrination are reinforced throughout one's life in what is akin to a total institution (Foucault 1975; Goffman 1961), veterans can provide a window into military life and culture. I therefore use insights I gained from my ethnographic research with veterans to shed light on the challenges the military is experiencing in addressing sexual misconduct, specifically those related to the underlying culture of the institution.

Readers will note that in the third section, where the voices of these veterans are presented, there are no markers indicating trade or rank of the veterans themselves. I have done this on purpose in an attempt to preclude readers from making assumptions about the prevalence of these behaviours in the different branches of the military. Without further research and analysis, it would be erroneous to make any claims that the different behaviours presented are more predominant in certain military elements or trades, or at certain rank-levels. In regard to when these veterans served and were released from the CAF, this information is not presented because there was remarkable similarity in the values and behaviours observed with these veterans despite a large temporal range in when their release from the CAF occurred, with some individuals having released from the CAF in the 1990s and others only being in the process of release at the time of ethnographic engagement. In summary, based on long-term and ongoing interaction with these veterans, I have identified problematic behaviours among the veteran community that need to be acknowledged and addressed if the intended culture change underpinning Operation HONOUR is to have any real chance of success.

While there has been some insightful research published on the intersection of gender and military culture within the CAF, most of this work has focused on government policy and at an organizational level (e.g., Chapman and Eichler 2014; Davis 2009, 2019; Eichler 2013, 2016; McCristall & Baggaley 2019; Okros & Scott 2015; Taber 2018, 2020). Certainly valuable in its own right, this research has not been able to capture and describe the values, perceptions, and behaviours of serving members and veterans on an individual level, especially those who resist the call for culture change put forward with Operation HON-

OUR. My article contributes to ongoing feminist-informed Canadian research on the military and its gendered culture by filling in this gap, particularly in providing two conceptual frameworks that will assist in targeting research and policy development efforts in effecting culture change in the CAF: (1) a taxonomy of sexism for analyzing the values and beliefs associated with gender and military sexual misconduct; and (2) a spectrum of archetypes that capture the behaviours that are based on those values and beliefs. I believe that a better understanding of how sexism operates within the military and manifests in particular behaviours among service members and veterans is a necessary first step in better understanding the prevalence of sexual misconduct, responses to sexual misconduct by military members, and how to bring about effective change.

The SSMCAF: Problematic Discourse and Missing the Point of Culture Change

In order to understand and identify any changes within the culture of the CAF, several studies have been conducted to create a baseline of knowledge in terms of the prevalence of sexual misconduct within the CAF, and the beliefs and attitudes that serving members hold towards sexual misconduct. This includes the 2016 Survey on Sexual Misconduct in the Canadian Armed Forces (SSMCAF) (Cotter 2016) and the subsequent repeat of that survey in 2018 (Burczycka 2019; Cotter 2019). Data from the 2016 and 2018 iterations of the SSMCAF (Dursun 2019), along with comparison data from the application of the SSMCAF to recruit populations of the CAF (LeBlanc 2019; LeBlanc et al. 2018, 2019), were presented at the 2019

Selected Results from Survey on Sexual Misconduct in the Canadian Armed Forces (SSMCAF)

		% of respondents who had, in the last 12 months			
	Gender	Experienced sexual assault	Experienced targeted sexualized behaviour	Experienced targeted discriminatory behaviour	Witnessed or experienced sexualized behaviour or discrimination
1. 2018 SSMCAF	Female	4.3%	24.7%	15.2%	74.7%
	Male	1.1%	12.3%	3.3%	69.8%
	Gender diverse	*	30.8%	*	76.2%
2. 2016 SSMCAF	Female	4.8%	29.1%	16.2%	83.8%
	Male	1.2%	14.2%	3.9%	79.4%
3. SSMCAF-BMQ	Female	5.6%	60.2%	33.2%	94.3%
	Male	1.5%	46.5%	5.3%	90.5%
4. SSMCAF-BMOQ	Female	*	56.3%	18.3%	94.4%
	Male	*	33.0%	2.8%	84.2%

1. 2018 SSMCAF: Regular Force only. The 2018 SSMCAF permitted respondents to self-identify their gender as other than just the binary of female/male, however with only 0.5% of respondents self-identifying as gender diverse (including transgender) the sample size was determined to be too small to provide data on certain issues (Cotter 2019).
2. 2016 SSMCAF: Regular Force only (Cotter 2016).
3. SSMCAF-BMQ: Private recruits, Basic Military Qualification (LeBlanc 2018).
4. SSMCAF-BMOQ: Officer cadets, Basic Military Officer Qualification. Approximately 1% of respondents on the SSMCAF-BMOQ reported experiencing a sexual assault; no further data was provided on this (LeBlanc 2019).

Note: The data in this table was compiled by the author from each of the reports referenced above. In their presentation at the CIMVHR Forum, these data points were buried in larger tables.

Forum of the Canadian Institute for Military and Veteran Health Research (CIMVHR), a key annual event that brings together researchers and clinicians from within and outside the military working on military and veteran health issues.

When survey data on the prevalence of experienced and/or witnessed sexual misconduct were presented by representatives of the Department of National Defence, the focus was consistently placed on how many respondents knew about Operation HONOUR and how well the respondents thought the CAF was doing in addressing issues of sexual misconduct (Dursun 2019; LeBlanc 2019). These presentations were received with some dissatisfaction by audience members who made their concerns known over what was perceived to be an attempt at "sugar-coating" the interpretation of data that clearly indicated the presence of significant issues concerning not just the prevalence of sexual misconduct within the CAF but also the perceptions of and attitudes towards sexual misconduct that were captured in each iteration of the SSMCAF. In short, these presentations and the response of audience members suggested to me that while the SSMCAF had captured some significant and important data, the purpose of these surveys had been missed altogether.

In considering sexual misconduct, the SSMCAF included definitions of sexual assault, sexualized behaviour, and sexual discrimination, and captured the incidence rates of each of these over the previous 12 months, with separate accounting for both having witnessed such incidents and also having personally experienced an incident (Burczycka 2019; Cotter 2016, 2019). For the SSMCAF (Cotter 2019), sexual assault includes "sexual attack, unwanted sexual touching, and sexual activity where unable to consent"; sexualized behaviours include inappropriate verbal or non-verbal sexual communication, sexually explicit materials, and physical contact or suggested sexual relations; and finally, sexual discrimination encompasses discrimination on the basis of sex, sexual orientation or gender identity. In terms of sexual misconduct, the 2018 SSMCAF noted that 1.6% of Regular Force members (4.3% females, 1.1% males) of the CAF had experienced sexual assault during the previous 12 months (Cotter 2019) which was not statistically different from the incident rate noted in the 2016 SSMCAF (1.7% overall: 4.8% females, 1.2% males (Cotter 2016)). The 2018 SSMCAF also found that 70% of Regular Force members (74.7% females, 69.8% males, 76.2% gender diverse) had witnessed or experienced an act of sexualized behaviour or discrimination (Cotter 2019), which was a notable decrease from the 80% of members (83.8% females, 79.4% males) who had endorsed having witnessed or experienced such acts in the 2016 iteration of the SSMCAF (Cotter 2016) but which remains disturbingly high and raises questions about the effectiveness of the implementation of Operation HONOUR.

Alarmingly, the data from the recruit SSMCAF indicated that 91.8% of private recruits (94.3% females, 90.5% males (LeBlanc et al. 2018)) and 86.4% of officer cadets (94.4% females, 84.2% males (LeBlanc et al. 2019)) had witnessed or experienced some form of sexualized behaviour or discrimination during the 12 weeks of their basic military qualification training, with 5.6% of females and 1.5% of males reporting having experienced a sexual assault during their recruit training (LeBlanc et al. 2018). An important limitation of the recruit SSMCAF is that it was only administered to individuals who successfully completed BMQ (Basic Military Qualification, for private recruits) or BMOQ (Basic Military Officer Qualification, for officer cadets). It is not stated what the completion rates were for these courses or, potentially more importantly, why individuals did not complete these courses.[5]

When these alarming numbers were presented at CIMVHR 2019 (Dursun 2019; LeBlanc 2019), more effort seemed to be placed on highlighting data on serving members' knowledge of Operation HONOUR and perceptions of its effectiveness, noting that almost every respondent acknowledged awareness of the program, with 93% of males and 92% of females providing a positive endorsement ("agree" or "somewhat agree") of the survey statement "the Canadian Armed Forces currently works hard to create a workplace that prevents inappropriate sexual behaviour" (Cotter

2019; Dursun 2019). These responses led to the claim that most respondents believed that Operation HONOUR was effective (Dursun 2019). However, when the data is examined more closely, this positive endorsement drops for those who had experienced sexual assault (83% males, 77% females) or sexualized behaviour/discrimination (89% males, 76% females) (Cotter 2019). Perhaps more importantly, the survey statement "Inappropriate sexual behaviour is a problem in the Canadian Armed Forces" was positively endorsed overall by 40% of males and 53% of females, and for 38% of males and 64% of females who had experienced sexualized behaviour/discrimination and 55% of males and 76% of females who had experienced a sexual assault (Cotter 2019). Instead of attempting to present only the more positive perception that the CAF is addressing issues of sexualized behaviour as was done at CIMVHR 2019 (Dursun 2019), the positive endorsement of both statements needs to be taken together and should be read as: there continues to be a problem with inappropriate sexualized behaviour in the CAF and serving members believe that the CAF is attempting to fix this problem.

The 2018 version of the SSMCAF also included questions regarding bystander interventions (Cotter 2019), but such interventions were found to have occurred at fairly low rates and with women being significantly more likely to take some form of intervening action than men.[6] In cases of inappropriate verbal or non-verbal communication (sexual jokes, unwanted sexual attention, inappropriate sexual comments, and inappropriate discussion about sex life), 49% of women versus 43% of men took action in at least one instance. This was similar for incidents involving sexually explicit materials, physical contact, or suggested sexual relations, where 50% of women versus 38% of men took action in at least one instance. In cases of witnessing discrimination based on sex, sexual orientation, or gender identity, action was taken in at least one instance by 59% of women and 43% of men. The predominant action taken was talking to the person responsible for the behaviour; formal reporting of the incident occurred far less often with only 33% of women reporting the second category of behaviour (sexually explicit materials, physical contact, or suggested sexual relations). It should be noted that the list of possible actions taken were not mutually exclusive, and it is more than likely that individuals both spoke to the person responsible for the behaviour and officially reported the incident. However, the low level of reporting is problematic, as are the reasons for not reporting incidents (discussed below). This in turn may be one reason why the Department of National Defence has introduced a duty-to-report (Department of National Defence 2019).

The reasons for not intervening or taking some kind of action are particularly troubling, especially in the case of inappropriate verbal or non-verbal communication where 80% of men and 70% of women did not take any action because they did not believe that any action was needed or that they did not think the behaviour was serious enough to warrant action on their part (Cotter 2019). This was a significantly more common reason for not acting than fear of negative personal consequences (endorsed by 5% of men and 12% of women), fear of negative personal consequences for those targeted (3% of men, 7% of women), or because the perpetrator was of a higher rank (6% of men, 10% of women), though it should be noted that the reasons for not taking action or intervening in some way were also not mutually exclusive and multiple reasons could be at play in any given situation. Unfortunately, the SSMCAF did not delve further into why respondents did not believe that any action was needed or that the incident being witnessed was not serious enough to warrant action.

Taxonomy of Sexism: A Conceptual Framework to Describe Beliefs and Values

This section introduces a conceptual framework of the different forms of sexism developed by Young and Nauta (2013) to help elucidate the broader culture within which sexual misconduct of all forms occurs, from sexual assault to sexual harassment and gender discrimination. Such a framework can help us understand why individuals may have believed that no action was needed in the face of witnessing an incident of sexual harassment or assault, or that an observed incident of sexual misconduct was not serious enough to

warrant action. This taxonomy was included and applied to a CAF report detailing conceptual issues regarding leadership and implicit bias within the CAF (Kocum et al. 2017) but does not seem to be included or acted upon in the CAF's discourse and analysis of the SSMCAF data described above. I believe that this framework would also be useful to the CAF in interpreting the findings of past and future iterations of the SSMCAF.

Young and Nauta's (2013) taxonomy includes several forms of sexism in relation to attitudes towards women in the military, namely: (1) *old-fashioned sexism* which holds that women are inferior and have no place in the military or, in more extreme forms, any role outside of the home in general; (2) *modern sexism*, which denies the existence of sex discrimination and holds a toxic response towards social policies aimed at improving sexual and gender equality and equity; (3) *hostile sexism*, or outright antipathy and anger towards women, particularly in relation to sexual access; and (4) *benevolent sexism*, exemplified by ostensibly prosocial behaviours that become sexist as a result of problematic perceptions of women as innocent and needing protection. While initially developed to describe the views held about female members of the military, and women in general, this taxonomy is also useful for understanding the underlying views held in relation to gender diverse servicemembers. These forms of sexism overlap with each other, with hostile sexism being a more aggressive representation of elements of old-fashioned and modern sexism, and benevolent sexism exhibiting more prosocial and subdued elements derived from both old-fashioned and modern sexism.

Old-fashioned sexism relies on sociobiological myths of the inferiority of women and other non-hetero-male genders and sexualities and is strongly connected to, and influenced by, hypermasculine tropes of the warrior as the ideal embodiment of masculinity. This idea of the masculine warrior underpins the sexist perception that women do not belong in the military. In this form of sexism, victim-blaming is rampant, particularly in forms that blame the victim's presence for the ensuing misconduct, inferring that it would not have happened if they had not been there in the first place, and that the mere presence of a female created an environment or situation where males were not able to restrain themselves. Old-fashioned sexism is reflected in the arguments put forward by the Canadian leadership in opposition to women's full integration into the combat arms during the 1980s—that the mere presence of women would be harmful to operational effectiveness and unit cohesion (Davis 2020; Eichler 2013). In terms of male victims, this can take the form of inferring that the victims are not "man enough" to be in the military, especially in the context of sexual misconduct connected to hazing rituals.

Modern sexism, on the other hand, acknowledges the inappropriateness of the values held by old-fashioned sexism, but is marked by an ideology purporting that: (1) things have changed, and that discrimination and harassment no longer exist; and (2) incidents of claimed misconduct, harassment, or discrimination are exaggerated, sensationalized, or fabricated. This form of sexism is often characterized by resentment of the integration of women and LGBTQ+ individuals into the CAF and the accompanying change of culture. Lucie Kocum et al. (2017) provide a detailed discussion of the differences between old-fashioned and modern/contemporary sexism, particularly in regard to the change from overt to covert/subtle acts of discrimination and misogyny, including differentiating between covert and subtle forms of harmful behaviour and their underlying attitudes. Modern sexism in the military manifests, for example, in that while women are now technically permitted into all roles and trades within the CAF, the perpetuation of a masculine ideal continues to limit non-male participation and representation within the military (Davis 2020; Eichler 2013).

Hostile sexism is related to the behavioural enactment of misogynistic values represented by both old-fashioned and modern sexism, and while the term might instill a belief that such acts are inherently overt in nature, both Young and Nauta (2013) and Kocum et al. (2017) illustrate how hostile sexism can also be enacted covertly or subtly. The key indicator of hostile sexism is the presence of antipathy, or even overt hatred, toward women or LGBTQ+, or even male vic-

tims. The Deschamps Report noted some aspects of hostile sexism in the military, expressed in the normalized sexualized and hypermasculine culture (Deschamps 2015).

Benevolent sexism is perhaps the form of sexism that will be the most problematic for Operation HONOUR to address, as it is intimately linked to the socially constructed identity of the Canadian Armed Forces member as protector and hero, and conceives of anyone who does not exhibit, demonstrate, or perform the masculinity associated with this ideal as people needing protection. Kocum et al. (2017) argue that "although seemingly positive, these 'protective' views of women are further damaging to women's advancement in the workforce, as they restrict women's employment opportunities and ultimately condone sexism by construing it as inevitable" (23).

The taxonomy of sexist beliefs described by Young and Nauta (2013) provides us with a good starting point to understand the performative behaviour and masculinized military culture of veterans and serving members of the CAF—and why individuals behave the way they do towards victims of sexual misconduct. However, the taxonomy itself does not describe or capture what that behaviour is. Therefore, in the following section of this article I provide examples of behaviours I have observed during fieldwork to elaborate on how the taxonomy of sexism manifests.

Allyship, Wilful Blindness, and Toxic Masculinity: A Continuum of Performative Behaviour

Building on Young and Nauta's (2013) taxonomy, I have found three archetypes of performative behaviour in response to Operation HONOUR through my ethnographic research with veterans: (1) *allyship*; (2) *wilful blindness*; and (3) *toxic masculinity*.[7] These archetypes exist along a continuum, and the positionality of any given individual on that continuum is not static but highly mobile and context dependent. This fluidity becomes apparent when issues of female, male, or LGBTQ+ victims of sexual misconduct are being considered. For instance, an individual could conceivably act as an ally towards female victims of sexual assault but be wilfully blind to the prevalence and effects of sexual harassment; or they could be supportive of female victims of all forms of sexual misconduct but have hostile and toxic responses to male or gender-diverse victims.

Allyship is connected to positive and supportive bystander behaviour, including the open acknowledgement that a problem exists within the culture of the CAF as well as willingly acting to intervene and put a stop to acts of sexual misconduct and discrimination. While perhaps still the rarest of the archetypes observed within the veteran community, there are individuals who are willing to step forward and risk social exclusion by taking action when instances of harassment or discrimination, including hostile acts of both old-fashioned and modern sexism, are committed by other members of the veterans' community. Some of these individuals profess to have been willing to act as allies for long periods of time, even prior to joining the military, while others have found themselves drawn to become allies in part as a result of the psychological distress that they have themselves endured. Interestingly, the most outspoken and active of "allies" that I have encountered are individuals who have trauma histories unrelated to either combat or military sexual trauma. As Charles, a male veteran, succinctly puts it:

> Yeah, I'm hurting. I think it makes me more open to the pain that other people are experiencing, and who am I to make any judgement over why they're hurting. They're hurting, that's enough for me. But when I see other male veterans dismiss that pain or call it fake or put it down as not being as serious as theirs because they were over in the sandbox, especially when what they're dismissing is pain caused by the sexism that we were all a part of … that pisses me off. But I can do something about that now. I can call these assholes out for what they are. I can't change what happened, but I can help put a stop to it continuing.

This veteran, like many other veterans I encountered who are actively engaged in challenging any incident of sexism or sexual misconduct, sees his interventions

as part of his own healing, as being both a process and result of post-traumatic growth. He believes that he has become more aware and sensitive to the experiences of others and finds himself unable to step aside and remain silent, acknowledging that he had failed to act in the past and feels a degree of guilt over his past inaction. He frequently wonders whether his lack of action may have led to a perpetrator committing sexual assault at some point. Many of these veterans acknowledge that their past behaviour while they were still serving in the CAF was problematic, admitting to and trying to make amends for their own personal participation in what they perceive to be a toxic environment and culture.

However, there is a fine line between allyship and benevolent sexism, a line that is not always clearly delineated and can be difficult to identify, again largely because of the "protector" role taken on by many/most members of the military. This line is difficult to manage, particularly for veterans who are newly engaged with this type of activism while also balancing their own issues of emotion regulation connected to post-traumatic stress disorder, most especially when that PTSD is derived from a moral injury.[8] The impulse to act without paying attention to the desires or wishes of victims or recipients of sexist remarks or behaviour creates a situation where the would-be ally is performing an act of benevolent sexism in that there is little or no opportunity given to the victim to determine on their own what they wish to be done in response to sexual misconduct, in effect denying them agency and autonomy. Paying attention to the needs or wishes of would-be victims takes time, and most of the "allies" who have shared their experiences throughout this research project have acknowledged that they have struggled with balancing this with their own personal drive to act and react to situations or behaviours that they perceive as being extremely problematic and in need of challenge.

On the other side of the spectrum are those veterans who perform *toxic masculinity*—those who openly and unrepentantly engage in acts of hostile sexism, both of the old-fashioned and modern/contemporary forms, though the former is definitely more noticeable in its violently sexual objectification of women and dehumanization of LGBTQ+ individuals. Endorsement and use of rape-myths is prevalent amongst these veterans, and challenges towards such behaviour are frequently met with open hostility and derision. For example, Ryan, a male veteran, easily and openly remarked during a discussion about the Deschamps Report and the prevalence of sexual misconduct noted in that report: "If one cannot handle this lifestyle don't take on this kind of occupation and then complain about it." Ryan went on to endorse a position clearly holding views of old-fashioned sexism where, in his mind, even if the victims were actually sexually assaulted, they were to blame for being where they should not have been in the first place, that they brought the assault on by being "teases" simply by virtue of being female, and also endorsing the rape-myth that men have "undeniable sexual urges."

Just as common as the hostile sexism put forward by Ryan was the attempt to frame accusations of sexual assault or sexual misconduct as being connected to revenge, as put forward by James, another male veteran: "How about the offended be required to prove intent as well—most of these issues are BS for the most part and based on revenge, in my opinion." This position, that the accusations are fabricated or exaggerated, was also endorsed by a handful of female veterans, such as Lindsay, who became quite agitated and aggressive during a similar discussion about sexual misconduct in the military: "I also witnessed that there were often two sides to a story that never got told! Hmmm?"

Each of these encounters with veterans who were enacting hostile sexism in response to questions and discussions centered on sexual misconduct in the military created ethical dilemmas for me about whether and how to proceed with engaging them as participants in the larger ethnographic research project. These individuals were prone to aggressively asserting that asking any questions about this topic was "just part of a fem-nazi conspiracy to make our military useless" (Lindsay) or attempting to defend their positions on the basis of an assumed inherent biological difference between "real men and those who need to stay home and do what they're told" (Ryan).

Taking up the middle ground between these two archetypical end-points on a spectrum of behaviour are those who I label as being *wilfully blind*. This position itself, as with the allyship and toxic masculinity archetypes, should be understood as a continuum and one where the individual is not static but shifts based on the context, perhaps more so than the other two archetypes discussed above. While the veterans whose behaviour I identify as being wilfully blind admit it is possible that sexual misconduct exists and occurs, they have a hard time acknowledging the scale of the problem because they do not recall ever having witnessed an incident. As Mark explained:

> I have no doubt that this has happened. What's your point? The CAF is representative of Canadian society and as such has the same issues. My only point is that I have never seen or witnessed or heard of sexual harassment or assault in the places that I served while I was there. I find this weird because I was a support trade and a support officer my entire 35-year career where we would have had the largest number of female service women (sic). It should be noted that there is no statute of limitations on sexual assault. If there is anyone out there that has been sexually assaulted, they should report it. This type of behaviour is totally unacceptable and illegal.

For Mark, there is no question that sexual misconduct occurs, and that it should be punished, but the question for him is how prevalent it is, and how serious it is. There is a degree of modern/contemporary sexism at play in Mark's thinking, in that he struggles to accept that the problem is as common or prevalent as the SSMCAF surveys (presented earlier in this article) and the Deschamps Report indicate. Positions like Mark's, at times, tend to cross over into the realm of toxic masculinity. While not openly challenging that accusations are fabricated, he does admit to wondering how often an incident might just be the result of a misunderstanding and miscommunication between males and females. He attempted to defend his position further by admitting that while such incidents might cause harm to someone, such misunderstandings or miscommunication should not end someone's career. There is a clear cognitive dissonance exhibited here as to the extent of harm that can be caused by prolonged exposure to a toxic masculine environment where sexualized behaviour is permitted to exist because, as similar-thinking veterans frequently responded upon being challenged, "it's just harmless fun." In light of the rates of witnessing that were found in the SSMCAF surveys, it is difficult to fathom how someone could spend multiple decades in the CAF and not witness at least one instance of sexual misconduct unless the individual is purposefully turning a blind eye. Further, as I experienced when speaking with Mark, challenging such a position with data like that from the SSMCAF can lead to hostility, curtailing opportunities to delve further into how and why they think and behave in these ways.

In my ethnographic research, I have observed that acts of wilful blindness often go hand-in-hand with a suspicion towards the motives of Operation HONOUR. This suspicion seems to be based in cynicism connected to modern or contemporary sexism that holds to the position that gender integration was an endpoint wherein "equality" has been achieved and further work is neither needed nor welcome. This is demonstrated by another of James' comments: "Well it will be abused just like everything else in the past 10 years, if we reinstall common sense into this world maybe things would work out." For James, the entire purpose of Operation HONOUR is believed to be one intended to force military members to accept things that do not exist; Operation HONOUR opens the door to what he perceives as being revenge-motivated persecution of men rather than an attempt to change a toxic culture and create a more welcoming and hospitable work environment. This form of wilful blindness, and the belief that these changes are harmful rather than helpful, is not unique to male veterans. It has been exhibited by female veterans as well, demonstrating the difficulty in changing a culture based on aggressive masculinity, such as this response from Mary:

> That's just great. So the forces can't use force, can't touch each other, can't swear or say racial slurs. Sounds like they're being prepared for war alright. My unit made lots of inappropriate jokes and swore amongst ourselves all the time.

> It's what brought us together and bonded us to this day. And pushing and shoving was something we did that was fun. All these rules make no sense to me.

Resonating with the SSMCAF findings that bystander inaction was frequently connected to a belief that the witnessed behaviour was not serious enough to warrant intervention, Mary has a difficult time believing that there was any harm caused by the behaviour that she witnessed and participated in. For her, this behaviour was normal and expected; it helped build unit cohesion fundamental to creating an effective fighting force, and any attempt to change this culture was, and is, detrimental rather than beneficial.

However, some veterans who have struggled with acknowledging the prevalence of sexual misconduct in the CAF are open to being corrected, and while not actively engaged in allyship, there are some who have shown remorse and shock when I have provided them with a thorough description and definition of what constitutes sexual misconduct, as well as information on how existing for prolonged periods in a toxic environment affects the psychological well-being of exposed persons. While not always transitioning fully to the behaviour labelled as allyship, this willingness to accept and acknowledge that there are problems does provide hope that things can change, even if most of the veterans going through this transition tend to remain uncertain about whether Operation HONOUR is the right path to take. Given that the most common reason for bystander inaction listed in the SSMCAF surveys was not believing that the situation was serious enough, but at the same time noting high levels of witnessing sexual misconduct, sheds some light on the cultural norms and beliefs that are at play but which were not captured by the SSMCAF surveys. This demonstrated ability by some veterans to recognize wrongdoing and shift one's stance towards sexual misconduct also provides some hope that Operation HONOUR can have a positive impact through education, even though we are not seeing clear evidence of such culture change as of yet. Perhaps new iterations of the SSMCAF will find that there has been change since the 2018 iterations.

Conclusion

While the research presented in this article has focused on CAF veterans rather than currently serving members, the positions and views put forward can and should be viewed as glimpses into the culture of the CAF and provide insights that can help guide Operation HONOUR. Many of these veterans still strongly identify with the CAF. While all of these individuals have, or are in the process of being, released from the military, I have encountered the types of views and behaviours presented in this article repeatedly over the course of my near-decade-long ethnographic research.

For an organization like the CAF, culture change is not going to be easy or quick, but for initiatives like Operation HONOUR to be successful there needs to be more knowledge about, and acknowledgement of, what the underlying culture actually is, especially at the individual level among those who resist or reject the call for change inherent in Operation HONOUR. While the SSMCAF surveys provide insight into the prevalence of certain types of thinking, such as the commonly held belief that witnessed acts of sexual misconduct are not serious enough to warrant intervention, they fail to go in-depth and provide a thorough understanding of what beliefs and values underpin these reasons for inaction. Recognizing that there is only so much that can be accomplished with close-ended surveys such as the SSMCAF points to a clear need for more extensive research aimed at delving into the why and how of the behaviours and beliefs that I found in the course of my research. This failure to identify and examine the underlying values and beliefs held by members of the CAF, and the associated behaviours, is where I believe the CAF has missed the point in its effort to create culture change. This article has provided a taxonomy of sexism and related archetypes of behaviour to help enable a better understanding of where the culture of the CAF currently lies and where to focus efforts in changing that culture in positive ways.

Endnotes

1. For a critical analysis of how gender inclusion has been handled in the Canadian Armed Forces, see Davis (2020).

2. In 2019, the Canadian Department of National Defence finally released a conceptualization of sexual misconduct as being a spectrum of behaviour, acknowledging that all forms of sexual misconduct, from sexual harassment and gender discrimination to sexual assault, are problematic and can cause harm: https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/services/benefits-military/conflict-misconduct/operation-honour/training-educational-materials/spectrum-sexual-misconduct.html.

3. Deschamps Report (2015, 8): "Following the release in 2013 of the results of the 2012 Harassment and Diversity and Employment Equity surveys, the CDS circulated a message highlighting what he viewed as positive trends in the prevalence of harassment, including sexual harassment in the organization: 'The surveys present a number of positive results and trends: a large majority of our members stated that they had not experienced any of the four forms of harassment in the CAF in the past 12 months; the majority of our members do not perceive the CAF as a whole, as well as the leadership, to be tolerant of harassment; and the majority of Regular Force members believe that the CAF climate is positive and accepting of diversity.'"

4. The ethnographic research that this article is drawn from is a larger doctoral project in medical anthropology focused on how veterans make meaning of the psychological distress that they experience, with a focus on the concept of the moral injury. This larger doctoral project and its ethnographic methods received approval from the Office of Research Ethics at the University of Toronto. The names of all veterans quoted in this article are pseudonyms.

5. This is potentially important as there is the possibility that individuals who dropped out of training as a consequence of having been victimized while on course are not captured in these data sets. This possibility is similar to the noted limitations of epidemiological studies conducted on members of the CAF that were aimed at determining the prevalence and incidence rates of different mental health issues including suicide (Roland-Harris 2019), where the restriction of only administering surveys to current-serving members without medical employment limitations means that those who are currently on sick-leave or had been recently released from service were not counted, leading to numbers that were acknowledged as being potentially artificially lower than the actual epidemiological rates.

6. Initiatives in the U.S. military that tackle the problem of sexual misconduct include a focus on increasing willingness and effectiveness of members to intervene in situations where sexual misconduct is or has occurred, ranging from direct intercession to active reporting and post-trauma support. The intent is to build upon beneficial elements of unit cohesion and camaraderie to create supportive and safe environments, ultimately leading to widespread culture change. This concept of promoting and encouraging bystander intervention does seem to have been adopted by the Canadian Armed Forces as part of Operation HONOUR (for more details on the U.S. initiatives, see Gedney et al. 2018; Holland & Cipriano 2019; Holland et al. 2016; and Skopp et al. 2020).

7. The basic conceptual framework of these three archetypes was initially developed by the author while looking at how masculinity was implicated in the perpetuation of stigmatizing behaviour and attitudes towards military members and veterans with post-traumatic stress disorder (Callaghan 2014, 2018), and has been found useful in understanding a wide variety of topics and contexts encountered during the course of the doctoral research that this article is derived from. This conceptual framework was presented by the author at CIMVHR Forum 2019 (Callaghan 2019).

8. The concept of the moral injury is somewhat new and is the topic of much discussion in psychological and psychiatric circles. Where research on post-trau-

matic stress disorder has focused primarily on fear-responses, the concept of the moral injury captures other psychological and social responses to trauma, particularly trust and betrayal, shame and guilt (for an introduction to this concept, see Currier et al. 2015; de Graaf et al. 2015; Drescher et al. 2011; Holliday and Monteith 2019; Litz et al. 2009; and Shay 2014).

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Khaki and Emerald Green

Nancy Taber is a professor at Brock University. Her research explores the ways in which learning, gender, and militarism intersect in daily life, popular culture, museums, educational institutions, and military organizations. She teaches in the areas of critical adult education and sociocultural learning, with a focus on gender and militarism. Her work often draws on her experiences serving in the Canadian military as a Sea King helicopter air navigator. She is a member of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education and a professional member of the Canadian Authors Association. Dr. Taber is a former President of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education and the former Editor-in-Chief of the *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*. Dr. Taber is currently focused on fiction-based research intended to disseminate her work to a wider audience.

Abstract: A short story about a military woman struggling with family, career, and PTSD. Her perspective on her situation shifts when she visits the Canadian Museum of Human Rights with her young son.

Keywords: family, fiction, gender, military, museum, PTSD

Ruth burst out the back door of the military supply depot and gulped the freezing prairie air. She squinted as the bright sun reflected off the snow like a million shimmering knives. The same sun that'd scorched her during her tour in Afghanistan. She closed her eyes to block it out, knelt, and pressed her palms against the icy ground.

Afghanistan had been years ago, after marriage but before kids. Even so, the worst of it flashed back to her on occasion, set off by a sight, smell, or sound. This time, it'd been someone's cologne. Not the same brand, and not strong, but enough of a reminding wisp to choke her, send her racing outside. She forced the clean cold air into her lungs. She pictured her three children—Brianne, Shane, and Timothy—and her husband, Mark, who was posted to Victoria but flew back to visit every chance he could. She just needed to keep her shit together for eleven more months so she could retire with a full pension. Then there would be no more deployments, no more family separation. Only 328 days until she transformed from Army Sergeant to civilian. Tomorrow, only 327. And the next day.… She counted down, picturing the days passing. By the time she got to 250, her hands stung from the cold enough to distract her from the numbers. She stood. She could manage today. Her shift was almost over. She glanced around, making sure no one had seen her in a crouch, but she was alone. 328 more days.

When she arrived home that afternoon, she kicked through the mess of boots scattered across the front hall. "I'm back," she hollered.

"Hi Mom," Brianne yelled from her bedroom.

"Okay," Shane called from the basement.

"Timothy? You ready?" She removed her beret, jacket,

and combat boots, stowing them in the hall closet.

"For what?" Timothy said from the den.

"Are you kidding? You begged me to take you to the museum. For your project on workers, remember? Canadian Museum for Human Rights?" Why a grade-one student needed to do research at the museum was anyone's guess, but Timothy had been insistent when he'd heard an interview about the exhibit on the radio.

"That's today?"

"For the love of god," she mumbled. "And why doesn't anyone ever put away their stuff?"

Timothy raced past her and dashed up the stairs. "Have to get my notebook."

She sighed, strode to her own room, and changed into yoga gear. One of these days she'd actually use it for exercise, but for now its stretchy material forgave the pounds she'd layered on. Her therapist said working out would help manage her stress, but who had time for that? PTSD was the official diagnosis, and though that was probably correct, Ruth tried to push away the "trauma" part of it. That was something that could get her kicked out of the military, if it interfered with her work. Even if the military had caused the trauma. The organization wasn't much for irony. Or weakness. Especially in women.

Her stomach growled. She'd used her lunch break to get Shane's braces removed. The orthodontist bills would've shattered their bank account if it weren't for their work benefits. Small mercies. She reached into her bedside table, grabbed a Mars bar, and gobbled it. As the chocolate melted in her mouth and the sugar buzzed through her, she switched her plain black-framed glasses for the pink ones Mark had given her. He'd wanted her to view the world from a rose-coloured perspective. Impossible, but it made the distance between them—three provinces and 2500km—feel just a little bit smaller.

Three years ago, when they were deciding if they'd accept postings to bases in different provinces, they'd argued about the date of her retirement. It was after Sunday dinner; they'd let the kids escape without clearing the dishes so they could talk.

"It's not worth your health," Mark had said as he loaded the dishwasher. "Every day you step onto a military base, another piece of you shrivels. Even after all this time."

"That's an exaggeration," she said. "And they're not robbing me of my pension. I need to finish my twenty years."

"I don't want to be separated from you and the kids."

"And I don't want to be a single mother. It's difficult enough to juggle everything, deal with everything, as it is."

"The kids can't come with me," he said. "I'll be deployed for six months of the year. Your posting is just on base."

What he didn't say was that he'd also seem less dedicated to the military if he was a full-time parent. Welcome to her life. "Yes, Mark, I'm aware."

"If you retire now," he said, "we can all move to Victoria together."

"Then you retire now and move with us to Winnipeg." Ruth slammed a dirty pot onto the counter.

"Why would I do that? You want to get out and I don't." Mark waved the dishtowel in frustration.

"I suppose that settles it, doesn't it?" she said.

"Maybe it would help if you talked to someone about what happened in Afghanistan."

"I do talk. To you. To my therapist."

"That's not what I mean and you know it. Things have

changed." Mark had reached out to hold her hands. "You said you trust your current supervisor. Tell him about it. And how it was swept under the rug. Or file a report on it to that centre the military created."

"Too little too late." Reporting it now wouldn't erase the pain of being told then that, in the grand scheme of things, what happened to her wasn't important.

Now, she shoved off the memory, adjusted her glasses, and returned to the entryway. There were still boots everywhere, and no sign of Timothy.

"Timothy, we said we'd leave at 5:30." She managed to keep her voice just short of a bellow. She pulled on her bomber jacket.

He bounded down the stairs. "I have thirty seconds."

"If you're not five minutes early…" she said.

"I know, I know, you're late. But according to the real world," he held his Sponge Bob SquarePants watch out, "I still have ten seconds."

"The military is the real world. Just different than the civilian one."

"Will you be different when you retire?"

God, she hoped so. "Bundle up. I'll wait outside." She leaned past him and hollered, "Shane and Brianne, we're going."

The kids called out their good-byes.

"Lasagna's in the fridge. Two minutes in the microwave for each piece should do it," Ruth said.

"Yes!" said Shane. "Cheese, cheese, cheese. No sticky braces."

"Make sure you brush those expensive teeth after dinner," Ruth said.

"I need a permission slip signed for my soccer tournament," Brianne yelled.

"When I get home. And put away your crap." She shook her head. It wasn't their fault every ounce of her patience was eaten away trying to stay calm at work. When the jokes about the military's Operation HONOUR started—Operation HOP-ON-HER some of her colleagues renamed it—Ruth kept her mouth shut. When the survey asking who'd experienced harassment had been circulated to their email accounts, she'd ignored the guffaws, the comments that women couldn't take a joke. It was something she'd dealt with her entire service. Not all the time, of course. There were good people in the military. She'd married one of the best. Still.… She stepped outside and willed her mood to cool with the frosty wind.

Timothy slammed the door of the house a few minutes later. He wore his toque backwards, mittens on the wrong hands, and his brother's boots.

"There's a reason you each have your own cubbies," she said. "To keep your stuff from getting mixed up."

"Did it on purpose. Shane said I couldn't fill his shoes, but I can. Just had to wear extra socks."

She locked the front door as Timothy threw himself onto the snowy front lawn.

"Car," she said. "Now."

Twenty minutes later, they arrived at the museum's parking lot. "Remember the plan?" She'd printed a map of the museum, traced their route to the workers' exhibit, and marked a meeting place.

Timothy yanked a crumpled piece of paper from his pocket. "Yeah, got it. But why do I need it? They have signs at the museum, you know."

"If you're prepared—" she said.

"You'll never be surprised," he finished. "But surprises are fun."

"Parties can be fun. Balloons can be fun. Surprises, not so much."

Ruth locked the car and clasped Timothy's hand. The museum's glowing glass structure seemed like a floating cloud, with a tower that spiralled into the night sky. Ruth's eyes focused on the curved entrance as she tugged her son forward.

"Did you know it has one entire kilometre of ramps? I'm gonna run all the way up." He lifted onto his tiptoes. "And all the way down." He bent his knees into a duck walk. "After we can take the elevator to the tower." He straightened into a normal gait.

"We're here for a project, not to explore."

"We can do both."

"Work first, then we'll see."

As they entered the spacious lobby, had their tickets scanned, and hung up their coats, Ruth pointed out the emergency exits. "Don't use them unless there's a fire, attack, or disaster. Meet me at the information desk if we get separated." Her older children had started rolling their eyes whenever she launched into a "safety briefing," as they called it, but Timothy still listened.

"Got it." He ran ahead.

"Stay close," she called after him.

He slowed his pace to an elongated stride. She caught up at the ramp's closed-in and dimly lit entrance. She stopped and turned. "Is the ramp like this the whole way?" she asked their ticket scanner.

"What do you mean?"

"It's a tunnel."

"It opens up. Takes you from darkness into light. You'll see."

Timothy turned his face up to her. "Mom? Want to hold my hand?"

"Thanks, hon." She took it and squeezed. "I'm fine. You go on." Timothy, of all her children, was the most sensitive to her moods, but his sweetness both warmed and twisted her in equal measure. It was a reminder that he was affected by what had happened to her, even though he'd been born long after.

Timothy ran forward, dodging other visitors with just enough space so she didn't have to yell at him.

"It's perfectly safe," she muttered as she followed. "Don't be an idiot." After a few twists and turns, the tunnel opened into a large darkened room on the second floor, with several people scattered throughout. There was a long screen that ran the length of the room, playing a film about human rights. On the other side were dozens of blue, orange, and burgundy signs highlighting world-wide historic events.

Timothy approached three glass cases in the middle, labelled *Rights on the Job*. "Found them."

"Which are you going to choose?"

"'Hidden Hazards Underground.' See the cool helmet?"

She glanced at the case. The exhibit was about uranium miners in Elliott Lake, lackluster safety equipment, and cancer rates. She shivered at a picture of two miners digging into cavern walls. All that rock and dirt. Danger lurking. "It's a hard hat."

Timothy sat on a bench to write in his notebook. "Can you take a picture of me? Make sure you get the case in the background. This is gonna be the best. Bet nobody else thought of coming here."

She snapped a photo. "Tell me when you're done." She turned away, her eyes skittering over the jumbled timeline of events: 1864-1949, Geneva Conventions call for humanitarian treatment of war victims; 1791, Olympe de Gouges publishes *Declaration of the Rights*

of Woman and the Female Citizen. A small panel, with a video of a female Major-General discussing the rights of women in the military, grabbed her attention. Equal rights my ass. Maybe on paper. She stabbed at the panel to stop it. No visitor controls. Damn. The background changed to an image of a desert, enveloping her in a memory of heat and dust. Combatants. Body bags. And… memories of that night swirled dangerously close to her.

Timothy tugged on her sleeve. "Mom!"

Ruth shook her head to chase her thoughts away. "Sorry, hon, what?"

"Why didn't you answer me?"

"I was just…watching the film."

"It's over."

"Right. How's the research going?"

"All done."

"Great, let's go."

"Please, can we stay? It's still early. I did my homework. I even cleaned my room after school. Sort of. I think I forgot about my socks. But still. Pleeease."

She bent down and smooshed him in a hug.

"Ugh. Too tight."

She sniffed. "Just a thank-you for cleaning your room."

"Could my reward be the museum instead?"

"For a bit longer." She released him and he dashed off.

"Wowza," he said from around a corner as she rushed to keep up. "You gotta see this."

She turned into a bright corridor and gaped at gold-coloured ramps that shimmered as they criss-crossed the space. Up, up, and up. "It's beautiful."

Timothy pulled on her hand. "Let's race up the ramp."

"No running. You walk quickly and I'll walk slowly. Wait for me before you go around each bend so you stay in sight."

"Okay."

He led and she followed. As she stepped towards the ramp, she passed the Share your Story video booth, where visitors could record stories about their rights that were violated and rights that were defended. She'd read about it when she'd skimmed through the museum's website a few days ago. She felt a fleeting tug of temptation to tell her own story. What happened over a decade ago at Camp Nathan Smith in Afghanistan. She closed her eyes and the memories overtook her.

She had stayed past her regular shift to finish inventory. They were engaged in reconstruction efforts to build fifty schools and she didn't want one little girl to go without an education because she'd messed up a reconstruction order: building materials, chalkboards, textbooks, and pencils. More fulfilling than ordering grenades and bullets. She'd walked into the hot night air as the stars burned brightly above. It was then that her life split into the before and after.

He—she'd never discovered who he was but he'd been wearing a military uniform, she could make out that much—had grabbed her from behind. Her mind had whirled. He forced her into a storage container and slammed her onto the metal floor. Pain shot through her body. By the time she'd gained her breath back, he'd latched the door.

"Keep your mouth shut and I won't hurt you," he'd said.

But that was a lie.

When she'd crawled out of that container as the sun

rose, she'd shuffled to her superior's office to report the attack. As she'd relayed the barest of humiliating details, his eyes filled with compassion. But then he refused to meet her gaze. "Sgt. Burr," he'd said. "Ruth." He flipped through the security updates on the desk in front of him. "This is a complicated matter. Are you sure you want to go forward with this? What with the recent surge in Taliban activity…we need to stay focused on this war. On defeating these terrorists. And it's not as if you know who it was. It could have been anybody. Probably not even a Canadian."

That was when her love of the military shattered. Not after that night. But after that morning. She was just one woman, after all. Nothing more than collateral damage. Not worth an investigation. She'd thought about resigning as soon as her tour was over, but resolved to stick it out. Leaving would mean they—her attacker and her supervisor—would win, and she couldn't live with that either.

Timothy's voice pulled her back to the present. "Mom, c'mon."

She glanced at her son and continued past the video booth. Her silence was her choice, had helped her cope, but maybe it was no longer the right choice for her.

They ascended the ramp, switch-backing past the third and fourth floors. She focused on her footsteps, on her breath, and the glee on her son's face that contrasted with the sombre nature of the exhibits. With her own murky thoughts. On the fifth floor, he stopped to catch his breath in front of a row of video panels.

A green skirt in an adjacent exhibit caught Ruth's attention. Not khaki green, like her uniform, but emerald, with light green flowers embroidered at the bottom. At least, it might have been emerald when it was new. It was labelled "Skirt with bullet holes, Uganda, 2005." She peered closer. No blood. What happened to the woman who wore it? She stepped back to read the name of the exhibit: *Ododo Wa: Stories of Girls in War*. Her body trembled as she read on. The exhibit was about conjugal slavery. Ugandan girls who'd been abducted by the Lord's Resistance Army. Terrorists. But the panel explained it was the government who'd shot at the girl when she escaped with her newborn baby. The girl was betrayed by the people who were supposed to protect her; was that worse for her, that betrayal, than her abduction?

Timothy selected a tab on the panel in front of him. A women's husky voice, accompanied by an acoustic guitar, sang of a soldier, of any height, any religion, any country, a killer who fights for peace but prolongs war. A universal soldier. Just as her experience, and those of the Ododo Wa women, seemed to be universal. Connected—maybe—but not inevitable. That, she refused to accept.

"What's this one about, Mom?" His little fingers traced the child's drawings that formed the background for the exhibit. Huts, soldiers, weapons. A camp map. She resisted the urge to snatch his hands away.

"I think we should keep going," she said. "Don't you want to see the tower?"

"Are you okay?" he asked.

"Of course." She forced a reassuring smile.

He turned to look at something behind her.

She read the final panel of the Ododo Wa exhibit. Two of the girls—now women—had published memoirs about their years of captivity. There was a photograph of the women smiling. Laughing even. Did telling their story help them heal? She focused on her own reflection in the exhibit's glass. Shoulders slumped, rounded back, lifeless arms.

Timothy's reflection danced around hers to another song he'd started playing, one more lively than the one about a universal soldier. "You sure you're okay?" he asked, pausing mid-dance move to peer up at her.

"Yes," she said. This time she meant it. Maybe the video booth was worth a shot. So she could be the one

taking care of her son. Not the other way around. She squared her shoulders. Straightened her back. Waggled her fingers. Moved her feet. Dragged herself out of her desert.

She would sit in that booth and free herself of what happened by telling her story. In 328 days.

For now, she'd ascend the tower with her son.

The Fruit Machine

Lynne Gouliquer is an associate professor of Sociology at Laurentian University (Sudbury, ON, Canada). She is a Banting and an O'Brien fellow. Her research focuses on the sociology of institutions and marginalisation, as they apply to groups such as women in the Canadian military, LGBTQ2IA+ soldiers and their families, women firefighters, oldest-older adults living in place, and Métis people. She is a military survivor/veteran of the LGBT Purge campaign and a two-spirit Métis. She is the co-founder of the Psycho-Social Ethnography of the Common Place (P-SEC) methodology and co-director of the P-SEC Research Group (https://p-sec.org/).

Carmen Poulin is the Associate Dean of Arts (Research & Graduate Studies) and a professor in Psychology and Gender & Women's Studies at the University of New Brunswick, Canada. Her research focuses on the impact of social practices and ideologies on women and marginalised groups' daily lives. In particular, she is interested in the experiences of women and marginalised groups (e.g., women firefighters, LGBTQ+ in the military) within men-dominated organisations. She is the co-developer of the Psycho-Social Ethnography of the Common Place (P-SEC) methodology and co-director of the P-SEC Research Group (https://p-sec.org/)

The P-SEC Research Group is a multi-disciplinary group at the time comprised of Alissa Moore, Jennifer McWilliams, Lena Mohamad, Sandrine Poulin, Ursula Cafaro, Brandon Portelance, Sophia Konerman, and Gabriellange Parent.

Film under Review: *The Fruit Machine*. 2018. Directed by Sarah Fodey. Produced by Han Nguyen, Derek Diorio, and Sarah Fodey. SandBay Entertainment. Ottawa and Toronto.

Available at https://www.tvo.org/video/documentaries/the-fruit-machine-feature-version

Abstract: The following is a review of *The Fruit Machine* documentary film directed by Sarah Fodey. This documentary sheds light on a dark period in Canadian history. Using the testimonials of survivors and historical experts, *The Fruit Machine* film illustrates how a democratic state could legally wage a discriminatory campaign against its own citizens whose only crime was being (or suspected to be) "homosexual." For fifty years, Canadian state institutions hunted down and interrogated thousands of individuals suspected of homosexuality. This film is a must-see.

Keywords: discrimination, gender, investigations, LGBT Purge campaign, military, prisoners of war, The Fruit Machine

The Fruit Machine is a Canadian documentary film written and directed by Sarah Fodey and released in 2018. It presents as something between a documentary and a spy movie, yet it is one hundred percent based in reality—a Canadian reality. This film details how Canadian soldiers, civil servants, and police officers serving in our national institutions—the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF), Civil Service, and Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP)—were investigated, intimidated, and interrogated like prisoners of war from the 1950s to the 1990s. Using the testimonies of numerous survivors and subject-matter experts (e.g., journalists and academics), the film illustrates how thousands of people lost their job, their health, their confidence, their future, their dream, and their trust in the Canadian state. *The Fruit Machine* tells the story of what is now known as the Canadian LGBT Purge campaign and unveils a piece of Canadian history that has remained invisible and unaddressed for many years.

The first half of *The Fruit Machine* focuses primarily on the historical context of the LGBT Purge, including the Cold War. Intertwined with this historical section are the stories of a number of men Civil Service Purge survivors who were investigated and lost their jobs and the story of a retired Drag Queen performer who worked at an infamous gay bar in Ottawa during the Purge campaign. Through this particular telling of history, the RCMP is portrayed as the guardian of national security as well as the main perpetrator of the investigations and terminations. The producers anchor the film in the late 1940s to the 1970s, a time when governments demagogued that homosexuality was one of the western world's greatest enemies. The belief that communist enemies (i.e. the Russians) could blackmail "homosexuals" (aka "sexual criminal deviants") legitimised an intrusion into the private lives of Canadians. In particular, the military's Special Investigative Unit (SIU) and the RCMP targeted and hunted down members of the CAF, Civil Service, and RCMP suspected of homosexuality.

The second half of the documentary focuses predominantly on the stories of women military Purge survivors. The producers excel in capturing the emotionally powerful testimonies of sexual violence, intimidation, and torturous interrogations. They skilfully illustrate the depth of the harm perpetrated and the young lives left in ruins. The fact that the documentary is dominated by the testimonies of military Purge survivors is not explained in the film, but it is not surprising. The CAF continued the Purge campaign until 1992, years after the RCMP and Civil Service had stopped their own Purge (Poulin, Gouliquer, and McCutcheon 2018; Poulin and Gouliquer 2012). While numerous cases were brought to the courts, the most famous and determining one was that of Michelle Douglas (Park, 1994), which ended the military's ability to officially discriminate.

When putting together a documentary, two important and related constraints are the budget and length of the film, both of which necessitate strategic choices. You need to tell the story, do it convincingly, and in the shortest amount of time possible. The producers meet this challenge admirably, but it results in an unfortunate gender division: The subject-matter experts chosen to provide the historical backdrop and analysis are mostly men. Most of the personal stories from the Purged men are interwoven into this telling of the Purge's history. In contrast, in the second half of the film, women dominate the screen as they tell their intensely emotional and devastating stories. Through this sequence in the film, men appear mostly agentic, less emotional, and in control while the women appear more emotional, passive, and non-agentic. These characteristics are often (problematically) associated with masculinity and femininity, respectively (Gouliquer 2011). The experts are convincing and so are the survivors but a byproduct is the impression of a gendered and patriarchal heteronormative script.

The decision to devote as much time to the historical overview of the Cold War, the RCMP, and the development of a device to purportedly detect homosexuality, *The Fruit Machine*, left little space for a more inclusive history of the fifty years during which the Purge campaign raged in Canada. Paring down the historical overview, however, would have turned the documentary into more of a military story, given that by the mid 1980s, the military was the only institu-

tion purging "homosexuals." Although the story of the development of a machine to detect homosexuality is riveting, it is worth noting that this machine was a failure and was used for only about three years. Nonetheless, the "fruit machine" device story captures the imagination and symbolically signifies how the Canadian government's machinery was mobilised to detect and eliminate homosexuality from its ranks.

The documentary missed an opportunity to critically examine how federal institutions used the process of *othering* sexual minorities for strategic ends. Stoking the fears of all government employees—soldiers, police officers, and civil servants—about the manufactured threat posed by homosexuality served to create an enemy within, which helped to maintain the readiness of these institutions and their personnel for war. As is noted in the film, no "homosexuals" were ever found to have been blackmailed by Russian communist intelligence. Rather, the tactics used by the RCMP and the military's SIU to extract names and confessions, including blackmailing and lying, were a means to break the morale of suspected "homosexuals" and practice interrogation skills on these substitute "prisoners of war" (Poulin 2001; Poulin, Gouliquer, and Moore 2009).

As *The Fruit Machine* illustrates, there were many instances of sexual harassment and assault within the Canadian military. Yet, as noted by military Purge survivor Patti Grey in the documentary, the assaults were ignored because the military police were "too busy chasing queers" and perpetrators were protected because "boys will be boys." The producers could have strengthened the film by providing insight on how lesbians' sexual independence and the association of femininity with weakness, gay men, and women's gender all posed a threat to the hegemonic hypermasculine warrior soldier image (see Blair and Hoskin 2015; Hoskin 2017 for their discussion on femininity). An essential feature of the Purge campaign is that it was, foremost, a deeply misogynist initiative that tried to eradicate the feminine/femininity within the soldier, civil servant, and police officer (Gouliquer 2000, 2011). Omitting analysis of these interlocking factors means that the links among sexual violence, heteronormativity, femmenegativity, and hegemonic masculinity involving gender and sexual minorities in these environments remain unexplored and unchallenged. While the documentary makes visible a tragic part of Canadian history, one wonders if it has disrupted the status quo or if it could have done more to advance an understanding of the insidious effects of misogyny and femmephobia.

In summary, *The Fruit Machine* documentary serves an important and critical role: increasing public awareness about this troubled part of Canadian history. Its brevity precludes a larger, more encompassing and complex telling of a story that spanned more than fifty years. The stories of the intimate partners of these individuals, and the stories of the soldiers, police officers, and civil servants who continued to serve but suffered the horrors of the Purge campaign remain untold (Gouliquer and Poulin 2005; Poulin 2001). Nonetheless, the documentary can be used to facilitate a deeper understanding of, and stimulate discussions with regard to, men-dominated institutions and their foundational and problematic pro-masculine, heteronormative, anti-feminine, and misogynist structures of power. *The Fruit Machine* documentary could not do it all, but perhaps, it will inspire a mini-series!

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Book Review

Intersectionality. 2nd Edition

Keisha Jefferies is a Toronto-based African Nova Scotian woman, born and raised in New Glasgow, Nova Scotia. She is a registered nurse and PhD candidate in the School of Nursing at Dalhousie University. Her research examines the leadership experiences of African Nova Scotian nurses and the implications for nursing practice and education. Her scholarly and advocacy work focus on addressing anti-Black racism in nursing, equitable admissions in post-secondary institutions, and social justice at large. Keisha has clinical and policy experience in the areas of neonatal intensive care and breastfeeding. She is a Junior Fellow with the MacEachen Institute of Public Policy and Governance at Dalhousie. Her research is funded and supported by Vanier Canada Graduate Scholarships (Vanier-CGS), Killam Trust, Research Nova Scotia, Johnson Scholarship Foundation, BRIC NS, and the Faculty of Graduate Studies and School of Nursing at Dalhousie.

Book under review: Collins, Patricia Hill and Sirma Bilge, eds. 2020. *Intersectionality. 2nd Edition*. Medford: Polity.

The second edition of *Intersectionality* by Collins and Bilge (2020) is a timely release and much-needed follow-up to the first edition published in 2016. The authors tackle important questions and issues related to intersectionality and challenge both the current understanding and applications of the concept. Collins and Bilge effectively expand upon content from the first edition while also addressing the growth and expansion of intersectionality.

The text begins with a comprehensive definition of intersectionality: "[H]ow intersecting power relations influence social relations across diverse societies as well as individual experiences in everyday life" (2). The introduction is followed by case studies that examine three different contexts to demonstrate application of intersectionality: the FIFA World Cup, global economic inequality, and the Black women's movement in Brazil. "These cases both introduce important core ideas of intersectional frameworks and demonstrate different uses of intersectionality as an analytical tool" (5). This case-study approach facilitates understanding of the six core ideas or key concepts of intersectionality: social inequality, intersecting power relations, social context, relationality, social justice, and complexity. These six key concepts, according to Collins and Bilge, constitute the foundation of intersectionality and provide guidance for its use as an analytical tool. The remainder of the text is dedicated to exploring key criticisms and considerations of intersectionality in relevant areas such as neoliberalism, social media/digital activism, extremism, identity politics, reproductive justice, social protest, workers' rights, critical education, and academia.

By investigating three distinct cases, Collins and Bilge demonstrate how intersectionality is relevant in a multitude of contexts with varying degrees of complexity through the application of intersectionality as an analytical tool. These examples, paired with salient discussion about the mis/use of intersectionality in

academia, displays the robust potential of this analytical approach across disciplines. For example, the authors describe how the interconnectedness of theory and praxis has caused confusion in academia, particularly as institutions scale up diversity, inclusion, and equity initiatives. In academic spaces, this confusion is dangerous as intersectionality may be wielded in ways that ultimately reinforce the very inequity and oppression that it is intended to eliminate. Collins and Bilge suggest that efforts to sustain critical praxis may place well-intended people and programs "on a slippery slope leading to watered-down understandings of diversity" (212). Further, "diversity initiatives have increasingly jettisoned structural analyses of social inequality in favor of individual and cultural interpretations of social problems" (211). Paradoxically, the mis/use of intersectionality has led to more nuanced anti-Black racism, colonialism, heteronormativity, class oppression, and ableism. This confusion and misuse underscore the persistent struggle between academia, activism, and intersectionality.

Fittingly, the authors address pertinent questions regarding the use of intersectionality, such as: Does intersectionality always include an analysis of race or gender or sexuality? Without providing an explicit answer to such questions, the authors' emphasis on the six key concepts within intersectionality and the ways in which these concepts are interconnected and interdependent elucidate possible answers.

While this edition addresses new issues and questions, there are two additional and more immediate areas that are left under-examined. First, the authors employ intersectionality as an analytical tool to interrogate how systems of oppression influence individuals, groups, and societies through the use of six key concepts. Yet, beyond these well-articulated concepts, the authors offer no clear instruction for how to practically "apply" or *do* intersectional analysis. In other words, application of the six key concepts provides some guidance as to how one may approach this work yet a pragmatic, detailed explanation of *doing* intersectionality remains elusive. For some readers, this pliability is welcomed as it permits the often-desired flexibility needed to address social issues. Further, it is difficult and problematic to prescribe a set formula to highly contextual complex issues. However, for those unfamiliar with or new to critical social theory or for those who require a more pragmatic method of analysis, a "how to" may be appreciated.

The second drawback relates to how intersectionality is juxtaposed with Indigenous ways of knowing. Given the extensive colonial elements embedded within Western theory, a more extensive discussion of decolonization and Indigenous ways of knowing is vital. Toward the end of the text, the authors briefly discuss ways in which intersectionality and Indigenous ways of knowing are situated in academia. Collins and Bilge also repeat throughout the book that many pertinent conversations had to forgo richer discussion. Moreover, the authors acknowledge that many of the issues that were left unpacked would require in-depth exploration in a separate chapter or a text. However, a deeper discussion of how Indigenous ways of knowing have influenced the concept of intersectionality and, conversely, how intersectionality may compliment or hinder Indigenous knowledge systems is necessary. For example, how does intersectionality align, compliment, and/or inhibit the use of other approaches, specifically decolonial and anti-racist frameworks?

The above critiques notwithstanding, the second edition of *Intersectionality* aligns well with the field of critical theory and contains many notable strengths. The writing style is accessible to an audience beyond academia. The authors provide a clear and comprehensive definition of intersectionality to serve as an anchor for those interested or invested in intersectionality, particularly as an analytical tool. Yet the text is also in-depth enough to be intellectually rewarding for critical readers. An added strength of this text is the inclusion of an informative and fulsome discussion of the genealogy of intersectionality, which highlights the contribution of writers who preceded Crenshaw, including Toni Cade Bambara (1970), Frances Beal (1969), and the Combahee River Collective (1977). By introducing these early writers, Collins and Bilge provide vivid examples of how the fundamental ideas inherent to intersectionality were applied long before there was a mainstream term. This

allows the authors to challenge misconceptions surrounding the evolution of intersectionality. Moreover, incorporating critical excerpts from these essential, formative works supports the argument for maintaining the connection between theory and praxis.

In summary, Collins and Bilge provide a useful guide to understanding and analyzing the complexities of the world through their interpretation of intersectionality and the six core ideas contained within. This text is a must-read for anyone looking to label their work as intersectional. The authors speak directly to readers open to receiving critical content that challenges traditional knowledge systems by using examples that resonate with a large, diverse audience. The text includes a solid genealogy of intersectionality and applies the theory to various complex and contemporary issues. It also strongly encourages readers to engage with many of the works that have informed intersectionality, primarily to avoid fragmentation, i.e. the separating of theory from praxis. Understanding the evolution of intersectionality not only strengthens the connection between theory and praxis, it also facilitates use of the concept in ways that align with the intended purpose of identifying and challenging oppression. As an essential text, this edition situates itself well within the larger critical social arena by aligning with the current pulse in academia, activism, and our dynamic social environment.