



In our globalized world, many countries rely on immigration for both economic and demographic reasons. Immigrants, in turn, bring with them diverse cultures, languages, religions, ethnicities, skill-sets, and perspectives. The greater participation of newcomers in many countries' workforce and the increasing diversity make-up of their population, however, are not always reflected in their armed forces. In some countries, the number one requirement to serve in the military is citizenship, while in others, immigrants who are legal residents can apply to join the armed forces. Indeed, it appears that in some instances military service is the last bastion of nationality, while in others, it offers a pathway to citizenship.

Looking at immigrant military participation across countries, what are the different recruiting policies, barriers and challenges, as well as the various approaches towards diversity and inclusion? These were some of the questions that sparked the idea for this project, underpinned by the goals of achieving greater equity, diversity, and inclusion in defence organizations, globally.

The project started as a small panel at the 2019 Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society (IUS) conference, then grew into a larger undertaking, to include a workshop, an edited volume, and this policy brief. The workshop, hosted by the Centre



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of nationality,”³ pay only lip-service to including women in their ranks, and actively mould all recruits into what they consider to be patriotic citizen-soldiers capable of defending their vision of the nation and self-constructed narratives of national identity. Other militaries have formally endorsed principles of diversity and inclusion but have backtracked in their application under the pressure of recent refugee crises and ensuing recrudescence of right-wing political nationalist movements – Sweden is one such example here. Other militaries, such as the Belgian Defence Forces “do not seem really convinced by the need for a more multicultural element reflected in its ranks”⁴ while in the Netherlands, some army officials have exhibited a clear lack of trust towards Dutch Muslim youth who are interested in pursuing careers in the military. Israel has gradually moved away from an assimilationist approach regarding various diversity groups, such as women, minorities, and immigrants; however, research in this country focuses primarily upon Jewish immigrants, paying less attention to non-Jews, such as youth born to non-Jewish migrant workers. Militaries belonging to the Five Eyes’ countries, such as Canada, Australia, and the U.S., deploy a variety of “diversity management” approaches, where “capability arguments” highlighting the instrumental benefits of a diverse institution often overshadow normative arguments claiming that armed forces must closely mirror the diversity of the societies they protect.⁵ Overall, as the workshop’s Keynote Speaker, Dr. Alan Okros, noted, the more inclined militaries are to assimilate and reshape recruits into their views of what good citizen-soldiers ought to be, the more resistant these armed forces are to policies of diversity and inclusion, and thus, the more reactive they are to social change.⁶

Opportunities to facilitate the inclusion of immigrants/non-citizens in modern militaries.

. Transitioning from exclusion to integration and ultimately to inclusion means transforming militaries into institutions capable of adapting their preferred version of the warrior-soldier model to the actual practices of their increasingly intersectional soldiers. Full inclusion acknowledges soldiers’ differences and seeks to sustain them. A delicate balance must be struck between military institutions and their soldiers, between who exactly needs to change, how, and to what extent. This means, for example, giving young immigrant/non-citizen soldiers a say in the design and progress of their own career paths in the armed forces, and empowering them to align their personal values and beliefs with those of the militaries they serve in.

. Military organizations must self-critically and reflectively recognize their shortcomings and failures; they must continue to fight to bring them about in a proactive manner. A vitally important objective in doing so is moving from mere training and formalistic certification procedures to real educational journeys in the CAF and allied armed forces. This signifies the acceptance, internalization, practice, and celebration of diversity and inclusion values that are inculcated, encouraged, monitored, and assessed on a continuous basis by experienced and committed professional role-models, as well as by means of innovative teaching and mentorship processes across all armed forces’ branches.

. Leadership in general, and educational leadership in particular, must be reframed and recognized as “distributed leadership” – a dynamic relational phenomenon embedded in fluctuating networks of actors.⁷ Such a transformation from positional leadership based on rank to character-based leadership embedded in institutions’ daily practices is of critical importance in effectively implementing diversity

and inclusion strategies at all relevant levels of large organizations such as the armed forces. This means identifying, incentivizing, and rewarding best leadership initiatives displayed by women, minorities, and immigrants/non-citizens across military institutions. Reframing in such a manner the leadership narrative and practice in militaries, such as the CAF, is an indispensable way to ensure that modern armed forces will effectively reach, appeal to, and persuade young immigrants/non-citizens to build their careers with them.

The following recommendations focus on Canada, but their applicability may extend to other allied countries around the world.

Change the law on citizenship requirements. There is a strong argument to be made for the inclusion of immigrants/non-citizens in countries' armed forces as a moral and strategic imperative. Therefore, the Canadian government should adopt legislation to allow immigrants who are permanent residents of Canada to join the CAF. A change in law may, however, be a gradual process. Based on the international perspectives surveyed in this project, we note that there is a spectrum for lawmakers to consider when determining how open or selective this change should be. It may be preferable for Canada to open its recruitment pool to allies, neighboring countries, or specific countries, much like Belgium with the European Union; India with Bhutan, Nepal, Pakistan, Tibet, and Vietnam; and Norway with Iceland, respectively.

Update and expedite security screening processes. Given today's global challenges, Canada must design and implement innovative approaches that will bring military security clearance processes in line with other Government of Canada security requirements for civilian jobs that are fully accessible to immigrants/non-citizens. The aim here is to permanently remove an internal institutional barrier that may prevent immigrants/non-citizens from building careers within the CAF. One such approach would be to allow immigrants who are permanent residents of Canada to join the CAF and start attending military schools such as the Canadian military colleges or participating in CAF initial training courses at the same time as security checks are being performed rather than only after their completion, with the understanding that their final status in the military will be determined by the outcome of such security checks. A second course of action would be for the CAF to grant full equivalence to security clearances obtained by those who served as soldiers in allied NATO countries. A third avenue would require the Department of National Defence to improve the acquisition of critical information required for security clearances from countries beyond North America and outside NATO, with whom Canada does not have strong defence ties.⁸

K^knbZg] k^Zg] b^k^f ^f [^k^f hk^i khZrb^e' The CAF must train recruiting personnel and design recruitment and career management processes that can reach, appeal to, and involve more effectively diverse individuals and members of minority groups which includes immigrants/non-citizens. The Canadian Government's 2017 Defence Policy

(SSE) made a clear commitment to work towards "a military that looks like Canada."⁹ SSE also noted that the CAF needs to become a more competitive employer within Canada's labour market to ensure it attracts and retains talented individuals. These concerns were reconfirmed by the Canadian case study presented at the workshop. This is

