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Immigrants in the Canadian Armed Forces: Second Acts and New Canadians

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Introduction

Current Canadian policy, as in some other countries, favours immigration and views it as a source of human, cultural, social and economic capital. Immigrants are considered important for augmenting the domestic labour force; however, until November 2022, immigrants to Canada who were not yet citizens were only eligible to serve in the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) under narrow, and often not publicized, limited-term waivers. These waivers most often favoured those individuals with certain demographic and professional skill profiles, that is, those with significant prior military experience and, in many cases, some direct prior connection with CAF service members. This unofficial, unconventional recruitment path was unanticipated by the research team and revealed itself over the course of our research.

The paucity of research on immigrants in the armed forces extends beyond the Canadian case, and particularly absent are the voices of service members themselves. To fill this gap, we initiated a narrative inquiry study to collect the stories of immigrant

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soldiers[1] serving, or having served, in the militaries of the Five Eyes countries: Canada, the United States (US), Australia, the United Kingdom (UK) and New Zealand. This paper primarily draws on 19 interviews with immigrants serving or having recently served in the CAF who have been interviewed as part of the larger study. Their stories revealed dimensions of social, human, and cultural capitals that facilitated, or interfered with, their own immigrant service member experience. Thematic analysis of the interviews identified key elements, including the importance of family in the immigration journey, the challenges of the immigration process, and the value of connections in the new country's military. Additionally, our analysis revealed how the CAF unofficially recruits members of other Five Eyes militaries, like the UK, who bring valuable human capital but also reinforce elements of the existing institutional culture.

Canada and its Military

Canada is considered a middle power, with an armed force of 107,956 military members as of spring 2021,[2] of which the majority are full-time Regular Force members and a little over one quarter are Reserve Force. Canada is a member of the Five Eyes intelligence alliance, through which

> partner countries share a broad range of intelligence with one another in one of the world's most unified multilateral arrangements. The Five Eyes agreement stands out from other arrangements because the parties are diverse societies, governed by the rule of law and robust human rights and are bonded by a common language.[3]

[1] In our paper, we use the term *soldier* generically, to refer also to sailors, aviators and other service members from all branches of the armed forces under study.
[2] Department of National Defence Canada, *Employment Equity and Diversity in the Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Report* (Ottawa: Office of the National Defence and Canadian Forces Ombudsman, 2022), https://www.canada.ca/en/ombudsman-national-defence-forces/reports-news-statistics/investigative-reports/employment-equity-diversity/employment-equity-diversity-report.html.
[3] Public Safety Canada, "Five Country Ministerial - The Five Eyes," last modified 7 December 2022, https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/ntnl-scrt/fv-cntry-mnstrl-en.aspx.

As evidenced in several of our interviews, the Five Eyes alliance enables trust among the partner countries' participants, thus facilitating some military members' immigration from one Five Eyes country to another, by *laterally transferring* from one armed force to another.

Although Canada is considered a multicultural country of immigrants, which relies on immigration to bring a diverse and much-needed labour force, the same cannot be said for its military. Despite the CAF's struggles over the past 20 years to reach its Employment Equity (EE) goals, Canada's military does not reflect the ethnocultural diversity of its population, as shown by the CAF representation rates for the four designated groups under the EE Act, namely: women 16.4percent Indigenous peoples 2.9percent; visible minorities 11.1percent; and persons with disabilities 1.1percent[4] It is evident from the statistics that representation rates for visible minorities are increasing compared to 2021 rates of 9.6 percent[5] and are now very close to the CAF Employment Equity goal of 11.8percent[6], although still far from the overall visible minorities representation rates of 23.0 percent in the Canadian population.[7] In terms of recruiting immigrants, it was not until October 2022 that the Minister of National Defence announced that immigrants who are permanent residents of Canada are welcome to apply to join the CAF, a move intended to help fill the thousands of vacant positions as well as diversify the force.[8] Prior to this policy change, an individual wishing to join the Canadian military had to be a Canadian citizen, with occasional exceptions through the Skilled Military Foreign Applicant (SMFA) program, which allows the CAF to enrol select

[7] Statistics Canada, "Immigrants Make up the Largest Share of the Population in over 150 Years and Continue to Shape Who We Are as Canadians," *The Daily*, last modified 26 October 2022, https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/221026/dq221026a-eng.htm.

[8] Department of National Defence, "Minister of National Defence Announces That Permanent Residents Are Welcome to Apply Now to Join the Canadian Armed Forces," last modified 5 December 2022, https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/news/2022/12/minister-of-national-defence-announces-that-permanent-residents-are-welcome-to-apply-now-to-join-the-canadian-armed-forces.html?utm_campaign=dnd-mdn-dt-news-22-23&utm_medium=eml&utm_source=dtn-dec-6&utm_content=nr-perm-residents-en-221205.

foreign nationals with qualifying specialized skills (i.e., a trained pilot or doctor). Since the SMFA is not advertised on the CAF recruiting website, candidates who joined through this entry program have been very few; approximately 18 from 2016 to 2019, and then a sharp increase from 2019 to 2020, when the program yielded over 100 recruits.[9] Indeed, some of our interviews with immigrants serving in the CAF provide direct evidence that the CAF has long been recruiting military members serving in allied countries, who possess certain skill sets, mostly through word of mouth, and issuing waivers to accommodate their non-citizen status.

Literature Review

Two main strands of previous literature from a variety of social science disciplines inform the current research. The first includes inquiries on immigrant/non-citizen military participation as well as their inclusion or exclusion in the armed forces. The second stream of literature draws inspiration from Vieira, which explores how the varieties of capital (including human, social, economic, cultural, and linguistic) influence the experiences of individuals in their relationships with others and the institutions in which they are enmeshed.[10]

Scoppio, Otis and Yan overview the institutional barriers to immigrant participation in the CAF, including the citizenship requirement, as well as provide a snapshot of recent participation by various underrepresented groups in the CAF.[11] Some of the immigrant participants in Wright and Fonseca's study reported considering joining

[9] Scoppio Grazia, Otis Nancy, and Yan Yan, "The Military as a Path to Citizenship, Integration, and Identity: Visible Minorities and Immigrants' Perspectives about the Military in Canada," in *The Power of Diversity in the Armed Forces: International Perspectives on Immigrant Participation in the Military*, eds. Grazia Scoppio and Sara Greco (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2022), pp. 1-28.
[10] Aimee Vieira, *Being Anglophone: Language, Place and Identity in Quebec's Eastern Townships* (Saarbrucken: Editions Universitaires Européennes, 2016).
[11] Grazia Scoppio et al., "The Military as a Path to Citizenship."

the CAF as a means of better integrating into Canadian society.[12] Nava's exploratory study reviewed the CAF's recruiting strategies for first-generation immigrants and examined the views of first-generation immigrants in the CAF.[13] She found that lack of familiarity with the CAF by first-generation immigrants contributed to their unwillingness to join.

The topic of inclusion of minorities in the armed forces has been addressed in numerous studies, especially those focusing on the US For example, Burk considers how the relationship between citizenship status and military service affects minority groups' and conscientious objectors' social standing.[14] Dragomir explores the relationship between citizenship and military service by examining the stories of three foreign-born nationals who became naturalised US citizens through serving in the US military and thus "find a place for themselves in the host country and military group."[15] In an intersectional approach, Lundquist combines gender and ethnicity in a study evaluating job satisfaction in the US military along racial and gendered lines, contrasting her findings with those from the civilian world. She finds that the level of satisfaction in the US military among women, African-Americans and Latinos is higher than for white males, which may suggest that military membership provides a degree of inclusion or institutional culture that mitigates certain negative aspects of civilian workplaces for these groups.[16]

[12] John Wright and Felipe Fonséca, *Perspectives of Visible Minority Members on Recruitment and Inclusion in the Canada Army Forces (CAF)*, Director General Military Personnel Research and Analysis Scientific Report (Ottawa: Defence Research and Development Canada, 2016).
[13] Rebecca Nava, "Recruited to Get Suited: The Contemporary Diversity Recruitment Tactics of the Canadian Military" (master's thesis, Ryerson University, 2010).
[14] James Burk, "Citizenship Status and Military Service: The Quest for Inclusion by Minorities and Conscientious Objectors," *Armed Forces & Society* 21, no. 4 (Summer 1995): pp. 503-529, https://doi.org/10.1177/0095327X9502100401.
[15] Cristina Dragomir, "Making the American Immigrant Soldier: Inclusion and Resistance" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2013), p. 5.
[16] Jennifer Lundquist, "Ethnic and Gender Satisfaction in the Military: The Effect of a Meritocratic Institution," *American Sociological Review* 73, no. 3 (2008): pp. 477-496, https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240807300306.

The question of the exclusion of immigrants in the armed services of an immigrant-receiving nation extends beyond participation rates and ties into notions of belonging. The dynamics within any community of the established group and the newcomers suggest that the entrenched group will engage in practices that reinforce in-group membership while allowing circumscribed (and often stigmatized) participation by the newcomers, according to Elias and Scotson.[17] Some research that supports applying this perspective within the armed services includes that of Malfatti-Rachell, who interrogates the ambiguously symbiotic relationship between foreign-born soldiers and the US Air Force, and asks whether the main beneficiaries are the immigrants granted expedited US citizenship because of their service, or the US military gaining critical access to new recruits, especially those individuals with linguistic skills and culturally relevant knowledge in great demand.[18]

The rationales for excluding immigrants/non-citizens from military service in some countries include perceived concerns for national security; notions conflating the citizen-soldier with national identity, whereby military service is seen as appropriately performed only by citizens; or perceptions towards immigrants/non-citizens as *others*. The current research inquired whether there are certain mitigating characteristics for incoming immigrant service members that reduce or increase their sense of belonging.

In considering the multiple pathways and experiences of migrants who serve in the military, Bourdieu's distinctions between social capital, cultural capital, and economic capital help develop a richer analysis of the stories told by individual service members included in the study.[19] Bourdieu argued that cultural capital involves sets of meaning, modes of thinking, systems of values, work experience, language skills and cultural knowledge that a person has acquired through both socialisation and educational processes. This argument supports the idea that those migrants who have

[17] Norbert Elias and John Scotson, *The Established and the Outsiders* (London: Sage Publications, 1994).
[18] Gabrielle Malfatti-Rachell, "Expedited Citizenship for Immigrant Soldiers: Tribute or Bounty?" *Forum on Public Policy: A Journal of the Oxford Round Table* (2008): pp. 1-17.
[19] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John Richardson (New York: Greenwood, 1986), pp. 241-258.

prior military service with specialized training, earned rank, institutional familiarity, and language skills which facilitate a particular immigration pathway will experience a different opportunity structure accessing the CAF than those immigrants without prior military service. Erel argues that migration results in new ways of producing and reproducing cultural capital mechanisms that build on the power relations of either the origin or receiving country.[20] In our research, participants with prior military service in their birth country who migrated to Canada and served in the CAF provide evidence for Erel's argument in that they draw upon relationships both in their birth country and in Canada to achieve their immigration-related goals.

According to Coleman, social relations constitute a form of social capital that provides information that facilitates action.[21] For our respondents with prior military experience, past findings on the importance of weak ties in activating individual opportunity structures appear supported,[22] as do the findings of Lin and Dumin,[23] which suggest those with relatively more privileged social positions have a better ability to activate social resources to achieve occupational goals than those with lower positions. An example of this from our study participants would be the greater numbers of officers with prior service outside of Canada immigrating than non-commissioned members (NCMs) with prior service outside of Canada.

The competing "greedy institutions" of the military and the family combine with the challenges of immigration and newcomer integration in ways that this study strives to start to understand.[24] Gower and Brooke-Holland examined the nationality and immigration requirements in the context of the British armed forces, highlighting the

[20] Umut Erel, "Migrating Cultural Capital: Bourdieu in Migration Studies," *Sociology* 44, no. 4 (2010): pp. 642-660.
[21] James Coleman, "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital," *American Journal of Sociology* 94 (1988): 95-120.
[22] Mark Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 6 (1973): 1360-pp. 1380.
[23] Nan Lin and Miri Dumin, "Access to Occupations through Social Ties," *Social Networks* 8, no. 4 (1986): 365-385, https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-8733(86)90003-1.
[24] Mady Segal, "The Military and the Family as Greedy Institutions," *Armed Forces and Society* 13 (1986): pp. 38-39, https://doi.org/10.1177/0095327X8601300101.

significant financial burden imposed on immigrant soldiers' families by extremely high minimum income requirements as well as visa and citizenship application fees.[25] In some contexts, family financial circumstances may play a role in enlistment decisions, while marital status may correlate with service member retention.[26] Moore found that married US service members had higher rates of continued participation in the military than their unmarried peers.[27] Officer immigrant respondents in our study almost universally discussed the economic aspects of service as a motivation for their service in the CAF, aligning with findings by Krebs and Ralston which indicate that those with military service believe that the material benefits of service are a primary motivation for service.[28]

Cahill finds that CAF requirements for bilingualism for advancing as an officer may disadvantage English speakers, which has differential impacts for immigrant service members depending on their origin country and prior language capacities.[29] This reinforces Melancon's findings that Francophones have higher eligibility rates for promotion as officers in the CAF.[30] Evidence in our study indicates that the bilingualism requirement in the CAF affects promotion rates for experienced prior service immigrant officers who arrive without significant language skills in one of the two languages (generally French in our sample), while those who arrive with significant skills in both

[25] Melanie Gower and Louisa Brooke-Holland, *Nationality and Immigration Requirement for the U.K.'s Armed Forces* (London: House of Commons Library Briefing Paper, 29 January 2021), https://researchbriefings.files.parliament.uk/documents/CBP-8625/CBP-8625.pdf.

[26] Yi-Ming Yu, "Analyzing the Value Types and Factors That Influence Military Cadets in Taiwan to Determine the Appropriate Candidate," *Armed Forces & Society* 41, no. 4 (October 2015): pp. 714-733, https://doi.org/10.1177/0095327X14527947.

[27] Brenda Moore, "The Propensity of Junior Enlisted Personnel to Remain in Today's Military," *Armed Forces & Society* 28, no. 2 (2002): pp. 257-278. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095327X0202800205.

[28] Ronald Krebs and Robert Ralston, "Patriotism or Paychecks: Who Believes What about Why Soldiers Serve," *Armed Forces and Society* 48, no. 1 (2022): 25-48. https://doi.org/10.1177/0095327X20917166.

[29] Stephan Cahill, "Bilingualism: The CAF's Anglophone Attrition Program" (Exercise Solo Flight, Canadian Forces College, 2017), https://www.cfc.forces.gc.ca/259/290/402/305/cahill.pdf.

[30] Rene Melancon, "French and English Equality of Status in the Canadian Infantry Officer Corps" (master's thesis, United States Marine Corps Command and Staff College, Marine Corps University, 2001).

official languages may experience advancement rates more similar to their Canadian born peers.

Research Approach and Methods[31]

Our study endeavours to capture the lived experiences of immigrant soldiers through their own stories using narrative inquiry as a qualitative research approach involving the reconstruction of a person's experience in a relationship both to the other and to a social milieu.[32] Through narrative interviewing, namely semi-structured, in-depth interviews, participants tell their stories in a communicative process where the interviewer's primary role is to listen to and learn from the storyteller.[33] The researchers did not have predetermined research questions or hypotheses but rather adopted narrative inquiry to reveal immigrant soldiers' stories and uncover how they are shaped by multiple social factors such as the migration experience and the experience in the new society, and by social interactions, with the military, their family and groups outside the military.[34] We used an unstructured narrative military/immigration life history protocol to guide our interviews, which were conducted either virtually or in person by the study co-investigators, using the Microsoft Teams platform to record and automatically transcribe the interviews.[35] The transcriptions were then independently verified by two

[31] The researchers obtained ethics approval for this research project through the Norwich University Institutional Review Board and Research Ethics Committee (HHSIORG#0004914,IRB#00005859,FWA#00013380) in accordance with U.S. Federal Regulation 45CFR46.
[32] David,Clandinin and Michael Connelly, *Narrative Inquiry: Experience and Story in Qualitative Research* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 2000).
[33] Sandra Jovchelovitch and Martin Bauer, "Narrative Interviewing," in *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound: A Practical Handbook*, eds. Martin Bauer and George Gaskell (Sage Publications, 2000), pp. 38-56.
[34] William Little, "Introduction - Studying Patterns: How Sociologists View Society," in *Introduction to Sociology*, 2nd Canadian ed. (BCcampus, 2016), https://opentextbc.ca/introductiontosociology2ndedition.
[35] The researchers obtained informed consent by each participant at the start of each interview as stated in their submission for ethics approval to the Norwich University Institutional Review Board and Research Ethics Committee.

members of the research team for accuracy. These transcripts formed the corpus of the analysis, using MAXQDA software for qualitative data analysis to code and re-code the transcriptions based on initial, emergent, and mature themes.

Due to the lack of access to institutional data on the number of foreign-born service members in the CAF, as well as limited data regarding foreign service member accessions through the SMFA program, there was no formal way to identify participants, nor even the number or characteristics of qualifying respondents. This contrasts with the New Zealand Defence Force, which provided the research team with detailed demographic data on recent foreign-born accessions from their international prior service recruitment program, although no contact information of possible participants was given. Consequently, the researchers activated their own networks to identify potential participants rather than accessing them through official channels or databases. Once initial respondents were identified, the researchers employed snowball sampling to find additional respondents, as is frequently used to locate research participants in difficult-to-to-identify populations, asking for referrals from key informants as well as of respondents for possible participants who share particular characteristics that meet the criteria for the target population of a study. In Canada, one of the first participants with UK prior service became a key informant by reaching out to possible participants through his *Brit List*, an informal network of UK-born soldiers serving in the CAF.

To be eligible in our larger, Five Eyes study, participants must be: currently serving or have recently separated from military service, in one or more of the militaries of the Five Eyes countries; and born in a country other than the country in which military they are currently serving, or have recently served in. To clarify, participants could be born in *any* country, within or outside of the Five Eyes. Although 34 interviews have been gathered to date, this paper focuses only on data from interviews with the subset of 19 immigrants serving, or having recently served, in the CAF. Included in this analysis are 15 officers and four NCMs, of which two females and 17 males, mostly white with the exception of one visible minority officer, with 15 having previously served in an allied military. A table summarizing the participants' demographic characteristics is in Appendix A.

The drawbacks of this snowball approach to recruitment are evident in our CAF sample but are also one of the strengths in terms of our overall analysis. Given one of the Canadian researcher's institutional positions (which yielded all of our initial CAF interviews), access to member officers was greater than to NCMs, and once interviews were underway, this resulted in an officer-dominant referral pool. We also discovered that respondents were highly likely to refer us to other respondents similar to themselves in particular ways, that is: same gender; serving in the same branch; and/or with the same country of origin. This was particularly true for those respondents who had immigrated with prior military service, although similar referral patterns are observed as well in our immigrant citizen service members who went through the normal CAF recruitment and accession process. These shared characteristics mean that while our sample does not represent the wide variety of experiences of immigrant service members, it did reveal surprising and important aspects of how CAF culture reinforces itself over time. While further interviews with immigrant soldiers serving in the CAF would have been possible, the researchers felt they had reached saturation, as they were hearing repetitive information during the last few interviews, and no new themes were emerging through the analysis.[36] In addition, in qualitative research, "a small number of cases (less than 20, say) will facilitate the researcher's close association with the respondents, and enhance the validity of fine-grained, in-depth inquiry".[37] That said, we acknowledge that our sample is not sufficiently diverse in terms of gender and ethnicity, which is also a reflection of the CAF demographics. On the other hand, the ages of our participants vary greatly, ranging from younger new Canadians in their 30s, to older retired later transfers in their 60s, and every age in between.

Results

[36] Lisa Given, *100 Questions (and Answers) about Qualitative Research* (Sage Publications, 2016).
[37] Mira Crouch and Heather McKenzie, "The Logic of Small Samples in Interview-based Qualitative Research," *Social Science Information* 45, no. 4 (2006): pp. 483-499, https://doi.org/10.1177/0539018406069584.

The interview transcript analysis yielded four major content-based foci on respondent stories of immigration; military career trajectories; personal experiences; and how family concerns related to these. Two key master categories of respondents emerged early in our interviews – those who initially joined the CAF as permanent residents after serving in the military of an allied country, and those who joined the CAF after establishing Canadian citizenship following immigration. In Canada, a permanent resident has the right to work and reside in Canada, and can eventually qualify for citizenship but is not yet a citizen. We call those who first joined the CAF as permanent resident members with prior military service *lateral transfers* or *second acts* and the second group of immigrants who have attained citizenship before joining the CAF, *citizen soldiers* or *new Canadians*. Given that the pathways to joining the CAF without citizenship were not generally publicized, this lateral transfer category was an unexpected result early in our interviewing and therefore shaped our recruitment of subjects so we could better understand how this was occurring outside of, or in conjunction with, standard entry programs. We therefore over-sampled this lateral transfer population in our snowball recruitment process, especially for those originating from the UK The experiences of our respondents clearly indicate that the specifics of the ascension pathway reveal different levels of social, human, cultural, and economic capital at play while still revealing some shared experiences where their immigrant service member status intersects with their other identities.

Stories of Immigration to Canada

Immigrant soldiers in the CAF who joined as permanent residents generally talked about their immigration process at some length, including challenges they encountered in obtaining Canadian permanent residency as well as eventual citizenship. While a few indicated they had a smooth immigration process, a preponderance of our participants perceived it as stressful and daunting. A few participants indicated being required to take an English test despite English being their first language and being UK citizens educated in English. Participants expressed concerns about the time it takes for permanent

residency applications to be approved. The long wait period, with no communication from Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC), left them in limbo not knowing their next steps. For instance, Ray described how hard it was for him to receive any correspondence on his application and how stressful the whole experience was. He said:

> 'cause nobody can speak to them, so again we were starting to get close to the wire, that there's this, your documents go in, there's this deafening silence you don't know what's happening. So we had to hedge up because there was a point which was approaching very quickly where we would be leaving Canada regardless 'cause my, military contract, or posting to Canada was, coming to a close and we had no idea whether the permanent residence application would come through prior to that.

Ruben also talked about the difficulties he went through to put together all the required documents for his permanent residence application including the shock he had when he was asked to write an English language test despite having English as his first language. He reported that:

> I came over here as a permanent resident and to get the permanent residence status takes about a year and there's no real way of fast-tracking that any more than what I had at the time. A lot of paperwork to get organized, police records, records of service, official secrets stuff as well. I had to fill in loads of that, it was particularly complicated for me because
>
> of my time in Belize. That meant I had to go chasing after information from that country as well and believe it or not, I had to do an IELT [International English Language Testing] English test, to prove I could speak English.

These two excerpts demonstrate how these two white, English-speaking, experienced military men with confirmed offers of employment in the CAF struggled with the immigration process, in spite of having relatively easily procured their

employment in Canada on the basis of their prior service. All of the lateral transfer officers in our study were male; most had served a significant number of years in the military of their country of origin and made a decision to come to Canada to continue their military career, often because they had *aged out* of military service elsewhere. The hiccup with paperwork to secure permanent residence was generally the most significant hurdle they had faced to join the CAF. For immigrant citizen soldiers, the immigration experience was separate from their military entrance process, which came after they had attained Canadian citizenship, a process requiring a number of years of residence prior to qualifying for application.

Stories of Military Career

Participants also shared experiences of their military careers, which varied notably between those new Canadian citizens who had followed the ordinary process of accession versus those who arrived with significant prior military experience. For lateral transfers, concerns were voiced about their accession process in the CAF; their (lack of) indoctrination and transition program into the CAF: (under-) utilization of their skill set and assessments of prior training by the CAF; differences between their home country military experience and the CAF; and rank reduction upon entry into the CAF. Some immigrant soldiers were questioned about their loyalty to the CAF although this was seldom the case for those who laterally transferred from the UK armed forces, as illustrated later. For both categories of immigrant service members, French language acquisition as a requirement for promotion in the CAF was often a concern, but more so for those joining mid-life with extensive prior military experience in an English-speaking country.

Activating social capital frequently played a role in the immigration journey for lateral transfer soldiers, as prior connections to soldiers and recruiting groups in the CAF were the main avenue through which most participants learned about the opportunity to join the CAF. These connections were most commonly made when serving on an exchange officer program in Canada, or occasionally on deployments abroad. For

example, Sam described how a Canadian military member suggested to transfer to the CAF. He said:

> I was approached by a Canadian officer who knew me from a previous time in Germany, where he had served as a Canadian officer on staff with me. And he actually approached me and, you know, he knew my situation, my family situation, and he said, you know, 'Why don't you think about transferring over to the Canadian military?'

In describing their recruitment experiences, participants who laterally transferred from other militaries indicated that once an offer was made to them, they received no support on how to navigate their way into Canada and join the CAF. Everything was left to them to figure out. For instance, Bernard shared that there was no defence attaché or explicit direction on the next steps after he was offered a guaranteed job, which qualified him to apply and move to Canada.

> …I received an email from the CDI [Chief of Defence Intelligence] who made me an offer of employment. Once they gave me the offer of employment it was totally up to me to make my own way. I didn't get the defence attaché who I thought would have been helpful, but whatever. I was basically another UK citizen trying to come to Canada. It didn't matter that I was joining the military, I was just given a guaranteed job which allowed me to apply to come. I then went through all the rigmarole that an average citizen got to go through, with no advantages or anything, and I basically got here in 2008.

Another experience bemoaned by lateral transfer members was the lack of formal indoctrination training and transition to the CAF. Respondents reported relying largely on their prior experiences, trial and error, and colleagues who shared their knowledge of how things work in the CAF. James said:

> ...because there was no transition course for me when I came over you know, there's no "this is the way things are done Canada or in the

> Canadian military". I really had to, every time I made a mistake, I had to make it a learning experience and go OK, that's done differently over here. It's small things like the way you address senior officers is slightly different in Canada. The way you do a performance report is slightly different, and similar, but not the same.

Alan echoed similar experiences:

> No, nothing at all. And there are bits that, there's stuff that, you don't know what you don't know, about OHIP [Ontario Health Insurance Plan] cards and all that sort of stuff. And so there's no indoctrination or anything like that and obviously, some structures are different and things are done very differently.

Most immigrant soldiers in our study with prior military experience indicated that their prior service rank was reduced when they joined the CAF. At least one negotiated to keep his rank. Some of the participants indicated they were not perturbed by the rank reduction because they had done much more in their home country's military and had nothing to prove to anybody. For example, Ruben reported that:

> I took it so no, I wasn't demoted. I took, I accepted a drop in rank, so I served in the Canadian Navy as a lieutenant commander, and it was a stage in life, of course, where, you know, I had nothing else to prove to anybody. I knew what I was capable of, and I understood, that was fine. So yeah, I took a drop in rank down to lieutenant commander.

However, although other participants formally accepted the rank reduction, they did not always internalize that reduced role within their new organization, which sometimes interfered with their service in the CAF. For example, Stephen still acted and spoke like as if he still held his senior rank. He said:

> I felt that the rank reduction issue would not be a concern for me, and I still felt that way for about my first four odd years in the RCAF [Royal Canadian Air Force]. But it was only having been here for about

> four or five years, and I'm not sure at this specific point where I look back and I realized that there were some real frictions as a consequence of the way I always had dealt with things in the Air Force.

Lateral transfer respondents also described how their prior skill set and experiences are utilized in CAF. Given most participants had many years of prior military career experiences, they expected the CAF to take better advantage of their skills and knowledge. Few soldiers indicated that the CAF fully recognized their professional expertise and made good use of their prior experiences. Most felt their prior professional expertise was not sufficiently engaged in the CAF. For instance, Moses reflected on how his strong operational background had been recognized by the CAF, but that he was not given similar opportunities as those whose service had only been with the CAF. He said:

> … maximizing maybe not, I haven't necessarily given the opportunity to, because there's a reservist, they can't send me in quite the same way, if that makes sense. There's a, clearly a recognition of my professional expertise but I don't feel bad about that because I think there is a degree of institutional loyalty that other people have shown for 25 and 30 years. Whereas you know I've just parachuted in from outside and so I think you kind of recognize that when you parachute in, you're an add on as opposed to being absolutely fully integrated to the system, like the people who were in their RMC [Royal Military College] cohorts from 25 years ago.

Some participants explained that some Canadian-born soldiers seem to feel threatened by their presence and may not recognize the advantage of other perspectives, or think that immigrant soldiers want to impose on them what has been done in their prior service country's military. For example, Mathew reflected on an incident that got him frustrated when his prior military acquired knowledge was discounted. He reported that:

> New guy came in and he was just like not listening and I was so frustrated. And on more than one occasion, I was like, look, man, I know

> what you're being told, but you're being told wrong by the company, believe me, I said you've got to listen to the voice of experience here. I was brought in to do this, you have zero experience on this airplane, and he didn't like that, he thought I was trying to tell him how to do his job, and it became a kind of a conflict of personalities.

Kay shared similar recollection where he was told that his prior experiences were not welcome or applicable to the Canadian context. He said:

> …when I actually arrived and would occasionally sort of say, well in London, we did it this way and that and that worked quite well for us. So in in the Royal Air Force, this is the approach they would take and we found that very successful or we tried that and it wasn't very successful. I quickly got told by quite a few people actually, look, we're not interested in what they did in the UK, it's different out there, we have different challenges here and so we prefer if you didn't offer out your perspective in that way.

A few participants, such as Ron, thought the CAF did value their prior experience:

> I think that they have been very willing to benefit from any experience that I can bring. Yeah, to be honest, after maybe five years they just saw me as another Canadian officer there.

French language acquisition as a requirement for promotion in the CAF was another key factor discussed by participants across the two key categories. An inability to acquire the required level of French prevented them from being promoted to higher positions where their prior experiences could be maximized. This was more difficult for

lateral transfers, where their more advanced service rank made it difficult for them to be sent to intensive language schooling. The two quotes below reflect this challenge:

> So, effectively because of my lack of prowess in the French language then, the deal of the understanding was that I wouldn't be promoted in the Canadian forces. …how are you gonna feel and what impact does it gonna have when you see people, you know, promoting past you, which you actually haven't really experienced in the British military and that was an interesting thing to experience and sort of get over (Ray).

> I don't have a second language profile either, so nor do I have any of, the professional training courses that people have within the Canadian side to progress. And some of those, I have similar courses from the UK, but there's no direct read across (Patrick).

Lateral transfer soldiers shared stories of perceived differences between their home country's military and the CAF, as well as contrasts in those respective civilian societies. The recognition of a military culture that was closer than the civilian cultures was repeated especially by those immigrating from the UK, which can be seen as evidence of the higher cultural capital possessed by lateral transfers in the CAF as compared to immigrant citizen soldiers. Without articulating how his experience gave him certain advantages in his lateral transfer, Alex did see fundamental institutional orientations which do influence the culture of the force, saying:

> I think there's so much similarity between, in particular, the Canadian military and the British military, more so than there is between Canadian society and British society more generally. There's so much shared heritage and so much shared history that it's really easy to see the same things that I admire. So it's the similarities more than anything else

> that make me think, aside from my accent and this is very much the same experience. There's
>
> one of the differences which is the aggressiveness and the intent of the Canadian military, and more particularly, the Canadian political establishment. The British establishment is much more willing to use its armed forces aggressively for foreign policy than the Canadian forces are, or the Canadian political organization is.

Bringing in white men at middle ranks with prior experience in a military more aggressively used for foreign policy aims may reinforce an institutional culture in a way that is at odds with current efforts designed to bring in culture changes to the CAF (Canada Prime Minister 2021).

For the lateral transfers, their loyalty to the CAF was generally not questioned, especially for immigrant soldiers from the Five Eyes countries like the UK, as Peter illustrates here:

> No, because the funny thing is, when I did my attestation in enrollment, the oath I swore in Toronto, was exactly the same one I'd sworn in 1985. I said I've already given this but you gotta do it again. But I've already done it 'cause it's exactly the same. But it was a requirement for my enrollment, to actually give that again, so there's no question of my loyalty, I still work for the same monarch.
>
> I've never, never had any issues about loyalty or anything like that ever come up.

While questions about loyalty were relatively rare for lateral transfers, they did come up for some of our immigrant citizen soldiers born outside the Five Eyes. Tammy, a Canadian immigrant citizen soldier from Ukraine, shared that:

> ….it happened to me and it was very sad to me to hear that….. So when I started in the headquarters, there was an outgoing boss, another major,

> who came on the first day of my employment, looked at me at my name [actual name concealed] and he said 'Oh hello, another Russian spy!'

Stories of Experiences in Canada

Respondents also shared stories about their experiences in Canada, reasons for moving to Canada, integration into Canadian culture and perceived cultural differences between their home country and Canada. Reasons expressed for choosing to move to Canada included geopolitical concerns, opportunities in Canada, quality of life and safety. Others attributed their move to being adventurous and desire to experience a new life in a different country. Given that the second act soldiers in our study were laterally transferring at mid-life to continue their military careers and generally came with family members, their motivations and experiences were typically different than those told by immigrant citizen soldier peers, some of whom were brought to Canada while still children. Especially for lateral transfer respondents from Europe, opportunities for their children, as well as the possibility of owning a home, seemed more attainable in Canada than in their country of origin.

According to Kelvin (lateral transfer), moving to Canada was fueled by his perception that, comparatively, Canada is protected, and it feels safer to have the family there. He said:

> I think we still have the papers that we made, like with all lists of all downsides and good things about Canada with the kids. And so, lots of reasons, going from geopolitical reasons to, just, well, they're nice people, and also it's, the country is so young. …And that you can get, we love nature, you don't have to get away from people in Canada, but you can. Not possible in Belgium, and certainly not in Flanders. Too crowded there, so we enjoyed that to the fullest once we moved to Canada, so that's one of the reasons. Geopolitical reasons, I still don't have a good eye for the evolution of Europe in the coming generations. There's a lot of crime, there are a lot of problems. Canada is so protected... It would feel a lot safer if the family is in Canada.

For Jane (immigrant citizen), adventure inspired her move to Canada:

> I don't think anything pushed me out or pushed me in. I just looked for an adventure, you know, I've always been a bit of an adrenaline junkie. And I was like, the adventure, and I came to visit Canada twice by then. So I kind of knew that Vancouver is a beautiful place and that I got family here and that I would have liked some interesting opportunities.

Immigrant soldiers from both categories shared stories of their integration into Canadian culture and the cultural shocks they experienced. Participants who had immigrated as adults or in late childhood generally compared the civilian lifestyle of their home country and Canada. James (lateral transfer) stated that compared to his home country, making social connections in Canada is an arduous task because people tend to stay more in their local areas. He reported:

> I've got it with work colleagues around as well, but that tends to be the military way, certainly in the UK you develop a lot of your connections through the military. It's less so in Canada, I feel. I mean I think a lot of people do have friends outside work that they get involved with, and certainly I've noticed in Canada that people tend to stay in their home community wherever possible a lot more. Whereas in the UK, you'll move all around the country, you won't want to stay home…

Jane (immigrant citizen) described Canadian culture as *niceness*, which prevents people from being authentic in their relations. Her take on Canada:

> …so Canada has a very strong culture of niceness. Sorry, sorry, sorry. Thank you. Thank you. How are you? But I don't really care how you are? 'cause it just a part of the etiquette. Like in Eastern Europe is very dry, like people are not gonna smile at you If they don't like you if someone doesn't care how you're doing, they're not gonna ask you how you're doing. So it's, there is some kind of set of values where it's like people are true to themselves. …. when it comes to, people that are in your close circle, you

> also wanna know the real people, not the facade person, and I feel like we're much more blunt, much more straight up in our close communications. I definitely consider myself a blunt person. And sometimes people think I'm rude because of that. Well, it's like I have no intention rude.

It was in this aspect of their experiences and identities as immigrants that the respondents shared the greatest similarities, regardless of age and military ascension pathway. No matter their other statuses (gender, rank, country of origin, those who immigrated as young adults or adults (not infants or very young children) saw contrasts with their origin communities, and experienced cultural and personal realizations regarding their status as *other*.

Stories of Family

Family emerged as a theme in the stories immigrant soldiers told for all participants, with spouses and children most frequently in focus, although some also revealed extended family considerations. Regardless of the key category, many shared how difficult it is for their spouse to find or have a stable job because of the constant postings to different cities/towns, as well as the lack of transferability of credentials from their home country. Killian (lateral transfer) shared his wife's experience:

But because of how much we have to move, she had to leave her job. And so right now, she's not working right now. We're just waiting for me to get posted. That way, she can actually find a permanent full-time job.

Bill (an immigrant citizen) reported the frustrations his deaf wife goes through in searching for a job:

> She got a job at the fish hatchery with the Department of Fisheries and Oceans. But then when I ended up getting posted out to Toronto, she was away for two of those years. She finally was able to move with me, it took forever to get a job and a lot of times, that was in Toronto, so she did a few

> small contract work, but then we got to Petawawa which is a smaller area outside Ottawa. Like, she would go to apply for a job that was advertised and they never put in there - I don't think they read the resumes 'cause she always self-identifies as being deaf, but they don't read that so then when she gets an interview it's like OK, you can't answer phones and then it's automatic, you know she's not going to get the job. A systemic discrimination in society, I guess.

Participants also described their families' social relations, indicating that the majority of their personal social connections were military, while some level of social connections to civilians accrued generally through their spouse and kids' involvement in various activities. Kay reported that:

> …we were in Trenton for three years, a bit different again, almost exclusively my social interactions were people I'd worked with, whereas again, my wife had friends from the sort of riding stables she used to go to or running friends, or all manner of other people that she met. But then my social life was built around the Canadian Air Force.

Discussion

Our findings reveal that dimensions of social, human, and cultural capital facilitate, or interfere with, the immigrant service member experience. For example, immigrant citizen soldiers learned about the CAF through the usual recruitment channels, while lateral transfer soldiers typically learned about the opportunity through links to prior connections within their birth country's military who had made the move to the CAF, or their connections to CAF members met while on exchange or deployment postings, rather than through a traditional recruitment office or recruitment campaign. In other words, for lateral transfers, social connections to others already in the CAF could facilitate their offer of employment in the CAF and subsequent migration. Individuals taking exchange posts, joint posts, or NATO posts would therefore have greater exposure

to these opportunities. This finding reflects how activating social capital results in differential outcomes for group members,[38] as well as the importance of weak social ties in seeking employment opportunities. [39] It also allows us to trace the shared characteristics amongst these connections, as illustrated in Figure 1.

[38] Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," 241-258; Coleman, "Social Capital," pp. 95-120; Peter Li, "Social Tie, Social Capital, and Social Behavior: Toward an Integrative Model of Informal Exchange," *Asia Pacific Journal of Management* 24, no. 2 (2007): pp. 227-246, https://doi.org/10.1007/s10490-006-9031-2; Lin and Dumin, "Access to Occupations," 365-385.

[39]Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," p. 7.

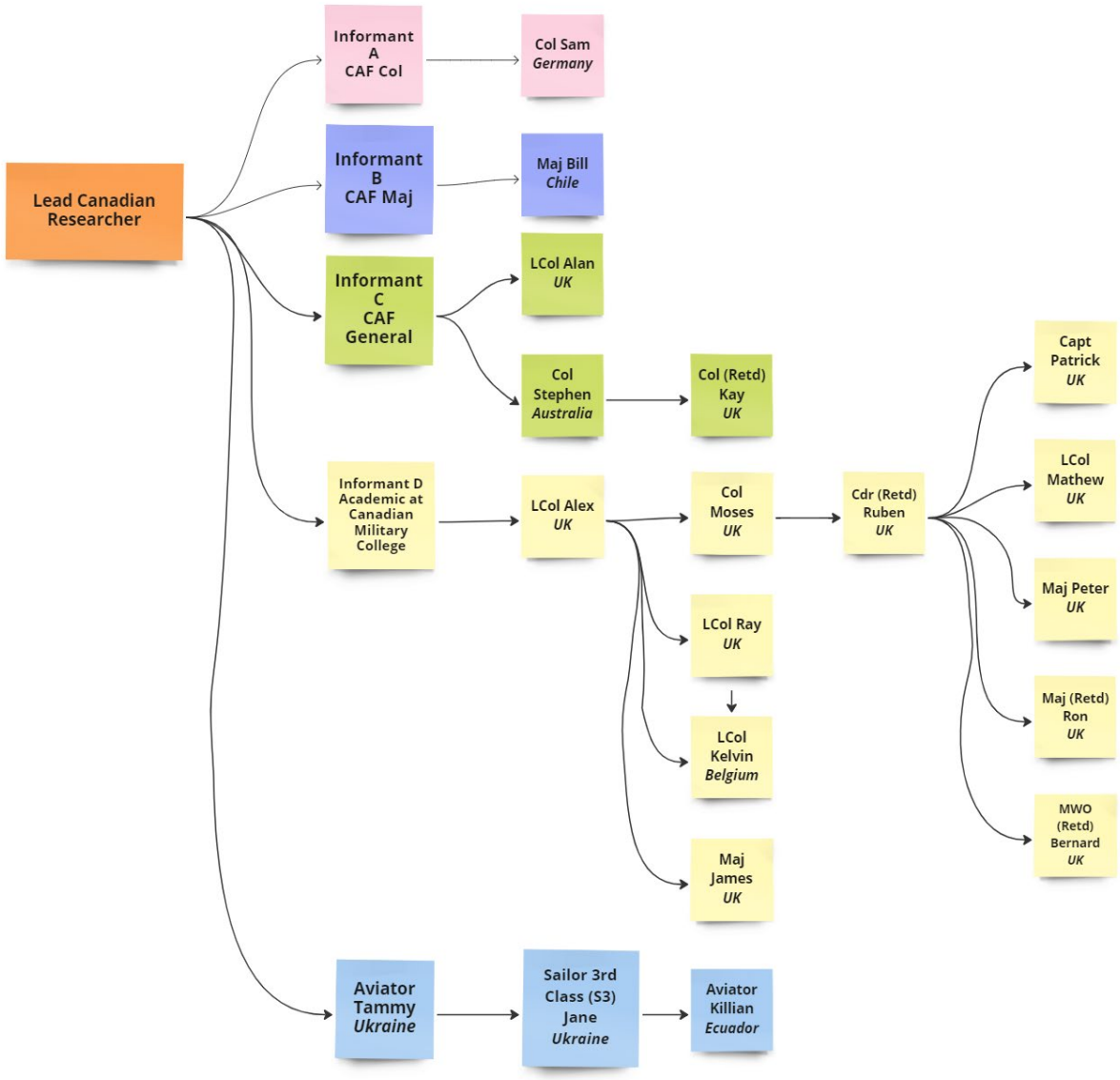

Figure 1: Relationship network of CAF participants with rank and country of birth

We see in this diagram that participants in our study were often referred to the researchers by others who share at least some characteristics, and they are likely to have become aware of the opportunity through some of these same shared characteristics. By and large, lateral transfer respondents from the UK mostly provided referrals of other

UK lateral transfers and they were all white males and all but one were officers. Although we asked our lateral transfer respondents if they knew of women who could be possible participants, we were told that they did not know anyone. On the other hand, our first female participant, identified directly by the lead Canadian researcher, was an NCM from Ukraine and in turn, she identified a second female participant, also an NCM from Ukraine. In two instances, our respondents were members of previously dual military career couples, and their wives had previously left the military, usually due to better advancement opportunities for the male partner and/or child-rearing concerns. For example, sharing his wife's experience, Ray stressed that "[my wife] had to leave the military at that point and, so she became 'wife of' as they referred to in the UK". Similarly, Moses became very emotional while sharing the difficulty his wife had gone through taking care of their two young children when he was deployed to Afghanistan, which also led to his wife leaving the army.

All immigrant soldiers in our study gave varying positive reasons for moving to Canada including quality of life, and safety for their family; however, they faced myriad challenges occasioned by social and cultural differences between Canada and their home country. These differences, combined with the nature of their military work and frequent moves, make it difficult for them to integrate and interact with civilians. It is not surprising that the personal social relations of almost all immigrant soldiers in our study are within the military. For lateral transfers, aside from the Canadian cultural distinctions, with no transitional or indoctrination program for immigrant soldiers in the CAF, we observe patterns of maladaptation to the CAF workplace in their first few years where immigrant soldiers must learn from their mistakes, adversely impacting their performance in the CAF.

One notable challenge is the failure of the CAF to maximize the skill set and vast prior experience of lateral transfer immigrant soldiers who come to Canada for a kind of second act in their military career. This finding supports the work of Reitz et. al.[40] and Reitz who found that immigrant skill underutilization not only persists in Canada but

[40] Jeffrey Reitz, John Curtis, and Jennifer Elrick, "Immigrant Skill Utilization: Trends and Policy Issues," *International Migration and Integration* 15 (2014): pp. 1-26, https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-012-0265-1.

has grown;[41] its economic significance in real terms is now more than twice what it was in the mid-1990s. In explaining the underutilization of immigrants' skill sets, Reitz et. al argued that a lack of systematic standards in many fields makes it difficult for immigrants to demonstrate the value of their specific skills. In the CAF specifically, the failure to account for the equivalence of training completed by prior service members leads to lower ranks than might be appropriate to their foreign-acquired human capital. Given the lack of intake training to facilitate the transition of lateral transfer members, the CAF misses an opportunity to inculcate its desired institutional cultural changes with members who will hold middle-rank positions.

Institutional policies, including French language competence as a requirement for promotion, also contribute to the under-utilization of immigrant soldiers' skills. These findings echo prior studies that found that the official language policy of the CAF not only significantly reduces the selection pool for officer promotion at successive ranks, but also impacts employment breadth and career opportunities for potentially outstanding leaders who have a lack of access to, or difficulty in, learning a second or third language.[42] French language proficiency, and the opportunities to attain it, could be addressed prior to arrival if potential immigrants are provided access to training programs and informed of the relevance to their future career opportunities when recruited into the CAF.

Another insight from this study involves the notion of loyalty. Questions about loyalty appear largely context-driven. While immigrant soldiers from Canada's allied countries, and especially those from the UK, are normally not questioned about their loyalty to CAF, immigrant soldiers with other origins face occasional questions about their loyalty, including being called spies or other derogatory labels. However, occasionally this aspect gets engaged to benefit the CAF, as when a Belgian immigrant or a German immigrant participates in activities jointly held with militaries from those

[41] Jeffrey Reitz, "Immigrant Skill Utilization in the Canadian Labour Market: Implications of Human Capital Research," *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 2, no. 3 (2001): pp. 347-378, https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-001-1004-1.

[42] Cahill, "Bilingualism: The CAF's Anglophone Attrition," p. 7; Gaudet, Luc. "Canadian Forces Leadership Effectiveness: Competing Values Perspectives on Bilingualism" (master's thesis, University of Calgary, Calgary, AB, 2011); Melancon, "French and English Equality," p. 7.

countries and bridges between the two organizations. This phenomenon highlights the intersecting and contextualized nature of immigrant soldiers' experiences in the CAF as they relate to their country of origin.

The study reveals the challenges that spouses of immigrant soldiers go through to find Canadian employment, largely due to frequent moves. Specific military-related reasons to which these spouses attributed their difficulties in career progression included frequent and/or unpredictable relocations, physical distance and the military comes first mindset. This finding supports the work of Hergatt Huffmana et al. who investigated issues surrounding career progression for military spouses from the perspective of the soldier.[43] Soldiers in their study viewed spouses' careers as important and acknowledged that the military way of life can impact spousal career progression. Our study also found that the military way of life is perceived by soldiers as potentially negatively affecting the spouse's career progression.

The interviews provide valuable insights into the challenges faced by immigrant soldiers based on their unique origin and prior experiences, including integration into Canadian society and the CAF. Based on these findings, we suggest that more systematic support should be provided to facilitate the immigration and integration process, as well as to open more opportunities for immigrants within the CAF. According to the participants, the prolonged immigration application process, and the lack of communication from IRCC caused added stress and bureaucratic hurdles. Additionally, delays in the immigration application or failure to reach residency requirements for citizenship in a timely way due to work-related travel requirements for immigrant soldiers put them in a disadvantaged and uncertain situation. Our study indicates a need for government action to provide an improved recruitment and accession process for immigrants wishing to join the CAF and better communication and coordination between the CAF and IRCC.

[43]Ann Hergatt Huffman et. al, "Soldiers' Perceptions of Military Spouses' Career Experiences," *Military Psychology* 31, no.6 (2019): pp. 510-522, https://doi.org/10.1080/08995605.2019.1676601.

Additionally, our study indicates that prior connections to the CAF through previous exchanges are currently a key initiating mechanism for foreign soldiers to laterally transfer to the CAF. These successful examples signify the bilateral interest in skilled prior experience accessions. This indicates a need for an improved process to support greater diversity in lateral recruitments, as joint postings in the CAF are often filled by male officers. With a more transparent recruitment process, a more diverse pool of potential lateral transfer candidates could rapidly emerge. The CAF would benefit from the recruitment of talented and skilled soldiers with diverse backgrounds across the rank structure.

Lateral transfer immigrant soldiers in particular need more support for their transition into the CAF, as well as to build their new lives in Canada. Participants reported that the lack of formal support or courses for their transition increased their frustrations and contributed to the potential risk of making mistakes. Formal indoctrination accession training for incoming lateral transfer soldiers should be developed and implemented to better integrate them into the CAF. Such measures help build immigrant soldiers' Canadian identities, develop unit cohesion, and could help drive positive organizational cultural change in the CAF. Transition support specific to military families should also be provided to their families, especially in the area of employment for the non-member spouse. This calls for targeted spousal support to access job opportunities and improved recognition of foreign credentials for spouses, which can improve the overall sense of belonging and provide additional financial security.

Beyond the lack of transition support, immigrant soldiers report other gaps and obstacles after joining the CAF that potentially hinder their professional development. Inconsistencies in assessing foreign-acquired military training and skills can result in both underutilization and rank reduction. A formal effort to cross-walk training schema amongst closely allied militaries could reduce these instances in future. Second, dual language requirements in the promotion process jeopardized the career progression of some immigrant soldiers. Immigrant soldiers need earlier opportunities to access second official language programs, as well as counselling as to the importance of a language rating in both official languages for their career promotion.

Finally, bias and stereotypes still exist within the ranks, such as questioning the loyalty and the abilities of some immigrant soldiers. In working towards changing the culture of the CAF, better training and education incorporating newcomers, whether they are new Canadians or second acts, could help support the development of new institutional attitudes that build cohesion and morale.

Conclusion

This paper is part of a larger study probing into the stories of immigrant soldiers serving, or having served, in the militaries of the Five Eyes countries. Our analysis of 19 interviews with immigrants serving in the CAF indicated notably different institutional and personal experiences for lateral transfers compared with those of the *new Canadians*, with evidence that human, social, and cultural capitals in particular carved privileged (but not perfect) pathways to service in a second act military career.

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Appendix A: Canadian Armed Forces participants' demographic information

Origin CO	Citizenship acquisition	Branch	Prior service branch	Prior service rank	Rank at interview	Age	Gender
Australia	after joining	Canadian Army	Australian Army	Brigadier	Colonel	58	m
Belgium	after joining	Canadian Army	Belgian Army	Major	Lieutenant-Colonel	54	m
Chile	before joining	Canadian Army	N/A	N/A	Major	46	m
Ecuador	before joining	Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF)	N/A	N/A	Aviator	30	m
Germany	after joining	RCAF	Bundeswehr Air Force	Lieutenant-Colonel	Colonel	57	m
UK	after joining	Canadian Army	British Army	Major	Lieutenant-Colonel	52	m
UK	after joining	Canadian Army	British Army	Lieutenant-Colonel	Lieutenant-Colonel	57	m
UK	after joining	Canadian Army	British Army	Major	Major	56	m
UK	after joining	Canadian Army	British Royal Air Force	Wing Commander	Colonel (Retd)	60	m
UK	after joining	Royal Canadian Navy (RCN)	British Royal Navy	Commander	Commander (Retd)	67	m
UK	after joining	Canadian Army	British Army	Sergeant Major	Master Warrant Officer (Retd)	55	m
UK	after joining	RCAF	British Royal Air Force	Lieutenant-Colonel	Lieutenant-Colonel	59	m
UK	after joining	RCAF	British RAF	Major	Major (Retd)	56	m
UK	after joining	Canadian Army	British Army	Major	Major	55	m
UK	after joining	RCAF	British RAF	Captain	Lieutenant-Colonel	51	m
UK	after joining	RCAF	British RAF	Lieutenant	Captain	60	m
UK	after joining	Canadian Army	British Army	Lieutenant-Colonel	Colonel	55	m
Ukraine	before joining	RCAF	N/A	N/A	Aviator	45	f
Ukraine	before joining	RCN	N/A	N/A	Sailor (S3)	33	f