

**EQUALITY WITHIN THE RANKS: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE CANADIAN
ARMED FORCES AIM TO CREATE AN INCLUSIVE WORKSPACE AND ENHANCE
DIVERSITY**

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Acknowledgements

I am grateful to my employer, the Royal Canadian Chaplain Service and the Canadian Armed Forces for selecting me to participate in the military's Post-Graduate Training Program for Interfaith Studies. Having served as a unit chaplain, acting base chaplain for an extended time, and deployed aboard three of her majesty's vessels with the Royal Canadian Navy, I experienced many joys, trials and tribulations. After ten years of experience, I came to a point in my life and career where I felt empty, overwhelmed, and burdened by the weight I had been carrying and unconsciously could not set down or pass off to someone else.

I knew that I needed a new experience. So when the opportunity arose to enter the post-graduate program, I knew it would change my career path, but I felt deep within my soul that it was the challenge I needed to face. However, I was not expecting how difficult this process would be as I started my first semester of studies. Within the first month, I realized that I had been running for the past ten years without taking the time for a pause, so with the COVID restrictions in full effect and a drastic change of pace, I hit a wall and nearly requested to go back to unit ministry.

Fortunately, I regained my composure through the support of my family and many great friends and continued to push forward. The time spent researching my thesis, engaging in conversation with professors and colleagues (albeit via zoom chats due to COVID-19 restrictions), and reflecting on stories and experiences became a therapeutic experience. In many ways, this was one of the most challenging times of my life, but in other ways, it was cathartic and essential in rebuilding my mental health and resilience.

As I pushed through my first semester, I knew I had to start working toward a thesis topic. Entering my studies, I was essentially a blank slate, unsure of what topic I wanted to invest the next year and a half of my life researching and exploring. I decided that I needed to take the time to reflect upon what I felt passionate about and explore the weight I had been carrying. I realised that much of the burden I experienced came from the stories I heard from members who felt overlooked due to their faith, non-belief, the colour of their skin, or cultural background, which led me to write about equality and inclusion in the CAF. I feel passionate about this topic because I feel a responsibility to lift the voices of those who have confided in me in their darkest moments of feeling overlooked, powerless, and with a deep sense of misrecognition within a system that claims to embrace all individuals.

Dr Lori Beaman has been highly influential during this discernment process. She has demonstrated fantastic patience and an ability to guide my research focus with only a few words or an idea. My research has taken shape due to her supervision, the inspiration I drew from her vast body of written work, and the stories and experiences she shared while taking a course she taught at the University of Ottawa. I am also grateful to the Nonreligion and a Complex Future project and the information and discussions during the hosted webinars. These events provided

an opportunity to learn about secularization and aspects of Canadian society that I took for granted as a Christian.

Finally, I thank my friends and family who supported me during this journey, not only in writing this thesis but from the moment I stepped into the Canadian Armed Forces chaplaincy. I thank my beautiful girls and their mother for their inspiration and motivation for continuing to push to create a better world for those individuals whose voices often go unheard and unaddressed. I thank my parents for teaching me to love all people as they are and to ensure that they feel they can live their true identities, as complex as they may be. Finally, I thank my fireteam partner, who occasionally found his way into this thesis. Without his influence, perseverance, and dedication to his faith and occupation, I would not have come to the point of recognizing the harms of preserving historical privileges upon individuals and groups who find themselves outside of the dominant population.

This thesis represents my journey as a chaplain in the CAF and demonstrates the joys and challenges I faced taking on this responsibility. I have witnessed many individuals who lost their lives, walked alongside people with broken hearts, and lifted members who crumbled to the ground at my feet from grief and anguish. These experiences reminded me that there is a unifying concept felt by humanity, which is a need to feel compassion and love beyond judgement or condemnation. Equality means more than the equal treatment of all people. It is a responsibility to ensure everyone feels valued for who they are and free to express and live out all aspects of their identity without fear of reprisal or control. This belief is why I write and encourages me to keep writing until a substantial change is made within the CAF and in the lives of all CAF members.

ABSTRACT

In 2017 the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) released a revised vision and approach for the department of national defence, entitled “Strong, Secure, Engaged” (“Strong, Secure, Engaged: Canada’s Defence Policy” 2017). This document has a dedicated section on diversity and the significance of drawing upon the different backgrounds and cultural experiences each member brings with them when entering the organization. This section confirms the commitment of the Canadian government and the CAF to ensure that diversity and inclusion are priorities at all levels of supervision and management of personnel. However, many years removed from the implementation of this policy, the inclusion of diversity remains a topic of contention and is a struggle that the institution faces daily.

. While the topic of equality and inclusion has many dimensions and considerations, especially within the CAF, this thesis will address the impact of the historical influence that Christian practices and traditions have had and continues to have upon the institution and its aim to enhance diversity and ensure the inclusion and equal treatment of all members. The thesis will question whether the CAF can succeed in its commitment to creating a safe and respectful workplace in light of privileges that exist for Christian beliefs and practices, which often go unaddressed or remain hidden in plain sight.

This exploration of this question led to the analysis of legal rulings concerning the freedom of religious expression within the Canadian context; three crucial CAF policies that address the rights and freedoms of serving members; the summary trial of Lt(N) Scott in 2003; and an in-depth examination of the current research and scholarship regarding equality, inclusion, and the accommodation of diversity. What emerged from this analysis was an understanding that the CAF must recognize longstanding privileges favouring Christian practices if the organization intends to succeed in implementing initiatives, policies and procedures focusing on inclusion and diversity. Ultimately, this thesis aims to apply the findings of the examination of Christian privileges and to suggest practical steps that the CAF can implement to create change within the culture of the CAF.

Drawing upon the concepts of the lived religion method, Lori Beaman’s deep equality approach, and the concept of mutual respect, this thesis intends to encourage the CAF to look beyond current models and approaches of managing diversity and difference as if it is a problem to be solved. Instead, this thesis intends to encourage the CAF to focus on actively listening to the complexity of the needs of its members. The research and analysis suggest that engaging in this process will permit more voices to be heard and allow diversity to strengthen the institution instead of being a problem that needs accommodation.

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List of Acronyms:

CA- Canadian Army

CAF- Canadian Armed Forces

CDA- Critical Discourse Analysis

CHRA- Canadian Human Rights Act

CFB- Canadian Force Base

CO- Commanding Officer

ECHR - European Court of Human Rights

LCdr – Lieutenant Commander

Lt(N) – Lieutenant Navy

Maj - Major

NCM- Non-Commissioned Member

NCO- Non-Commissioned Officer

RCChS- Royal Canadian Chaplain Service

RCN – Royal Canadian Navy

RCAF – Royal Canadian Air Force

Sgt – Sergeant

StatCan – Statistics Canada

SCC- Supreme Court of Canada

WO – Warrant Officer

INTRODUCTION

THE PURSUIT OF EQUALITY

In late 2011, I decided to transition from congregational ministry and apply to join the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) Chaplaincy. After serving only two years as a Presbyterian minister in a rural community in Ontario, I found that I needed a new challenge. Having served in an ageing congregation, I sought a complete change of pace. I wanted to work with military members struggling with the effects of fighting in war-torn parts of the world. At that point in my life, I felt my impact on people's lives was limited, and God demanded more from me. Honestly, I was missing a sense of purpose in my life, and I felt the chaplaincy in the CAF would provide me with the challenge I needed.

Finally, after months of waiting, I received a call informing me that I was selected to join the CAF Chaplaincy. In July 2012, I signed my military contract and headed directly to Halifax to serve with the Royal Canadian Navy (RCN). Months of anticipation led to this moment, but once I looked at my contract to join the CAF, the immense weight of what it represented came crashing down upon me. I began to question whether I had the strength to complete the necessary training and was willing to make the sacrifices necessary to become a military chaplain.

Nevertheless, I remained convinced that this was my calling from God. I felt secure in my faith as I signed the contract. I felt nothing could shake my belief, not even my self-doubts, fears, or anxieties. My motivation for joining the CAF was firmly rooted in bringing the light of Christ into the lives of CAF members facing struggles and pain that only God's love could mend.

While I was aware that the CAF Chaplaincy operated under a multi-faith model, I never questioned whether my faith in Christ would be affected by serving alongside chaplains of other faiths and ministering to non-religious members. I was excited to learn about other religions and remained open to working with other faith traditions and perspectives. However, I never felt I would have to hold back any aspect of my faith or refrain from expressing my beliefs and practices. I felt I was an ordained minister in the Presbyterian Church in Canada first and foremost. The fact that I was a public servant working for a government agency was a secondary consideration.

My concern remained solely on the physical expectations placed upon me as I entered basic training and the sacrifices I would have to make of being separated from friends and family and thrown into situations outside my comfort zone with little to no support. Therefore, I knew I would need to depend on my colleagues to give me the courage and guidance I needed to persevere in the calling God had placed in my heart. So, it was a massive surprise that a Muslim chaplain was assigned as my fire team partner two weeks into the training.¹ I questioned how we could relate spiritually during this gruelling training. Yet, given the pace of the course, I did not have time to consider this thought; it was better to have someone to depend upon instead of being on my own. The following days and weeks became a matter of survival, and any other challenges or questions beyond the training became secondary.

¹ During basic training recruits are assigned a fire team partner with whom there is an expectation that both individuals will care for each other and trust each other with all aspects of training and even their very lives while on exercise or while deployed. Lieutenant Jacob Turriff states, “whether it is something as simple as cleaning their bed space, watching each other’s arcs of fire while one takes a sip of water, or firing while another takes cover—fire team partners do everything together” (“Fire Team Partners Forever,” 2018).

The entire process was exhausting, both mentally and physically. Every candidate on the course was constantly in suspense about what would come next while operating on mere hours of sleep with more coffee in our systems than would be recommended. Nevertheless, despite this chaos, I was amazed that my fire team partner would continually be up before us and sacrifice his mealtime to ensure he did not miss a single prayer. His devotion to his faith was inspiring, leading me to question whether I could maintain similar commitments to God in the face of the harsh reality of a military training environment.

I struggled mentally, spiritually, and physically as the days and weeks passed. However, as I watched my fire team partner, I realized he encountered many difficulties I did not have to face. When receiving our field rations, our only source of protein to help us carry out tasks, there were no Halal rations and only the odd vegetarian meal. Even when it came to mealtimes when we were not out in the field, we all had the same schedule, even though the staff knew it would interfere with Muslim prayer times. My fire team partner often could not eat because of the tight deadlines, while the rest of the Christian chaplains could quickly grab some food. Essentially, my colleague had to choose between his faith and military obligations, which no other Christian chaplain faced. However, he never complained despite being worn out, nor did he say he felt at a disadvantage to any of his Christian colleagues.

After this experience, I began to question what it meant to call myself a Christian chaplain. I had entered the chaplaincy feeling that society had abandoned the Christian faith. However, after entering the CAF training system, I realized that the daily battle rhythm catered to Christian chaplains and left chaplains from other religions looking in. I no longer could justify a feeling of being pushed to the sidelines of society due to my faith. Instead, I had to wrestle with a new experience that forced me to question the unstated privileges I received due to my faith.

Left to struggle with this new reality, I completed basic training and returned to Halifax to continue my mentorship. Within a month, I was deemed ready to begin unit ministry, so I was attached to a unit. The next day, the unit Commanding Officer² (CO) requested to meet in his office. I was terrified by what he might ask in this initial interview. I was uncertain about his expectations of me as a newly appointed chaplain within the unit and the CAF. I feared I would not meet his expectations of a naval chaplain. My knowledge of maritime traditions and customs substantially improved since arriving in Halifax, but I knew there was still a lot to learn.

As I entered the room, I looked around at the CO's office. I noticed the naval paraphernalia and numerous ship crests demarking the vessels he had sailed upon during his military career. The CO was proud of his Naval experience and wanted everyone to know that he had dedicated his life to the CAF and the Royal Canadian Navy (RCN). Within minutes of our initial greetings, the CO asked, "padre,³ do you know the words of the Naval Prayer" Despite being incredibly nervous, I took a deep breath and squeaked out, "Yes, Sir! My mentor told me to memorize the prayer before I entered basic training and place a printed copy under my cap if I forgot any words." I showed him my naval peaked cap⁴ to demonstrate that I was not lying. He

² A Commanding Officer is responsible for the care of all members under their authority, and is accountable for the safety and administration of the unit, formation, or organization placed under their power. Commanding Officers assign subordinate officers to carry out the daily tasks of all sections and units under their command, however, it remains the responsibility of the CO to oversee all decisions and the treatment received by all personnel under their authority ("QR&O: Volume I - Chapter 4 Duties and Responsibilities of Officers" Section 5).

³ Padre is an informal designation often given to CAF Chaplains. It is often preferred to the formal designation of Chaplain. The term Padre is "used in reference to priests in Spain, Italy, and Mexico and South America, or the southwest of the U.S., 1580s, from Italian, Spanish, or Portuguese *padre*, from Latin *patrem* (nominative *pater*) "father" ("Padre (n.)"). I have found no significant research indicating how the Spanish term Padre became a part of the Canadian military. Given that the CAF has its roots in the British military, the most likely possibility is that the term Padre was adopted by the British army during its long history of battle with the Spanish from the late 1500s, and the influence of the Armada Catholica ("The Clash with Spain").

⁴ See appendices 11.4 – CAF Headdress

looked on, seemingly disappointed that I did not have the prayer tattooed on my skin. He then proceeded to state the Naval Prayer with a stoic sense of honour etched upon his face:

O Eternal Lord God,
 who alone rulest the raging of the sea;
 who has compassed the waters with bounds
 until day and night come to an end;
 be pleased to receive into Thy almighty and most gracious protection
 the persons of us Thy servants,
 and the Fleet in which we serve.
 Preserve us from the dangers of the sea,
 and from the violence of the enemy;
 that we may be a safeguard unto our most gracious Sovereign Lady,
 Queen Elizabeth,
 and her Dominions,
 and a security for such as pass upon the seas upon their lawful occasions;
 that the inhabitants of our Commonwealth may in peace and quietness
 serve Thee our God;
 and that we may return in safety
 to enjoy the blessings of the land,
 with the fruits of our labours,
 and with a thankful remembrance of Thy mercies
 to praise and glorify Thy Holy Name;
 Through Jesus Christ, our Lord
 Amen (“The Naval Prayer”).⁵

He did not stutter over a single word and looked on proudly as he came to the final amen. He then stated, “padre, I do not go to church; honestly, I have no use for religion, but every naval officer who came through basic training could recite this prayer in their sleep. It is a disgrace that many of our new officers do not even know that we have a prayer.” Then he asked me, “are you one of those padres who takes out Jesus Christ from the prayer.” Without a pause, he continued, “I think it is a shame that ‘you people’ are trying to change naval traditions.” I knew I was in

⁵ The removal of the phrase “Through Jesus Christ” will be brought up in greater depth in the analysis of the Court Martial of Lt(N) Scott. However, to provide context at for the introduction, the Naval Prayer is taken from the 1662 Anglican Church book of common worship. The only alterations to the prayer since that time have been “a change to the name of the monarch, the change from 'Empire' to 'Commonwealth', [and] a more recent deletion of the phrase 'through Jesus Christ our Lord near the end' (“The Naval Prayer”).

over my head; I informed him that in our initial chaplain training, it was clear that no chaplain was allowed to add the phrase “through Jesus Christ our Lord.” I explained that the newly authorized version of the Naval Prayer did not call upon Jesus Christ to make the prayer more inclusive of beliefs other than Christianity. After engaging my supervisor, my CO eventually conceded to having the Naval Prayer said in the form approved by the Chaplain General.

Two weeks later, I walked through the same unit and met a group of young officers. Recognizing that I was the new unit Chaplain, one of the officers asked me why there were prayers during mandatory unit activities and events. I explained that saying a prayer was to allow those for whom prayer is vital to be uplifted and respected. I added that the blessing could not contain any aspects favouring one religion over another. The officer said, “padre, I have no time for prayer or religion, so if I need to attend these events, why do I need to listen to you praying? Why does no one respect my lack of belief?” He then said, “padre, don’t worry, I won’t make a big deal of it, I have told many people my concerns, and no one has ever done anything, so I will just let it go.” I tried to encourage the disillusioned young man that I was there to listen and understand his perspective, but the young officer respectfully carried on down the office and went back to work.

In just six months as a chaplain, I had already witnessed two significant situations where religious practices rooted in Christian traditions were protected and maintained at the expense of other members’ rights and freedoms. These experiences left me questioning what was at stake in holding firmly to Christian traditions, such as reciting the Naval Prayer. How could I feel I cared for military members if I forced them to listen to me praying, knowing that many members had no belief in God? Who benefited from the inclusion of prayer during mandatory military parades? Moreover, was the benefit for the few worth the exclusion of the many?

Amazingly, the CO mentioned above's connection with the Naval Prayer was undeniable, despite his lack of use for religion. It was part of his identity as a Naval Officer and member of the CAF. In the eyes of this CO, there was no relationship between the Naval Prayer and the Christian faith or even religious beliefs. So, how was I, as the unit chaplain, to navigate between the hurt and exclusion the young Naval officer felt and the CO's sense of identity linked to the Naval Prayer? The most challenging thing for me in this navigation was that most non-Christians in the CAF had learned to remain silent about the pain they experienced from the religious and Christian customs inherent in the CAF culture. The risk of speaking up for their rights and freedoms was being labelled a problem and given fewer opportunities to succeed. However, if members most affected by these inherently religious traditions and customs are not heard, how does one identify or address a problem or potential harm?

Navigating identity, religious rights and freedoms, and longstanding customs and traditions became a constant theme throughout my career. It forced me to question the harm created by the public expression of my faith. While I remained committed to my faith when I entered the chaplaincy in 2012, my mission had evolved beyond being a soldier of Christ to becoming an advocate for the respect and dignity of all CAF members. I have learned that to meet the needs of all CAF members who feel abandoned, overlooked, and isolated, there needs to be a more concerted emphasis on equality and inclusion, regardless of one's belief or lack thereof.

THESIS AIMS AND GOALS

The CAF provides a unique context based on hierarchal structures and a 'listen and obey' mantra. CAF members learn during their formation, as part of the organizations ethical principles, that they are to "prioritize service to the country, the military and their teammates

ahead of themselves as a personal commitment to mission success. As military professionals, we place service before self to maximize team effectiveness” (“Values and Ethos”). Further, these principles state, “CAF personnel act decisively in following lawful commands and orders to achieve mission success.” (“Values and Ethos”). Therefore, when members go from civilian to military life, the CAF instills within them a sense that their needs and desires must become secondary to their service to Canada. The concept of order and discipline form the basis for a unified sense of military identity, which centers upon the idea that members depend on each other for their survival and successful completion of the mission.

Consequently, given that the CAF depends upon a balance of power in which subordinates must obey their superiors and subjugate their needs to those of the organization, it begs the question of what role can equality play within this context? How does the CAF maintain a sense of identity built upon uniformity and cohesion while supporting individual rights and freedoms and encouraging the equal treatment of all members?

The questions above indicate a struggle for identity within the CAF and lead to questions that challenge the current aims of the CAF to foster diverse and inclusive workspaces (“Fostering an Inclusive and Diverse Workplace” 2019). However, to narrow the scope of this thesis, I will demonstrate the need for the Royal Canadian Chaplain Service (RCChS)⁶ and the CAF to address privileges and long-standing traditions favouring the historically dominant population. This thesis will examine the motivation behind the protections given to customs, traditions, and

⁶ 16 October 2014 the CAF Chaplaincy was officially renamed to the Royal Canadian Chaplain Service. “The restoration of a Royal prefix to the CAF Chaplain Branch was sought to reconnect with the heritage of the former Royal Canadian Army Chaplain Corps and the chaplain services of the pre-unification Royal Canadian Navy and Royal Canadian Air Force” (“The Canadian Armed Forces Chaplain Branch Returns to its Historical Identity” 2014). Throughout this paper I will refer primarily to the the RCChS and the CAF chaplaincy, while periodically making reference to the chaplain branch in relation to events taking place prior to 2014.

practices within the CAF that directly link to Christianity. Further, it will identify the CAF's limitations in fostering inclusivity and equality and suggest alternative strategies to assist the organization in achieving this objective.

Ultimately, the core question explored in this thesis is a four-part examination of the CAF and its pursuit of equality and inclusion. First, the thesis will question whether Christian values, symbols, and beliefs permeate the CAF; 2. If so, how are these Christian elements expressed and experienced within the institution; 3. What is the impact of Christian practices and influences within the CAF; and 4. What steps might the CAF take to be more inclusive and to bring it as an institution into sync with Canadian values and principles centred on multiculturalism, inclusion and diversity?

Additionally, to expand upon the core research question, this thesis will question whether there is a historical connection between Christianity, Canadian society, and the CAF. What impact do Christian practices have on developing a unified sense of identity within the CAF? Further, are perceived privileges afforded to Christian beliefs and practices within the CAF acknowledged by those in positions of power and authority? Has the CAF demonstrated concern or taken significant steps to protect the individual rights and freedoms of non-Christian or non-religious members? Is Christianity understood as the prominent faith understanding within the CAF, or is the institution conceived as a secular organization? If so, what impact does this perception have on preserving privileges granted to traditions historically rooted in Christian values and practices? Finally, what effect does allowing privileges to remain unchallenged have on combatting or maintaining power imbalances inherent within the system, and what is the impact on achieving the organization's aim to ensure equal opportunities for all CAF members

(DAOD 5516-0, Human Rights” 2016, par 2.1) and to foster inclusive and diverse workspaces (“Fostering an inclusive and diverse workplace” 2019)?

Ultimately, what is at stake in examining these questions is to determine whether non-Christian members and those who express no belief in religion feel excluded, overlooked, or ‘different’ from an established norm set on Christian principles and traditions. The cost of leaving these questions unaddressed may seem insignificant when developing strategies to encourage a culture change.⁷ However, as I will seek to demonstrate, constantly feeling marginalized by policies expressly or implicitly rooted in Christian traditions will leave minority populations, especially the growing non-religious population, continually feeling overlooked and insignificant. Regardless of the expressed desire by the institution to eliminate discrimination and inequalities that currently exist, in my personal experience, many disillusioned and frustrated individuals feel their beliefs, or lack of belief, receive less consideration than Christian understandings and practices. If this perception of a lack of concern or inaction taken to eliminate privileges remains, then individuals negatively affected by these policies will remain disillusioned with the organization, leading to a lack of commitment needed to maintain a strong fighting force.

THESIS STRUCTURE

The opening chapter of this thesis will begin with describing the methodology and theories utilized to examine the materials researched. The methodology and theory chapter

⁷ In a news release on 29 April 2021 by the Canadian Armed Forces/National Defence it was stated, “We accept responsibility for our failings, continue to undertake critical examination of lessons learned, listen carefully to those we have failed, and take deliberate action to ensure that we achieve long-term culture change...” (“New initiatives to advance culture change for Canada's defence team” 2021). The focus of creating a culture change has been central to the CAF’s current aims and goals in creating working environments free of harassment, discrimination, violence, sexual misconduct, racism, and religious intolerance.

outline the approach I have taken to analyze the recorded dialogue within legal cases studied, CAF and RCChS policies reviewed, and the discourse within the scholarship researched. The primary focus of this section is to indicate the reasons for choosing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the principal methodology and the emphasis on privilege within this thesis. The chapter demonstrates that CDA is a valuable tool in examining potential preferential treatment given to the majority population while providing the framework needed to ensure that the research findings are objective.

Chapter two focuses on religious identity, religious freedoms, and issues concerning accommodations to negotiate diversity. The chapter explores the complexity of forming and expressing religious identity within an institution with fixed values, principles, and goals shaped by the surrounding society and long-standing organizational traditions and procedures. The focus on religious identity recognizes potential dangers from a narrow approach, such as categorization and accommodation, in granting protection to individual religious rights and freedoms. The research examined calls for a broader approach to determining religious identity.

The lived religion approach becomes prominent within this chapter. This approach requires considering multiple factors in forming an individual's religious identity that requires actively listening to and understanding the complexity of one's identity. As Charles Taylor (1994) states, to ensure the recognition of an individual's identity, it is necessary to go beyond a preconceived mould (43) that an individual must fit within. This chapter examines the challenges emerging from current scholarship on an accommodation-based approach to establishing inclusive and respectful environments and explores the potential impact of religious identity and religious freedom on prolonging privilege and unstated power dynamics.

Chapter three focuses on Christian identity within the Canadian context. It explores the influence and power of the Christian church in establishing Canada as a nation. Further, this chapter explores the decline in the Canadian population in recent years of citizens who identify as Christian, especially within mainstream Christianity,⁸ and examines the potential loss of influence that the church has on the State. The ruling of the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) in the *Mouvement laïque québécois, et al. v. City of Saguenay, et al.* case in 2015 is a prominent feature in this chapter. The key questions that emerge from the analysis of this case centre on the unstated privileges that remain for Christian Canadians and the potential protection given to Christian symbols by the Canadian government.

Additionally, chapter three will examine the use of Christian symbols and practices as signs of national identity, granting them historical significance so that Christian beliefs, customs, and rituals remain within the public realm. However, the central theme in this chapter is that the protections granted to Christian practices are not hyper-visual, as in the case of Muslim women wearing the hijab in Quebec. Instead, these cases are often concealed and woven into the fabric of Canadian identity.

⁸ In terms of this thesis mainstream Christianity is defined by membership of the faith traditions represented within the interfaith Committee on Canadian Military Chaplaincy. Mainstream Christian traditions include the Anglican Church in Canada, Baptist, Churches of the Evangelical Fellowship, Lutheran (including the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada), Presbyterian Church in Canada, Roman Catholic, United Church of Canada, and Orthodox (*"Interfaith Committee on Canadian Military Chaplaincy Handbook" 2019*). Mainstream Christian churches, for the purpose of this thesis, are those denominations that express a belief in a Triune God. One distinction made within this thesis is that the definition of mainstream Christianity does not include church bodies belonging to the Evangelical Fellowship. This distinction is primarily made since many evangelical fellowship churches are on the rise, which contradicts statements made later in this thesis that mainstream Christianity is facing a decline in church attendance and influence. Additionally, the church bodies listed above represent traditional Christian churches that other church bodies split off from forming various Christian sects, primarily within the protestant tradition.

Chapter four discusses Christian privileges within the Canadian context, shifting the focus solely upon the CAF. This chapter examines the historical foundation of the CAF and the influence that Christianity had on the institution. This research focuses primarily on the chaplaincy branch's development and explores the CAF chaplaincy's evolution from a Christian service to a multi-faith identity that aims to meet the needs of all CAF members. The transition to a multifaith chaplaincy has meant that many practices and policies, primarily based upon Christian values and principles, have become challenged, resulting in new approaches. This chapter will examine the receptivity of these changes upon the dominant Christian population and the impact on the inclusion of minority members within the CAF.

Chapter five represents a shift in direction. There is a decisive movement from analysis and engagement with the literature to critically examining CAF and RCChS policies. This chapter critically examines policy modifications and alterations to understand the contextual factors behind these changes. This analysis pays particular attention to the tone and wording of these changes, modifications, and additions and their capacity to challenge or maintain potential power imbalances. The three policies examined are the Chaplain General directive on “Public Prayer at Military Ceremonies”, the Chaplain General Directive on “Significance and Use of Chaplain Scarf,” and the “CAF policy of Religious or Spiritual Accommodation.”

Chapter six looks at the 2003 Court Martial⁹ of Lt(N) G.D. Scott and the subsequent Court Martial review conducted by the military ombudsmen. The court martial presents a unique opportunity to study the dialogue captured within the military legal context and within an

⁹“Courts martial formal military courts presided over by a military judge. They are designed to deal with more serious offences, and are conducted in accordance with rules and procedures similar to those followed in civilian criminal courts while maintaining the military character of the proceedings” (“An overview of Canada’s Military Justice System” 22)

external agency to the CAF, the Court Martial Appeal Committee (CMAC). Analyzing the discussion captured in both rulings allows for a better understanding of the contextual factors that led to the conclusions reached.

These trials involve the expression of an individual's rights and freedoms to abstain from the practice of religious activities in a public setting. Lt(N) Scott's claimed that the military order to remove headdress¹⁰ before the recitation of the Naval Prayer infringed upon his rights and freedoms, given that he was Agnostic with Atheistic tendencies. The chapter's emphasis is not on the ruling from the court-martial or the CMAC's decision. Instead, the chapter focuses on exploring the reasoning of the court-martial judge, leading to a critical analysis of the perceived protection given to CAF customs and traditions despite the influence of Christian practices.

Chapter seven aims to pull together the research findings and the case and policy analysis within this thesis to forge a path toward including diverse voices and the equal treatment of all members within the CAF. The aim is to produce strategies and provide insights to the organization that will assist in creating authentic and long-lasting culture change. The primary recommendation arising from this chapter is that the CAF must go beyond policies and accommodations to achieve its organisational goals and aims regarding equality, inclusion and the enhancement of diversity. The theory is that by exploring concepts such as lived religion, deep equality, and mutual respect, the CAF has the potential to institute new strategies that could create substantial organizational change and positively affect the inclusion of diverse voices and backgrounds in every area and aspect of the organization.

¹⁰ "The order to remove headdress is customarily given on such occasions as outdoor church parades, during the consecration of colours and whenever it is desirable to honour a dignitary by giving three cheers" (*"Manual of Drill and Ceremonial"* 2022).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As a CAF Chaplain ordained within a Christian denomination, I have personally witnessed and even benefited from the protection of customs and traditions rooted in Christian practices. In my first years of service, I remember discussing the ceremony of Christening a ship. After hearing about the historical significance of the ceremony, I asked how it would be possible to ensure that a christening ceremony could be deemed multifaith. The answer was simple: there is no way to make it multifaith unless we remove the ceremony entirely. There was no room for adaptation or further discussion, the answer was simply we keep it as it is, or we no longer conduct the ceremony. This encounter evokes fear within the CAF that any challenge to military customs in pursuing fairness, inclusion, and equality will ultimately lead to its removal. Therefore, the solution is often to leave these customs unchallenged. However, this solution is not in line with the current defence strategy “strong, secure, engaged,” which calls for the CAF to “promote an institution-wide culture that embraces diversity and inclusion” (2017, 23). This tension indicates why an essential aspect of the core question addressed within this thesis is evaluating the steps that the CAF needs to take to make the institution more inclusive while recognizing the importance of exploring the impact of Christian practices and influences within the CAF.

The interaction with my CO at the beginning of this introduction demonstrates that for many senior naval officers, the Christian basis of the Naval Prayer has become inconsequential. Instead, the significance of this tradition is tied to their sense of duty and serves as a commemoration of those who lost their lives at sea. Transforming the prayer to remove the words “through Jesus Christ, our Lord” for some was a step too far; however, for the vast

majority of RCN members who hold power and influence, it was an acceptable compromise to ensure longevity of the tradition.

Regardless of the attempts to detach the Naval prayer from its Christian roots, there is no denying that the words of this prayer come directly from the Anglican Church's book of common worship. Therefore, maintaining this tradition continues to alienate CAF members who do not follow the Christian tradition, yet removing this tradition will negatively impact many members who have associated this tradition with their sense of identity within the CAF regardless of their religious beliefs or understandings. It is this tension that will be a key feature throughout the entirety of this thesis.

For this reason, this thesis will conclude with recommendations and strategies that address the tension between upholding Christian privileges inherent within the organization and the desire to be inclusive of the needs and beliefs of all members. The primary focus in developing these strategies is to advocate for creating caring and supportive environments built upon collaboration. This strategy encourages the CAF to enhance diversity and create an inclusive environment to focus on engaging in meaningful dialogue and actively listening to the complexity of the needs of its members beyond accommodation and attempts to deduce individual identity to one or two primary features and considerations. The reality is that there is no simple answer that can address the core question within this thesis and decisively indicate whether the CAF is a Christian institution. However, it is clear that if the CAF is sincere in its desire to create an inclusive environment, the organization needs to examine all privileges and disadvantages to develop meaningful strategies that can make real and long-lasting change. Nevertheless, on the other hand, the institution must be careful not to exclude members who

have attached much of their military and personal identity to traditions that uphold privileges within the CAF for the dominant Christian population.

To conclude this introduction, I want to share a parable that has come to represent my desire to create change within the CAF. The story is about a small town with a bench no one could sit on. When visitors would come into town and ask why a sign prohibited people from sitting on the bench, no one could provide a solid justification other than this is just how it has always been. One day an older man who had moved from the town many years prior came back to visit the town where he grew up, and when he went by the bench, he questioned why no one had removed the sign. When a group of residents heard this man's question, they asked what he meant. He said this sign had been there when he left because the town painted the bench. The older gentleman thought it odd that no one had thought to remove it as he sat down on the bench, to the dismay of all the citizens who had gathered.

This parable represents the motivation I embraced when writing this thesis. The greatest struggle many organizations encounter when trying to create change is that if no one poses a question or raises a concern, there will never be a reason to see that a problem or issue exists. However, like the parable, many signs within the CAF protect long-standing traditions with little to no explanation. Understanding the motivation of the institution and its members in sustaining long-standing privileges will then allow the CAF to develop a way forward that places a primary focus on equality but does not simply throw out the sign without considering the meaning attached to something that has stood unchallenged and unquestioned for years providing a sense of comfort, and stability for many individuals.

CHAPTER ONE

UNDERSTANDING THE METHODOLOGY

ADOPTING A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

Choosing the proper methodology and approach when composing an important document like a thesis is daunting. A clearly defined method provides the necessary structure to present cohesive and coherent arguments and provides a clear direction for achieving the thesis objectives.

After reflecting upon the core question guiding the research for this thesis, I realized that it was essential to adopt a critical perspective. A critical point of view calls for a careful examination of the CAF context to identify the issues that have resulted in a need to enhance diversity and inclusion within the organization (“Fostering an Inclusive and Diverse Workplace” 2019).

Furthermore, a critical viewpoint requires the postulating of causes for these issues. Adopting a critical perspective will allow for the examination of the primary theory within this thesis that the privileging of Christian values, practices and principles and its connection with collective and personal identity plays a central aspect in hindering the establishment of equality and inclusion within the CAF.

Finally, as Norman Fairclough (2013) writes, a critical perspective when examining a problem identifies “what needs to be changed, what needs a solution” (186). The problem analyzed within this thesis is the CAF's difficulty in creating a culture change that focuses on

equality, inclusion and diversity. To adequately address what strategies and procedures the organization need to implement and find solutions to create long-lasting change, there needs to be both negative and positive critique (186). Further, Fairclough (2001) states that a critique does not call for harsh criticism of processes, signs, or symbols directly linked with the problem. Instead, he states that there needs to be a “more positive analysis” or exploration of these factors (26). A more positive analysis allows for a critical perspective that aims to find solutions already inherent within the system or organization.

I appreciate this perspective, especially since I am an actively serving Chaplain in the CAF. Therefore, I carry many biases into this research. My previous experience and current employment in the CAF can lead to deconstructing a broken system or defending an organization I depend upon for my needs and financial well-being. A more positive critique allows me to step outside of my biases and focus on addressing the problem and finding solutions that resonate with the current organizational structure. However, this positive demands a balance with the negative to ensure objectivity while conducting research and analysis.

The combination of a negative and positive critique pushes this thesis to challenge the organization while acknowledging that despite the harm present, there is meaning attached to current practices, traditions and customs in the CAF. Fairclough's statements helped me recognize that I must not allow my analysis to devolve into a prolonged criticism of a broken system that disadvantages specific population sectors. Instead, the purpose is to present opportunities and strategies which, if implemented, can create long-lasting change that will allow for the equal treatment of all members without jeopardizing the operational capabilities of the CAF.

A PERSONAL APPROACH: DRAWING UPON EXPERIENCE

When developing the approach to present the material and conduct an analysis of CAF and Royal Canadian Chaplain Service (RCChS) policies and the Court Martial of Lt(N) Scott, I wrestled with the notion of presenting my own experiences as a Chaplain in the CAF.

Adding my personal experiences would allow for a complete understanding of the effects of the current policies on serving members of the CAF and provide a more robust contextual understanding of the military culture. However, I know that inserting my experiences could detract from the material researched and lead to a reflective paper rather than a professional thesis. Further, I must be careful that sharing my experiences does not circumvent any ethical considerations, such as confidentiality.

While these concerns demanded significant consideration, I decided that incorporating my experiences and personal stories as a Chaplain in the CAF and a Presbyterian minister would enrich my thesis. However, this decision meant I needed to ensure the experiences and stories did not cause ethical concerns. I was careful to change all identifying factors within the experiences shared¹¹ and altered them by drawing upon the broader context of my experiences as a CAF chaplain and ordained minister.

I decided to incorporate my experiences at the beginning of each chapter. This approach provides the reader insight into the culture and environment and situates the material and analysis within the appropriate context. Allowing for personal experiences and encounters to guide the research establishes a better understanding of the military context and the

¹¹ There is one individual mentioned on multiple occasion that I had read my thesis and confirmed that they were comfortable with the inclusion of these encounters. While I did alter certain aspects of the stories and experiences, I still had this individual give their consent before submitting it for review.

implication of power imbalances in a hierarchal organization. While ensuring I maintain a critical perspective to balance personal accounts with the research and analysis. This process allowed me to develop an approach to examine inherent disadvantages and privileges embedded within the CAF's core procedures, customs, and processes.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF POWER RELATIONS IN THE CAF

As I began researching the selected material and evaluating the context of the CAF, it became clear that within this thesis, there needed to be a recognition of the power imbalance and processes of domination inherent within the institution. Indicators of power and authority are ingrained within military institutions and have become fundamental to maintaining the current CAF culture based on uniformity and good order.¹² The hierarchal structure of the CAF provides a clear divide between those who possess authority and power and those who do not. Fundamental to the hierarchy is the separation between officers and non-commissioned members (NCM). Officers receive a commission from the Queen and serve in positions of leadership. Meanwhile, NCMs represent the subordinate class required to carry out the tasks and responsibilities.

However, the divide between NCMs and Officers goes beyond these two categories. There are also clear distinctions that exist between Flag Officers (Generals), Senior Commissioned Officers (Major/LCdr and above), Junior Commissioned Officers (Lt(N)/Capt and below), Non-Commissioned Officers (Sgt and above), and Non-Commissioned Members (MCpl and below) within the CAF.¹³ Membership within these categories shapes one's sense of

¹² The concept of good order within the military speaks to the need to be properly dressed, listen and obey all commands, and maintain a high level of self discipline to present as a respectful member of the organization.

¹³ Refer to appendix 11.1 – CAF Rank Structure

identity within the CAF. For example, NCMs will often identify themselves as the people who do the actual work. At the same time, there is a common perception amongst NCMs that officers are the people who give instructions and have no connection with or understanding of daily operations and tasks.

The role of rank in the CAF plays a vital role in the sense of identity within the organization. The rank embroidered upon one's epaulette immediately signifies the implied importance of the member within the organization and their potential influence. Therefore, an NCM who identifies as a visible minority will have a vastly different experience than a Senior Officer, demonstrating that examining power dynamics within the CAF is complex. The various identifiers that shape identity within the CAF become important when considering the impact of infringements of rights and freedoms. For example, in the court-martial of Lt(N) Scott, examined in greater depth within this thesis, it is essential to recognize that this member was a CAF officer, which provided them with greater latitude to challenge a superior officer while on parade. The experience of an NCM in this exact circumstance would likely be different and most likely would result in punishments without giving the member a trial or opportunity to defend their actions.

Satya P. Mohanty (2018) states, "taking our identities seriously, examining their significance, can thus yield objective knowledge about the social world in which we live, especially when unequal relations among groups are constitutive of this world" (423). The sentiment expressed by Mohanty signifies that the understanding and examination of identity is a critical defining feature by which justice and injustice persist within a particular context. Privileges offered within the military become even more significant, especially when lower-ranking members are further disadvantaged. Thus, when policies and procedures designed to

assure the protection offered to all CAF members reveal that they reinforce long-standing privileges, it further hinders the development of equality and inclusion.

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CDA)

As illustrated above, the CAF provides a complex context to analyze potential abuses of power and unstated privileges, demonstrating that power imbalances are commonplace within the military and even encouraged. The critical discourse analysis approach provides a methodology that examines the legitimacy of power imbalance while presenting potential solutions. Fairclough (2013) states that there needs to be a normative and explanatory critique when analyzing the research and material selected in his research methodology. The critique must describe the organization's current realities but evaluate them. Further, he asserts that the analysis must not “simply describe and evaluate existing realities but seeks to explain them, e.g., by showing them to be effects of structures or mechanisms or forces which the analyst postulates and whose reality s/he seeks to test out” (178). Similarly, this thesis aims not only to question whether the CAF maintains Christian privileges but also to explore solutions or strategies that will allow the organization to address the hurdles it faces in establishing an environment where equality is attainable. CDA provides the framework and structure needed to push this thesis beyond the theoretical and into the practical.

Further, John E. Richardson (2018) writes, “CDA is, properly, the critical analysis of text in context” (452). Richardson’s statement indicates that this approach also seeks to place the texts, or the discourse, within the context. In this thesis, a continual focus on context will be essential. The Canadian Armed Forces is a unique environment that demands solutions that have accounted for and understood the organization's historical dimensions and operational needs.

Fairclough and Richardson's statements demonstrate the CDA method's usefulness for this thesis. However, there are additional benefits to the CDA other than these assertions when considering the impact of CDA in examining my core research question. Tuen Van Dijk (2001) contends that CDA provides a practical framework for this thesis, examining “the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted” (352). Fairclough (2018) expands on the description of this methodology by writing:

CDA is a form of critical social analysis. Critical social analysis shows how forms of social life can damage people unnecessarily, but also how they can be changed. CDA's contribution is elucidating how discourse is related to other social elements (power, ideologies, institutions, etc.) and offering critique of discourse as a way into wider critique of social reality (13).

Additionally, Van Dijk (2020) states that CDA not only engages in a study of political and social context, but it seeks to take a stand or a view on abuses of power and manipulative practices performed by symbolic elites (27). Van Dijk's emphasis on manipulative practices offers necessary and valuable insight, especially when analysing the three policies in chapter five and the Court Martial of Lt(N) Scott. He adds that focusing on the enacting of privileges and the social factors that maintain these advantages is essential to understanding the perspective of symbolic elites (27)—this strategy of focusing on the social factors assisted in developing my core research question and aims. Exploring the social factors that affect the CAF and the implementation of inclusion led me to question the influence of Christian practices and traditions on the culture and collective identity of the organization and the impact that they upon the CAF's focus on equality, inclusion and enhancing diversity.

However, focusing on the manipulation done by the dominant Christian population could lead to a purely negative assessment of the CAF and its capability of ensuring the equal treatment of all members. Therefore, the perspective of Norman and Isabella Fairclough (2018)

was vital when applying the CDA approach when conducting my research. They state that CDA is not itself action or activism; instead, the approach presents what needs to happen to right certain 'wrongs' within social interactions (170-171). Essentially, "CDA moves from the question of what is problematic or flawed in existing states of affairs towards what should be done, and from a concern with ethical problems towards a concern with ethical solutions" (182).

Determining potential flaws or ethical problems requires understanding the values advocated and promoted within the social context to balance current practices with these ideals and principles.

Therefore, the Faircloughs emphasize the need to stay open-minded and avoid adopting pre-determined partisan standpoints to ensure that the researcher remains objective (170).

Maintaining objectives and avoiding falling into the traps of activism was vital to continually reflect upon as I developed my research findings and engaged more deeply in critically analysing the material studied.

A central feature of CDA is that it demands a careful analysis of the discourse, evaluates how the text coheres with the institution's core goals and builds a picture of the context and commitment to its expressed objectives (Carabine 2001, 268). Focusing on discourse through text, court reports, CAF policies and internal/external documents reveal that it is essential to analyse how the various forms of communication and dialogue draw upon one another to "transform existing knowledge to produce new knowledge and new power effects" (274).

Leveraging the understandings that emerge from this process has allowed this thesis to determine how knowledge and influence create power effects within the CAF and explore the utilization of current understandings and procedures to create new paths within the institution to further efforts on establishing initiatives meant to enhance equality and inclusion.

Within this thesis the key documents that will be explored are the court reports arising from the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) cases: *Mouvement laïque québécois v. Saguenay (City)*; *Syndicat Northcrest v. Amselem* SCC; and the *Queen v Big M Drug Mart*. Further, there is special attention given to documents and policies related to CAF customs and traditions with Christian roots, the primary documents being: the Chaplain General directive on “Public Prayer at Military Ceremonies”, the Chaplain General Directive on “Significance and Use of Chaplain Scarf,” and the “CAF policy of Religious or Spiritual Accommodation.” Further, I spent a great deal of time studying the Court Martial report for Lt(N) Scott and the subsequent report from the CMAC reversing the decision made by the military judge.

When deciding what materials to utilize to build upon these documents and the CAF’s direct of fostering inclusive environments and enhancing diversity, the primary documents utilized were: *Strengthening the Canadian Armed Forces through Diversity and Inclusion* (2019), *Religion in the Ranks: Belief and Religious Experience in the Canadian Forces* (2011), *Genealogies of religion: discipline and reasons of power in Christianity and Islam* (1997), *The Impossibility of Religious Freedom* (2018), *Beyond religious freedom: the new global politics of religion* (2017), *Deep Equality in an Era of Religious Diversity* (2017), *Beyond accommodation: everyday narratives of Muslim Canadians* (2019), *Growing up Canadian: Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists*, *The illusion of cultural identity* (2005), “*The Reinvention of the Canadian Armed Forces Chaplaincy and the Limits of Religious Pluralism*” (2015),¹⁴ and “*Politics of Recognition*” (1994). These texts became the primary documents for exploring equality, inclusion and diversity scholarship. Few resources are directly related to the CAF and its focus

¹⁴ This is a master’s thesis conducted by my predecessor in the graduate program that I am currently enrolled in within the CAF. I used this document with caution as I did not simply replicate the findings, but it did prove to be a useful document to provide additional context of the impact of Christianity upon the CAF and within the Royal Canadian Chaplain Service (RCChS).

on inclusion and equality. Therefore, I depended upon the work of Momani et al. and Joanne Rennick to build upon my personal experience as a Chaplain in the CAF.

Further, I initially debated whether I should use the concept of equality or equity. I had leaned towards using equity as this is a term that the government of Canada has adopted within many of its internal policies and external public statements. Equity implies “a payoff that is commensurate with an actor’s initial investment..., or can mean more for those who need or merit it and less for those who do not” (Li and Tracer 2019, 4). This concept applied to developing my thesis’ key arguments and goals, given that it indicates that not all people start at the same point regarding ensuring equal treatment of all members within the CAF. However, as I continued in my studies, I decided that Lori Beaman’s deep equality approach was more appropriate for my thesis, given that the emphasis on listening and the challenges it presented to accommodation, which directly applies to the collaborative approach that I was working toward within my concluding recommendations.

Given the sheer amount of texts and literature studied for this thesis, I used keywords and concepts to discern whether a resource would be helpful or what section I should concentrate on within a particular resource. These keywords were: accommodation, inclusion, equality/inequality, diversity, religious freedom, exclusion, negotiation, complexity lived religion, deep equality, beyond,¹⁵Christianity, privilege, abuse, imbalance, marginalized, minority, dominant, minority, misrecognition/recognition, identity, categorization, power and

¹⁵ The concept of going beyond, such as beyond accommodation, was prominent in much of the literature studied. I resonated with this term as it indicates a moving forward, without overlooking the impact of past influences and understandings.

authority,¹⁶ mutual respect, and non-religious.¹⁷ These terms led me to additional materials and, in particular, assisted in developing my core research question regarding the potential existence of Christian privileges within the CAF and the hurdle this favouritism creates in ensuring the equal treatment of all members. Further, this process also directed my focus toward mutual respect and the complexity of identity instead of the negotiation of difference through granting accommodations and categorizing people's needs based upon one or two primary features that they express or are visible, such as a turban or a hijab.

While the use of keywords was a vital research tool, my primary focus and the greatest advantage of CDA was that it allowed for the examination of methods employed. The wording utilized by members of the dominant population in negotiating power imbalances and inequalities provided insight into the effect felt within the CAF and the approaches taken within the organization to handle potential inequalities.

For example, there is an attempt by the military judge in the Court Martial of Lt(N) Scott to claim that the Naval Prayer is devoid of religious connotation outside of being called a prayer ("R. v. Scott G.D. (Lieutenant(N))" 24). This argument is similar to the Quebec Court of Appeal's decision in the case of *Mouvement laïque québécois v. Saguenay (City)*. The ruling states that the prayer at the opening of the public town hall meetings was non-denominational and fundamentally inclusive ("*Mouvement laïque québécois v. Saguenay (City)*" par. 3). The outcome of both situations was the diminishing of the privileged position of religious rituals in the public realm and the overlooking of inherent Christian practices within these traditions.

¹⁶ I searched for power and authority primarily in terms of abuses taken place by those in position of influence

¹⁷ When searching for non-religious I also looked for agnostic, humanist and atheist. The reason for a focus on the non-religious is that my research indicated that within the CAF members who express no belief are often overlooked and their beliefs and freedoms are treated as insignificant and often given little to no consideration when making policies, procedures or creating initiatives related to inclusion, diversity, and equality.

Comparing the discourse enables a broader understanding of the Canadian and CAF contexts. It demonstrates the need to analyze the pervasiveness of power imbalances and inequalities within the text, its interpretation, and its use. These considerations are fundamental to the CDA approach and will be instrumental in this thesis.

Practically the CDA approach led me to examine all the material research for key terms or concepts, such as power imbalances, injustice, privileges, advantages, dominance, social inequalities, and manipulative practices. Further, the approach encouraged me to look beyond why the CAF wants to create a sense of equality, inclusion or diversity and to search the discourse and research for potential solutions that apply and fit within the current structures and procedures inherent in the system. My approach to analyzing the discourse aims to examine the intent of the policies, procedures, and texts selected to capture positive signs, processes and symbols (“Critical Discourse Analysis” 26) that the organization can utilize in mapping a way forward.

Overall, the CDA approach encouraged a shift from analysis to action while avoiding the perception of activism or potential vested interests. The approach fostered a focus on the contextual framework of the CAF and the interconnectedness of power dynamics and inequality with the preservation of Christian privileges in the institution.

IDENTIFYING PRIVILEGE

In line with the thesis objectives and the aim of the CDA approach to identify power imbalances and acts of dominance, there is special attention given to the identification of privilege. The perception of benefits afforded to individuals will play a prominent role in the approach taken in this thesis, given that the thesis aims to question whether the CAF allows Christian practices to remain within the organization and whether these privileges have become a

part of the collective or institutional identity. Therefore, individuals with power and privilege within the CAF must receive significant attention.

Adam Howard presents an approach that became critical in developing this thesis's arguments when examining historical privileges enjoyed by Christian CAF members. Howard (2010) suggests examining and evaluating power imbalances, and social injustices should happen through the lens of privilege. He claims that privilege intertwines into the fabric of lived experience, and these advantages can directly affect identity formation (1973). Shifting the focus to privilege allows the researcher to focus on the maintenance of benefits and advantages, the wording employed to justify social exclusion and oppression, and the impact that rigid forms of categorization have regarding sustaining power relations. Howard (2019) cites scholars' research discussing how privilege works through memberships, actions, representations, and language. He suggests this research demonstrates how privilege can "regenerate and re-create itself, thereby perpetuating structures of domination and subordination" (181). Moreover, he writes:

This body of work demonstrated the ways in which individuals from dominant groups tend to have little awareness 'of their own dominant identity, of the privileges it affords them, of the oppression suffered by the corresponding disadvantaged group, and of how they perpetuate it' (Goodman, 2011, p. 22). In fact, as scholars argue (e.g., Bailey, 1998; Case, 2013), one of the functions of privilege is to structure the world in ways that conceal how privilege works, so that advantages remain invisible to those who benefit from them (181).

Howard indicates that privilege will create systems that reinforce and protect these advantages. Nevertheless, advantaged individuals can become blind to the benefits they receive or the disadvantage it creates for others.

According to Howard, this theory needs to acknowledge that individuals have the agency to construct their sense of identity, regardless of the benefits they receive due to factors beyond their control or belief systems. However, he states, " although everyone has the agency to form

and develop particular self-understandings, the advantaging circumstances enjoyed by these adolescents [observed] undoubtedly grant them a greater capacity than disadvantaged individuals have to form their self-understandings and also use those understandings in ways that protect their class interest” (Howard et al. 2016, 178). Individuals with a greater capacity to form their self-understandings will be able to accept or reject actions and situations they encounter. The ability to set the parameters of one’s experiences and contextual understandings provides an advantage over those not in positions of influence or power. The advantage of privilege and the ability to protect class interests by the powerful and elite is an essential assumption presented by this thesis regarding the CAF context. Therefore, there is a need within the research analysis to look beyond case findings, rulings, or policy changes and explore what is often left unsaid or unaddressed, either overtly or covertly.

Critically analyzing the preservation of privilege present within the discourse and material explored proved vital in developing this thesis’ key arguments. Privilege proves to be a powerful tool in preserving power and authority. Understanding the perspective of individuals who benefit from long-standing advantages has proven to become a valuable means to determine the length by which individuals will go to preserve these privileges. There is authority and power associated with the advantages given to the dominant class, which grants these individuals the ability to remain visible and influential within society. These benefits afforded serve as a reminder of the historical influence once enjoyed. While they may seem harmless, such as allowing the Naval Prayer to continually be recited during CAF parades, adopting an approach to identifying privilege indicates that these benefits push against the principles of inclusion and equality. For example, whenever a chaplain recites the explicitly Christian Naval Prayer in a public setting, this action demonstrates to CAF

members who are not Christian or religious that they are less significant, and their voices remain silenced.

A critical perspective will push this thesis beyond the surface-level appearance of policies, procedures and customs within the CAF. This approach will encourage the pursuit of alternative strategies that achieve a similar objective while addressing inequalities and injustices inherent within the military system.

CONCLUSION

This chapter outlines the approaches and methodologies used within this thesis. The importance of remaining critical when approaching the literature and other material examined in this thesis is crucial to staying objective while not being afraid to address injustices within the CAF.

The following chapters will explore the role of developing a complex identity and the harm created when individuals feel defined by “neatly trimmed orthodoxies and discernable hierarchies” (Hurd 2017, 112) to accommodate their beliefs. Employing a critical lens will allow for a careful examination of the material studied and for applying the findings that emerge to reach the final thesis recommendations and conclusions.

CHAPTER TWO

REASONABLE ACCOMMODATION AND THE COMPLEXITY OF RELIGIOUS IDENTITY AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

THE FORMATION OF IDENTITY

A few years ago, I initiated a conversation with one of my unit's commanding officers during a formal gathering. He described a casual get-together with friends and acquaintances. He stated that it was a gathering of people who worked or had worked in the CAF as senior supervisors. At one point, one of his acquaintances commented that he often found indigenous people lazy. He said that he felt his acquaintance made that comment assuming it would resonate with the people present, whom he felt were all white males with a similar lived experience. However, unbeknownst to this acquaintance, my CO was Indigenous. So, my CO spoke up, "buddy, hold up. Do you not know that I am Indigenous?" He then described the rest of the conversation as quite awkward. In the matter of one exchange and conversation, there was a drastic change in the relationship between these two individuals; their perceptions of each other's identities would never be the same.

This brief encounter demonstrates the complexity of identity despite initial appearances or surface-level perspectives. Understanding the complexity of religious identity will play a significant role in evaluating the impact of maintaining Christian privileges on recognising or misrecognizing individual and collective identity. This process will allow for a better understanding of the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) development of a collective and unified sense of pride termed *Esprit de Corps* (Affandi et al. 2019). It is important to note that a sense emerges from the literature studied that this unified or shared identity can often subvert CAF members' personal and religious identities, suggesting that "individuals who choose to join the CAF should not expect the institution to relinquish those aspects of its identity and culture that are integral to its *raison d'être*" (Momani 2019, 21). This notion leads to the question: assuming an organization prioritizes collective identity over individual religious

identity, what is the overall impact on the formation of identity and a sense of belonging, especially for members who feel that advantages already exist for Christians? Further, what effect does prioritizing a common identity have upon enhancing diversity within the CAF?

Religious identity is only one aspect of an individual's personality and self-understanding. For those whose religion is a vital aspect of their life, their religious beliefs shape who they are and their values. Still, when defining religious identity, despite the complexity of an individual's beliefs and understanding, it is often described within categories shaped around one or two distinguishing features, such as clothing, dietary restrictions, icons, etc. Recent scholarship has expressed that religious identity demands significant consideration beyond essentialist constructs and established hegemonies (Wong 2011, 154).

Within organizations, legal frameworks, public policies and regulations, there is a growing call amongst scholars to consider the social construction of religious identity and the role that beliefs, values, and ritual practices play in formulating an individual's religious identity. Many scholars in the field of equality and inclusion state there is a need to focus on the social and cultural construction of one's identity instead of one or two characteristics that are only part of the complex make-up of one's identity.¹⁸ This notion is essential for the CAF as the institution strives to "reflect Canadian society's diversity and inclusion values" ("Defence Team" 2019).

Talal Asad (1997) asserts that the formation of identity and one's cultural understanding is more complicated than one's present circumstances. Jean-François Bayart (2005) contends that establishing cultural identity is an unstable mixture of borrowing,

¹⁸ The development of the concept of the social and cultural construction of identity used in this thesis came from the studied works of Charles Taylor, Talal Asad and Jean-Francois Bayart.

contesting, and reconstructing ideas, beliefs, and actions based on relationships and interactions with others (2). Bayart discusses the impact of colonial forces upon Indian culture in the late eighteenth century describing how the English defined what it meant to be 'Indian.' He states that colonial capturers re-interpreted India's Hindu past. Colonizers incorporated into Hinduism structures and concepts foreign to historical understandings and principles associated with developing a belief in Hinduism. Further, colonizers were responsible for regulating the emphasis on certain aspects of 'Hindu' identity, such as wearing the traditional Mughal military dress of a sash, turban, and tunic to look 'more Indian' (2005, 37-39). Therefore, for an individual who originates from India to describe themselves as Indian represents a complex development of identity, values, and worldviews.

Meredith McGuire (2008) writes, "ongoing contestations over boundaries and meanings, together with continuing cultural blending, borrowing, and creativity, means that people's group identity and traditions are neither fixed nor unproblematic" (208). McGuire suggests the complex identity formation of the Mi'kmaq Nation in Eastern Canada and emphasizes her statement that identity is not fixed and is subject to continual social and cultural construction. She points out that the Mi'kmaq people combine new practices with 'traditional ways' borrowed from other North American Indigenous Nations. There is a mixing, borrowing, and transforming of new and traditional practices, but this process does not prevent the formation of a Mi'kmaq identity; instead, it enriches the process (2008, 197).

Charles Taylor (1994) asserts that constructing one's identity is a continuous process that evolves through one's lived experiences, relationships, and environment. One's identity is not developed or created in isolation; instead, one works out one's sense of identity through conversations and interactions with others (34). In other words, identity is a social construct

and demands attention to one's present circumstances, location, cultural practices, as well as their historical background and development.

Taylor claims that expressing one's identity is essential to remaining healthy. When there is a lack of understanding or acknowledgement of an individual's expressed identity, it causes damage to their self-perception and their sense of worth (Taylor 1994). He states, "nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being"(25). Further, he asserts that the danger of misrecognition is that it forces people into a standardized mould that in and of itself is not neutral. Those identified as a minority are the most affected by misrecognition and often take an "'alien form" to fit within the mould and suppress their identity (43).¹⁹ Taylor's comments suggest that placing identity into categories marginalizes minority voices, impacting one's sense of belonging and placing limitations on creating their identity, both within and outside the institutional setting.

Peter Beyer (2013) writes about a comment by a Muslim male interviewed in a study conducted across Canada, including Muslim, Hindu, and Buddhist youth. In this account, the young Muslim stated that while pork consumption was against his religious practice, he had to

¹⁹ Colleen Sheppard (2010) writes, "since individuals from dominant groups have a long-term interest in ensuring that their needs continue to be serviced by individuals from groups that remain subordinate... The only way to retain the permanence of this structure is to allow only token individuals from below to gain access to the privilege at the top" (112). Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977) wrote, concerning women trying to navigate a male dominated workplace, "Sometimes they [women] had the advantages of those who are 'different' and thus were highly visible in a system where success is tied to becoming known. Sometimes they faced the loneliness of the outsider, of the stranger who intrudes upon an alien culture and may become self-estranged in the process of assimilation" (207). Kanter's comment points to the hazard of tokenism. While the concept of tokenism is outside the scope of this paper, it is important to recognize that it is one of the harms that comes from misrecognition of non-primary or less visible aspects of individuals identity. Further, tokenism only provides the perspective of inclusion and equality; however, it serves to protect and disguise the privileges and advantages enjoyed by the dominant population.

have pepperoni when eating pizza (81). When identity is rigidly defined, there is no room for fully expressing one's identity, which allows for exceptions, variations, or adaptations.

A chaplain told me about an encounter he once had with his chain of command²⁰, who questioned whether they should accommodate a member's religious accommodation request. The member asked to grow a beard according to his belief as a Muslim, yet his supervisor knew that the member would often drink beer which he knew stood against a tenant of the Islamic faith. The chaplain explained to the chain of command that the member grew up practising Islam. He intended to begin following the Muslim faith again, and growing a beard was a sign of this recommitment. The command team understood this reasoning but added in their conversation with the chaplain that they found it strange that a motorcycle-riding member they had previously witnessed drinking alcohol could be Muslim. In their experience, Muslim members were identifiable as pious strait-laced individuals who avoided encounters where drinking alcohol would occur.

Nonetheless, the chain of command granted the member's accommodation request. Still, without the chaplain's intervention, the request could have been denied or further questioned based on the assumptions of the member's supervisors regarding the Islamic faith. Robert Orsi (2003) writes that "religion is always religion-in-action, religion in-relationships between people, between the ways the world is, and the way people imagine or want it to be" (172). Orsi suggests that people base their assumptions of proper religious expression on their

²⁰ "The military chain of command starts with the Chief Defence Staff (CDS). The CDS assigns a portion of its authority to carefully selected subordinate commanders who are immediately below the CDS in the chain of command. These subordinate commanders are directly accountable to the CDS. Each of these commanders in turn, and following established custom, assigns a portion of their entrusted authority to subordinates that are directly accountable to them. These individual commanders then make decisions within their linked functional formations and units" ("Canadian Forces 101 for Civilians" 25)

context, past interactions, and experiences, so when they encounter a circumstance that pushes against this preconception, it challenges their attitude toward particular faith groups and traditions.

Lori Beaman (2017) writes about the harm arising from rigid definitions of identity and explains how this understanding led to creating the concept known as 'pure categories.' Beaman points to the social construction of 'pure' categories, which “do not reflect the messy and fluid boundaries of identities in everyday life” (37). These 'pure' categories allow those in positions of authority within a group, community, or institution to support "divisive power relations and patterns that perpetuate inequality and injustice" (2017, 43). Separating individuals into set categories or groups allows those in positions of authority to maintain a sense of control in the face of increasing diversity.

Citing the work of Anna Tsing on contaminated diversity, Beaman writes about an imagined purity of identity that becomes fixed within solutions that view diversity as a problem. Beaman suggests that the exploration of 'impure' forms of diversity will challenge identity rigidity and the dominant model of “siloeing” difference into imposed categories (2017, 12). This process calls for contesting pure non-complex forms of identity that deny the blending of identities between silos and emphasise the impurity of diversity that views identity formation as an intricate process.

Elizabeth Shakman Hurd (2017) writes that there is a political investment in holding onto rigid classifications and religious categories. Hurd claims that using religion as a criterion for granting protection and accommodation privileges certain forms of religious beliefs over and above others. It creates a sense that religious beliefs are definable within "neatly trimmed orthodoxies and discernable hierarchies that are legible to modern legal and

administrative bodies" (112). In concurrence with much of the scholarship reviewed for this thesis, Hurd suggests that rigid groupings do not encourage diversity or the free expression of one's unique religious identity. Instead, categorization seeks to contain and control diversity by manufacturing a set identity that everyone must fit within to express and practise their faith in the public setting (Hurd, 2017).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LIVED RELIGION APPROACH

In response to recognising the harm that comes from categorizing identity, one of the methods that emerged was the lived religion approach. This approach focuses on the complexity of identity and the diversity of religious, cultural, and societal aspects that play significant roles in forming an individual's beliefs, personality, practices and behaviour.

The lived religion approach plays an essential role in breaking down barriers and categories by focusing on individuals and forcing those in positions of authority to re-examine their assumptions about religion as a one-dimensional entity. Instead of seeing religious identity as belonging to an institution with fixed orthodoxies (Hurd 2017, 112), the lived religion approach allows the full expression of one's religious identity no matter how complex, 'messy,' or 'contradictory' (McGuire 2008, 4).

Linda Woodhead (2013) writes about the development of the lived religion approach. She states that this approach acknowledges elite biases and state-imposed forms of religion (15). Woodhead asserts that the lived religion approach favours "wider horizons and methods which take in previously invisible or overlooked dimensions of religious life" (15). Woodhead claims that lived religion is a change of focus and perspective. It does not overlook forms of religion meshed with social and political power, but it demands a more critical view of what

constitutes 'real' religion (15). Additional to Woodhead's comments, Nancy T. Ammerman (2020) states that the lived religion approach forces scholars to look beyond the narrow constraints of North American thought, which define religion as either a worldview or an institution (9-10).

Meredith McGuire (2008) writes that when the focus shifts to religion-as-lived rather than a singular entity known as religion, the doors are open to see that religious belief develops and finds its expression through relationships, experiences, diverse and complex ideas, and ever-changing practices (185). Carlin A. Barton and Daniel Boyarin (2016) state that viewing 'religion' as a singular entity paints a fixed picture that everyone must fit within. If the image is pre-determined, those in positions of authority will not look at individual pieces or identities. Instead, the focus will only be on collective identity; if a piece does not fit within the puzzle, it must take a new shape or be set aside (6-7).

The lived religion approach signals to organizations and institutions that a focus on inclusion and equality requires an emphasis on the understanding of identity beyond rigid categorization.' However, a struggle remains within any organization, especially within a military organization focused on establishing and maintaining a common identity while negotiating between individual and collective identity.

Negotiating between collective and personal identity formation proves to be a difficult task. Establishing a collective sense of identity can often supersede individual identities and lead to a desire to create team cohesion and a shared understanding of values. Joanne Rennick (2011) points out that identity in the military context takes on a different form. She states that members who join the CAF agree to subjugate their rights to the nation's needs (4). Additionally, citing Emile Durkheim (1952), Rennick writes that given military members'

willingness to sacrifice their lives for the betterment of the group, a sense of ‘altruistic suicide’ takes place (82).

Carly P Smith et al. (2019) state that within the military context, soldiers rely upon one another for their survival and basic needs. They state, "soldiers also rely on the institution of the military as a whole – for employment, identity, values, structure, and purpose"(65). This statement suggests that the military culture creates a sense of dependence among its members upon the institution. Therefore, it is understood that the collective identity will not bend or change at the desire or request of the members of the organization. Instead, the expectation is that an individual's expressed identity will conform to the precepts established by the institution to accommodate 'difference.'

CAN IDENTITY BE DEFINED? AND IF SO, BY WHOM?

In the example at the outset of this chapter, the perception of identity depended on an individual's ability to define another person's identity within a particular category. The tension arises when categories blend or diversify and are no longer neatly defined. This example demonstrates that if the need to define identities within categories is common practice within daily individual interactions, it is only natural that this precept exists within an organization comprised of many people, all with their understandings and perceptions. Defining individuals based on one or two primary features allows an organization to make quick assessments and decisions so that their attention can return to their work. It is easier to base a judgment on the worth and value of the individual if the need to consider all factors that constitute one's identity does not exist.

The easiest solution for an organization to manage diversity is to implement an accommodation policy. Accommodations allow organizations and those in positions of power to break down an individual's religious or spiritual identity into primary and secondary considerations. Those aspects of a person's religious identity that are primary to their daily lives receive protection; however, an accommodation request requires an individual to indicate why this act, practice or piece of clothing is essential to their religious identity. Thus, a perception emerges that the other aspects of an individual's faith or religious expression are less significant and do not demand recognition.

The attempt to define religious identity leads to the question of who is responsible for creating this definition. Who measures what accommodations are acceptable? Could adopting a lived religion and embracing a complex understanding of identity limit the need for formal accommodations? While these questions are too far-reaching to be fully addressed within this thesis, the significance of identity forces the question of the harm incurred by limitations placed upon the public display of one's religious beliefs and practices. The following sections will examine religious freedom and accommodations in greater depth, starting with the questions of what is reasonable and examining the impact of this process on religious freedoms.

HARM OF ACCOMMODATION: WHAT IS REASONABLE?

Following a formal mess dinner, there was a restroom break before the rest of the evening's activities shifted to the common area of the Officer's Mess.²¹ As the unit chaplain,

²¹ The Officers Mess is one of three Messes on a base, and it is a place where Officers come together for comradery and fellowship.

offering grace before the meal was a common custom. This prayer marked the first occasion where I provided a preamble at the beginning of the prayer. In the preamble, as prescribed in the Chaplain General (CG) directive on public prayer, I invited those for whom prayer was not significant to take this time as a moment of reflection.

During the break, I was standing in the main hall talking with a few people I knew when a young Sergeant (Sgt)²² approached me and pulled me aside. He told me that he appreciated the words at the beginning of the prayer. He said the preamble made him feel included and recognized during the prayer, even as a non-believer. After hearing this, I felt uplifted, as if I had made a true impact that evening in this young man's life.

Reflecting upon this experience seven years removed, I now question whether my actions in adding the preamble to the prayer made this an inclusive act or if it only served to justify an activity that was, in fact, exclusive. On the one hand, offering grace before the meal was a significant action for specific members in attendance, but many members were present for whom this act was meaningless and even insulting.

The addition of the preamble does not speak to those for whom the prayer was insignificant, nor does it provide a reason why it is necessary to pray as a collective in a public setting. Instead, it asks those who desire freedom from practising religious rituals to remain silent and be respectful of those for whom it is meaningful. I now question if the preamble aims to allow for the equal treatment and inclusion of all members or shift the focus to accommodating perceived differences and furthering the divide between dominant and non-dominant members. While a blessing said at the beginning of a mess dinner can positively

²² Sergeant is a rank within the CAF. The appointment to this rank, especially at a young age, is a significant achievement and marks a transition from the junior ranks (NCM) to the rank of Non-Commissioned officers.

affect members' morale and sense of belonging, this reality must not overshadow the fact that preserving this privilege excludes other members and harms their collective sense of identity.

According to the CG directive, the preamble is a reasonable accommodation that allows religious members and others who wish to pray to practice their religious activities. However, this perspective overlooks the fact that public prayer forces members to participate in an action that they find offensive and unnecessary. The potential harm that accommodation creates demonstrates a need for further exploration of the role of this policy in creating safe, respectful, and inclusive work environments.

A central theme within much of the modern literature on diversity focuses on examining motivations and methods employed to present accommodations as critical tools for establishing equality. While organizations seek equal treatment of all members, using accommodation to achieve this end is a limiting factor in creating a culture of inclusion and respect for all individuals. Diversity, particularly within an institutional setting such as the CAF, is often viewed as a pragmatic and political necessity for recruitment and retention (Momani et al. 2019, 33-35). Nevertheless, as I found throughout my career as a chaplain in the CAF, there remains a hesitancy that an increase in organizational diversity will negatively impact operational efficiency and institutional culture, particularly for those individuals historically in privileged positions. Accommodation can be a mechanism for organizations and institutions to ensure this is the case, leaving long-established norms intact while giving the impression of emphasizing equality and diversity. Establishing a dominant social norm that measures every belief, action, and practice against this norm creates a power imbalance. These institutional and socially constructed differences can, if not always, lead to inequality and create a "hierarchy of superiority and inferiority"(Sheppard 2010, 35).

Alan Wong (2011) writes that neutralizing differences was fundamental to establishing the reasonable accommodation approach. He comments, in particular, on the Quebec political and legal system, stating that within this province, Reasonable Accommodation (RA) allows the courts to arbitrate what does not constitute discrimination based on reasonableness. He suggests that the addition of reasonable to the policy ensures that organizations, or society at large, do not have to assume a high cost to accommodate the 'other.' (148). Wong contends, "instead of creating a more just and welcoming environment for 'immigrants,' though, RA [Religious Accommodation] has, in the Quebec context, been twisted into something that is now perceived as menacing and harmful to the white, francophone majority"(2011, 148). Accommodations within the Quebec context are often tools by which 'differences' become governable instead of offering protection to individual rights and freedoms.

Selby et al. (2019) raise concerns about treating accommodation as a key instrument in creating an inclusive and welcoming environment. In an interview with an individual named Akeem, he talks about his experience while working on his master's degree. Akeem called his supervisor before working as a laboratory assistant and provided background details about himself. The supervisor learned that Akeem was from the Middle East through this interview. Instead of asking him whether there were any special considerations regarding his employment within the laboratory, the supervisor concluded that Akeem had to be Muslim because he was coming from the middle east. Coming to this conclusion, the supervisor then began to investigate the possibility of setting up a prayer space for Akeem, assuming that he was Muslim and would need a prayer space to ensure that he could meet the requirements of his faith.

Akeem's supervisor was attempting to be respectful of the religious needs of his subordinate. Instead, his supervisor creates an awkward and hostile work environment by not conversing with Akeem regarding his faith, tradition or religious needs. However, the hostility toward Akeem was not only because they thought he was a Muslim. Akeem's co-workers resented that a prayer room was made available for Muslim members' religious needs, but there was no prayer space for Christians to practice their faith. The reality was that Akeem did not request a prayer space, nor did he need one, given that he was not Muslim. However, the working assumption on behalf of the laboratory supervisor was that Muslim identity was bound to a rigid prayer schedule and that all middle eastern individuals had to be Muslim. Therefore, the supervisor felt that providing a private space to pray was reasonable; however, this action limits an individual's ability to pose additional requests as they enter into an environment with the feeling that the organization has met their needs without input. The encounter most likely left Akeem feeling like he was an outsider despite not even being Muslim. Still, because he was from the middle east, there was an assumption of his identity and the key defining factors of his faith requiring accommodation (106-107).

Selby et al. state, "this prevalent paradigm of request requires employees to frame their religiosity as something public, thereby contributing to their hypervisibility and to rendering invisible the privileges afforded to majorities within the workplace" (2019, 105). In Akeem's encounter, the fact that there was potential for him to receive a private prayer space incited others to question why they did not get offered a private room to pray (107). Providing a personal prayer space for one individual due to their religious beliefs made the dominant Christian population feel they did not receive the same privilege. Those in the majority showed no consideration that providing a prayer space was an act of inclusion and respect. Instead, those

individuals who identify as Christians and Catholics claimed to have been the victims of discrimination, despite being in positions where they had little to no need to place a religious accommodation request (106).

Additionally, Selby et al. state requiring official accommodation requests trigger an internal desire to be a good citizen and not make too many requests. Individuals forced to make religious accommodations requests must be careful not to make too many demands (54). Raja, a medical doctor and a practising Muslim, stated that she discourages Muslim residents from praying openly in resident rooms within the hospital. Instead, she directs them to pray within the chapel to keep their religiosity private. Raja demonstrates by wearing the hijab that there needs to be a negotiation on the part of the individual making a formal religious freedom request to ensure they only ask to maintain practices essential for them and their sense of identity (105). There is a sense in which accommodations are limited to what is essential, and individuals in the minority population must not be careful that they are not viewed as abusing or taking advantage of these special considerations by those in positions of authority.

The term accommodation suggests that dominant and non-dominant groups seek to negotiate the rules and regulations governing public space. It also indicates a power imbalance, given that a group or individual requests to be accommodating to act outside of established norms. In posing the question of who benefits from accommodation, Shelagh Day and Gwen Brodsky (1996) state:

In our view, the developing reasonable accommodation framework lacks the capacity to effectively address inequality and foster truly inclusive institutions. It is flawed by its implicit acceptance that social norms should be determined by more powerful groups in society, with manageable concessions being made to those who are 'different.' If this is the framework for accommodation, less powerful groups cannot expect much from it, since accommodation discourse will serve primarily as a means of limiting how much difference 'the powerful and the majority must absorb' (435).

Day and Brodsky present an example of the average work schedule organized around Christian holidays and typical days of worship. Minority religious beliefs and practices that do not conform to the standard workweek established with mainstream Christian practices and worship schedules require a formal accommodation request. However, accommodation policies place no expectation upon employers to alter current work schedules to work with the needs of diverse religious groups and beliefs. The only expectation placed upon the organization is to grant requests from those deemed to be 'different' or outside Christian norms; however, a caveat exists to deny specific requests if they cause undue hardship to the organization, which is an open-ended clause (1996, 466). In the military context, the undue hardship clause can mean that while on exercise, it may not be reasonable for the chain of command to accommodate Muslim prayer times because of specific operational timings and the overall operational tempo. The restriction applies to all members; however, the only individuals to feel the impact of the ruling are those belonging to minority groups.

Lori Beaman (2011) suggests that “framing requests of minority religious claims as concessions given consideration and either granted or denied relegates religious minorities to a ‘less-than’ status in which the official response appears as benevolent generosity rather than as a recognition of equality as a right or equality of position” (463).

ACCOMMODATION AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOMS

So, what is the intersection between accommodation policies and religious freedoms? What is the aim of accommodation policies? Is the intention of granting an accommodation to protect religious freedoms, or do these policies protect the interests of the institution or organization? The CAF policy of religious and spiritual accommodation states,

The duty to accommodate is the obligation of the CAF, by the adoption of measures, to eliminate disadvantages to CAF members and applicants resulting from a rule, policy, practice or barrier that has or may have an adverse impact on individuals or designated groups protected under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the Canadian Human Rights Act (CHRA) (“DAOD 5516-3, Religious or Spiritual Accommodation” 2016).

Therefore, the expressed aim of this policy is to protect individual rights and freedoms granted under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the CHRA. However, much of the recent scholarship regarding equality states that the result of accommodation policies is a focus on negotiating differences rather than protecting religious freedom of expression. In my experience working within the CAF, those in positions of authority within the organization often use accommodations to appease individuals and have little to do with the active protection of religious freedom of expression. Accommodations often shut down conversations on inclusion and help protect against the critical analysis of long-established rules, regulations, traditions, and 'ways of conducting business that often favour current power structures and those individuals who belong to the majority population.

Further, there is a suggestion that accommodations can often harm minority groups if granted without consideration of potential discrimination. Winnifred Sullivan (2018) states that there needs to be a reset in the government protectionist cases involving accommodation requests. She says that each group making a request must argue for their protection in the same way race cases and same-sex marriages have had to justify special legal treatment (149). Religious groups should not receive special treatment because they argue that their tradition has existed for thousands of years. Linda Woodhead (2011) insists it is dangerous to use religious freedom as the basis for accommodation without examining the potential harm to others in granting exclusive rather than inclusive protections (138).

In opposition to models such as accommodation that depend upon a fixed sense of identity, Robert Orsi (1997) contends that through the study of lived religion, there can be a rethinking of what religion is and what it means to be religious (7). The lived religion approach could offer solutions to the CAF, other than depending solely upon accommodation policies in negotiating the identity attached to customs and traditions and protecting individual rights and freedoms. Rethinking religion and the complexity of religious beliefs opens a door for the organization to explore the lived experience of reciting public prayers rooted in Christian privileges and the connections made with one's sense of identity.

Meredith McGuire (2008) states, "rather than conceptualize individuals' religions as little versions of some institutional model, let us rethink our notions of the institutional model of religions" (185). The model of accommodating difference hinders the CAF from hearing the needs, thoughts and meanings attached to customs, even from non-believers who feel an attachment to the Naval Prayer despite having only a limited, or even no, connection to the Christian tradition. An approach focusing on rethinking and reconsidering suggests that a critical examination of religion, religious expression, and religious freedom is necessary before granting privileges or accommodations. However, it also indicates that before reacting to religious rituals, the organization needs to understand the impact that removing or reshaping these customs will have on its members. Moreover, adopting a lived religion approach calls for more significant concern regarding the liberty to refuse to participate in religious practice ("Section 2(a) – Freedom of religion" 2020) and acknowledging that non-religious belief has a significant impact on collective and individual identity.

Beaman (2017) states that the "non-religious other is either as an object of conversion ('we know you have spiritual needs even if you don't know') or as being necessarily in

opposition to ‘people of faith’”(10). Despite rising in number in western democracies (199), there is little consideration given to non-religious belief as a significant aspect of one’s identity. However, Beaman does not suggest that the solution to this lack of recognition is to push religion aside or remove it from the public sphere. Instead, she argues that a “much more complex understanding both of religion and the ways in which people ‘do’ religion (and non-religion) in their day-to-day lives is vital to understanding a world of difference beyond tolerance and accommodation. Indeed, the very focus on difference needs to be re-examined in light of narratives that reflect deep equality” (6).

While Beaman has taken the lack of consideration shown for the non-religious as an opportunity to examine the complexity of identity beyond linear definitions of either religious or non-religious, there are other scholars, such as Micah Schwartzman (2012). They call for the removal of religious accommodations entirely from organizations. He claims that this action would allow for greater flexibility to hear and respond to the needs of all members regardless of religious affiliation or lack thereof (20). While there are many potential benefits in the complete abandonment of religious accommodations, this action could lead many minority members to fear that they will lose any protections, limited as they may be, granted through accommodation policies. Any approach in the pursuit of equality must bear in mind that it is not as simple as abandoning long-standing traditions, which leaves minority voices open to further exclusion and marginalization. Nevertheless, protecting individual rights through accommodations or special considerations does not lead to challenging power structures and privileges historically and currently afforded to the majority. Organizational approaches to creating inclusive environments are challenging to manage; however, much of

the current literature on equality points to a simple beginning: listening and attempting to understand one another.

MOVING BEYOND ACCOMMODATIONS

In his work *Growing up Canadian*, Peter Beyer (2013) states that in his interviews with Muslims, second-generation Muslim Canadians have a growing feeling that their beliefs appear to blend with Canadian society's cultural habits and values. "The Islam they represented was anything but a foreign religion to be tolerated or accommodated in Canada; they saw it as an increasingly regular part of the Canadian social fabric, as regular and as 'at home' as they were themselves" (111). In an interview with Seema, a young Hindu woman, she observes a growing number of Hindu temples or mandirs living in Brampton, Ontario. The presence of these temples provides her with a visible sign of the integration of Hinduism within Canadian culture and represents the congruities between Indian and Canadian religious cultures (272). These comments demonstrate that the need to accommodate or tolerate minority religions can be, and has been, rendered unnecessary in certain circumstances by integrating one's beliefs with daily life and experiences within the Canadian context.

On the one hand, these comments could indicate that religious identities are being suppressed and forced to be secondary to a nationalistic sense of identity. On the other hand, the lived expression of one's faith that is not in direct conflict with Canadian society contributes to a diversified understanding of what it means to be Canadian, especially within major metropolitan areas. In an interview with a young Muslim Canadian named Ahmed, Beyer writes about the tension he expresses in being Muslim within a secular 'Western' society. However, he states that he identifies as a member of Canadian society and with the nation's core values: equality

and the goodness of difference. Nevertheless, Ahmed felt an equally strong commitment to his religious beliefs as a Muslim who felt his faith was a part of his public life within the Canadian context and not purely a private matter. Ahmed's dedication to the pillars of his faith is essential to him; however, his faith did not deter him from expressing an identity as a Canadian citizen (2013, 102).

The individual negotiation of religious and national identity does not negate the importance of recognizing diversity; however, recognising diversity does not need to be the central or primary factor in defining personal or collective identity. The desire of most minority religious citizens is to have recognition without the hypervisibility often associated with reasonable accommodation. The reality for most minority members within the Canadian public sitting is that "to have access to desired food, prayer spaces, or times, individuals must make a request, whether formally or informally, which places them already outside the parameters of normalcy. In sum, this discourse of demand forces visibility and obscures power imbalances" (Selby et al. 2019, 184).

Linda Woodhead (2013) points out that accommodation is only viewed as a problem when the majority or dominant religious population must make concessions for the minority. However, the minority population is constantly making compromises and allowances to their practices and 'norms' to fit within the framework and cultural standards established by the majority. However, since the latter situation does not present an issue for the dominant class, there is a problem to solve. This dynamic demonstrates that the primary driving force to move beyond accommodation must be the imbalanced power relations central to the process. Moreover, Woodhead suggests that many interactions around accommodating diversity come from the ground up and never reach the legal system. These relations do not have the rigid

limitations of accommodation policies, which allow all parties to voice their concerns and find an acceptable solution despite the inherent power dynamics (1-2). As a consequence of this finding, Woodhead reasons that “the richest outcome is likely to be when the different approaches—from top-down and bottom-up—truly come together” (13).

Woodhead’s ideology follows the suggestion fundamental to Beaman’s model of deep equality that the law must not be “the primary mechanism by which diversity is thought to be considered or managed” (Beaman 2017, 156). Furthermore, acknowledging that there is a place for the law, she argues “for an equal place for practices of deep equality found in the every day and a greater attention to those practices when sorting out the challenges of diversity” (157). There is a role for reasonable accommodation, but it needs to be secondary to a dominant narrative of “respect, shared goals, and pride in diversity” (154).²³

In response to the critiques of reasonable accommodation, Selby and al. (2019) rely upon the notion of “navigation and negotiation as a more apt theoretical apparatus to analyze the intricate processes that take place in moments in which religiosity and/or difference come to the fore. Indeed, when probed, many of our participants engage in a great deal of navigation that takes place prior to any negotiation, whether formal or informal” (184). Moreover, Selby et al. state, “the navigation/negotiation model offers a more flexible and reflective framework to think about everyday interactions that attempt to be mindful of the power dynamics inherent to many of these moments” (185). They attempt to weave together various narratives and stories to demonstrate power by examining Muslim Canadians’ mundane and everyday religious experiences, demonstrating their ability to navigate difficult

²³ This quote was taken from Lori Beaman’s discussion on the reaction for the Jewish General Hospital, which adamantly stood in opposition to the implementation of Bill 21 and claimed it to be inherently prejudicial (Beaman 2017, 153).

situations without the need for legal structures (177). Many of these encounters resulted in finding a positive solution, regardless of how frustrating or awkward it might be, without making the perception of difference hypervigilant. One of the key findings arising from these interviews was that a need for mutual respect was primary in all the examples of the negotiation of diversity (185). There is a sense that mutual respect would allow for the navigation of differences that could overlook mistakes or missteps, which are not attainable within legal structures or policies.

In an interview with a woman named Farida, Selby et al. record her discussing a positive experience at a neighbourhood celebration. Within this encounter, Farida explains how the community demonstrates care and compassion through an awareness of the different food sensitivities of all people present. She says, "these moments of respect are identified as mutual respect and working out difference are possible precisely because difference is recognized. The mutual nature of this process is also significant. One must not solely accommodate or tolerate religious differences among one's entourage" (Selby et al. 2019, 162-163). Selby et al. write, "mutual respect is a dialogical process, which indicates a sense of empathy for the other, or a *délicatesse*, as Samira, a lawyer in her mid-fifties elegantly puts it. At the heart of this *délicatesse* is the idea that those exchanging should not feel judged or feel that others want to transform their practices" (163). The concept of mutual respect hinges upon a shared feeling that there is no need to prove the other person right or wrong.

Beaman (2017) states, "respect is 'agonistic' because it requires an abandonment of 'rightness' and the conviction that one is imbued with the truth through some sort of transcendent authority"(93). Agnostic respect pushes discussions beyond religious freedoms and focuses on a commitment to understanding, similarity, and respect rather than needing to

accommodate the ‘other’(13). Moving beyond religious or spiritual accommodation does not imply that there is no role for legal frameworks within society and organizations to ensure the protection of individual rights and freedoms. There will be circumstances in which there will be a need for intervention from an outside mediator to make legal rulings on possible infringements of rights and freedoms.²⁴ Additionally, these frameworks must remain in place so that individuals with power cannot use their authority to bend the wills of those under their command without oversight or repercussions. However, moving beyond accommodation presents valid options for organizations to employ, allowing opportunities for respect to flourish at the lowest levels of command.

Organizational strategies vested in listening, hearing, and empathetic responses present opportunities to move beyond accommodation as the central approach to creating inclusive environments. Instead, these strategies call for a more profound commitment to creating a change in organizational culture that disrupts long-standing traditions and inequalities.

DISCUSSION: ACCOMMODATING IDENTITY

The reflection of my interaction with a young Sgt after delivering grace at a mess dinner represents the tension between identity, religious freedom, and freedom from religion felt throughout this chapter. In an honest reflection of this experience, I feel that adding a

²⁴ In her book *Inclusive Equality the Relational Dimensions of Systemic Discrimination in Canada* Collen Sheppard states, that a fundamental development took place in the Canada legal system when formal equality was replaced by substantive equality. She writes, “formal equality, or a vision of equality premised solely on equal treatment of individuals, was rejected in favour of a substantive conception of equality – a concept that recognized diversity and the need to treat groups differently in some contexts to secure equal outcomes” (Sheppard, 38). Lori Beaman in her book *Deep Equality* notes that substantive equality has largely been viewed as step in the right direction in “promoting a just and peaceful society” (Beaman, 29).

preamble before blessing the meal did not represent inclusion, nor did it ensure the equal treatment of all members.

I recognize now that this young Sgt was respectful to me as a Chaplain and officer. The power dynamics of this interaction were not equal; however, it was easy for me to ignore this fact at the moment and feel that I had met this member's needs. Instead, this interaction demonstrates the power that accommodation can have in establishing equality within an organization, especially a military organization that depends upon a hierarchal structure. Additionally, the members' acceptance and expression of appreciation for the preamble show the dependence of reasonable accommodation upon inherent power structures. However, what harm did the Sgt experience? Unfortunately, I will never know as I did not take the time to discuss the matter further with the member and ask about their understanding of being present for the delivery of grace from a Christian chaplain. This interaction represents a missed opportunity to understand each other's needs and push beyond the underlying power dynamics.

This chapter has indicated that current structures designed to protect individual rights and freedoms demand significant attention and re-consideration. While creating inclusive environments may be sincere within an organization, there needs to be a rethinking of the methods employed to achieve this aim. Organizations must understand that accommodation policies do not advance a sense of inclusion and equality within the institution. Instead, these policies further power differentials by placing individuals with needs outside of the organization's established norms at the mercy of those in power to grant their accommodation request. Further, individuals who express no belief have little to no means by which they can request special consideration or be exempt from religious practices unless they can present an

argument that their practice falls within the realm of the spiritual. However, given the need to argue and strictly define one's belief or practice so that it is conceived as warranting special consideration, demonstrates that accommodation policies, when used as the primary mechanism for ensuring the rights and freedoms of members, create a sense of inequality between the dominant and non-dominant population and between religious and non-religious individuals.

Concerning the core question posed by this thesis, it needs to be questioned whether the objective of accommodation policies in the CAF brings the institution into sync with Canadian values and principles centred on multiculturalism, inclusion and diversity. The scholarship reviewed indicates that this is not the case. Instead, accommodations can be viewed as serving to protect Christian privileges by allowing non-Christian beliefs and practices to be expressed in a controlled manner. Non-Christian members must take additional steps that most Christian members do not have to take to practice the critical tenets of their faith. The accommodation process does not encourage the celebration and inclusion of all cultures and perspectives; instead, it manages the expression of a person's faith, culture, or tradition within the organization

While this chapter presents insights into the positive impact of implementing a lived religion approach and viewing religious identity as complex, the CAF still has many questions to address before it can proceed in implementing any strategy to create organizational change. Some of these questions are: Does the institution contain the mechanisms to allow for the complex and messy expression of personal or religious identity? What impact would a deep equality approach that examines how people live out religion and non-religion in their

everyday lives (Beaman 2017, 6) have upon the institution's aim to foster inclusive and diverse work environments (“Fostering an Inclusive and Diverse Workplace” 2019)?

These questions point to a reality that the CAF needs to look beyond religious accommodations or tolerance to achieve equal treatment of all members. This process involves a commitment by the entire organization, and it will push the boundaries of what has become common practice within the organization.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has indicated that current structures designed to protect individual rights and freedoms demand significant attention and re-consideration. While the aim to create inclusive environments may be sincere within an organization, there needs to be a rethinking of the methods employed to achieve this aim. Organizations must understand that accommodation policies do not necessarily advance a sense of inclusion and equality within the institution. Instead, these policies often lead to power differentials where individuals with needs outside of established norms are at the mercy of those in power to grant their request to practice their religious beliefs. Further, individuals who express no belief have no means by which they can request special consideration or be exempt from religious practices because they do not qualify for a religious or spiritual accommodation.

The literature examined within this chapter indicates that must be a focus on developing strategies within organizations that go beyond the accommodation of difference with the intention of first understanding individual identities outside of preconceived notions. This approach demands a willingness by the organization to challenge long-standing traditions and ways of conducting business. Many scholars increasingly understand inclusion

as something that a courtroom decision cannot achieve. Instead, it is a painstaking process that requires introspection and a deeply rooted commitment to creating organizational changes that acknowledge the privileged position of the majority population and those within positions of power.

Acknowledging privilege is difficult for most individuals. There is an underlying fear of the potential challenge to the status quo and the slippery slope it could create in de-establishing societal norms. The next chapter will explore the conception which exists for some scholars and citizens that Canada is no longer a Christian nation due to a significant decline in Christian influence within the life of the surrounding community and dwindling attendance in mainstream churches within Canadian society. The guiding question within this chapter is whether Christianity has retained the power and influence it once possessed using covert methods. To further develop the thesis objectives, there needs to be an understanding of why and how potential advantages that favour Christian beliefs and practices exist within Canadian society; therefore, the following chapter aims to determine whether Canada is a Christian nation.

CHAPTER THREE

THE DECLINE OF CHRISTIAN CANADA

DO THE NUMBERS TELL THE WHOLE STORY?

In 2010 I served as a Presbyterian minister in a town of eight thousand five hundred people in Southwestern Ontario. The community had reached a point where realization was setting in that it would not expand beyond its current population. Being located over two hours outside of Toronto placed them in a position where they would be too far away to benefit from the metropolitan boom. Instead, the focus for land developers and the city council shifted to attracting retired individuals who wanted to live close to their children but not in a big city. With little focus on attracting new industry in the region, it became evident that the church I was serving would not grow significantly, especially with thirteen churches already in the community. With the growing reality of declining weekly attendance and many of the significant givers growing ill or passing away, it was clear to me that something needed to change to secure the longevity of the congregation.

I called a meeting of the church elders to discuss the matter, and the first issue raised was that the congregation could not keep up with the current bills and upkeep of the church, and of course, my salary was a further hindrance. Without a second thought, I suggested we explore joining the Baptist church across the street. There was a strong connection between the mission of both congregations to grow their outreach within the community. Further, both churches struggled to pay the bills because of dwindling church attendance, and the Baptist church had been without a full-time minister for many years. I suggested we sell our building and join the

Baptist church, which had recently completed many renovations. I then added that we could develop a new concept of ministry within the community without worrying about money for the next few years.

The idea was not well received within the group; while they were polite in their response, the overwhelming reaction was that this would never happen. I realized that I treaded into sensitive territory with my proposal. However, I needed to find out why I received such a reaction. Following the meeting, I approached one of the elders with whom I had developed a close relationship and asked why there was such hesitation even to consider selling the church building. He told me most of the congregation were born and raised in the region. While many changes occurred within the community, the presbyterian church had always stood at the centre of the community. The fear, he went on to say, is that if we were to sell the building, it would break the heart of many who do not attend the church anymore but give offerings to keep the doors open. The building, he said, stands as a public symbol of the faith of each congregation member. After hearing this reason, I realized that the church building stood as a witness to the influence Presbyterians had upon the foundation of the community and became a symbol of the Christian values that shaped the formation of this community.

The tension between dwindling church attendance and Christianity's historical and present influence on Canadian society has led many scholars and theologians to ask whether Canada was or is still a Christian nation. A report from global news in January 2022 states that in 2019, only 63.2 per cent of the population identified as Christian, which is down from 67.3 in Statistics Canada (StatsCan) report from 2011. The report identifies a steady decline in church attendance within mainstream Christian denominations, sparking a concern that churches like the Anglican Church in Canada could run out of members by 2040 (Stewart 2022).

Sarah Wilkins-Laflamme, a sociology professor at the University of Waterloo, states that it is unlikely that the Anglican church in Canada will close its doors by 2040. However, with current trends, what remains of the Anglican Church could likely be a small remnant of a denomination that was once a prominent fixture in Canadian society. Wilkins-Laflamme suggests an unsustainable number of mainstream churches spread across the nation, resulting in a considerable consolidation of congregations. The report indicates that many Christian congregations have not expressed a significant loss of members, and others have reported a growth in membership. Nevertheless, the overall decline in Christian identification within Canada remains constant (Stewart 2022).

A follow-on report from Global news entitled “Islam, Sikhism and why immigration drives religion in Canada” suggests that while there is a steady decline in the Christian population within Canada, as reported by StatsCan, there is also an increase in Canadian citizens who identify with minority religions. The most significant addition is within the Canadian Muslim population. Reportedly the minority religions are predominately immigrants to Canada. According to current projections from StatsCan, based on the current data and trends, by 2036, the Canadian population could see a spike of thirteen to sixteen percent of the overall population claiming an affiliation with a minority religion (Stewart 2022).

The growing reality of empty churches within Canada and overflowing Mosques, temples, and gurdwaras, even in Canada's northern territories, has led to a sense that Christianity is losing its influence and purpose within society. However, the disparity between Christianity and minority religions remains quite substantial within Canada, roughly sixty-three percent compared to eleven percent. However, what may be more revealing is that only fifty-four percent of the population stated that their religious or spiritual beliefs were essential. Further,

only twenty-three percent of Canadians participate in a religious service monthly (Cornelissen). When considering all these factors, it becomes clearer why it remains so important for many churches to focus on keeping their doors open no matter the cost.

In many ways, the remaining church buildings that have come to shape the landscape of communities across the nation bear witness to the continued presence of Christianity within Canadian Society. However, this has also led to questioning whether these vacant church buildings are reminders of a distant past. Or, have these church buildings become a signifier of the loss of Christian influence and the church's relevancy in the daily lives of the vast majority of Canadians?

IS CANADA NO LONGER A CHRISTIAN NATION?

Mark Noll (2006) does not hesitate to state that, in his opinion, Canada was once a Christian nation; however, that reality is no longer (245). The statistics presented in the opening of this chapter suggest a diminishing sense of the significance of the church's influence in the daily lives of many Canadians. Nevertheless, the statistics indicate that many Canadians still have a religious affiliation and claim to be Christian. So, what other determining factors outside of dwindling church attendance have led Noll to conclude that Canada was once but is no longer considered a Christian nation?

When looking at the history of Canada, it is clear that Christianity has played a significant role in shaping the national identity of those who colonized the land from the 1800s onward. As stated by Kurt Bowen (2014), "in the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, the Church came to play 'an ever more prominent role in public education, hospital care, and social services'" (7). Bowen further states, "the [Roman Catholic] Church came to present itself and be embraced as 'the spiritual and cultural force that defined, with ever greater intensity, the social

reality of French Canada [and that] enabled French Canadians to resist assimilation and decline”

(8). Bowen suggests a deep connection exists between the formation of Quebecois identity and the Catholic way of life. As early as the 1920s, even with pressure mounting for a separation of church and State after WWII, Catholicism remains a central aspect of everyday life.

Interestingly, even as the state started to take control of health, education, and welfare, removing these roles from Christian churches, Quebec Premier Maurice Duplessis insisted on funnelling all provincial funding through Catholic agencies (7-8). It was not until the 1960s in Quebec that the Quiet revolution began with the election of a Liberal government and was said to have "[taken] control of health, education, and social welfare as part of its broader agenda of modernizing and invigorating Quebec society" (8).

The Church of England represented the predominant faith of the colonizers who settled within the rest of Canada. However, by the 1840s, with an influx of American loyalists and later immigration from Britain, the Protestant landscape within Canada began to diversify (Bowen 2014, 8-9). Nevertheless, by 1842 Anglicans still represented twenty-two percent of the entire population of Upper Canada. Noll points out that by 1925 there was a drastic change in the landscape of protestant Canada. Amidst worries of losing significance within Canadian society and attempting to unify Canada at the end of WWI, the Methodists and a majority of Presbyterians merged to form the United Church of Canada. Quoting Canadian Methodist historian Niel Semple, Noll (2006) writes,

The support for church union was heavily bound up with the optimistic vision for Canada itself. ... If Canada's destiny was to have a spiritual and moral base, a patriotic national church must instill a common set of Christian principles, help preserve national and social stability, guide the country's conscience, and make Canada a legitimate model for the entire world (265).

Despite the church's best efforts to instil a shared sense of national identity centring on Christian values, Christianity continues to lose significant power and influence within Canadian society. By the end of WWII, the Christian church's losses due to declining Sunday attendance (249) and a presence in government decisions and policies becomes almost insurmountable (256-261). Noll claims that Christianity's loss of power and influence in Canadian society was attributable to a growing emphasis on the separation of church and state (271-273).

While scholarship began to emerge from 1950 onward, especially in predominantly English-speaking regions of Canada, as to Christianity's waning power and influence in Canada, Noll points to two significant events that indicate that Christianity still had a considerable impact on Canadian identity.

First, On September 15, 1959, Noll writes that Georges Vanier became Canada's Governor-General. In his role as the Queen's formal representative within the dominion of Canada, he began his acceptance speech by stating that his words were a prayer. Within this prayer, Vanier says, "May Almighty God in his infinite wisdom and mercy bless the sacred mission entrusted to me by Her Majesty the Queen and help me fulfil it in all humility. In exchange for his strength, I offer him my weakness. May he give peace to this beloved land of ours and, to those who live in it, the grace of mutual understanding, respect and love" (Noll 2006, 246). Vanier's Roman Catholic identity shapes much of the message in his initial address to the nation as the Queen's representative for her dominion.

Perhaps more telling of the long-lasting effects of Christianity upon Canadian society came in 1982 as the Canadian government developed a written constitution. Noll states that the Constitution represented a significant move in establishing Canada as an independent nation; therefore, it was a painstaking process that had to capture the essence of Canadian values, ethics,

and regulation. Armed with the knowledge that the process of writing Canada's Constitution was taking place, a broad ecumenical coalition began lobbying the government to formally recognise Canada's historically Christian posture (Noll 2006, 247). Given the pressure asserted by this collation of Christian churches, the new Charter of Rights and Freedoms preamble states, "Canada is founded upon principles that recognize the supremacy of God and the rule of law" (247). There is an argument stating that the 'supremacy of God' acts as a universal statement representing all beliefs within Canada. However, the reality of Canada's Christian history and the pressure placed upon the government by Christian churches to insert this statement indicate that God's supremacy represents the Christian belief in a Triune God.

Noll diminishes the significance of the recognition within the preamble of God's supremacy within the Canadian Constitution's Act 1982 by stating that the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms enforces toleration, multiculturalism, and public religious neutrality.²⁵ All these measures, according to Noll, represent the de-Christianisation of public spaces and the removal of religious language from Canadian legislation and jurisprudence that was once commonplace (245-246).

Bowen attributes the diminishing institutional power of Christian churches to the modernization of Canadian society, particularly following WWII, as the government took control over many of the social functions that once were directly influenced and even managed by

²⁵ There needs to be a recognition that the 1982 Canadian Constitutions Act does not explicitly mention public religious neutrality or tolerance. Recent scholarship regarding equality states that tolerance has become a tool that stands in opposition to inclusivity and the equal treatment of all individuals. Further, religious neutrality is a concept that has been adopted into the Canadian context; however, this terminology comes directly from the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment. There is no mention of removing religion from the public realm, instead the Charter of Rights and Freedoms states that the government has a responsibility to guarantee the freedom of religion and conscious. Further, in section 15 of the Charter it states that all individuals are equal and can equally benefit from the law without discrimination based on ones religion ("*A Consolidation of the Constitution Acts 1867 to 1982*" 53-56).

church organizations. Drawing upon the research of Peter Beyer, Bowen points to a direct connection between declining church attendance in much of English-speaking Canada and the increase of the state taking firm control of all publicly funded institutions and programs from 1945 onward. Bowen states that not all historians agree with the exact dates and timings of the decline in church attendance and rise in secular thought. However, he feels that a clear line exists, demonstrating that the general Canadian public begins to disengage from organized religion when Christian churches lose influence within society. A similar line exists within French-speaking Canada, but the transition did not take shape until the 1960s when the liberal government in Quebec began to formally extricate the Roman Catholic Church from state affairs (Bowen 2014, 14).

The question of the role of the Christian church becomes a prominent factor in evaluating whether Canada has ever been a Christian nation and what influence Christianity still has upon Canadian society today. Drawing upon Ronald Inglehart's arguments, Bowen (2014) suggests that the primary role of Christian churches before modernization was to provide "'reassurance' of 'an omniscient and benevolent God' in an uncertain world" (15). Pierre Berton affirms this statement by pointing out that Canada saw an apparent rise in individuals returning to church pews during the 1940s and into the 1950s. Berton suggests that the world faced an uncertain global situation, with war raging in most parts of Europe, even spreading into North America (Noll 2006). Noll, quoting Berton, writes, "Christianity has, in the past, always been at its most vigorous when it has been in a state of tension with the society around it" (256).

According to Gallup polls following WWII, sixty-seven percent of Canadians state that they attend church or synagogue during the previous seven days. There was an increase in a unified national identity. The church sought to be once again an agent that could draw people

together and remain the focal point of Canadian communities. In the early 1960s, weekly church attendance numbers remained high, especially in Quebec, which increased to ninety percent of the population attending weekly Mass. However, at the same time, there was a noticeable decrease in Gallup poll numbers for church attendance among working-class citizens in urban areas, which was down to 50 percent. By the late 1960s, subsequent Gallup polls suggest that only twenty-three percent of respondents state that they attend church weekly (Noll 2006, 249). These polls contribute to a statement by John Webster Grant that "the unofficial establishment of Christianity in Canada, already in 1967 more shadow than substance, is in 1987 little more than a memory" (260-261). By the 1990s, many church historians and theologians claimed that Christian Canada was a thing of the past, leading to a belief that multiculturalism had become the national policy that guided the development of all new policies and regulations. There is a belief that this focus on multiculturalism pushed the Christian church out of the public realm (247). Noll states, "equal access and mutual respect were assuming the public place that had once been occupied by recognition of the deity" (258). Noll's opinion suggests that the Canadian government no longer listens to or calls upon the church's voice for guidance. From this perspective, the church receives a push to the back pew, out of sight and out of mind. This perspective leads to the fear that Canada has transformed into a secular society where Christian beliefs and practices have no place within the public realm.

In 2017 there was a court case involving Trinity Western University. In this case, the university asked for their proposed law school accreditation through British Columbia and Ontario law societies. However, the university did not receive certification due to a community covenant demanding that each student abstains from sex unless they were in a heterosexual marriage. The court ruling stated that the community covenant was discriminatory towards the

LGBTQ+ community and opposed the charter rights and freedoms the law sought to uphold and defend (“Trinity Western loses fight for Christian law school” 2018).

In the days following this ruling, I had many Christian colleagues’ express frustration with the judgement, claiming that it was another sign of removing Christian beliefs from the public realm. Out of pure anguish, one colleague blurted out, "what will we lose next?" While I did not share this frustration, I could understand the fear that there is no longer a space for Christians in Canadian society. With dwindling church attendance and a growing sense that many Christian beliefs are no longer welcome in the public sphere, uncertainty and insecurity about the role of Christianity in society result in a lashing out in protest to this sense of indifference and apathy. In my experience, the blame for the loss of Christian influence is placed on the secular government’s focus on worldly concerns, neglecting the church and relegating religious beliefs to personal and private matters.

SECULARISM AND CHRISTIANITY

Following this train of thought, the question becomes, do we live in a secular Canada? The reaction to the Trinity Western case leads to an understanding that many Christians believe we live in a secular society. Regardless of a lack of mention in the Canadian constitution of the separation of church and state, I can attest that this belief is prevalent in the churches I preached in and served. There is a common fear amongst many Christians that they are victims of the government’s plan to focus on diversity which requires them to move into the background. Unfortunately, I have witnessed Christians allowing the fear of losing influence to trump their concern for the unfair treatment of minorities or those who express no religious affiliation.

Confusion has also emerged with the implementation of the European concept of laïcité within Quebec, between laïcité and secularization. Many Christians I have spoken with

since the development of Bill 21 in Quebec have associated secularization and the loss of Christian influence with completely removing religion and religious symbols from the public realm. Effie Fokas (2018) states that the idea of *laïcité*²⁶ is paramount in sanitizing the public of all aspects or signs of religion (29-30). Beaman (2020) suggests that this Bill disproportionately impacts minority groups such as Muslims, Jews, and Sikhs. Bill 21 expressly states that when exercising public functions, citizens must not have their faces covered if they are to receive service. This statement indicates that there will be a more substantial impact on Muslim women than on other faiths (30).

However, despite a clear distinction between *laïcité* and secularization, many Christians and non-Christians blend the concepts to claim an overreach of the government pushing all religious practices out of the public realm. During one conversation I had with a religious community leader, they said that *laïcité* affects all believers, and secularization is another way for the government to give power to non-believers. The confusion of terms equates secularization with preferential treatment given to non-believers. It treats the removal of religion from public society as equally disadvantaging all faiths despite a lack of evidence.

Despite these claims, some scholars question whether there is a separation of church and state in Canada. Fokas asserts that the long-standing disconnection between religion and state is not an absolute truth that is resistant to questions and challenges, especially within Western nations. She suggests that majoritarian beliefs can still hold a certain high standing in

²⁶“Bill 21 (also called ‘An Act respecting the laicity of the State’) was passed by the Quebec National Assembly on 16 June 2019. The purpose of this legislation was to confirm the province’s secular status, as well as to prohibit the wearing of religious symbols by civil service employees in positions of authority and by teachers in the public sector” (Souissi). Michel Troper in his book chapter “Sovereignty and *Laïcité*,” claims that the concept of *laïcité* is a move beyond the separation of church and state. Troper states that *laïcité* refers to the states attitude towards religion, and is not a unilateral position. He asserts that most scholars characterize the concept of *laïcité* in terms of tolerance, freedom of religion or neutrality (Troper 2014, 149).

societies that claim to be secular. However, there is often a denial of actions taken by the state, representing preferential treatment from the government towards majoritarian religious beliefs. Fokas implies that preserving many of these privileges happens under the guise of representing national identity or granting protection for their historical significance (Fokas 2018, 29-30).

However, the ruling of the 1985 Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) case of the *Queen v Big M Drug Mart* undermines Fokas' statement that Christian privileges are a part of national identity. The *Big M Drug Mart* ruling states that businesses will not have to close on Sunday based upon the Lord's Day Act.²⁷ The SCC judged this act as a creation of the Christian religion; as such, it did not constitute "a reasonable limit demonstrably justifiable in a free and democratic society and, therefore, it could not be saved pursuant to s1[Section 1] of the Charter" ("*R. v. Big M Drug Mart Ltd*" 1985). Additionally, "this statute furthermore was not in accordance with the maintenance and encouragement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians recognized in s27[Section 27] of the Charter" ("*R. v. Big M Drug Mart Ltd*" 1985).

Noll's argument that Canada is no longer a Christian nation hinged upon the idea that the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms enforced multiculturalism, tolerance, and public religious neutrality (Noll 2006, 247),²⁸ which pushed Christians out of the public realm. Therefore, the *Big M Drug Mart* case ruling reference to the multicultural heritage as justification for stating the Lord's Day Act was not a justifiable limit ("*R. v. Big M Drug Mart*").

²⁷ "In 1845, under pressure from Methodist and Presbyterian churches, the legislature of the Province of Canada passed its own strict Sunday observance act for Upper Canada called 'An Act to Prevent the Profanation of the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday.' Prohibited were all 'worldly labour, business or work' as well as tipping, public political meetings, skittles, ball, football, racket, or any other noisy game, gambling, foot races, horse races, swimming, fishing, hunting, or shooting" (Powell 1992).

²⁸ As a reminder, the 1982 Canadian Constitutions Act does not explicitly mention public religious neutrality or tolerance ("*A Consolidation of the Constitution Acts 1867 to 1982*" 2013).

Ltd" 1985) added fodder to the argument of many Christians that the secular agenda of Canadian society sought to remove religious expression from public consumption.

However, the ruling of the Big M Drug Mart case did not end the ban on Sunday shopping within Canada. It was not until 2006 that Nova Scotia, the last province in Canada enforcing a ban on Sunday shopping, finally lifted the restrictions on retail stores opening on Sundays. Yet, in 2004 Nova Scotians voted to maintain the status quo and not allow Sunday shopping within the province. Therefore, no store could open on a Sunday above 4000 square feet of retail space. A well-known grocery store in the Halifax region, Pete's Frootique, managed to find a way around this policy by dividing the store into different departments. The big grocery stores in the province, the Atlantic Superstore and Sobeys, tried to follow suit, but the Premier denied their request to make these necessary changes to open on Sunday. The issue went to the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia. The courts deemed the province's treatment of the big box stores as unequal and unfair; as such, this ruling opened the door for all stores in the province to open on Sundays ("Nova Scotia Slams Door on Sunday Shopping" 2006).

Nevertheless, the result of the vote from Nova Scotian citizens to maintain the ban on Sunday shopping remained unchanged. Growing up in Nova Scotia, I can attest to a unified sense amongst Nova Scotians that Sunday was a holy day. The connection between a ban on Sunday shopping and Christian traditions may have been tenuous for some citizens; Nova Scotians' common expression in 2004 was that Sunday was a necessary day of rest.

Additionally, in Manitoba, it was not until 1 Aug 2012 that the province lifted the 1992 mandate to allow Sunday shopping for stores with over four operational employees to open before noon (King 2012). While I could find no explicit mention as to why Manitoba imposed a ban on Sunday morning shopping, it stands to reason that this ban allowed citizens to attend

church before going to work or shopping. This decision marked the removal of the final remnant of the Lord's Day act in Canada; however, there is a significant gap between the 1985 SCC ruling and Manitoba lifting the ban on Sunday morning shopping in 2012.

Consequently, an expanded view of the Canadian landscape after the Big M Drug Mart case indicates that the ruling does not provide a complete picture. While the decision in the Big M Drug Mart case addressed the privilege given to Christianity, it did not signify that Canada was a secular nation or that there was a separation of church and state. The fact that many provinces continued to ban Sunday shopping implies that many Canadian citizens and even government officials seek to hold on to traditions rooted in Christian practices.

Further, Beaman (2020) indicates that within the province of Quebec, there are many signs that Catholicism remains a prevalent part of Quebec society. Beaman points out that recent state-launched awareness campaigns that have emerged in Quebec aimed to educate a public that no longer practices religion on the importance of preserving religious sites to justify public spending. Beaman states that these sites had large banners displaying, "Our cultural patrimony, it's sacred" (28)! Furthermore, quoting Geneviève Zubrzycki, she writes, "despite its fall from grace in the Quiet Revolution, religious heritage is now being 'enshrined as a collective good, and resacralized through the notion of cultural patrimony'" (Beaman 2020, 28). Public displays of Christian symbols redefined as culture further question the validity of the bold statement identified earlier in this Chapter that Canada is no longer a Christian nation.

THE CASE OF SAGUENAY- RIGHTS OF THE NON-RELIGIOUS

In 2015 the SCC delivered a ruling in the case of *Mouvement laïque québécois v. Saguenay (City)* that has shed light on protections provided to religious practices, particularly

within Quebec rituals associated with Roman Catholicism. The Tribunal and court decisions demonstrate the normative aspects of Christian traditions within Quebec culture. The ruling of the SCC demonstrates a positive step forward in recognizing the potential harm of public religious rituals upon non-religious citizens.

However, two aspects of this case demand further attention within this thesis beyond the court ruling. First, there are prominent aspects of the plaintiff's complaint that are essentially left unaddressed and, as such, remain unchallenged. These aspects are essential to address as they represent privileges enjoyed by Christians and relate to the core research question within this thesis. The second aspect that stands out is the shocking reaction across Canada opposing the ruling. This reaction conveys a message from town councillors and elected figures that public prayer reflects the religious values and principles integral to forming Canadian society.

Before addressing these factors, there needs to be an exploration of the proceedings in the case of *Mouvement laïque québécois v. Saguenay (City)*. Thus, within the Saguenay case, a resident of Chicoutimi, Mr Simoneau, objected to the Mayor of Chicoutimi that the prayer recited at the beginning of town hall public meetings was offensive to him as an atheist. Simoneau claims the prayer in question is an overtly Christian prayer rooted within the Roman Catholic tradition. He states that at the end of the prayer, members performed the sign of the cross while saying "'in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit"²⁹ (*"Mouvement laïque québécois v. Saguenay (City), 2015"* 6). Additionally, Simoneau objected to Christian symbols in the proceeding's rooms and other public spaces within the region of Chicoutimi.

²⁹ Performing the sign of the cross indicates a reference to the Holy trinity, and is primarily used within the Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Orthodox traditions.

Simoneau argues that the presence of these symbols and the recitation of the prayer during a public meeting constitute a violation of his freedom of conscience, religious belief, and dignity.

In response to these objections, within the Quebec Court of Appeal, the Chicoutimi council states that they include a preamble before the prayer. The prelude allows one to leave before the prayer and return without missing any portion of the meeting. As well they state that the prayer is no longer than two minutes and does not make any reference to any denominational beliefs ("Saguenay (Ville de) c. Mouvement laïque québécois" 2013). Not finding this accommodation acceptable, Simoneau sought the support of the Mouvement laïque Québécois and raised his objection to the Quebec court system.

The ruling of this case was heard at three levels of court the lower court, the appeal court, to the superior court. The Human Rights Tribunal was the first court to hear the case. The Tribunal concluded that the recitation of the prayer and the presence of religious symbols in public spaces are discriminatory to Simoneau's freedom of conscience. Therefore, the tribunal ordered that the prayer no longer be recited before council meetings and that all religious symbols are no longer present during these meetings. Following this ruling, the City of Chicoutimi appealed to the Court of Appeal. After hearing the case and the decision from the Tribunal, the Court of Appeal ruled that the prayer is universal and that the religious symbols are works of art "devoid of religious connotations" ("Mouvement laïque québécois v. Saguenay (City)" 2012).

Further, the decision finds that other council members and citizens present do not participate in the prayer, so the reasoning became that Simoneau has no reason to feel ostracized ("Saguenay (Ville de) c. Mouvement laïque québécois" 2013). The ruling found no violation of Simoneau's religious freedom and conscience. Finally, the case ruling is subjected to an

additional appeal and heard by the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC). The SCC ruled that the recitation of the prayer during council meetings turned the assembly "into a preferential space for people with theistic beliefs" ("*Mouvement laïque québécois v. Saguenay (City)*" 2012, 120). The city council must cease reciting the prayer during their public meetings; however, the SCC overturned the Tribunal ruling on removing religious symbols from public spaces, citing that they did not have the proper jurisdiction ("*Mouvement laïque québécois v. Saguenay (City)*" 2012).

The ruling of the SCC, while not taking a stance on removing religious symbols from public spaces, does demonstrate an emphasis on inclusion. Speaking on behalf of the majority Justice Gascon writes,

A neutral public space does not mean the homogenization of private players in that space. Neutrality is required of institutions and the state, not individuals ... On the contrary, a neutral public space free from coercion, pressure, and judgment on the part of public authorities in matters of spirituality is intended to protect every person's freedom and dignity ... Section 27 [of the Charter] requires that the state's duty of neutrality be interpreted not only in a manner consistent with the protective objectives of the Canadian Charter, but also with a view to promoting and enhancing diversity ("*Mouvement laïque québécois v. Saguenay (City)*" 2012, 74).

The statement by Justice Gascon and the ruling of the court's majority opinion represents a significant recognition by the highest court in Canada that equality calls for the consideration of all citizens, including those who consider themselves non-religious. This ruling sets substantial precedence within the Canadian legislative system that it is committed to upholding the principle of neutrality on behalf of the state regarding individual religious beliefs and the public expression of these beliefs.

However, simultaneously, the SCC made an equally important statement in overturning the Human Rights Tribunal's decision to remove religious symbols. In the European context, the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) ruled in the case of *Lautsi and others versus Italy*

that crucifixes could remain at the back of public-school classrooms. This ruling demonstrates that within Italian culture, regardless of its expression of being a secular state, Christian symbols can remain in the public realm by taking the shape of the national historical identity of the Italian people (Fokas 2018, 29-30). While there is a stark contrast between the history of European countries and the development of Canada as a nation, in preserving the elevated position of Christian symbols in public spaces, the SCC takes a similar stance to the ruling of the ECHR. However, the SCC does not state that allowing these Christian symbols to remain in the Saguenay government buildings has any connection with the national identity or culture of the Quebec people.

Nevertheless, Mr Tremblay, the Mayor of Chicoutimi, states in a 2011 press release, "for me, a Tremblay from Saguenay-Lac-St-Jean, a French-Canadian Catholic, a Quebecer—for me, it's the basis of our culture here" (*Beaman 2020*, 36)? These comments by Tremblay demonstrate the significance of the SCC not removing the Christian symbols from publicly funded buildings. This action of the SCC suggests that privileges remain for the Christian majoritarian population and calls into question the secular nature of Quebec and Canada. Further, this act by the SCC speaks to the primary research question by providing an example of overt Christian privilege going unchallenged within government buildings and the passionate reaction of the mayor. He directly connects his identity as a Quebec citizen with Christian public practices and symbols. This reaction and the refusal of the SCC to remove the symbols demonstrate that recognizing Christian privileges is a complex process. While removing these advantages from the public sector would be viewed by many as a step in the right direction in removing Christian privileges from the public realm; however, these actions will also negatively

affect the collective and individual identity of many individuals who have formed a deep connection with these symbols.

Nonetheless, the inaction of the SCC toward Christian symbols in public institutions stands out as an example of prioritizing Christian symbols over the rights of Canadian citizens to refuse to participate in religious practice (“Section 2(a) – Freedom of religion” 2022). Further, the refusal to remove Christian symbols from the public was not representative of the actions of a secular nation. However, the inaction toward the symbols was not surprising because it allowed the SCC to appease outraged Christian constituents who opposed the decision to remove public prayer from Saguenay town meetings. However, the anger and frustration voiced by elected and public officials across Canada regarding the SCC’s ruling was surprising because it demonstrated a commonly held view across Canada that public prayer is essential despite infringing on the rights of non-believers.

In 2015, the Mayor of Caledon, Ontario, Allan Thompson, referencing the SCC decision within the Saguenay case, stated in an article published by the Brampton Guardian, "I am disappointed, and I don't support it ... Canada was built on a Christian law. We've shown tolerance to all faiths .. and I am not about to erode our principles" (Beaman 2020, 45). Oshawa, Ontario Mayor, states: " 'I'm proud to be a Canadian, [and] I intend to continue doing the Lord's Prayer prior to the commencement of the council meetings'" (46). A Mississauga councillor claims in frustration with the ruling:

Wouldn't it be nice if the same sensitivity [demonstrated in the SCC ruling] were to be shown to 'Canada' and its cultures, traditions and religions that the 'founding fathers' established and became our heritage and we, as Canadians, have adopted through our parents, grandparents, and great grandparents, who came to Canada to become Canadian citizen (Beaman 2020, 46).

Further, the Clerk of the Legislative Assembly on Prince Edward Island objects to any call for the cessation of prayers during the Assembly. He states in a 2015 article, “the same prayers have been recited in the house since the late 1800s and are part of the daily proceedings... the legislative assembly regulates its own internal proceedings and claims parliamentary privilege associated with its own business” (46). Finally, Deb Higgins, Mayor of Moose Jaw, expresses a less combative tone in her response to the ruling. In a 2015 Prince Albert Daily Journal article, Higgins states that the prayer offered at the beginning of Moose Jaw council meetings is ““pretty generic and pretty neutral. It asks for good governance and decision-making, and wisdom for us all. It doesn’t have a real religion connotation (other) than it being referred to as a prayer””³⁰ (42).

These comments reveal that despite declining numbers of Christian practitioners, and a growing number of non-religious citizens, there remains an intricately woven connection between Christianity and identity for many Canadian citizens. The above statements indicate a fear that removing any Christian symbol or recitation of public prayers represents a potential challenge to traditional Canadian values established upon Christian beliefs and practices. In many ways, public prayer and protecting public Christian symbols represent the last stand for preserving Christian Canada. The perception arising from the adverse reaction to the SCC ruling in the Saguenay case is that there is still a commonly held opinion by Canadian citizens that Christianity has a place within the public realm. The intention behind the presence of prayer and Christian symbols is not to be offensive to non-Christians or non-religious members; Instead,

³⁰ Within the Court Martial of Lt(N) Scott, analyzed in chapter seven, the military judge makes the same argument as the Mayor of Moose Jaw. He states that there is no indication that the Naval Prayer is a religious act other than the mention of it as a prayer (“*R. v. Scott G.D. (Lieutenant(N))*” 2003).

these practices and symbols signify the significant impact of Christianity upon the foundation of Canada as a nation.

Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau (2010) suggest that the history of the Church within Canada cannot be defined longitudinally but instead demand consideration from an analytical lens that focuses on how the church has sought to redefine itself throughout various historical contexts (111). Stating that Canada has been a Christian nation or that Canada is no longer a Christian nation does not capture the complex history of the Church within Canada. Additionally, claiming that Canada is a secular nation does not present a complete picture of why Christianity is experiencing a decline in church attendance, nor does it explain the feelings of a loss of influence within the public realm.

The view of Canada as a historically Christian nation assumes that the divide between church and state has equally impacted all areas of Canada in the same way and within the same time frame. The reality is that such views allow privileges granted to the majoritarian Christian population to remain intact and unquestioned. Long-standing traditions or customs deeply rooted within Canadian culture become less likely to come into question as actions prioritising one belief over another. The research studied for this thesis suggests that a critical analysis of Canadian identity reveals that Christian principles, values, and traditions are sewn into the very fabric of everyday life. The aftermath of the Saguenay case ruling demonstrates that a critical challenge in addressing Christian privilege is that any mention of removing these advantages elicits a profoundly emotional response due to the connection between Christianity and Canadian identity.

Colleen Sheppard (2010) writes, “the social construction of difference means that those who have been overrepresented in advantaged positions in various social institutions

have shaped our understanding of what is normal and desirable” (20). Sheppard’s claim supports the notion that Christian influence remains a fixture within the public realm due to a repackaging of symbols and practices that have become normal parts of Canadian society.

To provide context to Sheppard’s claim, one needs to look no further than the national anthem, which states, "God keep our land glorious and free" (Milewski 2016)! There is an argument that God does not just represent the Christian conception of God in this context. However, this argument does not carry much weight when looking at the French version, which states, "*Car ton bras sait porter l'épée, Il sait porter la croix!*" The translation of this phrase in English is, "because your arm knows how to carry a sword, it knows how to carry the cross" (Milewski 2016). While the national anthem was amended in 2017 from "in all thy sons command" to "in all of us command" to be more inclusive (Milewski 2016); however, there was no attempt to amend the mention of God, which excludes non-religious Canadian citizens. The anthem's words have become normalized in Canadian society every time they are sung and have become synonymous with feelings of national pride and fundamental principles of freedom. The reference to God or the carrying of the cross over time becomes a neutral concept in the eyes of most Canadian citizens.

Similarly, the preamble within the Canadian Constitution stating that "Canada is founded upon principles that recognize the supremacy of God and the rule of law" has remained unchanged. However, this same document states that Canada "recognizes the importance of preserving and enhancing the multicultural heritage of Canadians" ("A Consolidation of the Constitution Acts 1867 to 1982" 2013). So, the question becomes, can Canada be considered a multicultural nation while also recognizing the supremacy of God? Where does this statement

leave those citizens who do not believe in God? What does this mean for government institutions, such as the CAF, which are mandated to represent the growing diversity of Canadian society yet remain impacted by a historical Christian influence seemingly ingrained in the fabric of its collective identity?

These questions are significant for this thesis that is focused on exploring whether Christian practices permeate the CAF and, if so, has the institution allowed privileges that favour Christian beliefs and tradition to remain intact and unchallenged. While it can be argued that statements such as the preambles mention of God in the national anthem are only meant to reflect the historical influence of Christianity, there is a reality that these sentiments leave many citizens feeling like outsiders, given that they do not believe in the supremacy of God. This covert nature in which Christianity continues to impact and influence Canadian Society and the CAF poses one of the most significant hurdles in ensuring the equal treatment of all members. The CAF faces even greater challenges than Canadian society, given its focus on uniformity and its emphasis on traditions and customs. While few citizens are affected by the preamble within the Canadian Constitution, military members are constantly reminded of the influence of religion and Christian practices every time they are forced on a military parade and must stand silently by as a chaplain delivers a prayer.

The examples above display a tendency within Canadian society to overlook or downplay every day or normative aspects of society rooted in Christian practices, which can have harmful effects, primarily on underrepresented members of society. An additional example of the elusive protection of Christian privileges within Canadian society is that the average workweek continues to allocate Sunday as the primary day off. Muslim Canadians, in particular, often have

to make special requests for their work so they can attend Juma Prayers on Fridays. While there are attempts to detach this tradition from Christian practices, the reality is that maintaining these practices caters to the majoritarian Christian Canadian population. Nevertheless, justifications for these normative Christian privileges often result in individuals claiming that it is just a part of Canadian society and is harmless because individuals who fall outside these standards will receive accommodations if needed. Unfortunately, such statements and normative traditions that remain unchallenged within Canadian society, and even more within the CAF, further the divide between the dominant Christian population and the “others.”

Selby et al. (2019) interviewed a Muslim Canadian named Nour, who discussed an invitation she received to attend a workplace holiday party. The party was held before Christmas, giving a sense that this party was a way for her office colleagues to celebrate Christmas. While Nour states an awareness that a name change does not hide that this party is to celebrate Christmas, she could also see how this was an attempt by the dominant Christian population to be inclusive to those who are not Christian (89-90). In response to this story, Selby et al. write, “the pervasiveness of the holiday party evidences the ways in which secularism is, in fact, imbued with a tradition of Christianity that is deeply embedded in Canadian society, even for those who do not experience the party as religious” (90). The pervasive nature and influence of Christian practices within Canada, which is described as a secular nation proud of its multicultural heritage, demonstrates that the conception that there is a definitive separation of church and state in this nation is more complex than first thought. The reality is that while this is true within Canadian society, as demonstrated in the following chapter, the interconnection between Christianity and the CAF has a long historical basis that has often gone unchallenged.

CONCLUSION

The inspiration for this chapter was primarily taken from Mark Noll's comment that Canada was once but is no longer a Christian nation (Noll 2008, 245) and the question of whether Canada is a Secular nation. It is tempting for many Christians to draw upon examples such as the ruling of the Trinity Western case, the Big M Drug Mart case ruling against the preservation of the Lord's Day act, or the ruling of the SCC within the Saguenay case against public prayer. These examples give credence to the claim that Christian beliefs are no longer welcome in the public sphere. Meanwhile, the development of Bill 21, drawing upon the concept of *laïcité*, in my opinion, overtly discriminates against Muslim women who wear the headscarf and other minorities wearing a headdress or covering their face for religious reasons within the general public. The ramifications are not the same for Christians who claim secularity discriminates against the public expression of their faith and the Muslim woman who, due to enforcement of *laïcité*, cannot receive service within Quebec public or government buildings because of her religious garments.

Nonetheless, creating a narrative that Canada is no longer Christian paints a picture that the foundation of Canada as a nation was reliant upon Christian principles, values, and traditions. Secondly, this narrative suggests that there is no longer any regard or respect for Christian beliefs within Canadian society. Therefore there is no longer Christian influence in the public realm. Noll justifies this understanding by drawing upon one statement from the Charter of Rights and Freedoms that states, "this Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians" ("A Consolidation of the Constitution Acts 1867 to 1982"). However, the Charter states that protecting the freedom of

religion and guaranteeing the equal treatment of all citizens regardless of their religious beliefs is fundamental to Canadian society. While there is a mention of multiculturalism, the emphasis is clearly on preserving religious rights and freedoms, not removing religion from the public realm to push a multicultural agenda that opposes Christianity.

However, news articles such as the one referenced earlier in this chapter and printed by the CBC provide credence to the claim that Christianity has lost its influence in Canada by prophesizing that many mainstream Christian denominations will be gone in thirty years (Stewart 2022). Intriguingly, within this same news article, there is an interview with a Muslim female named Tina Aseffa. At the end of their interview, Aseffa states, “Is there discrimination? Yes. Is there Islamophobia? Yes. Do I feel targeted at times? Yes. But at the same time, there’s the halal storage, there’s the schools, there’s the mosques. Canada has allowed me to live my Islamic life” (Stewart 2022).

The sense of national pride that Aseffa expresses must not overshadow the discrimination she faces because of the visibility of her faith. Selby et al. (2019) state, “by insisting that Canada is secular, which invokes notions of neutrality and the notion that we are free from religious influence, we ignore the voices of those who experience it as Christian” (120). Further, to this point, insisting that Canada is secular also causes those who face discrimination to remain silent because there is a sense that religious beliefs are all subjected to removal from the public realm. Few Christians in Canada can honestly say that they feel targeted and discriminated against in the same way that Aseffa does because she is Muslim. There needs to be a parallel drawn between the fear of losing longstanding privileges and public influence that many Christian Canadians feel, with the feeling of being an outsider or having one’s needs

given secondary consideration to upholding traditions and customs. This parallel is not to deny or overlook the importance of the identity attached to Christian norms and traditions but to place these concerns within the perspective of marginalized and non-dominant members of society who desire equal consideration of their needs and rights.

The research analyzed within this chapter suggests that when presented with challenges to its authority, influence, or function within society, Christianity has found ways to remain relevant to the daily lives of Canadian citizens. Christian values have proven to have the elusive ability to remain prevalent within Christian society while allowing citizens who identify as Christians to claim that Canada's multicultural vision has led to the demise of Christian influence.

Within the next chapter, there will be a shift from Canadian society to the Canadian Armed Forces to apply the concepts developed within this chapter and examine the notions of Christian influence and privilege within the context of the Canadian Armed Forces. Leading to the question that will guide the focus of the chapter: Is the CAF a Christian organization?

CHAPTER FOUR

IS THE CAF A CHRISTIAN ORGANIZATION?

RECOGNIZING CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE

In the introduction to this thesis, I presented the struggles that my colleagues and I underwent during basic training. What was not mentioned was the importance of working together as a team to ensure that no one person was left behind. The general concept ingrained into our minds is that if one member failed, everyone failed. Everyone needed to follow that standard if the course set a standard. However, despite the staff's best efforts to break our wills and test our resolve, this experience brought us together as if we had become a family, admittedly dysfunctional but a family nonetheless.

So, when we finally graduated, it was a joyous occasion, and it was particularly meaningful that we completed this process together. As the ceremony was coming to a close, we were all called forward to receive our Chaplain Scarf.³¹ Before receiving the Scarf, the Commandant³² of the Chaplain School informed us that the Chaplain Scarf represents the shared identity and purpose of all CAF Chaplains. As a Presbyterian minister, I wore a preaching scarf when leading worship. However, through discussions with my Jewish and Muslim colleagues, I was aware that the concept of wearing a scarf, or a garment like a scarf, when exercising a

³¹ A directive by the Office of the Chaplain General, released 20 August 2018, states, "the [chaplain] scarf is worn with pride as a sign of the chaplains' call to serve Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) members and their families. It signifies a common belonging to the Royal Canadian Chaplain Service, and thus does not refer to any single faith group" ("Significance and Use of the Chaplain Scarf" 2018). This document was signed and approved by the Chaplain General Major-General J.J.G Chapdelaine.

³² A Commandant in the context of the CAF is a Senior Officer in charge of a training establishment or school.

leadership role was not a part of their faith traditions. There was no equivalent in meaning and appearance outside of mainstream Christian traditions for the preaching scarf or stole. Reflecting upon this reality led me to believe that the Chaplain Scarf was being repurposed from Christian traditions to act as an inclusive symbol.

Therefore, as my fire team partner came forward to receive his Chaplain Scarf, all I could think was that this Scarf was essentially a Christian symbol. When the Commandant placed the Scarf on my colleague's shoulder, I felt that, given his Muslim faith, wearing a repurposed Christian symbol made him feel and look like an 'outsider' in a Christian organization. The expectation that my colleague and friend would accept the Scarf without question, despite the connection to Christian liturgical practices, made me question whether this was an inclusive act.

During our fifteen weeks of training, no amount of hunger, tiredness, stress, or frustration could break our bond, regardless of any difference in our faith traditions or beliefs. Yet, once the training finished, placing a garment over our shoulders signified that there was not an equal playing field within the CAF chaplaincy. Christianity remained privileged despite the ardent claim that the emphasis of the chaplaincy service was respect and dignity for all faith perspectives. This event marked the first significant moment in my career where I noticed that the perceived separation of church and state did not mark the end of Christian privilege, especially within the CAF.

In this chapter, a historical and critical analysis will demonstrate how Christian values have seeped into the military identity. An evaluation of the CAF context will allow for a clearer understanding of the factors and considerations that enable Christianity to remain in a prominent

position within the organization. Furthermore, this chapter will focus on Christianity's role in forming a unified and common military identity within the CAF.

NO ATHEISTS IN FOXHOLES

Joanne Rennick (2011) provides insight into the formation of chaplaincy within the CAF. Rennick points out that all CAF members must put their life in jeopardy or take the life of another for the protection and security of the nation. Rennick states that this reality has given credence to the adage that there are "no atheists in foxholes" (5). In the face of death and war, it is seemingly impossible to conceive of an individual not turning to God in their time of need. This belief demonstrates why there was a perceived need to ensure that religion and Christian beliefs played a significant role in the foundation of the Canadian military.

Addressing the historical foundation of the CAF chaplaincy, Rennick states, "in its origin, the culture of the branch, starting with the British Chaplain Service, was one based on a sentiment of Christian supremacy. Clergy were present as much to serve the warriors as to invoke victory" (44). This comment points to the significance of adopting the Maltese Cross as their cap badge and the motto of *In Hoc Signo Vinces*, meaning 'in this sign, you shall conquer.' Rennick suggests that this symbol and maxim recalls the reign of the Roman Emperor Constantine in the first century leading to the Christianization of the Roman empire. Standing behind this symbol and mantra would leave a lasting impression upon military members that the Chaplain was Christ's representative on the battlefield (44).

When looking back upon images of Chaplains in world war I and II, a few prominent pictures emerged. Among these images was a priest serving mass, clergy members wearing a

cross or even their preaching collar while encouraging members within the trenches, and others in full clerical gowns and robes conducting field funerals for fallen soldiers. These images became representations of what chaplaincy could offer in times of war and conflict. The general message was that these men of God were willing to risk their lives to bring Christ's saving protection to soldiers fighting for freedom in the face of certain death.

Rennick, drawing upon the work of Duff Crerar,³³ states that during World War I, the Canadian chaplaincy fell under the care and direction of the British Army Chaplains. During this period, most chaplains were protestants due to political tensions between Anglophones and Francophones, which furthered the divide between Roman Catholics and Protestants. Interestingly, an African Baptist minister and an Anglican Metis Chaplain deployed to serve respectfully with a black construction battalion and Aboriginal recruits. Furthermore, Rabbi H. Abramowitz was appointed as Chaplain to Jewish members during the first world war. However, it is significant to recognize that while white Christian chaplains were sent to minister to all, divided only along Protestant and Roman Catholic lines, the rarely appointed minority chaplain was only to serve 'their people' and no one else. There was little consideration given to religious diversity or inclusion during the early development of the CAF Chaplaincy service (Rennick 2011, 20).

During World War II, the chaplaincy saw a division between Roman Catholic and Protestant services, with a Senior Chaplain appointed to both branches. These dividing lines

³³ Duff Crerar's 1995 book, *Padres In No Man's Land: Canadian Chaplains And The Great War* provides insight into the role of the chaplains throughout Canadian history and goes into depth about the history of the chaplaincy. Crerar is highly regarded as an historian of the Canadian Armed Forces Chaplaincy Branch, and many of the insights I present in this Thesis on Chaplain history are directly influenced by Crerar's teaching of Chaplain history received during my military basic training.

ensured that there could be greater cohesion in Chaplain appointments, especially considering the positioning of Canadian troops all across Europe. Examining archives from WWII indicated that Jewish Rabbis continued to maintain a presence within the chaplaincy. Interestingly archives preserved from the Canadian Jewish Congress's Religious Welfare Committee during the Second World War indicate a struggle to determine the proper deployment of Jewish Chaplains. One of the suggestions was to place the Jewish chaplain under the senior Protestant Chaplain; however, the final decision was to have primarily part-time Jewish chaplains who would fall under the direction of two senior appointed Jewish chaplains (Srour). While there were chaplains who represented minority populations within Canada, in large part, most chaplains were white Christians.

After the second world war, the CAF chaplaincy experienced a period of fluctuation. Due to CAF budget cuts and the focus on streamlining services, many chaplains serving during the war had their positions terminated and returned to their parishes or congregations. Nevertheless, the chaplain branch remained present in the Canadian Armed Forces. In the 1990s, there was a unification of the Roman Catholic and Protestant branch to form one chaplaincy under the direction of a single senior principal chaplain. The principal chaplain position would alternate between protestant and Catholic chaplains. At this point, Christian chaplains represented the chaplaincy entirely, given that there had been no Jewish chaplain appointments since the Second World War (Rennick 2011, 23-26).

THE NEED FOR CHANGE- MOVING TO A MULTIFAITH CHAPLAINCY

Retired Major Michael Peterson indicates in his 2015 Master thesis that in 2003 Chaplain General Ron Bourque brought forth a new era by announcing that the CAF Chaplaincy would

welcome its first Muslim chaplain. The appointment of a Muslim chaplain presented many challenges to a Chaplaincy that continued to wear the Maltese cross as their cap badge, a tradition that had remained unchanged since the First World War (Peterson 2015, 107).

However, as Canadian society began to evolve and push for the equal treatment of all beliefs and faith traditions, the CAF felt growing pressure from the society it represented to move “beyond ecumenism to become an interfaith establishment” (Rennick 2011, 29). In reality, Christianity could no longer be the only faith, belief or perspective that had a seat at the table. Instead, there was a need to ensure that Christianity set the table for other religions. However, with the changing landscape, the question remains: would Christianity still hold power and influence within the CAF chaplaincy, or would the power dynamics be dispersed amongst all faith perspectives?

Peterson (2015) pointed out that setting the table for other faiths meant that Christian Chaplains would have to be flexible to accommodate chaplains from other traditions. However, the mere mention of these potential changes within the institution caused unease. Even before an official decision regarding the Chaplain cap badge, the Chair of the House of Commons Defence Committee was unwilling to sacrifice the presence of the Maltese cross. He stated, ““why shouldn’t you be able to embrace your own religious symbols””(115)? Preserving the maltese cross for Christian chaplains was critical in maintaining a connection with traditions and customs that became central to the CAF sense of identity. Peterson states that in 2004, Licia Corbella, editor of the Calgary Sun, indicated in an editorial that if the CAF removed the Maltese cross, it would be a betrayal to Canadian soldiers who died on the battlefield. In her opinion, the cross was indicative of the phrase captured within the iconic John McCrae poem, ‘under crosses row by row’ (115).

Instead of focusing on the importance of welcoming the first Muslim chaplain within the CAF, the insecurity of the dominant Christian population became prominent. This insecurity led to a perception that the focus on diversity threatened traditional military values and respect for those who died in service to Country. Peterson states, “it was public knowledge that the Christian ‘In hoc signo’ branch badge was being retired and that some reactions to this plan were hostile” (114). Therefore, instead of fighting for the full retention of Christian symbols, the decision ensured that all faith groups could decide upon their religious symbol identifier. This action displays Christianity's continual presence and significance within the military and as a part of the military identity, while at the same point, providing a public perception that Christian chaplains were willing to take the necessary steps to ensure that other faith traditions were welcome to serve as chaplains.

The final decision reached by the chaplaincy branch on 15 March 2006 was to authorize three chaplain cap badges. Christian chaplains maintained a yellow Maltese cross. The official stated rationale for this symbol is that “the Maltese cross has long been associated with the Chaplaincy and has ancient associations with Christian spirituality and healing” (“Chaplain Branch” 2006). Jewish chaplains were to wear the tablets of the Law ensigned by a Magen David, stating that these symbols are central to the Jewish faith. Finally, Muslim chaplains were to wear the sign of the crescent moon, saying, “the crescent is the pre-eminent symbol of Islam and has been such for centuries” (“Chaplain Branch” 2006). The development of three different badges was intended to allow for the recruitment of chaplains from these three faiths. Furthermore, by creating three cap badges, eligible applicants from any faith tradition would feel welcome to join the chaplaincy, knowing that they would serve under a symbol that was said to represent their expressed religious identity (Peterson 2015, 79).

An additional hurdle facing the Chaplaincy branch as it opened its doors to other faith traditions was the recruitment standards required to be met for an applicant to be eligible to become a CAF Chaplain. The Master of Divinity was the standard the Chaplaincy and the CAF set to determine an applicant's eligibility, which is the criteria utilized by mainstream Christian denominations to become ordained. Therefore, recognising the first Muslim chaplain required that this criterion be relaxed to allow other faith traditions. Further to this, there was a requirement that each chaplain had to serve in a ministerial capacity within their identified faith tradition for two years, and each candidate needed to receive formal ecclesiastical support from a representative who sat on the Interfaith Committee on Canadian Military Chaplaincy (ICCMC).³⁴ This process ensured a high level of control over eligibility criteria for potential chaplain candidates while also placing a barrier to other faiths that were not part of the Abrahamic faith traditions (Christianity, Islam, and Judaism) (Peterson 2015).

Despite these constraints, the chaplaincy branch continually shifted to an inter-faith model of providing care to all CAF members and their families. The CAF officially changed its motto to “Vocatio Ad Servitum” (Called to Serve) and replaced the march past from “Onward Christian Soldiers” with the current anthem, which is “Ode to Joy”, set to the tune of Beethoven’s ninth symphony. While “Ode to Joy” is a Christian hymn, this piece's selection represented the transition from “Christian triumphalism” (Peterson 2015, 174) to focusing on service to all. Finally, on 20 January 2012, the Chaplaincy branch adopted a standard badge. However, it was not until 2022 that the Chaplain branch badge replaced the three cap badges

³⁴ The Interfaith Committee on Canadian Military Chaplaincy (ICCMC) supports the Royal Canadian Chaplain Service (RCChS) in its mission within the unique context of the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF). The ICCMC is the body through which Faith Tradition communities of Canada exercise their support to the CAF, and also represents and reflects the work of the RCChS to member Faith Tradition communities (*"The Interfaith Committee on Canadian Military Chaplaincy (ICCMC)"*).

representative of the Abrahamic faith traditions. The description of the new branch badge is as follows:

Purple and gold [which] are colours associated with the clergy. The red maple leaves refer to service to CF members, veterans and the fallen. The Royal Crown symbolizes service to the Sovereign as Queen of Canada. The tree, the sun and the rock are taken from a stained-glass window, named 'Hope in a Broken World', located in the Hall of Colours at Beechwood National Memorial Centre in Ottawa. The tree is an ancient symbol that is common in many faith traditions and depicts the ministry of chaplains throughout history. Known as the "Tree of Life", it is surrounded by rays representative of the light of the Divine. The roots and the rock symbolize activities strongly rooted in faith ("The Royal Canadian Chaplain Service" 2020).³⁵

While this symbol fits nicely within Christian theology and displays imagery commonly associated with Christian beliefs, it is also a move towards a common identity beyond the Maltese cross that can be deemed acceptable by other faiths. These changes indicate that the CAF and the Chaplaincy branch are instituting measures to allow greater diversity and representation of various faith traditions. Despite the steps taken to carve out a new path, the CAF cannot deny the impact of Christian traditions and customs not quickly shed or cast off. These traditions have become a part of the military culture and continue to shape the current culture and unified sense of identity.

DISCUSSION: MOVING BEYOND CHRISTIANITY?

Coming back to the changing landscape of 2003 within the CAF and the RCChS as it welcomes its first Muslim chaplain, or maybe even more significant, the first non-Christian chaplain since the Second World War. The Chaplain General described the event as a

³⁵ Refer to Appendices 11.3 – Chaplain crests

metamorphosis (Peterson 2015, 107). At first glance, it seems like this statement is over the top. The reality is that the organization is only hiring one chaplain from a non-Christian tradition, so how could this one person represent a metamorphosis? However, when looking at the hiring from the perspective of Christian chaplains serving at that time, welcoming the first non-Christian full-time chaplain meant their monopoly was in jeopardy. It is easy to say that everyone wants to strive toward equality and to ensure everyone has equal access to the table, but there is always the fear that welcoming new people with new perspectives might change the seating arrangements or even require a new table.

In this sense, the term metamorphosis becomes an apt term to describe the situation and the shifting context of the CAF chaplaincy. In my experience, the CAF has a top-down approach to implementing programs and enhancing diversity. Commanders will receive the direction of what changes must take place within their unit, and they, in turn, pass along this information to the supervisors under their command to ensure the implementation of any programs or directives. There is no thought given to the methods or education needed to ensure buy-in and understanding from all members of the changes that need to happen. Instead, in standard military fashion, the information is passed along with an understanding that all members will simply follow the orders. Regardless of members' thoughts or views, the expectation is that you will follow the organisation's direction as a member of the CAF. Momani et al. state:

The defence and security sector has little choice but to be more accommodating; it has to identify which integrationist aspects of the institution are indispensable to its ability to carry out its mandate and mission, and which aspects are malleable and open to Demographic Imperatives for Diversity and Inclusion adaptation without compromising the functional imperative (Momani 2019, 20-21).

The CAF does not demonstrate much concern for individual perspectives. The common belief amongst most minority CAF members is that the organisation's primary concern is to ensure that

the need to increase diversity does not impede the functional ability of their units to carry out mission objectives. This understanding creates a belief from the lowest to senior ranks that the organization's messages regarding diversity, respect, equality, and inclusion are just for political gain. On many occasions, I have heard unit Commanders and section supervisors passing along information for their troops, and then behind closed doors, they state that they will grin and bear the changes until it all blows over. The feeling is that once the public attention shifts to something else or the news headlines are no longer interested in the CAF's response to complaints of harassment or a lack of diversity, then they can go back to business as usual.

Momani et al interviewed a CAF member who suggested that within the military culture, “diversity and its attending mechanisms have instead become ‘about changing perceptions of whiteness rather than changing whiteness in [the] organization’”(116). This statement suggests that the CAF's focus on diversity does not seek to create real change. Instead, the aim is to change the perception that a problem exists. In my experience, this statement is common to the experience of many minorities within the CAF. They feel that the organization will be quick to put a picture of them up on a poster but slow to enact real change that would allow their voices to be heard or address the problems inherent within the system that limit their potential to progress into positions of greater influence. It has been my experience that most members of the CAF understand that for the organization, the perception of change is more important and easier to achieve than creating real and long-lasting change.

The question becomes, how is the preservation of Christian privilege impacted if the organization's focus is on perception rather than action when creating change? Will the perception of diversity drive the organization to remove all aspects of Christian influence from the military without considering the impact on all members? Or will the need to create a positive

image result in overlooking or downplaying claims of discrimination or inequality from minority members in the hope that media outlets will not pick it up as a headline?

The reality is that perception cannot drive real change. The organization needs to address this issue before implementing new directives, programs or initiatives designed to increase diversity within the organization and ensure all members receive equal treatment. The CAF must acknowledge and recognize the privileges granted to Christian members inherent within the system and exert a genuine effort to understand the fear and resistance members feel in accepting and creating change. Individuals in positions of authority must recognize that the place settings of each table within the various units and trades in the CAF are not easily changed. The members who sit at the head of the table will tolerate the changes and directives passed down, but the moment their position or place setting is in question, there will be less receptivity. The table is understood to meet the unit's operational needs, and there is little understanding that the set-up has been affected by underlying advantages that favour one group over another. So, when the organization directs units that they need to set out new place settings are changing or even worse to get a new table, it causes resistance, and no matter what the new table looks like, it will not change the dynamics and feelings of those sitting around it forced to change.

CONCLUSION

This chapter reveals that the preservation of Christian elements within military customs and traditions depends on establishing a nexus between Christianity and the historical identity of the CAF. This bond makes it nearly impossible to separate the influence of Christianity from the significance of an event, practice, or custom; regardless of potential amendments, the Christian influence remains intact. To create organizational change, the CAF must recognize these power

dynamics and privileges that are inherent within the system that favour Christian practices over other beliefs and non-beliefs. There is a need to engage in a collaborative effort rather than directives delivered in a top-down fashion. The most efficient and beneficial way for an organization to create change is by encouraging all voices to be heard and ensuring an understanding of the changes to take place and why they are necessary to create inclusive work environments.

The following chapter will critically analyse the motivation behind select CAF policies that have been amended or redefined in the last tens of years to become more inclusive. This examination will focus on the acknowledgement, or lack thereof, of the impact of privilege on organizational goals to enhance inclusion and equality. To determine whether the organization is willing to move beyond the perception of change, there needs to be a greater understanding of efforts made by the organization to increase the emphasis on diversity. This critical analysis will allow the thesis to gauge the CAF and RCChS' willingness and ability to take the necessary steps to create authentic and long-lasting institutional change.

CHAPTER FIVE

INCLUSIVITY WITHIN CAF AND RCChS POLICIES

A CASE OF THREE POLICES

In 2019 the Chaplain General implemented a new strategy for creating a culture of care in leadership within the Royal Canadian Chaplain Service (RCChS). Learning about this new directive, I was hopeful that it could cause real change in the RCChS. When I read this directive, I remember being in a place of hurt and distrust of the military structure after being posted to an environment where my family and I struggled.

As I read the directive, the first word that stood out was subordinate. The directive states in paragraph 4, "the Culture of Care will be developed, articulated, and presented to subordinates at each level ("Chap Gen Directive Culture of Care in Leadership" 2019, 2-3). The concept of a subordinate is an important symbol and sign within the military structure to define the necessity of a hierarchal system. When facing conflict, those members heading into battle understand that they are to follow the orders of their leaders without question. Being subordinate implies being under the control of your superior, which in the military translates to a position of power and influence for those deemed worthy of being appointed to higher authority and rank.

Further, the directive states, "in addition to the moral duty to care for those under one's authority, there are operational and strategic benefits to organization health. It is critical to balance mission success with caring for those under one's authority, ultimately leading to operational effectiveness, institutional effectiveness, institutional credibility, and trust" (5).

The phrase "those under one's authority" (5) has the same effect as calling members subordinates, especially within a policy designed to convey a sense of care and compassion. I knew that I needed to heal at this point, so I was open to the indication that the RCChS is committed to vocational renewal. However, using terminology reflective of a military culture of subordination and emphasizing hierarchal positions of power and influence led me to distrust the directive entirely. Unfortunately, when I read this article, I found that adding these phrases led to a disconnect between the directive's aim and the practical application.

Years removed from implementing this policy, I see how the RCChS has demonstrated a commitment to creating an environment of care and support. However, despite witnessing and experiencing the positive progression of the RCChS, the wording of this policy reminds me that within the military organization, there will always be a sense that I am nothing more than a subordinate under another person's authority.

The intent of the narrative is not to spend much time on the "CG Directive Culture of Care in Leadership." Instead, the analysis of this document demonstrates the power of language, signs, and symbols employed within organizational policies and directives that can have both positive and negative impacts. Juxtaposing the symbolism and the directive's aim can be a valuable critical tool in examining the organization's motivations in implementing new orders to enhance a focus on inclusivity and equality. This approach will be instrumental as the direction of this chapter now focuses on critically examining: the 2018 directive on the significance and use of the Chaplain Scarf, RCChS; the 2013 Chaplain General policy on Public Prayer at Military Ceremonies; and the 2016 policy on religious and spiritual accommodation within the CAF. The intention of critically analyzing these policies is to look for indications that privileges

are being preserved and reveal resistant signs and symbols that are impactful in addressing processes of domination and social struggles ("Critical discourse analysis" 26).

DIRECTIVE ON THE "SIGNIFICANCE AND USE OF THE CHAPLAIN SCARF"

The first policy to be examined is the Chaplain General's directive on the "Significance and use of the Chaplain Scarf." The directive begins by saying, "The [Chaplain] scarf is worn with pride as a sign of the chaplains' call to serve Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) members and their families. It signifies a common belonging to the Royal Canadian Chaplain Service (RCCChS) and thus does not refer to any single faith group" (1).

Interestingly, the directive states that it does not refer to any single faith when suggesting that the scarf would represent a single faith tradition. Michael Peterson (2015) writes that before the CAF chaplaincy shifted its focus to being multifaith, chaplains were authorized to wear the preaching scarf or a stole depending on whether they were Protestant or Roman Catholic. Each Chaplain could wear their scarf or stole during "liturgies, ceremonies, and on solemn occasions such as repatriation of military remains" (110). It was not until 2009, several years after the CAF Chaplaincy voiced its intention to become a multifaith chaplaincy, that "stoles and scarfs with the three faith-specific badges were issued for use on ceremonial and liturgical occasions" (120). Is this policy than trying to continue the liturgical tradition of wearing preaching scarves and stoles within the CAF by claiming that the Chaplain Scarf is a tool for unity and a common identity?

When looking at the directive from the perspective of those Chaplains from the mainstream protestant tradition, there is a sense of pride and historical significance in wearing a Chaplain Scarf. The Chaplain Scarf is reminiscent of the preaching scarf or stole (the term

commonly used by the Roman Catholic church and even many Protestant traditions), frequently worn by ordained ministers during liturgical events and ceremonies. For Roman Catholic Chaplains who are not ordained, given the title of Pastoral Associates, the Chaplain Scarf, on the one hand, would serve as a sign of ordination to which they do not belong. Still, on the other hand, it would be a recognized symbol associated with their faith tradition. From the perspective of ordained mainstream priests and ministers, the Chaplain Scarf represents a common identity while also speaking to their faith and devotion.

However, the preaching scarf would be foreign to their customs and practices for faith traditions other than mainstream Christianity. Therefore, when the directive states that the Chaplain Scarf does not represent a single faith, it becomes clear that this statement intends to remove this symbol from the realm of Christian beliefs despite the lack of significance for other belief systems and traditions. Therefore, the directive indicates that the Chaplain Scarf will not be compared with the preaching scarf or stole worn within Christian traditions. However, can this aim be achieved with a clear-cut resemblance between the Chaplain Scarf, in both function and appearance, and Christian symbols that have come to represent ordination and priestly functions?

The directive states in paragraphs three and four the purpose of the Chaplain Scarf is not to function as a liturgical vestment. Therefore, it cannot serve as a replacement for liturgical garments within worship services held within the military chapels. This distinction is necessary to signify an apparent connection between Christian practices and the Chaplain Scarf. Regardless, the directive states that the scarf will be used solely to "commemorate major military events such as the Battle of the Atlantic, the Battle of Britain, Remembrance Day, and the Consecration of Colours. Only the Chaplain Scarf shall be worn with military orders of dress"

(2). The Consecration of Colours stands out amongst these commemorative ceremonies because this ceremony has a deeply rooted Christian connection, as mentioned in the previous chapter. The indication of wearing the Chaplain Scarf in a military tradition with a deep connection with Christian practices presents further issues. Suppose a Muslim or Jewish Chaplain receives a request to perform a Consecration of Colours ceremony. Is there a perception that ceremonies that have a significant connection to Christian practices are to be led solely by Christian chaplains for whom wearing the Chaplain Scarf does not create an internal conflict or infringement of religious rights and freedoms? If this perception exists, does wearing the Chaplain Scarf at events linked to Christian traditions create a concept that the CAF chaplaincy is a Christian organization that tolerates other faith perspectives?

Further, the directive states in paragraph seven that "Military headdress will not be worn when wearing the scarf or when offering prayers" (2). While this statement may not seem significant, it becomes crucial when it is recognized that the removal of headdress is most closely associated with Christian traditions, especially when leading worship or entering a church building/sacred space. In fact, according to Muslim and Jewish faith traditions, the other two faiths currently represented within the RCChS, it is a common practice to wear a headdress when performing rituals, ceremonies, leading prayers and other actions of devotion or reverence. When looking at this statement from a privileged Christian perspective, the directive indicates that Chaplain Scarf is not to be associated with a single faith tradition. Therefore, removing military headdress is a time-honoured tradition meant to connote respect to those military members who have died in service and under the protection of a divine being. However, the reality is that this tradition is unmistakably more closely associated with Christian practices than any other faith tradition.

Still, the directive tries to distinguish the Chaplain Scarf from the liturgical dress, stating in paragraph five, "liturgical vestments such as an Alb or Geneva gown shall not normally be worn on parade" (2). However, in the same paragraph, the directive purposively indicates that chaplains can wear the Chaplain Scarf with a clerical shirt and collar (Par. 5). In this instance, the directive directly speaks to Christian chaplains. In other words, this part of the directive does not pertain to non-Christian chaplains. The dichotomy that the direct mention of clerical shirts creates is situated within the directive's overall objective, claiming the Chaplain Scarf as a unifying symbol.

DISCUSSION

The directive's intention is reasonable and relevant when examining the CG directive on the "Significance and use of the Chaplain Scarf" through the lens of inclusion and diversity. The policy sets forth a symbol representing the common identity of CAF chaplains. Even though the vast majority of chaplains are from Christian traditions, the aim of proposing a unifying principle or symbol can be a significant step in creating greater equality and inclusion within the RCChS. However, the RCChS re-purposes a symbol with deep connections to the majority population to achieve this unified sense of purpose. The intent of forming a relationship between military dress and regulations with the Chaplain Scarf is an intelligent strategy to incorporate the Scarf into military culture and traditions. From the perspective of a mainstream Christian chaplain, the symbolism of wearing the Chaplain Scarf with the uniform signifies a correlation between the chaplain's work and the function of the CAF. For CAF members who have no connection or a limited connection to religious beliefs, the Chaplain Scarf would likely not signify a reference to any belief system, except for what they witness on social media, at funerals, or through movies or other forms of mass media. Yet, for members from Christian traditions who have attended

church, funerals, baptisms, or other Christian rituals, this symbol would stand as a sign of their faith even if they only have a slight connection to Christianity. On the other hand, for members who have been negatively affected by Christian services or clergy members, the perception of the Chaplain Scarf will potentially be a painful symbol. While for non-Christian members, the presence of a Chaplain Scarf, regardless of whether a Christian or non-Christian chaplain is wearing it, represents a privilege given to Christian believers and a reminder that there is a need to adopt symbols steeped in Christian traditions in order to be considered a chaplain of the same stature as their Christian colleagues.

My personal experience is that many non-Christian chaplains have been hesitant to wear the Chaplain Scarf. However, there is a feeling that if they refuse to wear the scarf, they will appear to be different, difficult, and disrespectful. Harkening back to the story shared at the beginning of chapter four, a newly graduated class of chaplains was called forward to receive their Chaplain Scarf. The picture taken after this event displayed proud recruits with crosses on their scarf except for one. The photo reflects a sense of unity within a group that persevered and worked together to complete a common goal. However, the symbol representing this unity and common purpose was the only visible divide within that picture.

On the one hand, the symbolism of the crescent moon on my colleague's Chaplain Scarf is a significant sign of increasing diversity within the RCChS. Yet, on the other hand, there needs to be a recognition of the impact of placing this symbol of the Muslim faith upon a scarf that comes from a tradition of Christian chaplains wearing liturgical scarves to serve their members in theatres of war. Will a non-christian chaplain feel a sense of belonging when they wear the Chaplain Scarf, or will this act indicate that they are 'outsiders' invited to join a Christian chaplaincy?

PUBLIC PRAYER AT MILITARY CEREMONIES

Shifting the focus, the following policy to be analyzed is the RCChS policy entitled "Public Prayer at Military Ceremonies," dated 16 December 2013. The driving force behind this policy was the need for the chaplain service to ensure that public prayers recited within the CAF were inclusive and respectful of the needs of all CAF members.

The common thought amongst chaplains was that this directive intended to make a statement regarding the importance of public prayer before a decision made by the SCC could lead to banning prayers at public gatherings. The ongoing discussion within the chaplaincy at the time was that there needed protection to ensure that prayer remained intact during public parades, ceremonies, and in particular, services of remembrance and memorial.

Many chaplains expressed the fear that if the chaplaincy lost the ability to pray, this could signal the beginning of the end of chaplains within the CAF, at least in their current capacity as religious and spiritual advisors. Several chaplains I encountered were vocal in their expressed need to deliver prayer during military ceremonies. One individual, in particular, said that their vows of ordination demanded that they be able to express their faith and encourage members through prayer. As conversations regarding creating a public prayer policy emerged, most chaplains understood that they needed to ensure that any prayer delivered was appropriate to all faiths.

However, it was also common knowledge that there were still chaplains who would end their prayers in public settings with the phrase "through Jesus Christ, our Lord." In many ways, prayer appeared to be the last stronghold for many Christian chaplains to maintain a presence during military ceremonies. There was a recognition that if the chaplaincy wanted to remain relevant, there had to be active steps taken to transform the image and perception of prayer as an

exclusionary action. If the SCC ruled that the Saguenay city council could no longer recite prayers during their meetings, then how long would it take until this decision came to impact government organizations such as the CAF? Hence, the Public Prayer policy became crucial in navigating a way ahead for the RCChS to present a unified front in committing to the vision of a multifaith chaplaincy without sacrificing the ability to deliver prayer in public settings.

The policy states that it aims to "provide CAF chaplains with direction concerning public prayer, which acknowledges the diversity of belief systems that exist in the CAF; fosters respectful support for and affirmation of that diversity; and affirms that participation by CAF personnel in worship, prayers or sacred readings is at all times voluntary" ("Public Prayer at Military Ceremonies" 2013). A critical analysis of this text indicates that the policy aims to demonstrate the importance of rituals such as prayer in the life of CAF personnel. The aim is to show that public religious practices are central to the CAF's efforts to support diversity within the organization. However, it refrains from acknowledging that public prayer may interfere with the responsibility of creating a multifaith chaplaincy that cares for the needs of all CAF members. Instead, the policy focuses on those who find prayer meaningful and directly connect their faith with membership within the CAF. The indication is that if the CAF expresses a need to care for all CAF members, there needs to be consideration given to military personnel's religious and spiritual needs. Therefore, removing public prayer could become detrimental to ensuring CAF members are cared for and would not foster a respectful environment. The answer is to clarify that even though CAF members must attend parades and CAF ceremonies where public prayers are present, participation in this event will always be voluntary.

Fascinatingly, the defence of in the Chicoutimi council in the Quebec Court of Appeal of for reciting prayers during public gatherings was that participation was voluntary ("Saguenay

(Ville de) c. Mouvement laïque québécois" 2013). Individuals who did not want to pray could leave the room and rejoin once the prayer was said and the formal meeting began. This strategy is similar to the RCChS' attempt to make public prayer inclusive; however, within the CAF, members do not have the option of leaving the room while reciting a blessing.

Stating that participating in prayer is voluntary within the CAF leads to the question of what the word participating means. In military drills and protocols, no room or exception exists to allow for the dismissal of a member during the recitation of a prayer. A member could request a religious or spiritual accommodation not to attend a parade where prayer is present. However, they would have to argue that the presence of prayer turned the event into a religious or spiritual event or that the recitation of prayer went against their religious belief.

Furthermore, the policy states, "when prayer is provided within the context of a public ceremony where a CAF chaplain is the sole religious leader providing prayer leadership, the prayers shall be inclusive in nature, respecting the diversity of those present" ("Public Prayer at Military Ceremonies" 2013). Therefore, any argument stating that prayer goes against their religious belief would need to demonstrate that a chaplain is not adhering to the policy that all prayers shall be inclusive and respectful of the diversity of all members present. There is no clarification on the phrase "respect the diversity of those present." This statement could mean anything from the diversity of beliefs, cultural backgrounds, spiritual understandings, or even a lack of religious belief. There is no way the chaplain can know each member's personal history, opinions, values, or faith traditions. Therefore, this phrase is often understood to mean that the chaplain should refrain from utilizing words or phrases that connote a specific religious belief or faith tradition. There is also an understanding that this phrase indicates the chaplain should cater their prayer to the particular needs of the unit or individuals present. However, the danger in this

interpretation is that if a chaplain understands that the majority belief of those present is Christian, they may tailor their prayer to Christian members. Unfortunately, there is room for interpretation due to this policy's lack of clear definitions. This lack of clarity can lead chaplains to revert to their faith traditions and justify their actions by claiming that they ensure the preamble's inclusion and do not evoke the name of Jesus Christ or Allah. The reality is that there is no clear indication within this policy that this approach would not meet the parameters as set out in the directive.

The preamble mentioned above is the only consideration shown toward members for whom prayer has no significance or has no expressed religious belief. The policy states, "the chaplain shall preface the prayer with remarks that invite those who, for whatever reason, are not disposed to pray, to use that time for silent personal reflection or contemplation as others pray" ("Public Prayer at Military Ceremonies" 2013). One of the primary issues with this statement is that there is no provision of guidelines regarding the inclusion of members who have no expressed religious beliefs or find religious rituals offensive and painful. Instead, the direction is that the chaplain must present a foreword, known as the preamble, to recognize that there may be members present who do not want to pray. The invitation for members who have no faith is to take this time to tune out and silently engage in meditation or reflection. Nonetheless, the chaplain is still encouraged to pray according to their tradition, and there is no demonstration of concern for the potential impact upon non-believers and those negatively affected by religion forced to listen to a religious ritual.

DISCUSSION

The overall impression of the Public Prayer policy is that it does not convey much concern for members to whom prayer has no meaning or may be harmful. Instead, the emphasis

seems to be on justifying the importance of prayer in military traditions. The policy states within the opening paragraph, "Prayers are also often an integral part of ceremonies or events recognizing a change of command, ceremonial divisions, graduations, formal dinners, etc. The inclusion of prayer in such ceremonies is a long-standing tradition which acknowledges the spiritual dimension of the men and women who serve and sacrifice for our nation's security" ("Public Prayer at Military Ceremonies" 2013). The overt mention of the historical significance of prayer within the CAF indicates that the policy is being written from the perspective that prayer is integral to the military culture and ceremonies of remembrance and commemoration. There is no recognition of the potential negative impact of prayer. Instead, the policy states, "all CAF Chaplains have the freedom to speak faithfully from their own traditions, and the responsibility to fully respect other traditions and perspective[s]" ("Public Prayer at Military Ceremonies" 2013). The directive ends by emphasizing the chaplains' rights and freedoms to provide prayer according to their beliefs, as long as the words in the prayer demonstrate a sincere attempt by the chaplain to be respectful of other traditions and perspectives.

However, the public prayer policy does not directly address the power dynamics when a chaplain delivers a prayer during a public military ceremony. There is no direct or indirect mention of long-standing privileges favouring Christian or religious beliefs over nonbelief. Nevertheless, the text states a desire to acknowledge the needs of members who have no religious belief or belong to faith traditions that the RCChS does not represent. There is mention of the need to recognize the diversity of the members present; however, the policy falls short of taking the next steps in identifying the exclusionary aspect of public prayer.

The "Public Prayer at Military Ceremonies" policy presents steps in a positive direction regarding the requirement to respect and acknowledge other faith perspectives. However, this

policy does little to enhance inclusion in its current form. Acknowledging non-religious views and justifying their exclusion further embeds the notion in the CAF culture that religious beliefs are an essential dimension within the organization. Asking individuals for whom prayer is not meaningful to remain silent only serves to prioritize religious and spiritual needs over the fundamental right and freedom to abstain from religious practices. It treats members with no expressed beliefs as second-class citizens and casts doubt upon the authenticity of their perspective.

This directive demonstrates that many harmful concepts and practices within this policy are not clearly defined and are left open to interpretation by the chaplain. On the one hand, the chaplain must respect the diversity and beliefs of all present, yet on the other hand, the directive emphasizes that the chaplain is to "speak faithfully from their own traditions" ("Public Prayer at Military Ceremonies" 2013). This message is contradictory and leads to questions regarding the priority of the chaplain, is it to respect other beliefs, or is it to be faithful to their traditions?

Moreover, there is no reason provided why the ritual must occur within public settings where attendance is mandatory. The only justification for providing public prayer within the policy is that "prayer is a long-standing tradition within the CAF" ("Public Prayer at Military Ceremonies" 2013). The justification that the preamble ensures that participation in the prayer is optional does not necessitate the need for this public ritual. The purpose of the preamble is to acknowledge that there are members who do not believe in or wish to participate in prayer. So, why is there a need to pray in public?

Near the end of the Public Prayer directive, it talks about voluntary worship, stating that a chaplain is "free to lead worship, pray or read sacred texts according to their own faith tradition" ("Public Prayer at Military Ceremonies" 2013). The inclusion of this statement demonstrates that

there are places available where members can freely practice and express their faith. If the concern is to acknowledge "the spiritual dimension of men and women" ("Public Prayer at Military Ceremonies" 2013), is this objective not achieved with the provision of voluntary worship in military chapels and faith centres?

Conversations are currently taking place to address the concerns that arise from the current Public Prayer policy. Worries are now appearing within the RCChS and the CAF regarding the need for public prayer. The primary intent of these conversations is to explore the harm and benefit of preserving this long-standing tradition. At the heart of these discussions are questions regarding the aim of offering public prayer. Assuming the purpose is to provide guidance and comfort in times of need during times of remembrance, there is now active engagement within the CAF in exploring ways and methods to achieve this objective without engaging in prayer.

Nonetheless, the crafting of the current Public Prayer directive indicates a fear within the predominately Christian chaplaincy that removing prayer will signify the loss of influence within the CAF and military customs and traditions. This fear has led to the further exclusion of non-religious members to maintain the privileged positions that the expression of religious practices has enjoyed since the formation of the CAF. However, at the same time, removing prayer can harm individuals for whom public prayers at military ceremonies have become a part of their identity and a meaningful occasion to connect spiritually and mentally with their needs. Therefore, developing strategies to create a sense of equality³⁶ that considers all voices and perspectives is essential.

³⁶ The reference to equality here draws upon Lori Beamans concept of deep equality, and encourages the active listening to all voices and perspectives that pushes the organization to look beyond categorized understandings of beliefs or identity (*Deep Equality*).

The concept of instituting a preamble before public prayers to negotiate difference and create a safe, respectful and inclusive environment for all members present does not achieve its objective. However, recognising the diversity of needs within the CAF is an important first step. Nevertheless, the CAF and RCChS need to continually engage in dialogue with individual members to understand the complexity of their needs. These understandings will allow the organization, particularly the RCChS, to respond in a way that does not silence voices but encourages active participation that allows all members to feel respected and recognized.

CAF POLICY ON RELIGIOUS AND SPIRITUAL ACCOMMODATION

As mentioned throughout this thesis, the concept of accommodation has been a critical tool implemented within organizations and government agencies to ensure that religious equality is maintained and governed. The CAF Interim Religious Accommodation Policy, published in 1998, is the first directive that provides direction to Commanding Officers and Command teams regarding granting and denying members' requests to practice their religious beliefs and customs within the CAF. The interim policy states:

Accommodation of religious practices means making some specific adjustment or accommodation to standard operating procedures, routine practices, or policies so that a CF member can participate in a practice which is central to his/her religious beliefs and the observance of which is to be considered a fundamental requirement of the religion and not merely a religious custom or tradition (1998, 1).

A careful analysis of this statement at the outset of the interim policy gives the impression that religious beliefs can play a role in the individual lives of members while serving in uniform if it is deemed fundamental to their faith. The question that the interim policy presented to the organization and the negotiation of individual rights and freedoms was, who then becomes the arbitrator of what is considered fundamental?

In my experience as a Chaplain, the term fundamental within the interim policy of religious accommodation was a dissuading factor for most members when considering if they should subject a formal request. When suggesting to members that they should put forth an accommodation request through the chain of command, even with my support, often the response was that they did not want to 'rock the boat' or open themselves up to potential ridicule for their religious beliefs. In many cases, members did not trust their chain of command and felt it was not worth submitting a request because it would not be considered fundamental to their beliefs. There was considerable fear in submitting a formal request in written form to the Commanding Officer (CO), whom they most likely have never met. The unbalanced power dynamic inherent within this process led many junior members to shy away from making a request. Most non-commissioned members did not want to be identified by their Commanding Officer as someone needing special consideration due to their religious beliefs.

The interim religious accommodation policy presented many barriers to members' ability to express their faith. With the power firmly in the hands of the Commanding Officer to determine the earnestness of an individual in their request to express their religious rights and freedoms, there were many concerns that this practice would lead to human rights complaints and violations. In my experience, under the interim policy, many COs felt uncomfortable setting a standard to deny or approve a member's religious accommodation request. There was a growing concern that their decision would be too lenient or unknowingly reject a member's charter rights and freedoms. The concern of COs and supervisors acting as arbiters of the authenticity of members' religious beliefs led to an increasing uneasiness with the interim policy. Additionally, CAF policymaker's knowledge of the 2004 ruling in the Supreme Court of Canada

(SCC) case of *Syndicat Northcrest v. Amselem* understood that the SCC decision presented many challenges to the current interim policy.

. The Amselem case revolves around the erection and subsequent demand to remove a temporary shelter, known as a Succah, erected on Mr Moïse Amselem's condominium's balcony at Place Northcrest during the nine-day Jewish feast of Succot. Syndicat Northcrest, the Syndicat of owners at Place Northcrest, strongly opposed the erection of the Succahs on the balconies, citing a declaration of co-ownership which states that there are to be no decorations or coverings without permission from the board of directors. The Syndicat also claims that the erection of a Succah on the balcony was a public safety concern and would negatively affect the aesthetics of the 'luxury' building.

After making its way through the Quebec court system, the case reached the SCC. Within the case, the defence argues that the erection of the succahs was not essential within the Jewish faith. The defence aims to convince the High Court that Mr Amselem, and the other families represented in this case, were being unreasonable. They state that they did pose a concession that Mr Amselem erect the shelter in the garden area; however, he did not feel this was an adequate compromise. Despite the objections put forth by the Syndicat, the Court's majority decision was to allow the appeal stating that the religious expression of the Jewish occupants did not pose a significant hardship or safety concern to the Syndicat of owners at Place Northcrest ("*Syndicat Northcrest v. Amselem*" 2012).

The Supreme Court concluded that the "sincerity of belief," not the content of a religious belief, should focus on religious freedom claims. Essentially, the decision removed the power out of the hands of the courts or those in individual positions of authority to

arbitrarily state that an individual's belief was not fundamental to their faith tradition (Par. 53).

With mounting pressure upon the CAF to develop a new policy that reflects the precedence set within the Amselem case, finally, in 2016, the CAF implemented the Policy of Spiritual and Religious Accommodation. The 2016 policy signifies a significant change primarily by adding the concept of spirituality. One of the first questions I received from a CO regarding the religious and spiritual accommodation policy was, "Padre, what does this policy mean by spiritual?"

The SCC ruling in the Amselem case states, "it is the religious or spiritual essence of an action, not any mandatory or perceived-as-mandatory nature of its observance, that attracts protection" (2012, Par. 47). An analysis of the policy demonstrates the definition of spirituality is not clear. It states, "Spirituality is about freely and deeply held personal convictions or beliefs connected to the spiritual faith of a person, and integrally linked to the self-definition and spiritual fulfilment of that person" (2016, Par 3.5). The policy seemingly leaves the definition of spirituality purposively vague, with the only identifying clause linked to an individual's deeply held personal convictions and beliefs. The notion of the spiritual faith of a person or spiritual fulfilment does not provide a clear understanding of what is meant by spiritual.

In practice, it has been my experience that the spirituality category captures individual practices and beliefs that do not fit within traditional religious structures and do not depend upon definitions from sacred texts or books. Within accommodation requests, members usually refer to spiritual practices when seeking permission to practise yoga, mindfulness or other acts that are not directly associated with established religious traditions.

The Canadian Army developed a definition of spirituality within its strategy entitled, “Mission: Ready: Canadian Army Integrated Performance Strategy.” This definition states, “our spirituality is informed by our world and life view and its most often understood as a means through which we can connect, both privately and with others, to the source of that which is Sacred and/or greater than ourselves” (2015, Par. 1). This definition demonstrates that the addition of spirituality to the accommodation policy allows for the broader inclusion of a diversity of beliefs not regulated by established traditions and religious institutions. However, within even this broad definition of spirituality, there remains a need to form a connection with the Sacred or something beyond oneself.

Regardless, there is a decidedly different tone in the 2016 CAF accommodation policy from the 1998 policy. The interim policy begins by stating the legal need for the accommodation policy within the CAF. In contrast, the religious and spiritual accommodation policy demonstrates the need for this policy to ensure that CAF members can freely express their faith within the Canadian context that prides itself on the free expression of all religious and spiritual beliefs. The interim policy is direct in its approach and intention. In contrast, the current policy seeks to set an informal tone where respect and diversity are the key considerations, not legal expectations or the protection of Charter rights and freedoms.

As the religious and spiritual accommodation policy lays out its aim and purpose, it departs from the interim policy by adding the term “a sincerely held belief,” reflecting the SCC's ruling in the Amselem case. In this way, the current accommodation policy demonstrates that the fundamental nature of a belief or practice to a particular faith tradition is no longer the guiding principle upon which accommodation can be denied or approved. Essentially, this policy removed control from chains of commands to deny an accommodation

request other than three considerations: the request cannot violate universality of service, undue hardship, or if the request was against the law (“DAOD 5516-3, Religious or Spiritual Accommodation” 2016, par. 2.3).

In my experience, undue hardship became a key consideration utilized by the chain of command and supervisors to determine whether accommodations should receive approval through the current CAF religious and spiritual accommodation policy. Undue hardship seemingly provides those in places of authority the ability to grant concessions with limitations as to whether the request was realistic within the current context or if other alternatives exist (2016, Par 2.5).

For example, CAF training units often receive requests from Muslim members to provide a prayer space and arrange to receive meals outside the standard meal timings due to the religious restrictions of daily fasting during Ramadan. In these situations, the usual accommodation was that members could pick up meals during regular dining times and then heat them in the common areas of their living quarters. The unit easily accommodated the request, so it was usually approved. However, when providing a space to pray, a typical response from supervisors was that members could pray in their room, assuming they negotiated the ability to do so with their roommates.³⁷

This response would often lead to concerns from Muslim members. Most rooms do not have enough space to pray, nor do the members want to wake up their roommates in the early morning with their prayers. While supervisors might give additional consideration to these concerns, the reality is that, in most cases, the chain of command feels that meeting the

³⁷ While on training or awaiting training for members who have not been granted permission to live off base, it is common to have up to eight, and sometimes more, members sharing a room or a common living space together.

minimal requirements to accommodate members ensures that they grant the request to the best of their ability. However, beyond granting the essential requirements of the requested accommodation, the practical application of the accommodation was the member's responsibility. Shelagh Day and Gwen Brodsky (1996) state, "if this is the framework for accommodation, less powerful groups cannot expect much from it, since accommodation discourse will serve primarily as a means of limiting how much difference 'the powerful and the majority must absorb'" (435). The expressed intent of the CAF policy of accommodation is to protect the religious rights of its member; however, by only being required to meet the basic needs of members who make a request, the member is reminded of the power imbalance inherent within the hierarchal military system. Therefore, if a member has needs that the organization refuses to meet, stating that the additional requirements are unreasonable to accommodate, they feel undervalued, misrecognized³⁸ and powerless.

While the CAF religious and spiritual accommodation policy has sought to bridge the gap between the needs of the institution and the individual rights and freedoms of serving members, the directive itself is contradictory in its statements. Within the policy, the organization expresses a willingness to change standard operating procedures to meet members' individual needs. This commitment implies an intentional desire to address unfair procedures and practices that can lead to the unfair treatment of members. However, later in the policy, it states:

A CAF member or an applicant who requests an accommodation must: a. identify and communicate clearly to their chain of command, in a timely manner, their service-related religious or spiritual accommodation needs; and b. work constructively and

³⁸ The reference to misrecognition comes from Charles Taylor, who states that "nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being"(25).

cooperatively with authorities in their chain of command in devising reasonable and workable solutions to their religious or spiritual accommodation needs (2016, Par 2.8). At first glance, this statement does not seem problematic or contradictory to the commitment to meet members' individual needs. However, by adding "reasonable and workable solutions," the onus is on the member to adapt to the organization's needs. There is an expectation that CAF members must strictly follow the procedures outlined within an accommodation. Additionally, they must be flexible in finding a solution that works for everyone.

DISCUSSION

The CAF policy on religious or spiritual accommodation represents steps taken by the organization toward greater inclusion of a diversity of beliefs by removing an expectation of members to prove the validity of their requests and the inclusion of the concept of spirituality. However, the formality of the accommodation process signifies a power imbalance and automatically places the member in a disadvantaged position of needing to submit a written request. The undue hardship clause allows the organization to remain in a position of control, reminding members that their beliefs are subordinate to the institution's needs. However, if this policy were to incorporate an informal process, it could transform the policy to a secondary structure of ensuring that the rights and freedoms of members are protected. If the CAF were to expand upon the accommodation policy in this way, it would allow for a greater potential for the organization and the member to reach a solution that builds a sense of trust, mutual respect, and recognition.

Shifting the emphasis in requesting consideration of one's religious needs from formal to informal does not remove the need for the policy. Instead, an informal process would draw upon Lori Beaman's statement that the law must not be "the primary mechanism by which

diversity is thought to be considered or managed” (Beaman 2017, 156). While there is a role for the formal process of reasonable accommodation, it needs to be secondary to a dominant narrative of “respect, shared goals, and pride in diversity” (154).

Furthermore, the reality of the CAF accommodation policy is that it predominantly pertains to non-Christian members whose customs, traditions, and practices fall outside dress policies and standard operating procedures. Most Christian members have little need for this policy. The CAF provides base chapels and chaplains to provide religious services. The regular work schedule allows Christian members to attend worship with no need to place a request. Moreover, major Christian holidays are part of the standard leave policy outside certain orthodox traditions. The need for accommodations reveals that Christian privileges are inherent within the CAF while highlighting the 'difference' of the non-dominant minority population. Demonstrating the presence of power dynamics within the CAF that favour Christian practices. Nevertheless, if the CAF were to emphasise informal structures, it would allow religious minorities to engage in less discrete mechanisms to pose their requests.

There are many positive additions within the CAF Religious and Spiritual Accommodation policy that allow members from minority religions to practice their faith without needing arduous explanations or fearing the denial of their requests for unstated reasons. However, these additions do not address the privileging of mainstream Christian traditions, beliefs, or practices that have contributed to forming the current CAF structure, operating procedures, and daily routines. The CAF must acknowledge the inherent privileges within the current system and operating procedures catering to Christian beliefs and practices creating a need for an accommodation policy. The structures and procedures of the CAF illuminate differences and create a need to implement accommodation policies to allow for

the practice of even the basic needs of minority religious members, such as attending Juma Prayers. If there is recognition of this reality by those in positions of power and influence, there is greater potential for demonstrating understanding and respect toward already disadvantaged and powerless members. Instead of relying on policies that can enhance a sense of difference, recognizing the Christian privilege within the system can lead to developing informal structures that rely on mutual respect (Selby et al. 185). and the creation of straightforward solutions.

CONCLUSION

At the outset of this chapter, I analysed the 2019 Chaplain General strategy for creating a culture of care in leadership within the Royal Canadian Chaplaincy Service (RCChS). The policy' appears authentic in its desire to create a caring and supportive environment for all chaplains and encourage a proactive and compassionate leadership model within the RCChS. However, adding a few words and phrases indicates that the policy's objective is not separate from the military context that centres upon a sense of uniformity and a hierarchy of power relations. The tension between these two concepts reveals the struggle within the Canadian Armed Forces to achieve inclusion and equality. Knowing that CAF members have daily reminders of their subordinate position within the organization, why would they believe there is a sincere desire to create inclusive environments based on the respect and dignity of all?

The analysis of the CAF directives and policies within this chapter reveals that a key objective for the organization is to create a unified sense of belonging for all members. However, before this can happen, there needs to be a more precise understanding by the organization of the current limitations inhibiting the organization's ability to achieve this goal. A significant hurdle

that this chapter identifies is a lack of acknowledgement and recognition of privileges that have been, and continue to be, experienced by members who identify with mainstream Christianity. Underlying the expressed desire to create an equitable environment within the CAF is an inherent bias. Expanding upon or altering current practices, symbols and traditions greatly influenced by Christianity to transform them into signs of inclusivity only sheds more light on the favouritism towards Christian practices.

Understanding the inherent limitations and strongholds within CAF policies and directives will empower the organization to question what groups or individuals benefit from not challenging certain aspects of long-standing traditions and practices. This process will require the dominant population to willingly relinquish objects, symbols, and traditions that have served to maintain their historical control and authority. While this is a delicate proposition, it has the potential to transform current practices to create a unified sense of identity centred on the core concepts of equality, respect, and inclusion. Actions such as this will demonstrate that the CAF does have a sincere desire to create inclusive environments based on the respect and dignity of all

The next chapter focuses on the 2003 court-martial of Lt(N) Scott and the subsequent ruling from the court-martial appeal court. The analysis of this ruling will demonstrate the damage that unexplored and unchallenged privileges can have upon the CAF's ability to establish a sense of equality and inclusion. The focus of the chapter will be on the military judge's attempt to shift the focus of the case from an infringement of Lt(N) Scott's rights and freedoms to the disobedience of a lawful order. The analysis of the judge's statements will provide further insight into the way and method utilized to preserve privileges in the CAF that

favour religious beliefs and the effect that it has upon the lived experience and identity of members who fall outside of the dominant group and their collective understandings.

CHAPTER SIX

THE SUMMARY TRIAL OF LT(N) SCOTT

THE NAVAL PRAYER- MILITARY CUSTOM OR CHRISTIAN PRIVILEGE?

In the introduction to this thesis, I wrote about an encounter with a Commanding Officer (CO) who was adamant about the need to recite the Naval Prayer word for word. In this interaction, I wrote that the CO felt as if every young naval officer needed to be able to recite the words of this prayer taught during his basic military officer training. There was no consideration given to CAF members who did not want to participate in religious rituals as nonbelievers, nonreligious, or agnostic. Even more interesting was that the CO disclosed that he was not a practising Christian and had no time for religion. This interaction speaks to the sheer influence of the Naval Prayer within the Royal Canadian Navy (RCN). For this CO, the significance of the Naval Prayer was not to preserve a Christian identity within the RCN or the CAF. Instead, the Naval Prayer was symbolic of the sacrifice made and a connection to those sailors who would have cried out the words of this prayer when facing death in the heat of battle at sea.

This chapter will examine the complex relationship and differing contextual understandings of the Naval Prayer within the Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) by exploring the ruling in the Court Martial of Lt(N) Scott. Analyzing the wording of this ruling, what is said and left unsaid, will provide important insight regarding the potential connection between the recitation of the Naval Prayer and the maintenance of power relations through a continued emphasis on upholding military traditions and customs.

THE BACKGROUND- SETTING THE STAGE FOR A COURT MARTIAL

On 28 November 2002, Canadian Force Base (CFB) Esquimalt members participated in Ceremonial Divisions. The purpose was to give the Commanding Officer the ability to bring his people together to provide words of support, present awards or promotions, and inspect the members under his command to ensure that all members maintain proper dress and deportment.

One of the aspects of this ceremony that stands out is the addition of the Naval Prayer, followed by the playing of the Naval Hymn. The naval hymn is "Eternal Father Strong to Save," written in 1860 by the clergyman William Whiting after surviving a storm on the Mediterranean Sea" ("Customs and Traditions: The naval hymn").

The Naval Prayer also comes from the Christian tradition. Published in 1662 within the Anglican Church Book of Common Worship, "the Naval Prayer has remained mostly unchanged since then, with the exception of a change to the name of the monarch, the change from 'Empire' to 'Commonwealth', a more recent deletion of the phrase 'through Jesus Christ our Lord near the end' ("The Naval Prayer" 2018).

Understandably there can be a connection drawn between Naval Prayer and Hymn with Christian traditions. This connection led Lt(N) Scott, in the weeks leading up to the Divisions ceremony, to approach his Commanding Officer (CO), stating that he felt these religious practices should not be a part of a public parade. Lt(N) Scott told his superior officer that he did not feel comfortable participating in the parade's religious component. He stated that the order to 'remove headdress' before the chaplain delivered the prayer was an act forcing him to participate in a religious ritual. Scott noted that he did not believe in God and was not comfortable participating in religious observances. He informed his CO that he did not feel he could comply with the order to remove headdress. Scott's CO, thinking about the potential ramifications for his

member if he did not follow this parade order, presented Scott with all the references regarding the order 'remove headdress,' emphasizing that this was a sign of respect and a 'lawful order.'³⁹

During the ceremonial divisions on 28 November 2002, Lt(N) Scott, following the direction of his CO, took his place on parade despite his reservations. However, when the Parade Commander⁴⁰ gave the order to 'remove headdress' before calling the chaplain forward, Scott remained at 'attention'⁴¹ instead of following the parade order ("R. v. Scott G.D. (Lieutenant(N))" 2003, par. 5). Upon the conclusion of the Division ceremony, Scott was charged with 'disobeying a lawful order' under the National Defence Act (2003, par. 2).⁴² On 12 November 2003, there was a formal Court Martial hearing where Lt(N) Scott defended his actions.

SETTING THE SCENE

To understand the context in the case of a Court Martial, there are a few things that need to be recognized. First, the defendant, Lt(N) Scott, would be ordered to wear a service order of dress number three.⁴³ This dress order signifies a formal work event and would entail wearing a tunic (suit jacket), shirt and tie, and ribbons in the place of medals. Members are often not comfortable wearing this order of dress, as it is usually attached to formal work events. Scott

³⁹ A lawful order within the CAF, signifies that it is an order that must be followed by all members or they will face disciplinary actions and measures.

⁴⁰ The Parade Commander oversees and calls out all orders and drill movements during a parade. While the Parade Commander is in charge, they are to follow traditional parade orders and movements, with any modifications to be approved by the Commanding Officer.

⁴¹ "Attention" is a drill movement that involves the stiffing of the body with arms straight and pressed against the sides of their body. In context, the order "Attention" is followed by the order "Remove Headdress," which is a two-part movement involving the taking off of one's cap, wedge, or beret and placing it in the center of one's chest as a sign of respect.

⁴² "The *National Defence Act* provides the legal basis for numerous matters relating to the Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces. It establishes duties and grants authority to the minister and other actors to deal with a variety of matters" ("*March 2020 - Introduction to the National Defence Act*").

⁴³ See appendices 11.2- Service order of dress. The order of dress worn for Court Martials would be service dress number 3 - tunic and ribbons. The ribbons replace medals that earned for deployments and other special events and occasions.

would then have entered the room, and likely remained standing, saluting⁴⁴ the military judge as he entered. The setup of the tables would ensure that the judge was the focal point. From experience, the mood in a Court Martial is sombre as the defendant enters. Many junior members state that the presence of Senior ranking officers is intimidating, knowing they hold significant power and influence over their careers.

With this understanding, our attention turns to an analysis of the written record of the Court Martial of Lt(N) Scott. The record of the court's decision demonstrates that the trial focused on the parade order, 'remove headdress,' and if it was a lawful order in the context that it was given. The record presents a linear presentation of the arguments made by the defendant and the members representing the prosecution.

Scott argued that the order to 'remove headdress' is directly connected to reciting the Naval Prayer and thus constitutes a religious act. Scott claimed that if the military order constituted a religious act, forcing him to remove his headdress while on parade during the recitation of the naval prayer infringed upon his rights and freedoms to abstain from religious rituals. He did not state that the order 'remove headdress' was fundamentally religious or an inappropriate parade order. Instead, he indicates that the order infringed upon his rights and freedoms because of its connection with reciting the Naval Prayer (2003, par. 7).

In paragraph eight of the record, the military judge summarizes that the evidence indicates that Scott knew that he was disobeying a direct order during cross-examination. Still, he did so with the conviction that this order was not lawful. He had to participate in an action

⁴⁴ Saluting in the CAF is a sign of respect for the commission and position held of superior officers. While it is not a common custom to salute indoors, as you do not salute without your headdress, in the case of Court Martials or if receiving direction or discipline it is custom to put on your headdress and salute when entering or exiting, or when the superior officer enters or exits.

representing a denial of his fundamental rights and freedoms protected under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

After hearing the testimony of Lt(N) Scott, the record of the court's decision shifts to a running commentary from the judge, Commande Pacific (P.) Lamont, M.J. He quotes three significant court cases involving claims of infringement of charter rights. He states that the burden of proof rests upon the prosecution and the court to prove that a violation of charter rights has not occurred (2003, par. 9).

However, it demands recognition that the judgment rendered for this case came from a military officer who occupied a significant influence and power position as Commander Pacific. Commander P. Lamont had served many years in command positions within the CAF and would have overseen many parades. The expectation to follow orders is fundamental to good military order and conduct. With this understanding, would Command P. Lamont have fully considered the vulnerable position of Lt(N) Scott, having to participate in an activity he felt he could no longer endure as a passive participant? Or would he have viewed Scott primarily as a military officer who is expected to follow all orders unless they constitute an illegal action? Considering the implication of these questions, it stands to reason that there was a potential power imbalance at play when it came time for Lamont to provide a final ruling.

From the moment Scott entered the building on 28 November 2002 until he received the guilty judgment, there would have been numerous reminders of the balance of power that weighed heavily in favour of the court and the prosecution. The environment where the member's charter rights were being discussed and challenged does not appear conducive to open communication where all parties could freely express their opinions. Lt(N) Scott was aware that

he had to convince a military judge and a Senior CAF Officer that his action of refusing a parade order, which he acknowledges violates proper military conduct and behaviour, was justifiable.

THE DECISION

With the recognition of the power imbalances that the context represents, the case report indicates that Lamont takes the opportunity to provide his personal opinion. In reference to the Naval Prayer, he states:

In my view, apart from the fact that it is a prayer, the only reference to religion is in the opening words, "O Eternal Lord God." In particular, I do not consider the reference in the prayer to the sovereign, "... that we may be a safeguard unto our most gracious Sovereign Lady, Queen Elizabeth and her Dominions ...," to have the religious significance the accused attaches to it ("*R. v. Scott G.D. (Lieutenant(N))*" 2003, par. 24).

The judge had no reason to insert these comments in the official report; as he later stated, they had no impact on his final decision. Nevertheless, he felt it necessary to express his thoughts on whether Lt(N) Scott was correct in his assessment of the religious nature of the prayer. This statement furthers the power differential between the court and the defendant. Scott never has a chance to react to the judge's comment. Instead, the judge's opinion is treated as the final authority on the situation, demonstrating an initial denial of the Christian influence within the Naval custom despite the reference to prayer.⁴⁵

Despite these offhanded comments, Commander P. Lamont continues clarifying the determining factors that led to his final decision, reaffirming that the defendant's rights and freedoms are of paramount concern in rendering a decision in this case. He then surmises from the argument presented by the defendant that the accused interpreted the action of removing his

⁴⁵ It can be argued that Lt(N) Scott does have a chance to argue the statement made by the military judge through the appeal process. However, in the moment as Scott has to listen to the comments of Lamont he was rendered silent by the formality of the process. The Court Martial process fundamentally becomes a one way discussion, which leaves the defendant feeling unheard and insignificant.

headdress as a visible sign that he was subscribing to the tenets of a religious belief. The judge does not feel this is true, indicating that removing one's headdress before the Naval Prayer does not constitute a religious action. He states that examples of religious movements are making the sign of the cross entering a church or kneeling and touching one's forehead to the ground in the direction of Mecca (2003, par. 29). Thus, he insinuates that religious actions need to be purposeful and directly linked with the practices of a particular faith tradition or belief.

In drawing upon these examples, the judge draws definitive lines in the sand and presents black-and-white judgments on the situation. At no point does the judge indicate that he has considered the perspective of Lt(N) Scott in this situation. Instead, the judge's comments suggest that he feels the defendant is wrong in assessing the situation. To justify his assessment, the judge first drew upon the testimony of a Chief Petty Officer First Class⁴⁶, who explained that the command to remove one's headdress in this circumstance was simply a sign of respect for those who wish to pray. Then the judge heard the statement given by the Parade Commander who gave the order, who testified that at no point did he feel that the order was religious and that he did not think it was related to prayer. Based on these facts and his overall determination that the order 'remove headdress' did not represent participation in a religious ritual, he found the defendant guilty of disobeying a lawful command of a superior officer. In his final statement, he found that removing one's headdress was a "mark of respect which is required of all members of the Canadian Forces who are subject to such a command" (2003, par. 32). He added that wearing a headdress would indicate that an individual is adhering to the tenets of religious faith, drawing

⁴⁶ Chief Petty Officer First Class is a rank in the RCN, and is equivalent to the rank of Warrant Officer in the Royal Canadian Air Force and the Canadian Army.

upon the Jewish tradition of wearing a yarmulka. In stating this, he ignores that removing one's headdress is essential while you pray for most, if not all, Christians.

The Court Martial of Lt(N) Scott illustrates the harm created when a lack of recognition of privileges exists within an organization and infringes upon individual rights and freedoms. The military judge's rejection of the religious component of the Naval Prayer, even though he notes that it is called prayer and opens with a recognition of the divine, serves to minimize the expressed impact of the action upon Scott's rights and freedoms. The lasting effect of this case for Scott and other CAF members in vulnerable positions would be the reinforcement of the privileged position of religion within the organization.

AN APPEAL FOR INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

After receiving the decision, Lt(N) Scott was unsatisfied with the ruling and appealed before the Court Martial Appeal Court (CMAC) on 22 November 2004. Within the appeal, the CMAC determined that the judge's findings in the Court Martial of Lt(N) Scott were "unreasonable and were not supportable by the evidence" ("CMAC Decisions Lieutenant (Navy) G.D. Scott v. The Queen" 2005, 43). Further, the CMAC stated, "it was clear that the order to remove headdress and the prayer that followed had religious connotations. All Canadian Forces members present had to at least appear to participate in the sentiments expressed" (2005, 43).

The judgment by the CMAC represents a reversal of the Court Martial and the end of months of fighting and distress experienced by Scott. The CMAC not only overturned the decision rendered by the military judge as a result of the Court Martial, but it also questioned the rationale in making his decision. However, the CMAC does not follow up with any potential ramifications that Commander P. Lamont may feel for producing an unreasonable ruling.

Further, no statement is issued to apologize or even sympathize with the defendant, who had endured months of anguish and would still have concerns about potential career impacts.⁴⁷ The CMAC awarded Scott the costs he had requested under the financial assistance program related to developing his defence (Matas 2004). However, this likely would have had little impact on Scott's overall mental well-being and the hurt he would continue to carry.

The CMAC's decision would represent a precedence-setting ruling. Any CAF member unwilling to remove their headdress during times of prayer, citing an infringement of their rights and freedoms, would be able to refer to the ruling in the appeal to justify their actions. However, until CAF manuals and regulations indicated a change to the policy, there was still a risk of facing disciplinary action associated with not following a parade order. Even after the regulations were updated, there would still be risks associated with refusing to follow the order given while on parade, including stigma or being seen as disrespectful, not to mention the fact that the act of retaining headdress exposes one's personal spiritual beliefs at an event with potentially hundreds of attendees present.

In an article published in 2004 in *The Globe and Mail* entitled "Can't order sailor to doff hat at prayer, court rules," there was a presentation of the details and events leading to the ruling by the CMAC. In the article, the author, Robert Matas, states that the Court Martial of Lt(N) Scott ruled that obedience to lawful orders was essential to maintain military discipline. However, in the case of Lt(N) Scott refusing to remove his headdress before the recitation of the Naval Prayer and the playing of the Naval Hymn, there was no military purpose for the order. At the

⁴⁷ A statement of apology or recognition of findings that contradict initial court decisions is highly unlikely in the CAF, however, I have purposively included this statement to demonstrate the significance of informal processes and negotiations of accommodation requests that will allow for open dialogue and recognition of wrongdoings or misunderstandings.

end of the article, the author presents an interview with Major Laurie Kannegiesser, a CAF public relations media officer. She states that if the military does not appeal the CMAC decision, the CAF manuals for drills and ceremonies will reflect the ruling (Matas 2004).

In 2014, the CAF issued a revised version of "The Canadian Armed Forces Manual of Drill and Ceremonial," superseding the most recent manual in print, published in 2006. In the latest version of the manual, it states,

When ordered, all ranks on parade shall remove their headdress with the exception of: a. adherents of faiths for whom this is not permitted or acceptable (e.g., Sikhs); b. musicians when on parade with instruments; c. when ordered in connection with a religious event, it is optional for members to remove or retain his or her headdress in accordance with his or her belief ("Manual of Drill and Ceremonial" 2022, 22).

While the manual does not mention the role of religion during mandatory parades, it does provide the permission needed by nonreligious members not to remove their headdresses before a prayer is delivered. In essence, the addition of the removal of headdress as optional does address the practical concerns that Lt(N) Scott expressed in 2003 before entering the parade square⁴⁸ for the Divisions ceremony.

However, any sense of victory would be short-lived for Scott knowing his struggle and the trauma he incurred because he took a stand to protect his rights and freedoms. He spent over a decade sailing around the world with the RCN and expressed times of being in harm's way (Matas 2004). In my experience, to willingly make these personal sacrifices, it is necessary to form a connection between individual identity and the values and practices of the CAF.

However, this same organization he sacrificed much of his life for then refused to recognise the

⁴⁸ The parade square is a designated area in which military parades are to take place. This space is treated as a sacred area that is not to be walked upon outside of an official parade or parade practice. When a member enters a parade square they must march on and march off. This areas can be a part of a parking lot, the backside of a building, or any other flat surface that is free of debris.

importance of his identity. The guilty ruling initially rendered through the Court Martial can indicate that the rights and freedoms of non-believers within the CAF are secondary to the protection offered to military customs and traditions. Regardless of the interpretation, the significance of the Court Martial ruling is the treatment and recognition, or lack thereof, of privileges granted to Christian practices within the CAF.

DISCUSSION: INCLUSION AND IDENTITY

The Court Martial of Lt(N) Scott symbolizes the inner turmoil plaguing the CAF. The organization desires to do better and care for all its members. There is an understanding among individuals in positions of power and influence in the CAF that they need to take the necessary steps to create safe, respectful and inclusive environments within the CAF. However, I feel the organization remains uncertain about what these steps look like and what needs to happen to create culture change within the CAF. I do not think that there is an understanding within the CAF of how to negotiate between traditions, customs, practices, and hegemonic understandings inherent within the military system with the efforts and initiatives necessary to create equality, inclusion, and enhance diversity.

There remains a concerted effort by many individuals, departments, and internal/external agencies to counter a toxic and damaging environment within the CAF. Great strides have been taken in addressing many issues and establishing mechanisms by which members affected by discrimination, harassment, or sexual misconduct can access help and resources. However, there is still much work to be done to counter a culture that has become plagued by hegemonic understandings and many negative stereotypes, racism, and inequalities that are visible when looking at the limited amount of people of colour, women, or members from the LGBTQ+ community who are in higher positions of power and influence within the CAF. While these

issues are substantial, one primary indicator that arose from the analysis I conducted of the three CAF/RCChS policies and the Court Martial of Lt(N) Scott is that the CAF needs to engage in active listening and move beyond formal mechanisms in their approach to equality and inclusion. There needs to be a concerted effort to hear a greater diversity of voices, regardless of rank. The organization must listen to all members without judgment and from a perspective of mutual respect. This process will call for understanding the fear of loss associated with removing traditional aspects of the organizations, regardless of the harm posed by infringing upon the rights and freedoms of many CAF members. Understanding this sense of fear or reluctance will shed light upon the attachment of individual and institutional identity with customs and practices of the CAF that are knowingly or unknowingly discriminatory to minority or marginalized members of the CAF.

CONCLUSION

After analyzing and reviewing the critical discourse analysis method, it becomes evident that within the proceedings of the Court Martial and the decision rendered within the appeal to the CMAC, Scott's underlying reason for objecting to the removal of his headdress for the recitation of the Naval Prayer was not addressed or acknowledged. Instead, the focus was shifted solely to the lawfulness of the order 'remove headdress' concerning religious events during public military events.

The ruling made by the Court Martial offers a stark reminder to all those under Lamont's command that military orders are to be respected and followed regardless of your belief, understanding, or opinion. Essentially individual beliefs are secondary to the needs of the institution. Nevertheless, the Naval Prayer, which has its roots in the Anglican Church of Canada, remains unquestioned and unchallenged. Is it because the Naval Prayer removes the

words “through Jesus Christ, our Lord” that it is no longer a Christian prayer or even a religious action? Or does removing these words allow the preservation of a Christian tradition that Lamont entitles a "non-denominational Naval Prayer" ("R. v. Scott G.D. (Lieutenant(N))" 2002, par. 25). The way Lamont draws upon the amendments to the Naval Prayer as justification for its presence at military ceremonies and events represents the influence religion, particularly Christianity has on the CAF.

The next chapter will incorporate the findings from the critical analysis within chapters six and seven, with the research examined throughout the thesis. This process will develop upon the strategies and concepts suggested to support the CAF in ensuring the equal treatment of all members and fostering an inclusive and diverse workplace. Further, the chapter will formulate a response to the core research question that has guided the research and the development of the thesis' key aims and goals.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FORGING A PATH TO INCLUSION

“GOD FORBID, CANADIAN SOLDIERS, GO ANYWHERE NEAR A CHURCH”

On 16 October 2019, Canadian multiple-award winner Christie Blatchford published an article in the National Post entitled, "God forbid, Canadian soldiers, go anywhere near a church." Blatchford was familiar with the issues facing the Canadian Armed Forces. She won the Governor General's Award in 2008 for her book *Fifteen Days: Stories of Bravery, Friendship, Life and Death from Inside the New Canadian Army*. She was known to be fearless in the face of criticism, often verging on the controversial side when voicing her opinions ("Award-winning journalist Christie Blatchford dead at 68" 2020).

In her 2019 article, Blatchford did not disappoint in stirring up controversy within the CAF. When the article was published, the military was amidst a significant push to shift the organization's focus on equality and inclusion. The public image of the CAF was under scrutiny due to growing implications of members experiencing racism, sexism, sexual misconduct, and harassment (Blatchford 2019). Moreover, in 2015, Supreme Court Justice Marie Deschamps published an "External Review into Sexual Misconduct and Sexual Harassment in the Canadian Armed Forces." The report highlighted the mistreatment of military members, particularly those in vulnerable positions such as females and those members who are indigenous or LGBTQI2S. Deschamps wrote that the CAF failed to prevent sexual misconduct and was also guilty of under-reporting instances and circumstances that would

constitute sexual misconduct (Deschamps 2015). As a chaplain serving during this time, I can speak to the heightened concerns within the CAF from 2015 onward regarding misconduct, harassment, discrimination, and cultural sensitivity. As a result, Commanding Officers throughout the entire CAF were demanded to focus on ensuring the protection of vulnerable members. The priority for CAF units was to create an environment where all members felt respected and free from harassment.

Recognizing the prioritization of inclusion, diversity and respect within CAF, Col Stepaniuk urged his COs to cancel any regimental church parades that many CAF Reserve Force units had planned to participate within, as was their annual custom. Col Stepaniuk felt such an action would lead to the conception of the military favouring one religious belief over others. According to Blatchford's National Post article Stephaniuk told his COs in a memo, "As we embrace diversity and strive for inclusivity, we really need to examine those practices which may be exclusionary to our soldiers" (Blatchford 2019). He was later said to have stated, "We can't be privileging one group over another" (Blatchford 2019). Stepaniuk's decisions aligned with the RCChS Manual, stating that CAF members' attendance at a parade must be voluntary if the primary purpose is spiritual or religious. (14:14).

Blatchford writes, in opposition to the instructions by Stepaniuk, that at the same time he submitted these instructions, he also authorized fifteen to twenty troops under his command to be in uniform and carry ceremonial weapons to march along with an armoured vehicle in a Khalsa⁴⁹ parade (Blatchford 2019). This accusation is a common argument for upholding Christian traditions. The claim is that special consideration given to a non-Christian member provides

⁴⁹ Khalsa is a holy day in the Sikh community.

privileges not available to Christian members.⁵⁰ The notion that Christian members could be disadvantaged becomes the focus of the argument instead of paying attention to the needs of non-religious and non-Christian members forced to attend a Christian service.

In a follow-up article to Blatchford's National Post column, Major Tony Keene wrote an article for the Centre for Inquiry Canada. In the piece, Keene states that Stepaniuk's actions stopped his COs from forcing reserve members to attend Christian services. Keene writes that most reserve units have official associations within Christian churches, and members must participate in services while in uniform. He states that every aspect of these church parades was Christian, which led him to ask, "when was the last time your boss at work ordered you and your fellow employees to pray with him? It happens regularly in the Forces, especially in the Army" (Keene 2019). Keene states that he has faced ridicule and insults during his four decades serving in the CAF Reserve Force for not wanting to attend religious ceremonies.

These two articles demonstrate the impact of the perseverance of privileges upon the current culture of the CAF and the hurdle it represents to establishing equality and inclusion. Keene is clear that his purpose in responding to Blatchford's article was to support the action of Stepaniuk, recognising discrimination that non-religious CAF members experience. Keene argues that this was far from the truth from his perspective as an Atheist CAF member who had felt that this command was finally a step in the right direction (Keene 2019). While Blatchford's article advocates for maintaining CAF customs and traditions, regardless of the effect it has on non-Christian members.

⁵⁰ This argument is reflected in Akeem's situation, where he was assumed to be Muslim and provisions were made to ensure he had a private prayer space before arriving for his new job. Even though Akeem did not need the prayer space his Roman Catholic co-workers were resentful of a prayer room made available for Muslim members' religious needs, but there was no prayer space for Christians to practice their faith (Selby et al. 106-107).

Nonetheless, Blatchford does pick up on an essential aspect of the CAF culture. Despite the Christian influence in the creation and formation of many customs, rituals and practices in the CAF, these events have become a part of the military and personal identity of many members and removing them from the CAF will represent a significant loss.

Strategies within the CAF that aim to create inclusivity and enhance diversity have a difficult task within the context of the CAF. Removing ceremonies that are rooted in Christian practices, such as the Naval Prayer, could have harmful effects on members. Leaving ceremonies and traditions that favour one group furthers power imbalances, allows for the justification of inequalities, and hinders a focus on diversity. Another strategy is altering or modifying customs or traditions to remove the more offensive portions to make them inclusive of a broader range of beliefs, such as changing the title of Christening to Commissioning a Ship or removing the phrase “Through Jesus Christ, our Lord” from the Naval Prayer. This strategy has been successful; however, as the number of non-believers grows within the CAF, more members are no longer willing to accept this strategy. Altering Christian customs does not change their historical roots and signifies that those Christian practices are protected and hidden in plain sight within the CAF. This method is half-hearted and gives the impression that the institution does not desire to create real change. However, altering customs, traditions, or practices instead of engaging in conversation with the members most affected by the removal or presence of privileges indicates to CAF members that the institution is merely responding to outside pressure to give an impression of inclusion to attract greater diversity within the organization.

Lori Beaman’s deep equality approach speaks to the difficulty facing the CAF in creating an inclusive environment and the concerted effort it will take to establish a sense of equality. She writes that deep equality focuses on not embracing the chaos and hatred in which

transformation towards inclusion occurs. Instead, this process seeks to establish an environment that respects all members equally, recognizing that it is a "delicate balance and fragile equilibrium" (Beaman 2017, 11). The fragile nature of inclusion is a significant factor for the CAF to acknowledge. Simply denying that privileges exist or targeting particular customs and traditions by altering or removing them will only create defensive reactions that are resistant to any actions the organisation takes, regardless of the motivation or reasoning.

This chapter will examine the factors that need consideration before the CAF can implement strategies, procedures, or activities designed to enhance diversity and create safe workspaces focused on the equal treatment of all members. After presenting the contextual factors that demand attention, this chapter will draw together the research and analysis conducted within this thesis and provide strategies and considerations that can lay the foundation for the CAF to create authentic culture change that draws upon the voices of a greater diversity of CAF members and not just those in positions of power or belonging to the dominant population. The underlying premise of this chapter is that for the organization to create change, there needs to be receptivity by lower-ranking members and officers, who in turn can guide the organization in their approach through open communication and building trusting relationships built upon mutual respect and a common goal.

WHY SACRIFICE A COLLECTIVE SYMBOL FOR THE NEEDS OF A FEW?

In retired chaplain Major Michael Peterson's 2015 master's thesis, he records the reaction of many Christian chaplains to the proposed changes to the chaplain badge in 2004. The proposal to remove the Maltese cross favouring a multifaith symbol represents an effort to create an accommodating and welcoming environment for chaplains of differing faith traditions joining the CAF chaplaincy service. In this discussion, Peterson records the remarks of a chaplain who

was the staff officer responsible for the file collecting the responses of chaplains regarding changing the Maltese cross chaplain badge. The chaplain recalls:

[There was] a distinctly negative response from his peers. So there was a visceral loyalty to this[maltese cross chaplain badge], and they seemed to be being asked to make a poor choice when they didn't want to make a choice. And that would be where some of the contentious issue was, and in the public forum, very strongly. Why give up a perfectly good symbol, under which our boys fought, for no discernible gain (Peterson 2015, 115)?

Additionally, Peterson writes, "the common tone in all of these responses, as Benham Rennick also notes (2011, 47), was that non-Christian chaplains were welcome to the CAF and should be accommodated, but not at the expense of established Christian symbols" (2015, 115-116). These statements bring to light questions regarding the limitation of the inclusion of diversity within the CAF. Can the CAF genuinely state that they are striving to create inclusive work environments when the dominant Christian population controls the extent to which a diversity of beliefs will be accommodated within the organization?

Chapter two of this thesis discusses the social formation of identity and the factors contributing to individual and collective identity. Symbols are essential in creating identity, especially within organizational structures such as the military. Norman Fairclough (2013) writes about building positive and resistant forms of semiosis (26), the process of signs' standing for' or 'representing' relations across or within a context (Parmentier 2015, 2). The significance of a sign such as the Maltese cross for chaplains and CAF members or the Naval Prayer and Chaplain Scarf, discussed in chapter six, can stand for aspects of identity that were not the symbols' original intention. These customs and signs within the CAF represent the sacrifices of soldiers who held these traditions in high regard when willing to lay down their lives to protect the nation's values and safety. Therefore, these symbols become detached from their Christian influence.

Richard J. Parmentier (2015) states, "the fixing or 'inscription' of signs in relatively permanent textual or material forms; the modalities of 'interpretation' available to or prohibited for sign interpreters; and powerful restrictive or "regimenting" forces that specify or delimit meaning-making in all of these embedded contexts" (2). Despite overt connections with Christian practices that demonstrate the favouring of one group over the other, these signs have been interpreted as representing CAF identity and have become historical practices. Therefore, if these practices are nothing more than historical practices disconnected from their Christian roots, does it justify sustaining Christian symbols and traditions?

The CAF needs to recognize that there is a feeling amongst its members that changes in the name of diversity have no discernable gain (Peterson 2015, 115). As a chaplain, I have had many encounters with members facing discrimination who feel any action taken by the CAF is only for political reasons. In contrast, I have conversations with other members, especially those within positions of authority, who think that policies such as the CAF religious and spiritual accommodation only make their jobs in training and deploying military members more difficult. Both perspectives indicate that focusing on diversity and inclusion will provide little gain within their personal or professional lives.

The 2017 release of Canada's defence plan entitled "Strong, Secure, Engaged" demonstrates the CAF's method of forced participation in creating change. The plan states, "the Canadian Armed Forces is committed to demonstrating leadership in reflecting Canadian ideals of diversity, respect and inclusion, including striving for gender equality and building a workforce that leverages the diversity of Canadian society" (23). CAF members will hear this statement, and whether they agree or not, they know that this is a directive coming from the organization's highest authority, so they will militantly follow and enforce all directives and

initiatives as directed. Given the hierarchal structure of the CAF, which creates a culture of command and follow. Directives flow from top to bottom with little room for discussion along the way in implementing the policies within individual units or for questions as to why there is a need for new initiatives. CAF members constantly experience situations where they must follow all orders without input. Knowing that the perception of disregard for personal needs exists, why does the same organization feel that members will believe there is any truth behind their commitment to protecting their rights and freedom?

Instead of implementing additional policies to increase the focus on recognizing diversity, the emphasis should be on engaging in further dialogue and understanding the perspectives of a wide diversity of voices. However, for members to feel comfortable sharing the complexity of their beliefs, needs, and understanding, the organization needs to build a sense of mutual respect and trust that the intention to create inclusive work environments is genuine.

Selby et al. (2019) interview a woman named Farida and record her discussing a positive experience at a neighbourhood celebration. She says, "these moments of respect are identified as mutual respect and working out difference are possible precisely because difference is recognized. The mutual nature of this process is also significant. One must not solely accommodate or tolerate religious differences among one's entourage" (162-163). The organization needs to ensure that there is a recognition of difference and diversity; however, this acknowledgement needs to go beyond categorization. The CAF must increase a sense of mutual respect, in which members feel they can express their identity without fear of judgement, blame or repercussions.

Child states, "realistically, the question we have to ask is not what can be done to abolish hierarchy, but rather what can be done to indicate ways of reducing it and/or mitigating its

destructive effects" (2013, 509). Truthfully, the CAF will not be able to make significant changes to its top-down hierarchal structure, at least not overnight. However, there are ways to increase collaboration and mutual respect, which will positively impact the organization's approach to enhancing principles and values based on inclusion and equality.

ESTABLISHING A SUPPORTIVE ENVIRONMENT

A careful evaluation of the story and experienced shared within this thesis demonstrates that any mention of the CAF as a supportive workplace is rare. The prominent theme has been that the CAF seeks to meet the needs of its members with limited effect on its current structure and operational requirements. However, there are many suggestions that the organization understands and expresses a need to undergo a culture change. Yet, there exist significant limiting factors and barriers within the CAF to creating a cohesive and inclusive workplace, such as accommodations, rigid power structures, and an overall lack of recognition of the complexity of identities and beliefs. The concept of mutual respect is something that, in my experience, is foreign in most military contexts. Instead, this in its place is expectations to follow commands and obey orders.

In chapter six, there is an illustration in which a CAF member's direct supervisor has the authority to grant an accommodation request through informal channels. The result, within this example, is that the member is not left feeling insubordinate. Instead, they can leave this meeting with a sense of mutual respect and understanding. Through this process, the member has more potential to share additional aspects of their belief instead of providing only the primary factors and considerations necessary to receive an accommodation.

There needs to be a recognition that many members would feel uncomfortable with this process, as they do not have a great deal of trust that the organization will uphold all aspects of

an informal approval. Many members will fear that the chain of command can change their minds if the approval is not in writing. Moreover, suppose the request does not go through the proper channels. In that case, there is the potential that the Commanding Officer will find out about the accommodation and become upset with the concession. Furthermore, mid-level supervisors may fear that the informality of the process will place the liability upon them to deny or approve a religious accommodation request. This responsibility could lead to increased pressure to make the proper decision and a fear that if they ask for additional support from senior levels of command, they will look like poor supervisors unable to make a decision. However, change does not come without risk, and the threat of harm mainly, if not solely, is on marginalized members. However, if there is a sincere commitment by the organization to engage in honest dialogue at all levels of command, trust can be built over time. Additionally, to provide a greater sense of protection for vulnerable members, there should be a greater reliance upon advisors placed directly within the unit lines to assess the morale and needs of their members.

Glenn Morgan and André Spicer (2013) point out that "studies of change have noted two conflicting emotional aspects of change. On the one hand, change can be exhilarating, liberating, entertaining, and provide people with a sense of power (Ybema 2005). On the other hand, change can be soul-destroying, depressing, and stressful (Brown and Humphries 2003)" (256). Accordingly, organizational change is not easy to achieve in the face of hegemonic understandings and power structures inherent within the current culture. These additional considerations will lead to a conflicting response to any transformation in organizational approaches due to residual feelings of distrust, imbalances in power dynamics, and fear of potential reprisals by those in positions of authority. Morgan and Spicer add, "critical approaches recognize that change processes do not just take power to achieve. They also fundamentally

reshape how systems of power work within organizations" (256). Organizational change is a substantial undertaking beyond the purview of this thesis. Nevertheless, it is vital to recognize that any strategy that encourages inclusion and diversity must understand the multiple dimensions that demand consideration. However, one of the primary concerns in this process needs to be the individual concerns of CAF members and the prospective role of mutual respect.

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE THROUGH THE LENS OF PRIVILEGE

Norman Fairclough (2005) presents a critical discourse approach to organizational change that can emerge when examining the potential of reshaping how systems of power work within organizations. He offers the following general considerations, "when organizations change, what is it that changes? What makes organizations resilient in the face of change, resistant to change, or open to change? How are external pressures for organizational change internalized in organizations, how may organizational members respond to them, and what outcomes are possible" (937). All of these considerations are applicable within the context of the CAF. The organization needs to ask, what is propelling the need to change within the CAF? What do these motivations indicate regarding the organization's willingness to take any steps necessary to accomplish this change, including amendments to hierarchal power structures? Finally, what is the role of recognizing privilege, bias, and favouritism in resisting change and inclusivity within the CAF?

The RCChS and CAF policies and the summary trial of Lt(N) Scott demonstrate the continual presence of Christian traditions that have become ingrained within the military culture. Chapter five explains the historical connection between Christianity and the CAF. Christian practices have become a part of CAF identity to such an extent that it can be challenging to

separate the influence of Christianity from the significance attached to military traditions, such as the Naval Prayer. So, what harm could these privileges have upon the inclusion of diversity within the CAF if they often go unrecognized?

The case of Lt(N) Scott demonstrates the impact Christian rituals can have on a sense of belonging for members with no religious connection. Similarly, as witnessed within the Saguenay case, there is an expectation for individuals who have no religious beliefs to remain respectfully silent about the practice of public prayers.⁵¹ Charles Taylor (1994) states, "nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being" (25). These are significant considerations when arguing for preserving CAF customs and traditions regardless of their overt Christian connections.

One of the theories developed within this thesis is an unspoken belief that the CAF culture is secular. Therefore, members who have no religious beliefs are already in a position of advantage. This insight arises from the research in Chapter four that identifies a growing understanding that Canadian society and political landscape have been forcing Christianity out of the public realm and removing any influence it once enjoyed. This notion lends itself to thoughts that secularization is to blame for this diminishing significance of Christian authority and power within Canada (Noll 2008, 271-273).

However, significant evidence points to the continual influence of Christianity upon Canadian society and a unified sense of identity. Two primary examples are the addition of "the supremacy of God" within the Canadian Constitution preamble and the maintenance of

"God keep our land" within the national anthem. Nevertheless, conceptualizations emerge that Canada has a growing emphasis on neutrality towards religion, which primarily comes out of the American context. Implementing a secular identity replaces the nation's Christian foundation (Noll 2008, 247).

The Analysis of the case of Lt(N) Scott and the protestant and Roman Catholic efforts in forming the Royal Canadian Chaplain Service (RCChS) point to a historical Christian influence within the CAF. However, the feeling that public prayer, a religious ritual, deserves respect from non-religious individuals signifies Christian privilege. However, at the same time, it indicates that an understanding exists that the organization is secular and therefore needs to make room for or accommodate religious expression. This notion enables an understanding that an emphasis on inclusion and diversity within the CAF should protect public religious expression to ensure the equal treatment of non-religious and religious members. Beliefs such as this deny, or at least diminish, the presence of Christian privilege that places non-religious members on the outside feeling insignificant and imprisoned "in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being" (Taylor 1994, 25). Further, this understanding of accommodating the public expression of religious faith denies the rights and freedoms of non-religious members, who instead become treated as the dominant group in a secular institution. The conception of who is privileged gets turned upside down, and once again, it is the Christian population that benefits.

Chapter one introduces Adam Howard's theory, claiming that examining historical privileges will provide insight into protecting social injustice and power imbalances. This process explores how individuals gain membership into privileged positions and the actions and language that allow for the recreation and perpetuation of structures that create and maintain

inequalities (Howard 2019, 189). Howard's work indicates that much like Christians taking on the image of the victim in the CAF, those in privileged positions will find a way to ensure they maintain their advantage and influence. Therefore, it is essential that privilege not be overlooked. Privileged groups and populations should be a focal point when questioning the organization's ability to create equality and inclusive environments that support diversity.

A focus on privilege before the inclusion of diversity can provide new insights into the resistance within the CAF to removing overtly Christian traditions and customs. Instead of focusing on exclusion in preserving social injustices, this strategy suggests that there is value in taking on the perspective of individuals in privileged positions.

Understanding the perspective of the individuals who benefit from privileges and advantages within the current military structure will provide insights into how and why protections exist. For example, the RCChS is responsible for the policy on public prayer, which seeks to maintain the practice of public prayer rather than examining the impact of rituals upon individuals who have been hurt by religious traditions and those who have no beliefs. Within a trade that intentionally serves all members with compassion and empathy, there is an emphasis on continuing an exclusionary practice for the sole benefit of religious members. Investigating the potential motivation for creating policies like the Public Prayer Directive will reveal the full intentions of maintaining biased customs. This practice will allow for different understandings of actions that marginalize members rather than just treating these activities as malicious and intentionally exclusionary.

Les Back writes about the importance of seeing and listening as individuals express their feelings and tell their stories. He contends that it is possible to cast doubt on prevailing public understandings and fears with an honest reflection of our prejudices and assumptions

(Back 2013). Additionally, Nancy Ammerman suggests that instead of removing the term religion and all this concept's baggage, scholarship should seek to expand upon them and search for better categories and definitions (Knibbe and Kupari 2020, 162). Through honest reflection and drawing upon current understandings, there are ways to maintain the aim inherent in these concepts while also searching for new methods of achieving these objectives that remain meaningful.

Implementing strategies to create inclusive environments must be handled delicately. There is the risk of stripping away people's identities by removing all signs and symbols favouring one group over another. This process will allow the CAF to transform conversations with members and command teams from taking privileges or removing longstanding traditions. Instead, the organization can better understand what is essential to members while focusing on diversity and including all voices.

In revising the public prayer policy, there is an understanding emerging that these rituals aim to express care and comfort to all members while also allowing space for the chaplain to speak to the unit. The reality becomes that this objective is attainable without mentioning prayer. With negotiation between members who have no religious beliefs, there is still a space where words of comfort and support are welcome in public ceremonies. While customs such as the Naval Prayer need further consideration, there must be a space for all members to voice their connection with this ceremony to understand its significance. While it must be clear that the space for diverse voices and the respect of all CAF members is the priority, this does not mean that the voices of those in historically dominant positions need to be silent. Instead, understanding the significance of traditions and customs will allow for the creation of new

approaches to enhance a sense of cohesive identity within the organization that embraces diversity while recognizing the importance of respecting history.

CONCLUSION

The current military culture has been developing for over a century and has undergone many evolutions. The traditions and customs of the CAF have come from connections with the British military, Christian practices and rituals, and experiences during times of war and great distress. Therefore, there needs to be an understanding that making the military a more welcoming environment for the growing diversity of Canadian society will take substantial effort and will be a fragile process⁵² of intertwining old and new customs to create stronger bonds. There must be a rigorous effort to create space for diverse voices beyond a public perception of inclusivity. Hearing all voices will allow new ideas to emerge while embracing old concepts that remain significant and do not threaten a sense of group cohesion or maintain privilege. This process will evolve a great deal of 'give and take;' creating an even playing field is essential. However, suppose the time, energy and commitment to equality and inclusion of all voices are sincere. In that case, there can be great strides forward within an institution that depends upon cohesion when entering the field of battle.

Creating supportive environments will be difficult to achieve within a military context. It will not be easy to convince members with training that suggests their needs are second to those of the institution and that they are important and worthy of consideration. However, focusing on mutual respect does not mean abandoning the current hierarchal structure. Instead, the organization must carefully examine its current context, power structures, customs and traditions,

⁵² The concept of fragility, found throughout this thesis, comes from Lori Beamans Deep Equality approach (Beaman 2017).

and policies or procedures that privilege one group or sector of the population over others.

Accomplishing this task will allow the CAF to develop strategies that seek to respect all members while maintaining the critical principles in training soldiers, air personnel, and sailors to do their jobs effectively.

CONCLUSION

A PATH OF GOOD INTENTIONS

Driving home from a chaplain training course, it was approaching sunset, and we were still over an hour away from home. My colleague let me know that we would need to find a place to pull over so that he could do his evening prayers. There was a feeling of guilt that I had not planned the trip better to ensure that he would be able to do his prayers in a more comfortable setting. However, we were in a rural location, so there were many places where we could pull over, and he could pray in private.

As the sun descended over the horizon, we pulled over in a place where no houses were nearby, and we were unlikely to encounter any cars passing. Unfortunately, there was no grassy space, but my friend told me not to worry because he could pray on the ground. At that moment, I realized we did not have a prayer mat. I knew that it was not obligatory to have a rug when praying outside, but I wanted to ensure that he felt supported and comfortable especially given that my poor planning led to this moment. So I jumped out of the car and looked for a blanket in my trunk, but all I could find was my military jacket. I passed the coat to him and jokingly said, " Well, at least it will remind you of the military every time you bow down to the ground."

He started to pray, and I stood beside the car and thought that my journey had led me in directions I had never imagined when I entered the military, many years prior. When I joined the chaplaincy, I knew little about other faiths, and now I was on the side of the road with my friend, who was praying according to the Islamic tradition. At one point, I would have been nervous about such an encounter, and now it was just an everyday situation.

After a couple of minutes, my friend passed me back my jacket, laughing as he showed me the cross that was a part of my uniform as a Christian Chaplain. He told me that every time he bowed his head to pray, his face went right up against the cross, and he was suspicious that insisting on using my jacket was a strategy to convert him to Christianity. I started laughing, embarrassed but also amused by the incident.

As we got back into the car, there was no awkwardness because of the solid bond of friendship and respect for each other's faith traditions. It was clear that there was no malicious intent in my action; in fact, the jacket represented my deep respect for my friend and his dedication to his faith. The presence of the cross could not break the connection we shared. Moments after this situation, we picked up the conversation where it left off and kept driving.

Interactions such as this one shared between friends reinforce the statement made by Selby et al. (2019) when they state:

The recognition of difference (that Farida's family eat halal and does not drink alcohol) is not lived here as the outcome of the process. Rather, it is understood as an element (an important one) to achieve mutual respect, to live well, and have fun together. Scholars and policy-makers often approach this recognition as an end in itself. We see this everyday example differently, however. Navigation and negotiation here should be understood as part of a process. Reflecting on the emotions and conditions that enable moments of respect to unfold allows us to think differently about the intricacies that mark the politics of interactions in the everyday (177).

There was no need for a policy to guide our interaction on the road that day. However, CAF policymakers would be astonished that this event did not become a more significant issue that needed to be addressed by our chain of command. From an outside perspective, my actions demonstrate a lack of recognition of the difference that separates us. Instead, this interaction reminded us of our similarities, shared experiences, and the strength of our relationship.

THE NEED FOR ACCOMMODATION, BUT WHO NEEDS IT?

It would be irresponsible to conclude within the parameters of this thesis that there is no need for accommodation within the CAF. Such a declaration would require a great deal of additional research and involve hearing minority voices who depend upon accommodations to live out their religious practices within the organization. However, this thesis demonstrates that the dependence upon accommodation within the CAF to negotiate and enhance diversity has not created an equal playing field for all members. Instead, accommodating religious beliefs that do not fit into standard procedures and dress regulations has increased awareness of the power differential within the current system. Further, it reveals that Christianity continually influences the traditions and norms of the CAF and Canadian society.

This reality places all non-Christians at a disadvantage needing to ask for special consideration. As is stated in the scholarship analyzed:

Reasonable accommodation produces a certain story about Canadian diversity. This story arms a secular reflex where Christianity slides into the realm of culture and heritage and is embedded in Canadian life, and Islam remains visibly, necessarily, and, in the Foucauldian sense, confessionally 'religion.' Non-Christian beliefs and practices (categories which themselves are Protestant conceptualizations of religiosity, as Keane 2007 argues) are thus, in this paradigm, to be accommodated or tolerated and, in some cases, legally adjudicated. Culture, in contrast, is assessed as part of our values and heritage and thus escapes that scrutiny. (Selby et al. 2019, 184).

Formalizing the structures that are supposed to protect the rights and freedoms of CAF members allows those in positions of privilege to find ways to remain relevant. The example of the Naval Prayer displays the adaptability of Christian privilege to disguise itself within the fabric of the organization and the surrounding environment. The Naval Prayer has become a part of the identity of many sailors, and the mere mention of removing it creates a sense of outrage. While there is a sense that naval customs and traditions have appropriated this ritual, the fact remains

that this prayer is taken directly from the Anglican church. Keeping this tradition allows chaplains to be in highly visible positions to receive admiration. At the same time, reciting the prayer places non-Christian chaplains in awkward situations of either ignoring the Christian influence or refusing to participate and being treated as an outsider.

However, there is often little awareness of the advantages that the dominant class enjoys (Howard 2019, 181), which is evident in the creation of the preamble at the being of public prayers. It is unlikely that the motivation to implement a preface before the recitation of public prayers was to impact non-believers adversely. However, developing an institutional policy empowers Christians to maintain their influence and the rituals important to their identity within the CAF, even though it suppresses the rights of others. Moreover, members who find the tradition of prayer in the military offensive and unprofessional become visible by needing to ask for an accommodation to not participate in these rituals. The reality facing the CAF is that without acknowledging these unstated privileges that have become an integral part of the military culture then, equality is not achievable.

Utilizing formal strategies such as accommodation or developing policies must no longer be the default approach taken by the CAF. These strategies encourage the organization to respond to diversity as if it is a problem to be solved. Beaman (2017) states, “religious diversity has been demarcated as a problem, which in turn has produced a cadre of experts, a discursive framework, and a constant monitoring, regulation of, and emphasis on difference at multiple levels of society” (28). Formal structures allow for further monitoring of diversity and controlling the impact upon the organization's current protocols, procedures and practices. This approach does not enhance diversity; instead, it only provides a perception that the organization is pursuing strategies to ensure the equal treatment of all CAF members.

A RADICAL PROPOSAL

Adopting a different approach beyond accommodation and policies will allow the organization to view the recognition of difference as a complex process. The complexity of diversity indicates that a one size fits all approach will only further the current state of affairs. However, rethinking the treatment of religious beliefs and non-beliefs will push against concepts of secularization that indicate a complete separation between church and state. A lived religion approach will force the organization to focus on collaboration, cooperation, and diversity rather than developing policies to solve problems that do not require communication or dialogue with the “other” (Beaman 2017, 11).

For instance, if the reaction of the CAF to enhancing diversity is to remove all vestiges and signs of religion within the institution, then I believe this can cause serious harm to a member's identity. The story of the proud Naval CO who had no use for religion demonstrates the connection the Naval Prayer has with his military identity. This relationship must be treated as complex and requires dialogue and understanding. Policies and regulations encourage the standard military approach of ‘listen and obey’ and force privileges to regenerate in different forms to protect their interests (Howard 2019, 181). These reactions do not create equality or achieve a sense of balance.

At this point, everyone familiar with the military and its hierarchal structure will think that the CAF will have no desire to implement a collaborative environment. CAF members in positions of power will not want to relinquish their influence; meanwhile, those in lower-ranking positions receive no indication that anyone cares about their needs. The standard conception of the military system is a cold mechanical structure that no one can change or affect. This system

then produces members who take on positions of power and reproduce the feeling that no one cares. However, assume that there was a radical change to this system. Imagine if individuals in positions of influence were not given policies or agendas but were informed to listen to the needs of their members.

Before implementing any action or directive regarding equality and inclusion, there needs to be instruction and education provided to chains of command on how to build collaborative and supportive environments that will allow for the hearing and understanding of the needs of their members. Forcing change upon members will accomplish the organization's goals on paper. Still, it will not foster inclusive environments where members feel respected and comfortable communicating openly. Harkening back to the story at the outset of this chapter, if I feared my friend's reaction to my offering him my jacket to pray upon, it is unlikely that I would have been comfortable driving with him. My fear of doing something wrong or offensive would have guided my actions. I would have never sought to get to know him beyond our perceived differences. Instead, there would be an arms-length approach to our relationship, and we would have both sought to maintain safe relationships with those who share similar beliefs and experiences.

Building supportive environments within the CAF can shift the perspective of the organization's culture. Encouraging members and those in positions of authority to look beyond preconceived notions and rigid categories of understanding the other can transform a 'speak when spoken to' culture. This approach does not mean there is no place for accommodations. Instead, as Beaman suggests, there is a need to recognize that legal structures, policies, and formal military structures must not be the primary method of achieving respectful and caring work environments (Beaman 2017, 156). However, there is still a place for these structures

when all other attempts to rectify potential infringements of one's rights, and beliefs fail. As stated in the previous chapter, some members do not trust the military structure and the idea of an informal structure provides the organization with greater leverage to deny their requests without having to put it in writing.

Nevertheless, the negotiation of difference that results from accommodation or even removing all privileges within the CAF context without engaging in conversation or understanding members' needs are short-term solutions that do not challenge the current organizational culture. To create long-lasting change, the CAF needs to alter its strategy and approach from purely a top-down hierarchal structure. Instead, there needs to be a healthy balance of top-down and down-up (Woodhead 2013, 13). This balance will encourage listening and understanding while ensuring that the focus remains on completing the mission and training members for combat. There must be an understanding that there does not need to be an either-or mentality within the CAF. Listening to the needs of others and adopting a caring and collaborative approach will not distract members from carrying out their duties and listening to the commands of their superiors. Instead, creating caring environments will build trust, allowing members in positions of authority to understand better how to meet the needs of their members and develop a stronger sense of cohesion and respect.

FURTHER RESEARCH

A Master's thesis is valuable because it inspires creative thought processes and develops upon scholars' concepts and ideas within a different context or environment in which they speak. However, the limitation of this process is providing practical advice for implementing the concepts and notions emerging from the research, analysis, and findings.

The idea of developing supportive environments and examining inherent privileges within the military culture can significantly impact the CAF and its focus on equality. However, these notions need further development and additional research to produce practical methods to implement these approaches and theories. The suggestions arising from this thesis are lofty and require courage from the organization and those in positions of power to challenge preconceptions and existing procedures. Therefore, there needs to be further interest generated from within the organization to shift the current focus and methods of enhancing equality and even achieving a sense of deep equality. Providing evidence of the impact of creating collaborative and caring environments through interviews with CAF members of all ranks is one way to achieve this aim.

Additionally, there is a need to develop the intersectionality of this approach and demonstrate its effect on other inequalities such as “class, gender and race” (Woodhead 2013, 2). This thesis focused on religious identity, but as Beaman (2017) states, religious expression is just one aspect of an individual's identity (35). This reality is an essential aspect to take into consideration when examining the lived experience of members and the complexity of their needs and desires. Any strategy on diversity, equality and inclusion with the CAF must consider the impact upon injustices and discrimination members encounter.

Finally, there needs to be further research to explore if the CAF is capable of implementing the changes that inclusion and equality demand. How does the organization build a sense of trust needed to create supportive environments within an institution built upon power imbalances and self-serving intentions? In order to address this concern, one area of additional research that could prove beneficial in building trusting relationships is the concepts of institutional betrayal and institutional.

Jennifer Freyd coined the theories of institutional betrayal and courage. Institutional betrayal refers to “wrongdoings perpetrated by an institution upon individuals dependent on that institution, including failure to prevent or respond supportively to wrongdoings by individuals (e.g. sexual assault) committed within the context of the institution” (“Institutional Betrayal and Institutional Courage”). Additionally, the research suggests, “Institutional betrayal includes deliberate acts or acts of omission (e.g., negligence) perpetrated by institutions onto individuals that rely on these institutions for support, resources, protection, and in some cases survival.” (Smidt and Freyd 2018, 491). Moreover, Carly Parnitzke Smith and Jennifer J. Freyd state in their 2013 article that certain institutions, such as the military, have a higher potential for causing institutional betrayal, given that members are highly dependent upon the military for protection and employment (578).

As a response to institutional betrayal, Freyd states that the only adequate response is for the institution to commit to what she has coined ‘institutional courage.’ Institutional courage is an organizational commitment to acknowledge past hurts and pledge to care for and protect all who depend upon the institution. It promises to ensure that the organization is accountable, focused on equitable outcomes, and creating a healthy and safe place for everyone (Freyd 2018). Therefore, the goal of implementing educational or training programs regarding enhancing institutional courage is to inspire members to take part in courageous actions, such as members of the dominant population refusing to participate in events that discriminate against non-dominant CAF members.

Exploring the pain, hurt, and betrayal many members of the organization feel will provide a better understanding of the concerns and issues that need consideration to build trusting and caring environments. Regardless of the need for further research and

development of the themes, concepts and strategies arising from this thesis, a sense of hope emerges from challenging the existing military culture.

In many ways, the CAF presents opportunities to explore innovative and modern ideas and concepts within an institution that has remained relatively the same since its creation. The hierarchal structure and training of members to listen and obey have always been and continue to be core principles of the organization. As a serving CAF chaplain, I have demonstrated the applicability and implications of modern research and approaches to equality within the CAF. Drawing upon my own experiences and knowledge of CAF and RCChS policies has allowed me to examine a context ripe for change. Despite hesitations by the institution to relinquish control and challenge current structures and procedures, the CAF has reached a point in its history where it has to shift its approach to adapt to the current political and cultural climate of Canadian society. The need to embrace the diversity of all members beyond rigid categorization is no longer avoidable. Organizational change within the CAF is essential to build trust and ensure it is a workplace where people feel safe, respected, and treated as equals.

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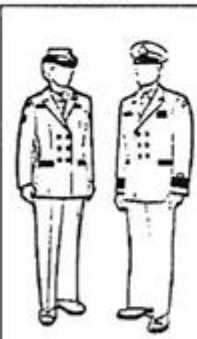
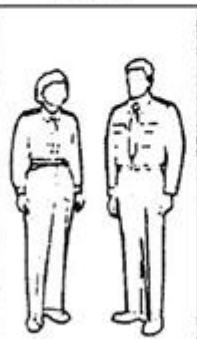
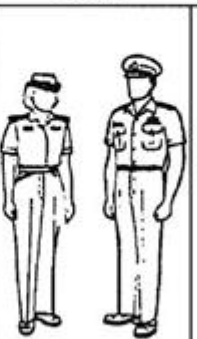
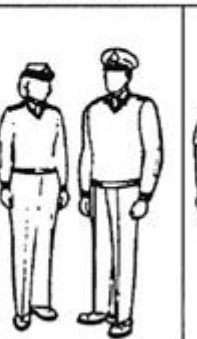
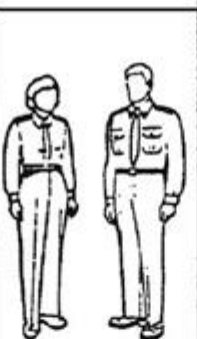
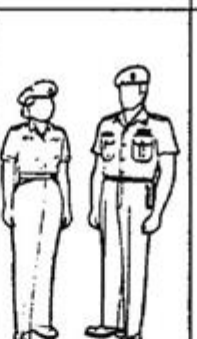
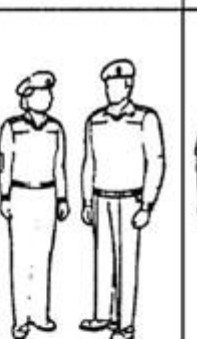
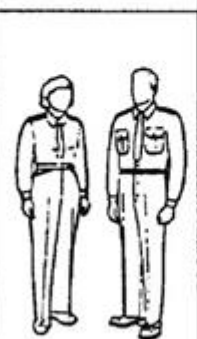
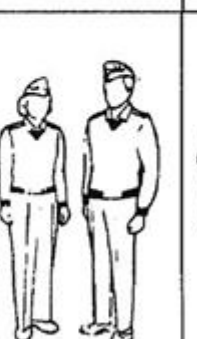
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11.1 APPENDICES – CANADIAN ARMY RANK STRUCTURE



11.2 APPENDICES – CAF Order of Dress – No 3 (Duty)

ORDERS OF DRESS: SERVICE					
	No.3 DUTY	No. 3A LONG-SLEEVED SHIRT	No. 3B SHORT-SLEEVED SHIRT	No. 3C SWEATER	No. 3D TROPICAL
NAVY					
ARMY					
AIR FORCE					

11.3 APPENDICES – CAF Chaplain Badges

RCChS Badge



Badge for the Jewish chaplains of the Chaplain Branch



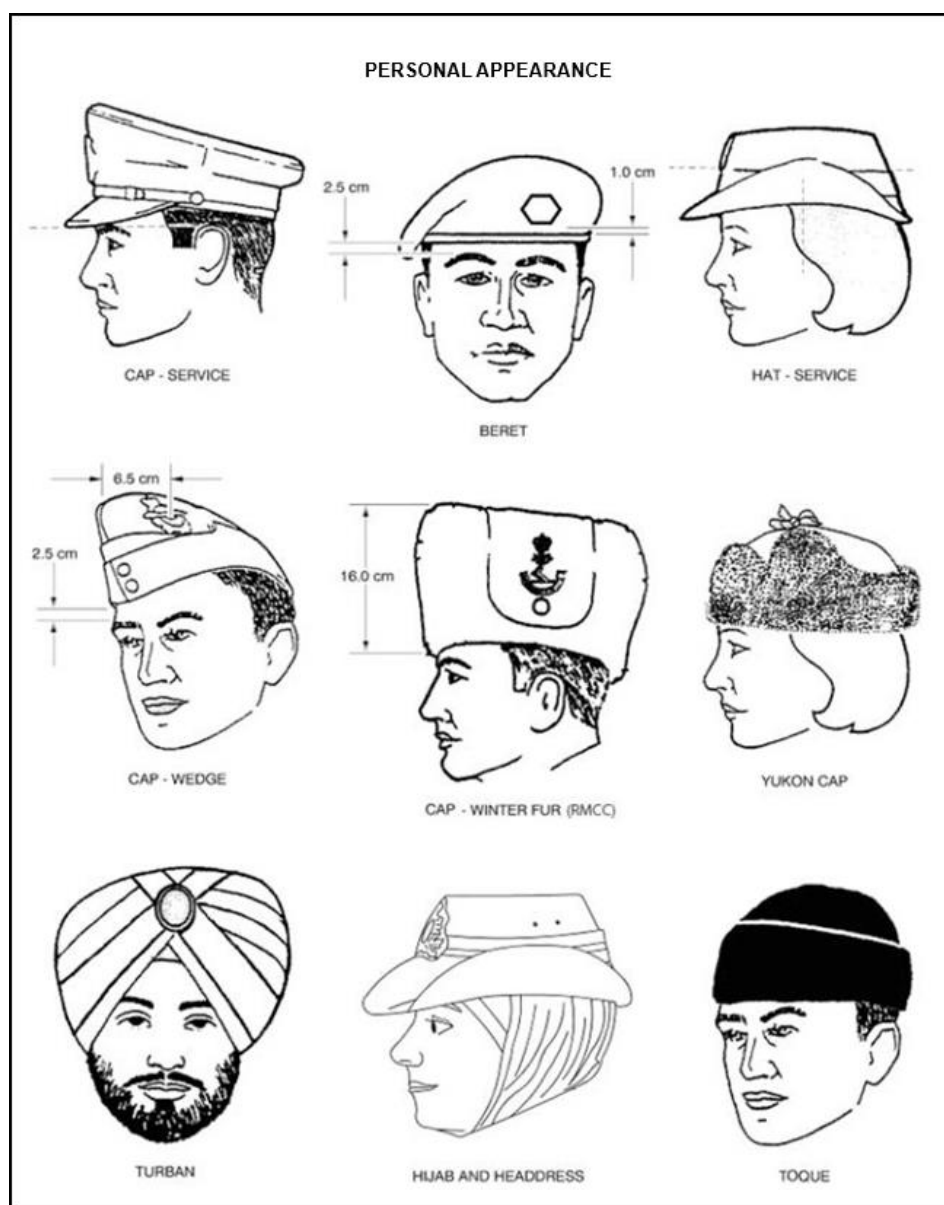
Badge for the Muslim chaplains of the Chaplain Branch



Badge for the Christian chaplains of the Chaplain Branch



11.4 APPENDICES – CAF HEADDRESS



(TOP LEFT CORNER: NAVAL PEAKED CAP WORN WITH NO 3 DRESS; TOP CENTER: BERET WORN WITH RCAF DRESS OF THE DAY AND ALL ORDERS OF CA DRESS; TOP RIGHT: RCN BOWLER WORN BY FEMALES WITH NO 3 DRESS; MIDDLE LEFT: RCAF WEDGE CAP WORN WITH NO 3 DRESS; MIDDLE CENTER: WINTER FUR CAP WORN WITH ALL ORDERS OF DRESS DURING WINTER; YUKON CAP: WORN WITH ALL ORDERS OF DRESS DURING WINTER; BOTTOM LEFT: AUTHORIZED WEARING OF TURBAN WITH ALL ORDERS OF DRESS; BOTTOM MIDDLE: AUTHORIZED WEARING OF HIJAB WITH ALL ORDERS OF DRESS; BOTTOM RIGHT: TOQUE AUTHORIZED WITH ALL ORDERS OF DRESS IS WINTER, AND; NOT DISPLAYED RCN BALL AUTHORIZED WITH NAVAL DRESS OF THE DAY WHEN SERVING WITH A SHIP OR UNIT WITH AUTHORIZED CAP).

APPENDIX 2-

CHAPLAIN GENERAL DIRECTIVE ON THE “SIGNIFICANCE AND USE OF THE CHAPLAIN SCARF”

Office of the Chaplain General



Bureau de l'Aumônier général

National Defence Headquarters
Major-General George R. Pearkes Building
101 Colonel By Drive
Ottawa, Ontario
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101 promenade Colonel By
Ottawa, Ontario
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File 1000-1 (Chap Gen)

Dossier 1000-1 (Aum gén)

30 August 2018

August 2018

Distribution List

Liste de distribution

SIGNIFICANCE AND USE OF THE
CHAPLAIN SCARF

SIGNIFICATION ET USAGE DU
FOULARD DES AUMÔNIERS

References: A. Canadian Forces Dress
Instructions

Références: A. Instructions sur la tenue
des Forces canadiennes

SIGNIFICANCE

SIGNIFICATION

1. The scarf is worn with pride as a sign of the chaplains' call to serve Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) members and their families. It signifies a common belonging to the Royal Canadian Chaplain Service, and thus does not refer to any single faith group.

1. Le foulard est porté avec fierté puisque c'est un signe qui nous rappelle notre vocation à servir les membres des Forces armées canadiennes (FAC) et leurs familles en répondant à leurs besoins spirituels et religieux. Le foulard est un symbole qui ne fait pas référence à notre dénomination confessionnelle individuelle, mais nous rappelle notre appartenance commune à servir au sein du Service de l'Aumônerie royale canadienne (SAumRC).

2. The scarf is presented by the Chaplain General to all new chaplains at the occasion of their graduation from Chaplain Basic Occupational Qualification course at the Canadian Forces Chaplain School and Centre, at CFB Borden.

2. Le foulard est remis directement par l'Aumônier général à tous les nouveaux aumôniers lors de la cérémonie de graduation à la fin du cours Qualification professionnelle élémentaire au Centre-école des aumôniers des Forces canadiennes, à Borden.

1/3



National Défense
Defence nationale

Canada

USE - INSTRUCTIONS

3. The scarf is worn solely to commemorate major military events such as the Battle of the Atlantic, the Battle of Britain, Remembrance Day and the Consecration of Colours. Only the Chaplain Scarf shall be worn with military orders of dress.

4. The scarf must not be used for liturgical purposes. Consequently, it will not be used in military chapels, except for the military commemorations mentioned in para 3.

5. Chaplains will wear the scarf directly over the military order of dress prescribed for that event. The clerical shirt may be worn with orders of dress as indicated by Reference A. Liturgical vestments such as an alb or Geneva gown shall not normally be worn on parade. For any exception, please send a request to your immediate supervisor.

6. Ribbons or medals shall be worn on the left side of the scarf, just as they are on the military tunic. The poppy is worn above ribbons or medals. Miniature medals shall not be worn on the scarf.

7. Military headdress will not be worn when wearing the scarf or when offering prayers.

8. Chaplains will not stand on parade while wearing the scarf.

9. The scarf shall not be worn with regimental mess dress or over civilian clothing.

UTILISATION - CONSIGNES

3. Le foulard est porté uniquement pour souligner la commémoration des grands événements militaires tels que la Bataille de l'Atlantique, la Bataille d'Angleterre, le Jour du Souvenir et la Consécration des couleurs. Le foulard du SAumRC est le seul qui est autorisé à être porté avec l'uniforme militaire.

4. Le foulard ne doit pas être utilisé à des fins liturgiques. Conséquemment, il ne sera pas utilisé dans les chapelles militaires, excepté pour les cérémonies militaires mentionnées au paragraphe 3.

5. Le foulard sera porté directement sur l'uniforme militaire de circonstance pour cet événement. La chemise ecclésiastique peut être portée selon les circonstances, en conformité avec Référence A. Les vêtements liturgiques, tel que l'aube, ne seront normalement pas portés sur parade. Pour toutes exceptions, veuillez adresser une demande à votre superviseur immédiat.

6. Les rubans ou les médailles seront portés sur le côté gauche du foulard, de la même manière qu'on les retrouve sur la tunique. Le coquelicot se retrouve au-dessus des rubans ou des médailles. Les médailles miniatures ne seront pas portées sur le foulard.

7. La coiffure militaire ne sera jamais portée lorsque vous portez le foulard de l'aumônier ou lorsque vous offrez des prières.

8. L'aumônier ne sera pas sur parade lorsque le foulard est porté.

9. En aucun cas, le foulard ne doit être porté avec la tenue de mess

10. Only chaplains on active duty may wear the scarf. Chaplains shall cease to wear the scarf upon retirement from the CAF, even if working as a civilian officiant or as a member of Cadets Organizations Administration and Training System.

CONCLUSION

11. If you have any specific questions regarding the use of the chaplain's scarf, please refer to your immediate supervisor.

régimentaire ou encore par-dessus des vêtements civils.

10. Seuls les aumôniers activement en service pourront porter le foulard de l'aumônier. Les aumôniers cesseront de porter le foulard au moment de leur libération des FAC, même s'ils travaillent comme officiants civils ou qu'ils sont membres du Service d'administration et d'instruction des organisations de cadets.

CONCLUSION

11. Si vous avez des questions particulières concernant l'usage du foulard de l'aumônier, veuillez-vous référer à votre superviseur immédiat.

APPENDIX 3

CHAPLAIN GENERAL DIRECTIVE

PUBLIC PRAYER AT MILITARY CEREMONIES

ANNEX A
5111-6 (Chap Gen)
16 December 2013

Policy Title: PUBLIC PRAYER AT MILITARY CEREMONIES

PURPOSE

The ability to honour faith while respecting diversity is characteristic of Canada's inclusive nature and values. Consistent with their history and heritage, the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) include provision for public prayer in military ceremonies for occasions such as the dedication or laying-up of colours, the commissioning or the paying off of ships¹, and ceremonies of significant public remembrance. Prayers are also often an integral part of ceremonies or events recognizing a change of command, ceremonial divisions, graduations, formal dinners, etc. The inclusion of prayer in such ceremonies is a longstanding tradition which acknowledges the spiritual dimension of the men and women who serve and sacrifice for our nation's security.

Although CAF regulation prohibits requiring military personnel to attend an assembly or service that is primarily religious or spiritual in nature, a member may be required to attend a military funeral, or a military parade or ceremony which has a religious or spiritual component included within it. Even though CAF personnel may be expected to participate in a military ceremony or function where public prayer is included, participation in the prayer itself is always voluntary.

AIM

The aim of this policy is to provide CAF chaplains with direction concerning public prayer, which acknowledges the diversity of belief systems that exist in the CAF; fosters respectful support for and affirmation of that diversity; and affirms that participation by CAF personnel in worship, prayers or sacred readings is at all times voluntary.

POLICY

When prayer is provided within the context of a public ceremony where a CAF chaplain is the sole religious leader providing prayer leadership, the prayers shall be inclusive in nature, respecting the diversity of those present. The chaplain shall preface the prayer with remarks that invite those who, for whatever reason, are not disposed to pray, to use that time for silent personal reflection or contemplation as others pray.

All CAF chaplains who lead worship, prayers or readings during public services and ceremonies where members of many religious groups may be attending shall be sensitive in the use of sacred phrases; may speak positively about their own tradition; may pray

¹ *The Insignia and Lineages of the Canadian Forces. Volume 2, Part 1. Exant Commissioned Ships.* A Canadian Forces Heritage Publication, 2001. A-AD-267-000/AF-002, no 4. "Today, Her Majesty's Canadian ships are paid off into one of three categories: major refit or conversion, reserve, or disposal. Occasionally the word "decommissioned" is heard but this term, which is used in navies of other nations, is not in keeping with our Canadian naval heritage."

ANNEX A
5111-6 (Chap Gen)
16 December 2013

individually and collectively for the well being of the whole community; and may not speak negatively about other faith traditions.

APPLICATION

This policy is applicable to all CAF chaplains, who exercising their role as military chaplains are called upon to lead public prayers at military ceremonies.

When prayer is provided within the context of voluntary worship, either within a chapel, a faith centre, a field service or on deployed operations, CAF chaplains are free to lead worship, pray or read sacred texts according to their own faith tradition.

All CAF Chaplains have the freedom to speak faithfully from their own traditions, and the responsibility to fully respect other traditions and perspective.

APPENDIX 4

CANADIAN ARMED FORCES POLICY ON RELIGIOUS AND SPIRITUAL ACCOMMODATION

DAOD 5516-3, Religious or Spiritual Accommodation

1. Introduction

Date of Issue: 2016-07-15

Application: This DAOD is an order that applies to officers and non-commissioned members of the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF members).

Supersession:

- CANFORGEN 162/12, *Amendment – Religious Accommodation Policy for the CF*
- *Interim Policy – Religious Accommodation*, 1745-2-10 (ADM(Per)) 12 January 1998

Approval Authority: Chief of Military Personnel (CMP)

Enquiries: Director Human Rights and Diversity (DHRD)

2. General Principles

Context

2.1 Canada is a country of great diversity with many people who belong to different religions and have unique spiritual beliefs. CAF members and applicants represent a cross section of Canadian society. The faithful practice of a religion or the adherence to a spiritual belief by a CAF member or an applicant, as indicated by practices such as wearing particular articles of clothing or styles of dress, keeping or wearing hair in a specific manner, following certain diets, praying, fasting, avoiding certain language or behaviour, or observing certain religious holidays, may require an accommodation.

Note 1 – For the purposes of this DAOD, “applicant” refers to a person seeking to enrol in the CAF who has accepted a conditional offer of enrolment from an authorized Canadian Forces recruiting centre (CFRC) staff member.

Note 2 – Although applicants are not subject to DAODs and the provisions in this DAOD do not constitute directives or orders that apply to applicants, this DAOD sets out the administrative process for dealing with a request for an accommodation on religious or spiritual grounds that may be made by an applicant during the recruiting and enrolment process.

Duty to Accommodate

2.2 The CAF must consider a request for an accommodation based on a religious or spiritual belief as long as it is a sincerely held belief of the CAF member or applicant and can be reasonably connected to religious faith or spirituality.

2.3 The CAF is required to approve a request for an accommodation based on a sincerely held religious or spiritual belief unless the accommodation or any accommodation other than that which was requested would:

- a. cause undue hardship;
- b. be against the law; or
- c. cause the CAF member or applicant to be relieved from having to meet one or more of the minimum operational standards related to the principle of universality of service set out in DAOD 5023-1, *Minimum Operational Standards Relating to Universality of Service*.

2.4 The duty to accommodate is the obligation of the CAF, by the adoption of measures, to eliminate disadvantages to CAF members and applicants resulting from a rule, policy, practice or barrier that has or may have an adverse impact on individuals or designated groups protected under the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and the *Canadian Human Rights Act*.

2.5 Undue hardship refers to the limit to which the CAF is expected to accommodate a CAF member or an applicant in a given situation, taking into consideration the following factors:

- a. the availability of alternatives to accommodate the CAF member or applicant;
- b. the realistic ability of the CAF to meet the costs associated with an accommodation; and
- c. the health and safety of the public, Department of National Defence (DND) employees, CAF members and applicants.

Adjustments Resulting from an Accommodation

2.6 An accommodation based on religious or spiritual grounds may require making some specific adjustment or alteration to, for example, policies, standard operating procedures or routine practices, in order that a CAF member can continue to serve or an applicant can enrol in the CAF while adhering to their religious or spiritual belief.

Request by a CAF Member or an Applicant

2.7 A CAF member or an applicant may request an accommodation based on religious or spiritual grounds with respect to, but not limited to:

- a. dietary practices;
- b. dress and appearance;
- c. medical requirements; and
- d. religious or spiritual services and observances.

2.8 A CAF member or an applicant who requests an accommodation must:

- a. identify and communicate clearly to their chain of command, in a timely manner, their service-related religious or spiritual accommodation needs; and
- b. work constructively and cooperatively with authorities in their chain of command in devising reasonable and workable solutions to their religious or spiritual accommodation needs.

Note – See section 3 for details concerning the procedures for processing a request for an accommodation.

Accommodation at a New Unit

2.9 When a CAF member who is being accommodated for a religious or spiritual belief at the unit level is posted, attach posted or otherwise absent from their home unit and is employed at a different unit, or in the case of an applicant who was accommodated at a CFRC and, on enrolment, is posted to a unit, the CAF member must submit a new request for an accommodation based on religious or spiritual grounds through the chain of command at the new unit.

2.10 A CAF member cannot assume that an accommodation previously approved remains in effect on arrival at a new unit because the:

- a. CAF member is required to make a new request for an accommodation under paragraph 2.9; and
- b. commanding officer (CO) must consider the new request for an accommodation on its own merits, taking into account the mission and resources of the unit.

Revocation or Suspension of an Accommodation

2.11 An accommodation that has been approved may be revoked or suspended by the approval authority if circumstances change, including the extent to which the accommodation may constitute an undue hardship (see paragraph 2.5).

Note – For the purposes of this DAOD, “approval authority” refers to:

- a. the officer who considered the request and approved the accommodation;
- b. an officer who replaces the officer who approved the accommodation; or
- c. any superior officer in the chain of command of either the officer who approved the accommodation or the officer who replaced the officer who approved the accommodation.

3. Process

Request for Religious or Spiritual Accommodation

3.1 The process for making a request for an accommodation based on religious or spiritual grounds, and its consideration by the chain of command, is as follows:

- a. the CAF member or applicant must complete and sign Part 1 of form DND 2983-E, *Request for Religious or Spiritual Accommodation*, identifying clearly and in as much detail as is required, the exact nature of the religious or spiritual belief which requires an accommodation, and submit the form to:
 - i. in the case of a CAF member, their CO through their chain of command, or
 - ii. in the case of an applicant, a designated recruiting authority, i.e. the CO of a CFRC;

Note – Form DND 2983-E can be found on the DHRD intranet site.

- b. depending on the nature of the request, the CO may be the appropriate approval authority (see paragraph 3.2 of this DAOD). If the CO is not the approval authority, the CO must forward the request to the appropriate approval authority;
- c. the approval authority may seek clarification or amplification from the CAF member or applicant, or from other sources, as required; and
- d. the approval authority approves or denies the accommodation request (see the determining factors and considerations in paragraph 4.1).

Approval Authorities

3.2 The following table sets out the approval authorities for a request for an accommodation based on religious or spiritual grounds:

A ...	may approve or deny a request for an accommodation as it applies to ...
level one (L1) advisor; formation, base, wing or station commander; and CO	food and food service; leave; Use of space at a defence establishment; or any other accommodation within their authority not otherwise covered in this table.

Note 1 – An L1 advisor is a senior official, either civilian or military, who has direct accountability to the Deputy Minister or the Chief of the Defence Staff. The list of L1 advisors is set out in the *Position Titles* section in A-FN-100-002/AG-006, *Delegation of Authorities for*

Financial Administration for the Department of National Defence (DND) and the Canadian Forces (CF).

Note 2 – A CO may seek the advice of the base or wing chaplain regarding the provision of space for prayer or worship.

Action by the Approval Authority When a Request is Approved or Denied

3.3 On considering a request for an accommodation based on religious or spiritual grounds, having referred to the determining factors and considerations in paragraph 4.1, an approval authority may decide to:

- a. approve the accommodation requested;
- b. approve an accommodation other than that which was requested; or
- c. deny the request.

3.4 When an approval authority makes a decision in respect of a request for an accommodation, the approval authority must take the following actions:

- a. complete either the approval or denial section and sign Part 2 of form DND 2983-E;
- b. inform the CAF member or applicant of the decision and any action required as a result of the decision, including any terms and conditions of an approval set out in Part 2 of form DND 2983-E;
- c. ensure the CAF member or applicant signs Part 3 of form DND 2983-E acknowledging the decision;
- d. provide a copy of the form DND 2983-E to the CAF member or applicant; and
- e. send copies of the form DND 2983-E and any attached documentation to the appropriate unit records section and immediate headquarters, with a copy to DHRD for statistical and tracking purposes.

3.5 When informing a CAF member or an applicant that their request has been denied or an alternative accommodation has been approved, the reasons do not need to be lengthy but should be clearly and sufficiently stated in order for the CAF member or applicant to understand the reasons for the denial or change in accommodation, as applicable. For example:

- a. The accommodation requested could not be approved on the basis of a particular risk to the safety of the team where that risk could not be mitigated.
- b. An alternative accommodation is approved because the CAF could not realistically meet the costs associated with the requested accommodation.

Step	Determining Factors	Considerations
1	Is the accommodation requested by the CAF member or applicant religious or spiritual in nature?	Religion typically involves a particular and comprehensive system of faith and acts, rites or ceremonies of worship. Religion may involve the belief in a divine, superhuman or controlling power. Spirituality is: – about freely and deeply held personal convictions or beliefs connected to the spiritual faith of a person, and – integrally linked to the self-definition and spiritual fulfillment of that person. Religion or spirituality may be demonstrated by practices which allow a person to foster a connection with a divine, superhuman or controlling power, or with the subject or object of that religion or spiritual faith.
2	Does the CAF member or applicant demonstrate a religious or spiritual belief or practice which calls for a particular type of conduct that: • is obligatory or customary to the religion or spirituality; or • helps connect the person to the subject or object of their religious or spiritual belief?	The belief or practice must: – be something that the person considers to be of central importance to the religion or spiritual faith; or – bring about a personal connection with a divine, superhuman or controlling power, or with the subject or object of the spiritual faith of the individual. The belief or practice of a person does not have to be a fundamental tenet or article of faith, nor does it have to be required by any official religious dogma or conform with the position of any religious official or spiritual leader. The claim that a belief or practice is a fundamental doctrine, dogma or principle of the religion or spiritual belief of the CAF member or applicant may be a consideration but need not be a determining factor.
3	Is the CAF member or applicant sincere in their belief?	A sincerely held religious or spiritual belief will normally require particular conduct that the person subjectively considers to be necessary to their faith or spirituality. The belief must be sincere, honest and expressed in good faith, neither fictitious nor capricious. The credibility of information provided by the CAF member or applicant, and whether the accommodation requested is consistent with their current religious or spiritual practices, is relevant in assessing sincerity.

Step	Determining Factors	Considerations
4	Will the requested accommodation or any alternative accommodation: - cause undue hardship (see paragraph 2.5); - be against the law; or - relieve the CAF member or applicant of having to meet one or more of the minimum operational standards related to the principle of universality of service?	Note 1 – In considering whether the requested or alternative accommodation is against the law, approval authorities are encouraged to seek assistance from the local representative of the Judge Advocate General or the Public and Labour Law directorate of the Office of the DND and CF Legal Advisor, as applicable and if required. Note 2 – For the minimum operational standards related to the principle of universality of service, see DAOD 5023-1. Note 3 – Expert opinions are not required for an approval authority to make a decision.

Direction for Approval Authorities

Making a Decision on a Request

4.1 The following table sets out determining factors and considerations to assist approval authorities in making a decision and taking appropriate action on receiving a request for an accommodation based on religious or spiritual grounds:

5. Consequences

Consequences of Non-Compliance

5.1 Non-compliance with this DAOD may have consequences for the CAF as an institution, and for CAF members as individuals. Suspected non-compliance will be investigated. The nature and severity of the consequences resulting from actual non-compliance will be commensurate with the circumstances of the non-compliance.

5.2 The DHRD is responsible for notifying the CMP of any non-compliance with this DAOD.

6. References

Acts, Regulations, Central Agency Policies and Policy DAOD

- [Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms](#)
- [Canadian Human Rights Act](#)
- [DAOD 5516-0, Human Rights](#)

Other References

- [DAOD 5023-1](#), *Minimum Operational Standards Relating to Universality of Service*
- A-FN-100-002/AG-006, *Delegation of Authorities for Financial Administration for the Department of National Defence (DND) and the Canadian Forces (CF)*
- Form DND 2170, *Canadian Armed Forces Employment Application*
- Form DND 2983-E, *Request for Religious or Spiritual Accommodation*

APPENDIX 5

INTERIM POLICY ON RELIGIOUS ACCOMMODATION (1998)

INTERIM POLICY – RELIGIOUS ACCOMMODATION

PURPOSE

1. This policy prescribes guidelines and procedures for accommodating the religious practices of Canadian Forces (CF) members and CF applicants. Related regulations and policies are as follows:

QR&Os 19-26, 19-27 amplified by CFAO 19-32 Redress of Grievance

QR&O 16 amplified by CFAO 16-1 Leave

CFAO 19-40 Human Rights – Discrimination

CFMO 13-09 Informed Consent

CF Dress Instructions (A-AD-265-000/AG-001)

GENERAL

2. Religious discrimination in employment is prohibited under both the Canadian human Rights Act (CHRA) and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Charter). The Charter also guarantees every individual freedom of conscience and religion. Employment policies or practices which discriminate against a particular religious group or infringe on religious freedom are therefore illegal, unless they can be justified as a reasonable limit under Section 1 of the Charter or established as a non-discriminatory practice (for example, a *bona fide* occupational requirement) under Section 15 of the CHRA.

3. In some circumstances, a general and apparently neutral policy or practice could unintentionally have an adverse effect on an individual by preventing that person from observing a practice that is central to his or her religious beliefs. In such cases, the CF is required to make reasonable accommodation for the religious practices of individuals where to do so would not cause undue hardship. Reasonable accommodation may involve some specific adjustment or individual variation from standard practices, such as modification to workplace conditions, to the manner in which the job is performed, or to policies or procedures.

DEFINITIONS

4. In this policy:

Accommodation of religious practices means making some specific adjustment or accommodation to standard operating procedures, routine practices, or policies so that a CF member can participate in a practice which is central to his/her religious beliefs and the observance of which is to considered a fundamental requirement of the religion and not merely a religious custom or tradition;

Bona fide occupational requirement means a requirement that is necessary for safe, efficient and reliable performance of the essential components of a duty;

Commanding officer includes also a Recruiting Zone Commanding Officer in the case of CF applicants;

Discrimination means a distinction, whether intentional or not, which is based on grounds relating to personal characteristics of the individual or group, and which has the effect of imposing burdens, obligations, or disadvantages on the individual or group which are not imposed upon others, or which withholds or limits access to opportunities, benefits and advantages available to other members of society;

Freedom of religion means the right to entertain such religious beliefs as a person chooses, the right to declare religious beliefs openly, and the right to manifest religious beliefs through worship and practice; freedom of religion also means that, subject to necessary limitations, no one is to be forced to act in a way contrary to his or her religious beliefs or conscience; and

Member, for the purpose of this policy, refers to both military personnel and CF applicants unless otherwise specified.

POLICY

5. It is the policy of the CF that every reasonable effort shall be made to permit the observance of religious practices by individual members, when to do so will not impose undue hardship on the organizational element responsible for the accommodation. Approval or denial of requests for the accommodation of religious practices must be based on the circumstances of each case, taking into consideration such factors as operational readiness and effectiveness, cost, health, and safety, morale, interchangeability of personnel and facilities, resources available, and risk (magnitude and who bears it). Further amplification of these factors is contained in paragraphs 11 and 12 of this policy.

6. An accommodation which has been approved for religious reasons may be suspended or revoked by a commanding officer whenever changes to the mission alter the circumstances upon which the approval was based, such that continuing to accommodate the member would cause undue hardship. The degree of accommodation possibly may also vary according to the members employment over the course of a career.

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES WHICH MAY BE CONSIDERED FOR ACCOMMODATION

7. Requests for the accommodation of religious practices are likely to fall into one of the following categories listed below. However, these categories are not meant to be an exhaustive list:

a. Religious worship. Some religious groups have worship practices that conflict with the member's availability for duty and operational requirements. The commanding officer shall determine when operational requirements dictate that a member must be available for duty and when some type of adjustment can be made to permit religious worship. The observance of holy days may be permitted by means of approving special leave, short leave, and/or annual leave, in accordance with the provisions of CFAO 16-1 Leave.

b. Religious dietary practices. Some religious groups have beliefs that prohibit the consumption of specific foods or prescribe special preparation. Where the member's faith prohibits specific foods, it may be possible to meet the member's dietary needs by ensuring that alternative choices are available. Where the member's faith prescribes stringent requirements for the preparation and service of food, consideration should be given to the procurement of commercially prepared meals, where this is a reasonable option. Alternatively, the member could be exempted from the requirement to pay rations, and permitted to meet his or her own dietary requirements. For deployed operations, where troops must subsist on combat rations (individual meal packs), reasonable efforts shall be made to provide a member with alternative meals. However, this type of combat ration has a very limited food selection, and no alternative feeding capability exists if the procurement source becomes exhausted. During the operation planning process, a special combat ration request supported by the commanding officer must be forwarded to NDHQ/Director Supply 4 Food Services, through Director Land Material, with sufficient lead time to enable procurement upon demand.

c. Religious dress and appearance. Requests for variations to uniform dress standards so as to accommodate an established religious requirement shall normally be approved unless an operational requirement prevents an accommodation. The religious requirement will be made known to the Director History and Heritage who will advise appropriate standards for wear of the apparel or accoutrement in question. Requests for accommodations to operational dress requirements shall be referred for review and analysis to the appropriate OPI:

Sea – NDHQ/Chief of Maritime Staff/Director Naval Personnel Requirements 2-2 (SO Pers Adm)

Land: NDHQ/Chief of Land Staff/Director Land Requirements 5-3

Air: NDHQ/Chief of Air Staff/Chief of Staff personnel and Training

d. Religious medical requirements. Some religious requirements conflict with normal CF medical procedures. These conflicts may include the belief in self-care, and prohibitions against immunizations, blood transfusions, and surgery. The CF's concern is with the possible effect on the member's health and ability to carry out assigned tasks, and on the health of others. Wherever possible, accommodations to standard medical procedures based on a member's religious beliefs shall be made. In no circumstances shall a CF member be forced against his or her will to submit to medical procedures. Imposing medical procedures without the consent of the patient can have civil and criminal legal consequences for the authority imposing the procedure. Requests for accommodations to medical requirements shall be referred to Director Medical Services.

ACTION BY MEMBER OR APPLICANT MAKING THE REQUEST

8. A member or applicant requesting an accommodation to permit observance of a religious obligation must specify in writing the exact nature of the religious requirement. The member's request must include a statement that the member is currently, or could reasonably foresee himself or herself, being prevented from participating in a practice which is a fundamental requirement of his or her religion. In the case of CF applicants, the request must include a statement that the person wishes clarification as to whether or not accommodation of specific religious requirements is possible.

ACTION BY THE COMMANDING OFFICER

9. The commanding officer shall consider requests for religious accommodation on an individual basis and shall inform both the member and appropriate authorities of the decision. A commanding officer shall first confirm that the practice specified in the request represents a fundamental religious requirement, not merely a religious custom or tradition. The commanding officer should consult the Base or Unit Chaplain, who shall communicate with a leader of the appropriate religious community or, if necessary, direct the query to the Chaplain General, and then document the findings. If the practice in question is confirmed as a fundamental religious requirement, the commanding officer must next determine if the requirement can be reasonably accommodated.

10. It is the commanding officer's responsibility to determine whether allowing the member to engage in the religious requirement (either totally or partially) would cause undue hardship. In cases where requests for religious accommodation involve a cost, resource or policy implication such that the commanding officer does not have the authority to approve the request, the commanding officer is to consult with higher authority and request approval as deemed appropriate.

11. The following factors, while not exhaustive, should be taken into consideration when assessing a request for religious accommodation:

a. Operational readiness and effectiveness. If approving the request could prevent the unit task, mission or operation from being carried out or impair effective performance by the individual member or group, the accommodation should not be made. The risk involved should be realistically assessed on an individual basis by the commanding officer, who should objectively evaluate all possible options for accommodating the member's religious requirement against the criteria of operational readiness and effectiveness. In assessing such requests, commanding officers must take into consideration the potential effect of this requirement under operational conditions. If the religious requirement can be reasonably accommodated under peacetime conditions but not under operational conditions, and if the member indicates that he or she would be unwilling to forsake the requirement even under operational conditions, then the member is not fully employable in the military;

b. Cost. If the cost involved in accommodating the individual is excessive for the organizational element involved, then the request should be denied; and

c. Health and safety. The necessity to adhere to an occupational or duty requirement which is based on a consideration of the health or safety risk to personnel is a legitimate reason for denying a request for an accommodation of a religious requirement when modifying or removing the occupational or duty requirement would increase the likelihood of injury to the public, the member's co-workers, or the member.

12. The scope of the demands which would be placed on co-workers in the unit as a result of implementing a particular measure may, under certain circumstances, influence a decision to accommodate. The actual demands on co-workers must be demonstrable. They must constitute more than negative attitudinal reactions (e.g. perceptions of unfairness, unwillingness to deviate from the standard procedures).

13. A commanding officer who wishes additional guidance in resolving a request for an accommodation or who believes that the request may have CF-wide policy implications may address such queries to NDHQ/Director Personnel Policy. Director Personnel Policy will endeavour to develop a database of accommodation requests and the respective decisions taken, noting the key factors involved in each decision, as a reference guide for commanding officers.

DOCUMENTATION

14. Requests for the accommodation of religious requirements are to be documented using the form at Annex A. The original of Annex A is to be placed on the member's personnel file or the applicant's recruiting documentation file if the applicant does not become a member. The second copy is to be forwarded to the member's career manager. The third copy is to be forwarded to Director Personnel Policy in the interests of policy monitoring and for policy refinement as necessary. The fourth copy is to be given to the member or applicant for retention. Should there be a requirement for a commanding officer to suspend or revoke a previously accommodated request, then this decision and its rationale are to be documented by a letter with the same distribution as Annex A. Once a previously approved request for accommodation has been revoked, a member may again request accommodation of religious practices when a change of circumstances has occurred that directly relates to the reasons for the denial of a previous request.

AVENUES OF REDRESS

15. If a member or applicant is dissatisfied with the disposition of a request for religious accommodation, he or she may file a grievance in accordance with the procedures contained in QR&O 19.26 and 19.27 and as amplified in CFAO 19-32.

16. Nothing in this order precludes any member or applicant who believes that he or she has been discriminated against on religious grounds from filing a complaint with the Canadian human Rights Commission (CHRC).