



10TH ANNUAL WORKSHOP

THE NEXT GENERATION OF WOMEN LEADERS



10^E COLLOQUE ANNUEL

LA PROCHAINE GÉNÉRATION DE FEMMES LEADERS

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WORKSHOP REPORT

Executive Summary

The 10th edition of Women in International Security Canada's (WIIS-Canada) annual workshop took place in Montreal from 17 to 19 May 2017. The workshop *The Next Generation of Women Leaders* was co-organized by Dr. Cassandra Steer and Ms. Caroline Leprince, who were assisted in the coordination by Ms. Shiva Mazrouei. The 10th annual workshop provided an opportunity for 27 emerging scholars in the field of international security to present their work to an audience of senior academics, military and government personnel, human rights advocates and the general public. The annual workshop also held skill building workshops, discussions with 37 experts on the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325, as well as leadership sessions on activism and empowerment. The workshop attracted 84 attendees, from all across Canada, and from various sectors.

On the opening night, attendees had the opportunity to listen to an inspiring address by keynote speaker Brigadier-General Jennie Carignan, Canada's - and the world's - first female combat general. Brigadier-General Carignan shared her personal experiences throughout her career trajectory, and provided stirring advice to the younger women in the room in terms of seeking support, building confidence, and not letting perceived barriers stop them. Brigadier-General Carignan's speech was one of three keynote addresses of the Workshop, each providing a unique aspect of women's leadership in international security. The second day opened with a keynote address from historian Sharon Hamilton who spoke about the inclusion and struggles of women, highlighting the important historical work of the "Famous Five" - the women responsible for the legal recognition of women as "persons", which established suffrage for women in Canada. Francyne Joe, President of the Native Women's Association of Canada, delivered the final day's keynote address, reminding participants of the importance of diversity, humanity, and unity within our cause, and the need for partnership with Canada's indigenous women.

The second day of the programme was dedicated to the presentations of emerging scholars that provided a broader understanding of contemporary international security issues. The mentoring lunch, a flagship event of WIIS-Canada's workshops, once again provided junior participants the opportunity to have an in-depth conversation with their mentor over a meal, and to seek career advice. The third day was dedicated to skill building, professional development and leadership training. The *Feminist Research Methods and Design* provided highly practical advice on research methods appropriate to feminist critical analysis and gender based analysis and policy-focused research. This was followed by a session on *Best Practices in Implementing the Women, Peace and Security Agenda*, with prominent experts and practitioners that highlighted the work that is currently being done by the Government of Canada and the Canadian Armed Forces. In the next skill building activity, the attendees had the opportunity to divide into smaller groups and engage in discussions on the following themes: fostering scholar/practitioner collaboration and factors that hinder that collaboration, tips for giving media interviews, and an overview of human rights and discrimination laws in Canada to help file human rights complaints. The spirit of the workshop, in empowering women and leaders was evident and emboldened in its final panel, featuring prominent female activists, that participated in the Women's March in Montreal and Washington. This year, two artists, Anna Gilev and Victoria Heath, made artistic contributions respectively in the form of a painting of the Famous Five and an engaging video-essay on women leaders.

The celebration of our 10th anniversary coincided with the 30th anniversary of WIIS Global, the international network of which WIIS-Canada is an affiliate. To mark these anniversaries, we invited the organizing members of *Forum St Laurent sur la sécurité internationale*, Quebec's premier francophone conference on issues of international security, to a joint discussion on the theme #womenalsoknow. The discussions highlighted the need to give prominence to women experts and also looked at ways to expend gender-mainstreaming efforts in international security. The workshop concluded on Friday afternoon with the commitment to an even more engaging and exciting 11th annual workshop to take place in Calgary. Throughout the workshop participants were posting on social media using the hashtags #WIISC10, @wiiscanada, #womenalsoknow. This allowed those who were not attending to follow the highlights, and to engage in social

media discussion, as well as interaction among attendees. In particular, use of the last hashtag led to national and international promotion of the content of the workshop.

Day 1: Wednesday May 17th, 2017

Opening Night Keynote Address on Women Leaders in International Security and Defence: Brigadier-General Jennie Carignan- Chief of Staff of Army Operations, Canadian Armed Forces

Addressing the workshop, Brigadier-General Jennie Carignan stated that these events are absolutely necessary to foster an interest of women in security operations. Around the world, the countries where men and women share an equal part in society are the most prosperous. She explained that this is not a zero sum game or competition. We must not make room for one (gender) by making the other disappear. Instead, we must explore the maximum benefits of combining forces in order to make a better world for everyone. Brigadier-General Carignan also used personal anecdotes describing her time in the Canadian Armed Forces and, in particular, her experience in Kandahar, to complement the main messages of her presentation. During her career, the three most common misconceptions about women serving in the Armed Forces were that women were not suitable to fight, they were not strong enough, and that mothers cannot be soldiers. Interestingly, she noted that the similar obstacles can be met by men, since strength is traditionally associated with muscles in the warrior culture. However, in combat, she explained that the person who saves the day and saves lives is not the person who can bench press the most. Her point being that strength can take many shapes and forms. In sum, Jennie Carignan believes that we need to change perceptions about what is expected of women and flip the question on men by asking what they bring to the fight as a member of the Armed Forces.

Day 2: Thursday May 18th, 2017

Keynote address: Embracing the Loop Holes: Inspiration from the “Famous Five” for Women in International Security - Sharon Hamilton, Cultural Historian and Doctor in English Literature

Sharon Hamilton commenced the second day of the workshop by giving an eye-opening and inspirational speech. Sharon Hamilton cited poet Emily Dickinson, who thought about the particular issue of women feeling discounted, and then spoke about the “Famous Five”: Emily Murphy, Nellie McClung, Irene Parlby, Louise McKinney, and Henrietta Muir Edwards, who came together to petition for the reinterpretation of the British North America Act (BNA) in 1927, to allow women the right to participate in elections. The question was whether the word “persons” includes women. It took determination for the “Famous Five” to succeed, as the Supreme Court of Canada delivered a negative answer. Nevertheless, the “Famous Five” persisted and appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the United Kingdom, by applying to the Governor General, and on October 18, 1929, the “Famous Five” won and proved that “persons” does include women. A few months later the first female Canadian Senator was appointed on February of 1930, Cairine Reay Mackay Wilson. Sharon Hamilton reminded us that by working on the issues we believe in, we are tomorrow’s history.

The rest of the day was dedicated to the presentations of graduate students that presented their work on very pressing issues in the field of defence and security.

Panel 1: Obstacles to the Implementation of the UNSC Resolution 1325

Chair: Chantal de Jonge Oudraat

Discussant: Rebecca Jensen

Participants: Samantha Nicholl, Ishrat J. Ahmed, Carolyn Washington, Lori Oliver

In the first presentation, Samantha Nicholl asked what is preventing women's full inclusion and participation in national-level conflict mediation and negotiation, through the discussion of gender organizational theory. The author argued that national-level conflict mediation and negotiation are deeply rooted in gendered biases which privilege men's participation at the expense of women. Three gendered processes are investigated: overt decisions and procedures, images and symbols or ideologies, and interaction and construction of gender. Amongst the overt decisions and procedures, there is explicit and implicit violence by participants that serve to exclude women from mediation and negotiation processes and spaces. With respect to images and symbols, these are deeply ingrained in society, such that they become invisible. Given the essentialist view of women as inherently peaceful, it is crucial to recognize women's active role and accept that they may be violent in some cases. The third gendered process discusses how mediation and negotiation processes are performative acts, directed with power relations between men, forcing women to adopt a certain behavior as cooperative parties, which means they tend not to be heard. Further research is needed with an intersectional perspective, and gender training is needed to halt the perpetuation of exclusion of women. The policy implications are: there should be a comprehensive gender analysis of mediation and negotiation conducted by the UN, as well as intensive gender training being delivered to UN mediators. Furthermore, in regards to the Government of Canada, there should be a designated fund for the inclusion of women in the implementation of CNAP, and there should be greater support for research pertaining to the role of women as well as their impact on peace processes.

In the second presentation, Ishrat J. Ahmed discussed gender mainstreaming in United Nations Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding Missions, and investigated some of the problems of the implementation of UNSCR 1325. Women are being perceived and used as victims of war, and are not being allowed to participate in peace processes. Some of the issues of the implementation of Resolution 1325 are: its slow implementation, the words "women" and "gender" are used interchangeably, hegemonic masculinity, the gendered dichotomy of "male protector" and "female protected" that is reinforced by the resolution, and the resurgence of patriarchal rule and the marginalization of women in post conflict governance. Moreover, there is the question as to why UNPKOs often fail to gauge the needs, priorities, and potentials of women in sustaining peace, and to contain gender-based violence. Gender mainstreaming, defined as "the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies and programmes, in all areas and at all levels," is the recommended strategy. The directives for this public policy are found within the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995). Ultimately, we need further research, more women in peacekeeping, and for the academic front to link feminist theories and development studies.

The third presentation, by Carolyn Washington, explored the "over-emphasis" on women's participation as an obstacle to the successful implementation of UNSCR 1325 within NATO forces. Gender balancing and gender perspective are both crucial for the integration of UNSCR 1325, however they are not synonymous. Gender balancing consists of including both men and women at all levels of the military, whereas gender perspective considers gender based differences of both men and women reflected in their social roles and interactions in the distribution of power and access to resources (NATO Bi-SC 40-1, A-2). The key elements of the integration of a gender perspective are: command support (need for support and funding for it to work), gender advisors (GENAD) as focal points, institutionalization (when an individual with knowledge leaves the military unit, they take that knowledge with them, therefore the knowledge must be institutionalized), training for all levels, and scenario training (there should be written documents to synchronize and systematize). Ultimately, the confusion between gender balancing and gender perspective has generated an over-emphasis of gender balancing, which is an obstacle to the integration of gender perspective. The solution would be to re-

educate in regards to gender balancing and gender perspective, and to reconsider the responsibilities of GENAD in regards to recruitment.

In the fourth presentation, Lori Oliver explores the potential compatibility between the four key principles of American foreign policy and UNSCR 1325. A huge gap can be observed between policy objectives and implementation. The US is a leading super power which remains engaged in conflict zones; nonetheless, when it comes to UNSCR 1325, there is something preventing proper implementation within American foreign policy. Moreover, culture can affect the implementation of resolution 1325 in the US; hegemony and unilateralism put power and decisions in the hands of masculine actors. The example of advancement in women's rights in Afghanistan was discussed, and the author mentioned that there was a failure to bring significant change. The US should better itself and a cultural shift should occur, as the issue seems to be embedded in culture rather than tradition.

Panel 2: (Re)legitimizing the Discourse of Women, Peace and Security

Chair: Barbara Falk

Discussant: Maya Eichler

Participants: Tanya Monforte, Bushra Ebadi, Ryan Barlow

The first presentation, by Tanya Monforte, was a discourse analysis of International Relations theory relating to the terms "hard power" and "soft power". It asked how the field created a binary between the two, and argued that, on a symbolic level, the terms 'hard' and 'soft' align with 'weak' and 'strong' and 'feminine' and 'masculine', respectively. The presenter identified an intersection between the way that we think about these terms and the gendered bodies creating policy. Using the method of discourse analysis, Tanya Monforte looked at several key speeches by women in security and analyzed the ways in which gendered metaphors work or can be reconfigured to open spaces for women to participate more fully in dialogues about peace, conflict and security. She drew examples from the Trump Administration, pointing out that its characterization of its budget as 'hard power' was a way of sending a message of strength as opposed to the supposed weakness of 'soft power'. Additionally, the American ambassador to the United Nations asserted that "we don't do soft power," in an attempt to reject that term's supposed association with weakness despite her role as a diplomat. Finally, the presenter points out that former Secretary of State's Hillary Clinton's use of the term 'smart power' is a way to subvert the traditional binary in International Relations discourse by using a different metaphor.

In the second presentation, Bushra Ebadi discussed women in the United Nations Secretariat, stating that out of the around 40,000 staffers in the UN Secretariat, 34.8 percent are female. She argued that the appointment of women is more likely to happen around elections, and their proportion among male colleagues decreases as seniority increases. She then identified several barriers to gender parity in the organization. Firstly, that only four percent of media reports portrayed women as leaders, secondly, that the UN is often beholden to the will of member states, some of which are oppressive and/or male-dominated regimes. Thirdly, the UN's extensive use of unpaid internships, of which 68 percent are given to women, lacks a support and mentorship network and the compensation necessary for retention of female employees. Fourthly, there is a perception that the organizational structure of the UN is a 'boys' club'. Fifthly, women are more likely to self-eliminate during the recruitment process unless they have confidence that they are qualified. The presenter pointed to a lack of transparency in the appointment system and a prioritization of regional representation over gender parity. Lastly, women in senior roles face double-standards and a lack of professional development opportunities. Policy recommendations were made to encourage the UN to invest in professional development and formalized mentorship programs, in order to end this gender imbalance that undermines both the organization's effectiveness and its status as an example to the world.

The third presentation, by Ryan Barlow, analyzed the counter-conducts of resistance to securitization efforts. The author views security as intrinsically exclusionary and applies a relational Foucauldian conception

of power. In its discussion of resistance to governmentality, the paper uses a feminist epistemology. To illustrate and critique the assumption that control of the domestic sphere is irrelevant to war making and statecraft, Aristophanes' comedy "Lysistrata" is analyzed, wherein Greek women refused sex to their husbands until they brought an end to the Peloponnesian War. In the play, delegates from both sides meet to discuss peace with full erections. The presenter argues that the metaphor of the phallus shows men's inability to understand their own weaknesses and an inversion of the conventional metaphor of power by Lysistrata and her companions. The presenter concluded that her act is a counter-conduct which strips power from the patriarchy not via emasculation but through performative masculinity itself, and that in doing so she reclaims the rationality of governmentality.

Panel 3: Informing Canadian Policies through Gender Based Analysis

Chair: Stéphanie Bélanger

Discussant: Stéphane Roussel

Participants: Leigh Spanner, Jamie Vincken, Marin Beck, Lindsay Coombs

The first presentation, by Leigh Spanner, discussed the fact that military spouses are more likely to be unemployed or underemployed, as employers are hesitant to employ military spouses, and some individuals lose their seniority. This is recognized by the Armed Forces and is not a gendered phenomenon. However, the author considers gender: in dual service families, usually women step back to allow the man to climb ranks. Moreover, the salary of the military employee is often the main income of the family. To cope with this, spouses opt for jobs that allow them to move, such as retail or self-employment. Women are often placed in a financially precarious position, and when dependent children are involved, the expectation is that the wife will take parental leave, putting at risk the fulfillment of her job or career. The gendered assumption that caregiving is the role of women is still highly prevalent. One interview was a male going through divorce, who was humiliated, and his loyalty to the army was questioned because he had to take care of his kids; he had stated: "I just had to remarry and things would be okay." The military life necessitates adopting a traditional life, and the Canadian government has a role in either reinforcing or altering these dynamics.

The second presentation, by Jamie Vincken, explored the opportunities and challenges for women serving in the Canadian Armed forces. Women in armed forces represent 15% of the total and only 3% of the combat roles. The informal culture of the Canadian Armed Forces maintains its masculinity. There is a paradox where women are incentivized to embrace being a woman and being different, but the culture itself requires, or imposes, military masculinity, forcing them to suppress their femininity. Men are assumed to fit the military masculinity because of their sex, while women have to prove that they can do the same. Moreover, women are often valued differently than their male counterparts, and cannot socialize within some roles, risking the loss of informal opportunities, which translates to missing out on formal opportunities as well. The equipment fit of body armors is also problematic, as it does not protect nor fit women's bodies as well as it protects and fits men's bodies, which can be an obstacle to women's success. Ultimately, the policy has changed to be more integrative of women, yet its paradox is an unintended outcome.

The third presentation, by Marin Beck, discussed immigrant women's service organizations in Canada. The population of immigrant and refugee women in Canada is on the rise, meanwhile funds and support for gender-specific services are decreasing and harder to capture. The research questions considered were: how immigrant women's organizations respond to gender specific needs in a restrictive funding climate, and how the principles of neoliberalism have manifested within immigrant women's service organizations in Canada. There has been a shift from core funding to competitive contractual funds, and non-profit organizations (NPOs) rely heavily on external funding sources. NPOs are therefore under greater scrutiny today, as they must be in line with the funders' interests. 75 organizations were found offering gender-specific programs. It is important to note that these programs are important for newcomers who may be socially or economically marginalized or

isolated. Finally, the presenter offered questions for further investigation such as: why are employment programs structured the way they are, and why is gender framed as it is in organizational spaces?

The fourth presentation, by Lindsay Coombs, explored the topic of “Peace Babies” and the legacy of children fathered by UN personnel in Haiti. The expansion of the scope and mandate of peacekeeping enhanced the interaction between peacekeepers and the local population, which led to the phenomenon of UN peacekeepers fathering children while on deployment. When these men are repatriated, they leave women to raise the “peace babies” alone, lacking avenues to generate income in order to support themselves and their families. Peacekeeper fathers must be held accountable and ensure that the material needs of their “peace babies” are met, that the mother and child have access to basic necessities such as water, food, and medication, and that they have decent living conditions. Policies have been adopted to attempt to deal with the phenomenon, such as in the agreement between the UN and the Government of Haiti concerning the status of UN operations in Haiti. This is despite article 50 of that agreement, which provides UN members with legal immunity for “actions performed in their official capacity.” Ultimately, the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) has a legal obligation towards “peace babies” and their mothers, and there is a necessity for paternity support to those impacted.

Panel 4: Canada’s National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security

Chair: Beth Woroniuk

Discussant: Heather Smith

Panelists: Claire Robbins, Katelyn Stieva, Claire Gummo, Marissa Young

In the first presentation, Claire Robbins explored questions of gender mainstreaming and sexual assault in the Canadian Armed Forces with relation to the UNSCR 1325. She looked at different possible issues that pose problems for UNSCR 1325 such as the idea that the military itself may be unsafe for female service members. Moreover, she discussed Operation Honour and praised particular aspects as successes such as the fact that there is now a zero tolerance culture. Furthermore, survivors are being consulted which she believes is an important aspect in order to move forward. The presenter concluded by saying that we do have statistics to acknowledge the problem but we must assess Operation Honour deeper to really see if it is working for female service members in the Canadian Armed Forces.

In the second presentation, Katelyn Stieva explored the languages, biases and assumptions that underlie Canada’s National Action Plan (CNAP). Specifically, she looked to explore how these biases and assumptions actually portray women and what the implications of such biases are. She first asked the question of how the CNAP portrays a centralised view of women. She argued that there is a notion that women are better at peacemaking and it is this trait that justifies their inclusion. This notion reinforces a gendered idea of what is masculine and what is feminine. The document, she argues, implies that masculinity is dominant and femininity is passive. Secondly, she argued that there is a notion of universalised voice and participation, in that the CNAP implies that participation is the key objective of addressing the particular issues. In other words, there is a logic that if we increase the number of female participants, there will be more effective policy. However, she argues that this is far too simple and that we must go deeper.

Third, Claire Gummo explored the hiring and retention rates of women in the Canadian and Australian Armed Forces. She used a structured focused comparison to ask general questions about case studies that she used including: Why are efforts to recruit not working? Why are women leaving the Armed Forces? In using a most similar case study, Claire compared Canadian and Australian Armed Forces rates of retention. Her analysis was grounded in feminist theory. She also looked at how the highest level officials responded to instances of sexual violence. She argues that there is correlation, rather than causation, in terms of how higher level officials respond to sexual violence in the armed forces and retention rates in the CAF and ADF. However, she believes that further research can be done to contribute to the causal analysis of this issue.

Lastly, Marissa Young spoke about “Sisters in Arms”, a comparative analysis of the implementation of sexual misconduct policies in the Canadian, American and Norwegian Armed Forces. She argued that Canada

takes a leadership approach, the U.S. takes a legal approach, and Norway takes a training approach in responding to sexual misconduct in the Armed Forces. The researcher argues that there are three possible variables which can explain the disparity of the implementation of sexual misconduct policies in these three countries' militaries. Firstly, "military culture", or the institutionalised masculinity that is prevalent in the military, may explain the disparity in effectiveness of implementing sexual misconduct policies. Secondly, gender representation, or lack thereof, may explain the implementation of sexual misconduct policies. Lastly, the size and scope of militaries may explain how well these policies are implemented. She found that it is difficult to say whether there has been a lasting impact of the three different approaches in the three countries compared. However, she did conclude that historically embedded attitudes in the military most heavily disadvantage women.

Panel 5: Gender Perspectives on Emerging Security Threats and New Technologies

Chair: Theodore McLaughlin

Discussant: Gaëlle Rivard Piché

Participants: Mylène de Repentigny-Corbeil, Stéphanie Martel

In the first presentation, Mylène de Repentigny-Corbeil discussed the prevalence of cyber violence towards women in online spaces that are meant for opening debate and multiplying points of view. Such violence involves contempt for women's bodies and the denigration of women's presence in these spaces. Given this context, it is difficult to protect oneself against such threats when the assailant is anonymous, and that women often tolerate this violence and harassment, telling themselves that it is part of the work environment that must be dealt with. It is acknowledged that men can experience cyber violence, but not in the same way. The presenter also acknowledged the experience of racialized women as different from non-women of colour, adopting an intersectional approach to attacks on women of colour from a racial as well as a gendered perspective. She finished by presenting possible solutions to the issue: collective reflection, education on the issue, and re-examination of the laws which govern publicly transmitted content.

In the second presentation, Stéphanie Martel argued that there are divergent interpretations of regional security in the meaning of non-traditional security (NTS) in the ASEAN region. She identified three competing interpretations of NTS in this context. First, non-traditional issues are often portrayed as one of the most important sources of insecurity for ASEAN states, which in turn envisions NTS cooperation as an end in itself and a way to extend the achievements of ASEAN in maintaining regional peace to the mitigation of transnational and non-military issues. Secondly, NTS has been conceived as relating to non-sensitive or 'soft' security issues, which provides the conditions necessary for conflict resolution, and as a way of sustaining regional dialogue, when discussing more sensitive issues is not yet possible. Third, NTS is interpreted as a way of focusing on more 'people-centred' approach to security, since it refers to issues which directly impede the security of individuals and communities. The presenter argues, however, that states tend to use both NTS and human security as a pretext for restricting civil liberties, violating human rights, and avoiding the more pressing issue of intra-state conflict, which remains prevalent in many parts of the region.

Panel 6: Covert Operations, Civil Societies and Migration

Chair: Anessa Kimball

Discussant: Philippe Beaulieu-Brossard

Participants: Alessandra Jenkins, Kristen Van Houten, Andréanne Bissonnette

In the first presentation, Alessandra Jenkins discussed the sexualisation of women in working in intelligence, and how the perception of the "femme fatale" occurred in 20th century through personal accounts or public statements made to/by CIA. The researcher pointed out that women have always been involved in the history of intelligence such as in the MI5 and the CIA, however the professionalization of intelligence networks started excluding women. During World War I and World War II, men from the Western

front dictated the accounts about women from intelligence such as Mata Hari. Comparisons were drawn between the CIA and SVR: in the CIA there is no overt “honey-trapping”, whereas in KGB there is. However, there is no official evidence as to whether the KGB still promotes sex espionage or not currently. One reason behind people opening up to women in intelligence is due to perceiving them as motherly sources or figures. The researcher argues that while covert operations call for greater diversity, the “femme fatale” discourse must be pushed back, and more research should be pursued in order to further unveil realities surrounding gender identities in covert operations.

Kirsten Van Houten then presented her research conducted in South Kivu in Democratic Republic of Congo. The researcher conducted 57 interviews to answer the question “What agency and what capacity exists on the local level?” Three civil society organizations doing peacebuilding work in South Kivu were presented, each with a different thematic focus and approach. Formal organizations are predominantly run by French speaking men, and are quite far away from local realities. Meanwhile, community based structures have not always spoken French, and many of these groups were unpaid and voluntary. The risks attached are that there is a problem with funding, and it is hard for organizations to maintain relationships. The more the structure of the organization is hierarchical, the more it is difficult to communicate. Finally, the relationship between local civil society organizations and community-based structures is crucial, as it allows them to develop locally grounded peacebuilding interventions and gain the legitimacy to gain international funding.

The third presentation, by Andréanne Bissonnette, considered sexual violence against women in Mexico and Central America at the Mexico-US border. 80% of migrant women declare themselves to be victims of sexual violence, in addition to having to pay for help to cross the border. Likewise, sexual violence against women is also found in detention centers. In the US, border states restrict access to abortion, controlling women’s sexuality and forcing women to deal with pregnancies caused by sexual violence. In Mexico, in order to work in Maquiladoras, women have to go through a pregnancy test in order to be hired, and subsequently many of them also face sexual violence. The superiors are all men, while the majority of the total workers in Maquiladoras are women. Women can regain some control over their sexuality when they migrate. Ultimately, female empowerment is needed, and solutions for migrant women crossing the Mexico-US borders who face sexual violence will require further thought and research.

Panel 7: A Gender Perspective to Radicalization and Counter-Terrorism Policies

Chair: Caroline Leprince

Discussant : Veronica Kitchen

Participants: Ester E. J. Strømme, Christelle Belporo, Hailey Robinsmith, Laura Pelletier

In the first presentation, Ester E. J. Strømme pointed to a gendered discrepancy in the discourse and security concerns surrounding women in the Islamic State (IS). She argues that women’s extremism is approached differently than men’s – women’s choices are narrated in highly gendered terms such as ‘Jihadi bride’ to explain away or nullify their choices. Their motivations are sensationalized and attributed to sexual desire or insanity, effectively removing their rationality through denying that these women may want to join IS for the same reasons men would. The researcher points to court documents which sexualize and fetishize women who operate within IS rather than portray them as security concerns to be feared. She asserts that such discrepancies impede de-radicalization by ignoring the true factors. Furthermore, these gendered perceptions lead authorities to ignore potential threats and misunderstand external and internal threats, leading to the author to call for women to be viewed as agents in this context, rather than allow their varying motivations and roles within the caliphate be undermined.

The second presentation, by Christelle Belporo, points out that radicalization discourse often surrounds the image of a young man finding himself radicalized, and questions what the effects of this discourse are on women. Female victims of radicalization tend to be the most vulnerable, subject to forced marriage, rape, sexual enslavement, and strict dress code, only to face stigmatization upon reintegration into their society. She further argues that radicalized women are only addressed in the context of marriage, where, in reality, these

women can be radicalized through being marginalized, looking for liberation, looking for a lover, or seeking vengeance. The cases of the Islamist Chechen 'Black Widows,' wives of men killed by Russian forces who have carried out several suicide attacks in Russia, emphasize both the agency and complicity of radicalized women. She concluded by asking whether there truly are differences in radicalization along gendered lines, and if there necessarily is a binary between women being victims of radicalization and being radicalized themselves.

In the third presentation, Hailey Robinsmith explores women's motivations towards radicalization, given that terrorist groups do not historically respect them and there are few images in society of the female terrorist. Many radicalized women are employed and educated and are second or third generation Muslim immigrants. She outlined various categories of motivations. Firstly, these women seek identity: they can be drawn to the empowering sense of purpose found in a global cause like the caliphate, or they can seek the stability and acceptance that the Islamic State could offer them. Secondly, poor integration and political frustration due to failed assimilation policy in Europe and the perception that Islam is under threat from Western policies can lead to the radicalization of women. Thirdly, women may feel pulled towards radicalization by certain Islamic doctrines which call for them to contribute to the caliphate. Fourthly, when compared to men, female involvement is more attributed to personal or romantic motivational factors such as loss of family members and need for vengeance and a desire to marry a 'heroic' foreign fighter. She surmises that no law enforcement agency can credibly assume a 'one size fits all' approach to female terrorists.

The fourth presentation, by Laura Pelletier, analyses the intersection of various motivations for Canadian combat operations against the Islamic State (IS). The Liberal Party of Canada (LPC) switched its position to favouring a non-combat role soon upon forming a government, and the centrist party's motivations cannot, according to the paper, be explained by leftist ideology. The closer the LPC got to power, the more it was forced to consider the expectations of allies like the United States and the United Kingdom who favour a non-combat role for their NATO allies. However, there is a tension between this 'good ally' role and that of the 'good international citizen,' whose moral imperative pushes them towards a combative role against IS' atrocities. Finally, the research attributes the LPC's apparent back and forth on the issue to the tension between these two roles.

Panel 8: Who are we Protecting? The Protection of Women, Children and Non-Combatants

Chair/Présidente: Megan Bradley

Discussant/Intervenante : Leah Sarson

Participants: Emily Scott, Rachel Schmidt, Davina Basse

In the first presentation, Emily Scott discussed non-state humanitarian intervention and new directions of aid in vulnerable spaces. The researcher's field study involved interviewing aid workers in the Middle East to see why they chose to move, or not, into new areas of aid intervention. The usual response from these workers was that threat levels were quite high, and higher than they have ever been before. The researcher argued that clandestine and underground operations are being forced in the new era of wars, such as the removal of visible INGO logos or the relocation of hospitals to underground locations. Moreover, aid workers are relying on partner organizations to control efforts because of security concerns, which undermines their ability to provide the intended aid services. This is what she calls "the intervener's kiss" where there is an imagined effort without real impact. She argued that what is new in this security environment is that there is a heightened perception of threat because of a lack of guarantees in security, the nature of threats (brutal, cruel, public and performative attacks), and the deviant groups that perform them.

The second presentation, by Rachel Schmidt, focused on female disengagement from political violence. It argued that most of the discussion and literature surrounding foreign fighters is too focused on men in terms of why women might leave political violence. Moreover, the literature focuses largely on why women join violent groups and why they participate in suicide bombings, whereas there is a very small percentage of women that participate in this kind of action. Some conceptual issues were raised by Schmidt, including the

fact that a woman may disengage from a violent group without de-radicalising. These two things are often conflated. Schmidt's study uses six hypotheses which seek to explain why women disengage from political violence of which include ideas around commitment, ideology, networks and identity.

In the final presentation, Davina Bass discussed the role of international humanitarian law in protecting female non-combatants. The researcher argues that the language used in much of international humanitarian law refers to women as passive beings and whose honour ought to be protected. She considers that the language of international law must be changed in order to adequately protect women, by exploring the debate between the enforcement school of thought (we ought to change international law) and the revisionist school of thought (we ought to change the *language* in the law). The Battle of Fallujah was also used as a case study to assess women in the context of conflict as non-combatants. The presenter argued that in order to adequately protect women, we must expand the scope of the law to include non-combatants and we must acknowledge that states are the primary actors in international legislation. Therefore, larger states such as the U. must consider non-combatants in their rules of engagement and further recognise international protocols.

Best paper award: The award for best paper was presented by Julie Lindhout, the immediate past president of NATO Association of Canada, to Tanya Monforte. The abstract for Monforte's paper, titled "From Soft Power to Smart Power: De-Gendering the Language of Security" is provided above under Panel 2. Tanya Monforte's contribution was selected for the quality of her paper and her brilliant analysis of the narrative used to describe female policymakers.

Joint discussion with WIIS-Canada and Forum St-Laurent (FSL)

The second day of the 10th annual WIIS-Canada workshop concluded with a gala that brought together many who support WIIS, as well as members of Forum St. Laurent, the leading Francophone network for international security scholars. Viviana Fernandez, Assistant Director of the Human Rights and Research Education Centre, and Board member of WIIS-Canada, opened the gala by thanking the sponsors and organizers.

Stefanie von Hlatky, Chair of WIIS-Canada, spoke about the story and evolution of WIIS-Canada and offered some thoughts on next steps for the future. She said that the success of WIIS-Canada is rooted in the annual workshop because it helps academics reach beyond their own universities and expand their knowledge and networks into the Armed Forces, the government, and more. Next, Chantal de Jonge Oudraat, President of WIIS Global, spoke about the progress of WIIS as well as the beginning of a new era for WIIS. She said that the glass is half empty in the sense that we do not see enough women in leadership positions. However, the glass is half full in that there are increasing numbers of women studying and working in international security. She stated that gender perspectives ought to be incorporated into security studies programs around the world and that the actual teaching and academic side of women in security is lacking. The President of WIIS Global went on to say that we must train the next generation of security experts better in order to appropriately emphasize the importance of gender power relations. One of the ways we must do this, she said, is to increase membership of women but also men. She stated that in order to move forward we need to have more "WIIS Guys".

Lastly, board members from WIIS-Canada and Forum St-Laurent had a joint discussion chaired by co-organizer and Executive Director of WIIS-Canada, Cassandra Steer. The theme of the discussion was the international hashtag #womenalsoknow, which aims to raise the profile of women experts in many fields. They discussed the importance of male involvement in gender mainstreaming, as well as issues such as persistent underrepresentation of women despite the increased traction of networks such as WIIS.

Day 3: Friday May 19th, 2017

Research skills: Feminist Research Design in International Relations

Chair: Leah Sarson

Panelists: Veronica Kitchen, Maya Eichler, Heather Smith, Sarah Tuckey

This panel was organized by Leah Sarson, who asked the panelists to highlight some approaches that might fit into feminist research designs and methodologies, to help the junior scholars to move forward in their own research.

All the panelists had similar experiences of having to teach themselves methods that do not follow traditional positivist methodologies. Veronica Kitchen explained that non-positivist scholars must try to find ways to study questions in such a way that it still feels like a rigorous process and as such, more traditional research methods should not be discounted, nor should the training one gets on those methods. Maya Eichler laid out three things she sees that fit into a feminist research ethic: ask “where are the women?” in any research question; give a voice to the people that you study and take those voices seriously; question and reflect on your own assumptions, and do not impose your own voice on others that you are researching. Heather Smith discussed challenges with researching and writing on Indigenous women in particular. She said that what is most important to a feminist research ethic is to have attentiveness of power, attentiveness of voice, and to be suspicious of particular language and other assumptions. We must not focus only on women but also intersectionality and be attentive to who we are and how we present ourselves. Lastly, Sarah Tuckey explained that we must investigate behind the numbers and beyond the surface of what we might get from a positivist study. Also, she stated that a feminist research ethic is self-reflexive in that it challenges the researcher to see their own place within the context of that research and, furthermore, helps them to identify biases.

Next, Leah Sarson asked the panel what non-positivist research process look like. Veronica Kitchen explained that positivist research may appear to be more structured but it is often just as messy as feminist research methods. Heather Smith argued that it is an odd assumption that feminists do not have a method. Although feminist research is not always linear, the purpose is still to establish causality and there is an obligation to be well-versed in the literature. Maya Eichler stated that scholars should follow their intuition in this style of research and trust that you are asking questions that are important. She agrees with the panel that most research is non-linear and messy, but we should see getting “stuck” in research as a positive thing. Sarah Tuckey stated that the beauty of non-positivist and feminist research is that it can be messy. However, she said that it is a wonderfully honest method and is not convinced at how honest a positivist research study always is.

The final question that Leah Sarson asked the panel was how junior scholars can move forward and remain confident when many may be questioning their work. Veronica Kitchen advised the importance of developing and negotiating a roadmap with your advisor, so you can understand what they expect of you. Heather Smith explained that as a student, she was told to “keep feminism as a hobby” and not go down the path of critical theory. It is important to have support and work with people outside of your committee. Sarah Tuckey concluded by saying that it can be empowering to explain to your critics what your research is about. She also said that it is important to seek out people who are doing similar research to you and discuss with them the obstacles they have faced or troubles they have had. Research can often feel lonely and it is important to use the network of people doing the same thing as well as check in regularly with your supervisor in order to stay on top of things.

Experts' Perspectives: Best Practices in Implementing the Women, Peace and Security Agenda

Chair/Présidente: Stefanie von Hlatky

Participants: Honorable Marilou McPhedran, Lieutenant-Colonel Sarah Heer, Maryse Lavoie

Honorable Marilou McPhedran was appointed to the Senate of Canada by Justin Trudeau in 2016 and she dedicated her life as a lawyer and educator in teaching and developing sustainable change mechanisms to promote equality and diversity. She discussed strategies to engage women on gender issues and enhance their representation in policy debates. She introduced the concept of “localisation” and the importance to engage with grassroots organizations for women in conflict zones. There are some visible progress, more women are at the head of NGOs, but we also need to be thinking about the next generation of women growing up in conflict zones, and focus on the pressing need to eradicate the rape culture. Senator McPhedran also highlighted that doing this work is not easy and never will be. She spoke to the strength and courage we need as women and most importantly to always be oneself and defend your ideas.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sarah Heer described her operational experience in Afghanistan, Haiti and Sri Lanka. She is now responsible for ensuring that all policies in the CAF are in line with Employment Equity (EE) and the Canadian Human Rights Act. Lieutenant-Colonel Heer thinks we need to move beyond numbers with EE and take a step further than just representation. She said it is important that people who join the Armed Forces do not feel like their identity is stripped. This is because the most important and powerful thing is not being loud but rather being yourself. Lieutenant-Colonel Heer also talked about the need to move beyond gender neutrality towards intersectionality and that taking this step will help the Forces to be truly inclusive.

Maryse Lavoie, president of *La Force au féminin*, shared her own experience as a military officer in the Canadian Armed Forces. She said that the leadership in the CAF has changed from being transactional to transformational, where she can be herself and not just “part of the boys.” Her goal with her organization is to give tools to succeed and present models to young girls and boys and show them that it is possible to achieve their goals. She said often times women do not want to talk about their stories because they do not want to be seen as feminists. She also shared some of the challenges that women face when being deployed overseas and that male counterparts must be conscious of the different security risks faced by women in operational theater. She also highlighted the importance for men to be involved in the solution. Lastly, Ms. Lavoie concluded by telling the audience that women who are determined can move the world.

Video Essay: “What if Women Ruled the World? A Look at the Past, Present and Future.”

Creator: Victoria Heath

Victoria Heath created a video-essay that asked “What is needed for the next generation of women leaders to rule the world?” The video showed images of powerful women who have strived for equality and female representation at a number of levels through history. These women, Victoria Heath explains, have some things in common. They are all tough and courageous leaders. They did not all push explicitly for feminist agendas, but each of these women challenged the system in their own way. The video also notes that not all women are the same and therefore should not be treated as an hegemonic block. She argues that solutions must come from collaboration and cooperation with men as well. Her video can be accessed online: <https://victoriaheath.exposure.co/dear-future-leaders>.

Keynote address: The Rights of Indigenous Women

Francyne Joe, President of Native Women's Association of Canada

Francyne Joe is a member of British Columbia's Shackan First Nation, and currently Interim President of the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC). NWAC is the political voice advocating for Indigenous women living in Canada since it was incorporated in 1974, its purpose is to enhance, promote, and foster the social, economic, cultural, and political well-being of First Nations and Métis women. Ms. Joe's keynote address began with an acknowledgement that the WIIS-Canada 10th annual workshop is taking place on Kanien'kehá:ka traditional territory. Ms. Joe stated that before colonization, Indigenous communities were matrilineal before losing the right to govern themselves, transmit knowledge, and gather for traditional ceremonies. As such, Indigenous women today are using their voices to reclaim the role as leaders they once possessed.

NWAC has long advocated for the National Inquiry into Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women and Girls, which was launched this year. It is estimated that there are over 1,200 Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women, though Ms. Joe believes this is a very conservative estimate. The Inquiry is mandated to address the systemic causes of this violence, all of which are relevant to Canadian and international security. Ms. Joe sees the Inquiry as an opportunity to make Canada an example to the rest of the world on this issue of Indigenous human rights, which is local, provincial, national, and international in scope. Ms. Joe's address ended with a statement that what is needed is partnership rather than protection. She also advised aspiring leaders in advocacy to practice self-care and enjoy time with their loved ones before setting out to make tomorrow a better place for their family, their country, and the world.

Skill Building Activities: Connect, Create, Collaborate: Dissemination, Lobbying and Speaking to the Medias

Discussion leaders: Beth Woroniuk, Julie-Maude Beauchesne, Renee Vaugeois

During this skill-building activity, participants were encouraged to take part in two workshops of 30 minutes. A facilitator guided the discussions and shared strategies with the participants to better connect, create and collaborate with practitioners, the media, and human rights advocates.

In the skill-building activity led by Beth Woroniuk, the group explored whether better scholar/practitioner collaboration is a worthwhile goal, and why; and what factors hinder better collaboration. In that case it could be shortage of time, different incentives, different language, financial resources, different time horizons, and differences around strategies. What factors support better collaboration? Respect, creating spaces for discussion and exchange, searching for better understanding, identifying where there are shared goals, and respectfully acknowledging differences, are amongst answers that were discussed. Finally, the question on what can we do to build better, more supportive relationships was addressed.

In the activity led by Julie Maude Beauchesne, tips for media interviews were discussed by addressing several questions including: why one should give interviews in the media as women researchers; how one should choose interviews in which to participate; what it is that journalists seek to get from an interview vis-à-vis what the researcher aims to get out of an interview with the media. Finally, tips on giving interviews were provided and discussed.

In the activity led by Renee Vaugeois, participants gained perspective and insight regarding human rights and discrimination laws in Canada and how those relate to the workplace. Through the use of current case law from human rights tribunals, the group discussed the opportunities and challenges of filing human rights complaints, and how the provincial and federal human rights acts can be a tool to address gender discrimination and harassment, as they relate to: family status, disclosure of mental health, childcare, and non-profit work, to name a few. The duty to accommodate and the responsibilities of employees and employers were also discussed, and tips were provided on how to document concerns related to discrimination in order to help build the case for human rights cases.

Empowering Women Panel discussion: Activism and Women's March

Chair/Présidente: Élisabeth Vallet

Participants: Toula Drimonis, Cathy Wong, Irasema Coronado, Véronique Pronovost

As co-host of the Women's March in Montreal, Toula Drimonis' expectations were far exceeded with a turnout of between 6,000 and 8,000 people. The march was a powerful, inclusive, and intersectional grassroots event, providing a space for people to unite to make their voices heard, vent, and show solidarity with the United States and American women. She described the event as a hopeful awakening for the next generation of women, showing a path forward to fight subtle yet widespread inequalities that persist into the 21st century. With a background in media in the Montréal area, she encouraged female academics and professionals to always accept opportunities to show their expertise and push other women into the public eye, instead of second-guessing themselves.

Cathy Wong, was the second co-host of the Women's March in Montreal, and she started her presentation by saying how moved she still was by the energy that was present that day. She grew up "a feminist in the streets" during the Harper government, when women's groups were mobilizing and empowering themselves. She said that, in seeing gendered differences in salary offerings and available services, it is easy to see why we still need feminism. Since then, she has worked for the City of Montréal, assuring that women's voices are heard in policy. She believes it is essential to talk about women's rights in terms of public issues, and, since the city is the largest employer in the territory, it should be the example in helping women access positions of power and keeping women safe on the streets. She emphasized the importance of making democratic institutions more available to women with families so they face less of a choice between their families and other passions.

Irasema Coronado is an academic, activist, administrator, feminist and environmentalist based at the University of Texas at El Paso. El Paso is a border city which shares complex cultural and economic ties with its Mexican sister city, Ciudad Juárez. As such, the Women's March in El Paso responded to what was an especially painful election season for Latina individuals. Anti-Mexican, racist, and sexist comments made by one of the candidates emboldened federal officials to enforce immigration laws and border patrol. She spoke about her concern of the rise in influence in the new administration of the Federation for American Immigration, which looks to seal the US-México border. Finally, she described the difficulty of resistance and protest in Texas, but also the greater importance helping Mexican-Americans living in fear of deportation and racial profiling by law enforcement.

Véronique Pronovost travelled to Washington, D.C. for the Women's March on Washington to show solidarity with the United States. She described the overwhelming number of people who gathered for the event, from all over the United States. She also encountered anti-feminist demonstrators protesting abortion rights and harassing women. She argued that the fragmentation of today's feminist movement is due to a lack of divergence from white, educated feminism which renders women with intersecting identities invisible and allows the abortion debate to take up a disproportionate amount of space. She finished by categorizing the Women's March on Washington as an event which opened a space for non-heterosexual, non-white women which represented an understanding of intersectional perspectives. She said that the future will depend on the movement's ability to ally with intersectional issues and extra-feminist activist groups.

Attendees

Last Name	First Name	Affiliation
1. Ahmed	Ishrat	University of Ottawa
2. Andic	Marie	Department of National Defence
3. Balsara	Arvaa	McGill University
4. Barlow	Ryan	Norman Paterson School of International Affairs
5. Basse	Davina	University of Calgary
6. Bazid	Houriya	Université de Montréal
7. Beauchesne	Julie-Maude	Université de Montréal
8. Beaulieu-Brossard	Philippe	University of Ottawa
9. Beck	Marin	Queen's University
10. Bélanger	Stephanie	Canadian Institute for Military and Veteran Health
11. Belporo	Christelle	Université de Montréal
12. Bissonnette	Andréanne	Université du Québec à Montréal
13. Bouda	Nadjet	Équitas
14. Bourgeon	Mathilde	Université du Québec à Montréal
15. Bradley	Megan	McGill University
16. Coombs	Lindsay	Queen's University
17. Coronado	Irasema	University of Texas at El Paso
18. de Jonge Oudraat	Chantal	Women in International Security Global (Washington)
19. de Repentigny	Mylène	Université du Québec à Montréal
20. de Saint-Rome	Phaedra	McGill University
21. Drimonis	Toula	Journalist
22. Dunn	Brittany	Laurier Centre for Military and Disarmament Studies
23. Ebadi	Bushra	University of Toronto
24. Eichler	Maya	Mount St. Vincent University

25. Falk	Barbara	Canadian Forces College
26. Fernandez	Viviana	University of Ottawa
27. Gilev	Anna	University of Ottawa
28. Glogauer	Eliana	Royal Military College of Canada
29. Gummo	Claire	Queen's University
30. Hamilton	Sharon	Cultural historian
31. Heath	Victoria	University of Toronto
32. Heer	Sarah	Canadian Armed Forces
33. Hockley	Brett	University of Waterloo
34. Jenkins	Alessandra	University of Toronto
35. Jensen	Rebecca	University of Calgary
36. Joe	Francyne	Native Women's Association of Canada
37. Kimball	Anessa	Université Laval
38. Kitchen	Veronica	University of Waterloo
39. La Ricca	Jenna	McGill University
40. Lavoie	Maryse	La Force au Féminin
41. Leprince	Caroline	Chaire Raoul-Dandurand
42. Leclerc	Katrina	Senate of Canada
43. Lindhout	Julie	NATO Association of Canada
44. Martel	Stéphanie	Université de Montréal
45. Mazrouei-Seidani	Shiva	McGill University
46. McLaughlin	Theodore	Université de Montréal
47. McPhedran	Honorable Marilou	Senate of Canada
48. Merand	Frédéric	Université de Montréal
49. Monforte	Tanya	McGill University
50. Nassif	Francesca	McGill University
51. Nicholl	Samantha	Norman Paterson School of International Affairs
52. Oliver	Lori	Queen's University

53. Panchadcharam	Vinothini	McGill University
54. Pelletier	Laura	Université du Québec à Montréal
55. Pronovost	Véronique	Réseau des tables régionales de groupes de femmes du Québec
56. Ramji	Sheliza	Senate of Canada
57. Richardson	Eliza	Laurier Centre for Military Strategic and Disarmament Studies
58. Rivard Piché	Gaëlle	Defence Research Development Canada
59. Robbins	Claire	University of Toronto
60. Robinsmith	Hailey	University of Toronto
61. Ross-Lemire	Audrey	McGill University
62. Roussel	Stephane	École nationale d'administration publique
63. Sarson	Leah	Dartmouth College
64. Schmidt	Rachel	Norman Paterson School of International Affairs
65. Scott	Emily	University of Toronto
66. Smith	Heather	University of Northern British Columbia
67. Smith	Maureen	
68. Spanner	Leigh	University of Alberta
69. Steer	Cassandra	McGill University
70. Stieva	Katelyn	University of Calgary
71. Strømme	Ester E. J.	University of Oslo
72. Tuckey	Sarah	University of Ottawa
73. Vallet	Élisabeth	Université du Québec à Montréal
74. Van Houten	Kirsten	University of Ottawa
75. Vaugeois	Renée	John Humphrey Centre for Peace and Human Rights
76. Vinken	Jamie	University of Waterloo
77. Volodymyrova	Iryna	McGill University
78. von Hlatky	Stefanie	Queen's University
79. Wallace	Francesca	McGill University

80. Washington	Carolyn	SUNY Buffalo
81. Werner	Pauline	McGill University
82. Wong	Cathy	Conseil des Montréalaises
83. Woroniuk	Beth	Women, Peace and Security Network Canada
84. Young	Marissa	Queen's University

Rapporteurs

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