

POLICY BRIEF



APRIL 19, 2021

Diversity Statistics, Self-Identification Data, and the Canadian Rangers: Underestimating Indigenous Peoples' Participation Rates in the Canadian Army

P. Whitney Lackenbauer

Network Lead

Canada Research Chair in the Study of the Canadian North and Professor, School for the Study of Canada, Trent University

... witnesses told the Committee that Indigenous peoples – First Nations, Inuit and Métis – have a long and storied history of military service that dates back to the War of 1812, and includes substantial contributions to the First and Second World Wars, to the Korean War and in Afghanistan.... Lieutenant-General Jean-Marc Lanthier, Commander of the Canadian Army and Defence Champion for Indigenous peoples, said that there are currently “approximately 2,800 Indigenous members serving in the [CAF], in both the Regular Force and the Reserves, amounting to a representation of 2.8%.” As of February 2018, of 129 General and Flag Officers in the CAF, one had self-identified as Indigenous. These numbers do not include the Canadian Rangers, who support the CAF’s sovereignty and domestic operations in remote, northern and coastal regions of Canada. Lieutenant-General Lanthier commented that, as of February 2019, 26% of Canadian Rangers self-identified as Indigenous.

House of Commons Standing Committee on National Defence (2019), 10.

The House of Commons Standing Committee’s 2019 report *Improving Diversity and Inclusion in the Canadian Armed Forces* was highly supportive of the Canadian Armed Forces’ (CAF) recruitment targets to increase participation rates of women, Indigenous peoples, visible minorities, and members of the LGBTQ2 community given the benefits of embracing diversity as a “force multiplier.” Accordingly, it emphasizes various deficits in the current composition of the CAF and the need for “new recruitment strategies; recruitment in rural, remote and Indigenous communities; recruitment in urban centres; and Reserve Force recruitment.”¹ I applaud all of the efforts to make the CAF more accommodating and reflective of Canada’s diversity.

I am dedicated to supporting the Canadian Army by analyzing the data that it presents to assess if it reflects the actual diversity its members and how this diversity is framed. The House of Commons report cites various statistics on Indigenous peoples’ participation rates, encapsulated in the quote above. This research note analyzes these statistics, pointing to their limitations in depicting Indigenous participation rates in the

Canadian Army, and identifies the unintended implications of downplaying certain forms of Indigenous people's service in statistical representations of the CAF. I suggest that official figures on rates of Indigenous people's service in the Canadian Rangers (based on self-identification survey data² presented using a problematic methodology) significantly underrepresent Indigenous participation and, by extension, so do figures on Indigenous people's participation rates in the CAF as a whole.

In LGen (now retired) Jean-Marc Lanthier's 2019 summary, it is conspicuous that CAF participation statistics estimating "2,800 Indigenous members serving in the [CAF], in both the Regular Force and the Reserves, ... *do not include the Canadian Rangers*" (emphasis added). No explanation is provided in terms of why the Rangers, a sub-component of the Canadian Army Reserve, would be left out of the calculation for CAF participation rates. Furthermore, LGen Lanthier told the committee that "as of February 2019, 26% of Canadian Rangers self-identified as Indigenous." My research suggests that this figure dramatically under-reports the percentage of Indigenous peoples actually serving in the Rangers across Canada – and that more robust statistics on Indigenous participation rates in the Rangers could significantly impact what targets the CAF should set to increase representation of Indigenous people within the military.

Given the commitment in *Strong, Secure, Engaged* to "better forecast occupational requirements and engage in more targeted recruiting, including capitalizing on the unique talents and skill-sets of Canada's diverse population," the inclusion of Indigenous peoples in the defence team represents an important case study. Having closely studied the Canadian Rangers as an academic for two decades, writing several books and articles on the organization,³ and enjoying six years as the Honorary Lieutenant Colonel of 1st Canadian Ranger Patrol Group (1 CRPG) from 2014-2020, I immediately sensed that the reported rates of Indigenous people's participation in the Rangers far underestimated actual rates of involvement.

While the data provided in this short research note may appear dated (and I have eagerly awaited revised statistics to appear since 2019), DND/CAF public-facing material continues to reference these numbers. The military backgrounder on "Indigenous People in the Canadian Armed Forces," last modified on 26 February 2019, is a prime example,⁴ which in turn feeds news media observations (such as a *Radio-Canada* story published on 9 April 2021) that "les Autochtones sont encore très peu nombreux dans l'armée canadienne."⁵ The DND website page on "Activities – Domestic," last updated on 19 November 2020, also cites that there are "approximately 5,000 Canadian Rangers nation-wide of which 26% self-identify as Indigenous."⁶

This research note does not purport to offer a precise figure of Indigenous participation rates in the Canadian Rangers or in the Canadian Army writ large. Doing so has proven notoriously difficult over the last century, with historians acknowledging that the official records generated by the Department of Indian Affairs/Indian Affairs Branch during both of the World Wars and the Korean War underestimated the number of Indigenous people serving in uniform.⁷ This remains a challenge today, as this research note reveals. Instead, my intent is to scrutinize the numbers publicly provided by the Canadian Army about Indigenous rates of service to determine how well they resemble actual participation. Ultimately, I argue that the Canadian Army should reconsider presenting statistics indicating that "26% of Canadian Rangers self-identified as Indigenous" and that there is a 2.8% Indigenous participation rate in the CAF. These statistics project a highly distorted profile of Canadian Ranger membership, send damaging messaging about the Rangers' place in the Canadian Army, and under-represent more significant rates of Indigenous participation in the CAF than these figures suggest.

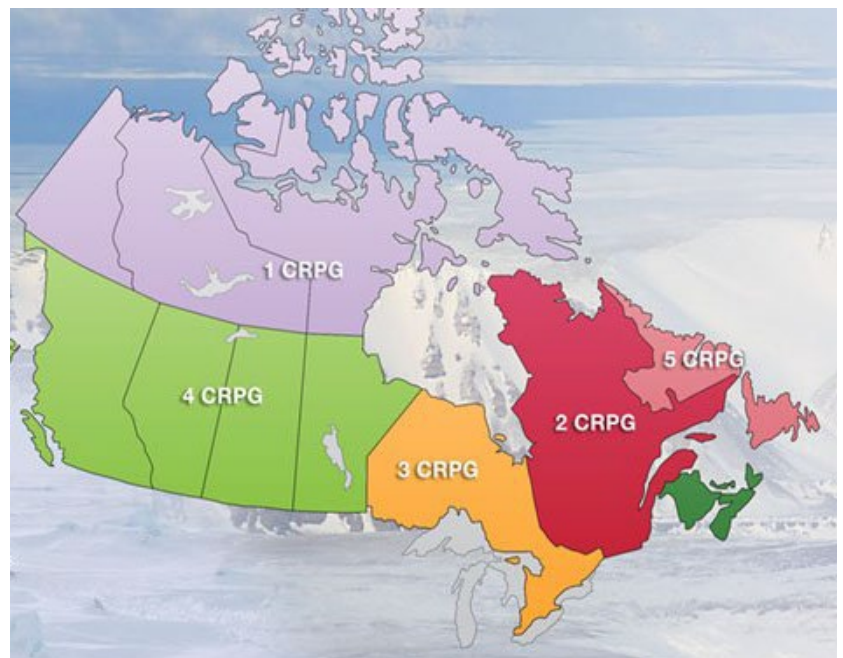
The Canadian Rangers as an “Employer of Choice” for Indigenous Peoples?

The Canadian Rangers are a part of the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) Reserves working in remote, isolated and coastal regions of Canada. They provide lightly-equipped, self-sufficient mobile forces to support CAF national security and public safety operations within Canada.

Canadian Army, “Canadian Rangers” (2019)⁸

The Canadian Rangers have emerged from the shadows in the twenty-first century to become a hallmark of Canadian sovereignty and security in the North. The organization was created in 1947 to accommodate a differentiated form of military service that explicitly embraces the operational benefits of having diverse groups of Canadians serve at home, rooted in the idea that they bring essential skillsets to the CAF from the time they enroll. . As part-time, non-commissioned members of a subcomponent of the CAF Reserves, the Rangers’ official mission is “to provide a military presence in sparsely settled northern, coastal and isolated areas of Canada that cannot conveniently or economically be provided for by other components of the Canadian Forces.”⁹ Accordingly, the Rangers are neither a military nor an Indigenous “program” (as they are sometimes misidentified), but rather Reservists serving in units that leverage the skill-sets of Canadians from diverse ethnic and social backgrounds to support home defence, security, and public safety missions. As the “eyes, ears, and voice” of the CAF in isolated communities, Regular and Primary Reserve units rely on and learn from the experience and knowledge of the Rangers to survive and operate effectively in remote environments. Canadian Ranger activities also contribute in myriad ways to collective and individual resilience in isolated communities.¹⁰

Approximately 5000 Canadian Rangers serve in more than 200 communities across Canada, organized into five Canadian Ranger Patrol Groups (CRPGs) each encompassing a distinct geographical area. According to the Army website, they “speak 26 different languages and dialects, many Indigenous.”¹¹ While most Canadian news media coverage, political statements, and academic studies emphasize the largely Indigenous composition of the Rangers (often excluding references to non-Indigenous members altogether), the Canadian Army’s statistics presented to the House of Commons committee in June 2019 intimate that three-quarters of Canadian Rangers self-identify as non-Indigenous. Does this mean that the widespread image of Canadian Rangers as an organization primarily comprised of Indigenous members is a myth?



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In this particular case, the statistic of 26% cited by the Canadian Army appears to reveal more about the limitations of a particularly methodology and some misleading calculations than it is of wilful distortion of data on the part of the military. The statistics that I offer below are illustrative, and merely need to be accepted as *more* precise than the self-identification data presented by the Army to demonstrate that the statistics provided in *Improving Diversity and Inclusion in the Canadian Armed Forces* and subsequent DND reports are inaccurate and in need of reevaluation.

| CRPG | Census Completion Rate | Self-ID Rate | ABORIGINAL PEOPLES |
|--------|------------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| 1 CRPG | 31.5% | 25.6% | 341 (19.8%) |
| 2 CRPG | 92.7% | 81.7% | 429 (56.9%) |
| 3 CRPG | 53.2% | 39.5% | 200 (35.3%) |
| 4 CRPG | 93.4% | 71.5% | 230 (23.0%) |
| 5 CRPG | 98.6% | 76.0% | 184 (20.0%) |
| TOTAL | 68.3% | 54.4% | 1384 (27.9%) |

Numbers provided by the Chief of Staff Army Reserve (based on 2016 numbers). The position of COS A Res no longer exists.

The case of 1st Canadian Ranger Patrol Group (1 CRPG) is indicative. According to statistics provided Canadian Army Headquarters, only 25.6% of Rangers in 1 CRPG had completed a CAF cultural self-identification survey as of July 2016, with only 19.8% of respondents in the unit self-identifying as Indigenous people. My research affirms that these statistics offer a badly distorted portrait of how Ranger patrols in 1 CRPG reflect Territorial and regional demographics. Given that 1 CRPG is the largest military unit in Canada both numerically and geographically, this constitutes a highly significant statistical error.

My conversations with Canadian Rangers, Ranger instructors, and 1CRPG headquarters personnel, as well as detailed analysis of active Rangers on a unit nominal roll, suggest that at least three-quarters of all Canadian Rangers across the Territorial North are of Inuit, First Nations, or Métis descent. My systematic tally of active Rangers in late 2017 yielded the following:

| Territory | # Rangers | # Indigenous | % Indigenous | Total Territorial % Indigenous (Census Canada) |
|-----------|-----------|--------------|--------------|--|
| Nunavut | 632 | 612 | 96.8% | 86.3% |
| NWT | 465 | 408 | 87.7% | 51.9% |
| Yukon | 258 | 66 | 25.6% | 23.1% |
| 1 CRPG | 1355 | 1086 | 80.1% | |

Rates of Indigenous participation are highest in Nunavut and NWT, with Yukon having higher numbers of non-Indigenous members, as the broader demographics of these individual territories would predict (as indicated by the Census Canada data provided in the righthand column).

There is a dramatic statistical discrepancy between these numbers and the self-ID statistic cited by DND/CAF, with the latter indicating that only 25.6% of Rangers in 1 CRPG are Indigenous – a mere one-third of the calculation that I propose. This is a significant underrepresentation, and the Canadian Army should reconsider citing self-ID statistics that so clearly deviate from reality.

In 3 CRPG, 39.5% of Canadian Rangers completed a self-ID survey, with 200 identifying as Indigenous. In the CAF’s calculations, this is presented as evidence that only 35.3% of the *total* Ranger membership in 3 CRPG is Indigenous, because the raw number of Rangers who self-identified as Indigenous is then applied to the total number of Rangers in the patrol group, not to the actual sample size. This is a methodological quirk that should be reconsidered in future calculations.

If we apply the 200 people who self-identified as Indigenous (presented as 35.3% of the total 567 Rangers in 3 CRPG) as a percentage of the 39.5% Rangers (224 Rangers) in the patrol group who completed the survey, we might assume (based on the sample provided) that 89% of Canadian Rangers in 3 CRPG are of Indigenous descent.

This is more closely aligned with what we would expect in “an area that begins about 800 kilometres north of Toronto and extends to James Bay, Hudson Bay and the Manitoba border,” and “is home to more than 50 000 people, living in 49 First Nation communities” (as the 3 CRPG [website notes](#)). Indeed, the 3 CRPG Ranger Foundation website cites that 98.4% of the Rangers in that patrol group are First Nations.¹² A presentation given by an officer from 3 CRPG also cites this number, highlighting a unit strength of 620 Rangers and thus an estimate of 608 serving Rangers of First Nations descent in the patrol group.¹³

In the other patrol groups, rates of completing the self-ID survey were much higher. Accordingly, they likely provide a more representative picture of patrol group demographics. The numbers provided by the Army Reserve suggest the following:

| Patrol Group | # Rangers | Self-ID rate | # Indigenous (in self-ID sample) | % Indigenous (of self-ID sample) | % Indigenous cited by Army Reserve |
|--------------|-----------|--------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 2 CRPG | 754 | 81.7% (616) | 429 | 69.6% | 56.9% |
| 4 CRPG | 1000 | 71.5% (715) | 230 | 32.2% | 23% |
| 5 CRPG | 920 | 76% (699) | 184 | 26.3% | 20% |

Accordingly, if we correct for the methodological quirk in the Canadian Army’s official calculations and present averages based upon the percentage of Rangers who completed self-ID surveys, we arrive at modestly higher estimates for Indigenous participation rates in each patrol group.

Implications for CAF diversity and inclusion metrics

The data provided to the House of Commons committee in January 2019 suggests that Indigenous peoples represent 2.8% of CAF membership (approximately 2800 Indigenous members) *excluding* the Canadian Rangers, suggesting an estimated CAF strength of 100,000 members excluding the Rangers.¹⁴ The CAF Employment Equity goal is to reach a target of 3.5% Indigenous representation by 2026.¹⁵

Why were the Rangers left out of the calculation? This is a striking omission that could be misconstrued as the CAF conceptualizing Canadian Ranger service as a lesser form of participation than the Regular Force or Primary Reserve. This would go against the spirit of *Advancing with Purpose: The Canadian Army Modernization Strategy*, which emphasizes how, “for the Canadian Army to succeed in the future, it must think of itself and operate as a unified *One Army* that consists of Regular, [Army Reserve], Canadian Rangers (CR), and civilians

working together seamlessly to deliver on the Canadian Army’s mission.”¹⁶ Segregating Ranger service statistics from the rest of the Canadian Army and CAF membership has unfortunate connotations because it fails to reinforce this “One Army” message.

Excluding the Rangers from statistics about “the Regular Force and Reserves,” as the Canadian Army did in the numbers that it presented to the House of Commons committee and in its backgrounder on “Indigenous People in the Canadian Armed Forces” (which makes no mention of the Rangers whatsoever), not only suggests that Rangers are not part of the “real” defence team, it also sends a signal that having Indigenous peoples serve as Reservists in their home communities is less valued than other forms of military service in other parts of Canada. This is clearly unintentional and runs directly counter to the narratives of inclusivity and embracing of diversity that the government highlighted in *Strong, Secure, Engaged*.

The Canadian Army’s communication plan with respect to Indigenous Peoples notes that the Army Commander, as the DND/CAF Champion for Indigenous Peoples, “serves as an active proponent of dedicated initiatives that support DND/CAF’s broader employment equity (EE), as well as recruitment, training and retention goals, demonstrating support of Indigenous military and civilian personnel.” This includes promoting “all current and future initiatives for serving Indigenous members,” as well as various DND “initiatives designed to help recruit Canadians of various cultures and backgrounds that accurately reflects Canada’s diverse population.” The expressed “aim is to educate Canadians on progress that has been made to date, which positions the CA/CAF as an employer of choice for all Canadians.” A primary objective is to “honour the significant contributions of Indigenous Peoples that served and continue to serve their Country,” and to message how “First Nations, Inuit and Métis are valued members of Canadian society and the defence community, succeeding in some of the most challenging and rewarding jobs.”¹⁷

A more holistic and robust accounting of Indigenous peoples’ participation rates in the CAF, which includes the Canadian Rangers as Reservists, may produce participation rates for Indigenous people that exceed the 3.5% target set by the CAF.

Scenario one

Taking the revised figures (explained above) for Canadian Ranger participation in 1CRPG and 3CRPG into account and applying these to overall Ranger participation rates, we arrive at the following:

| Patrol Group | # Rangers | # Indigenous | % Indigenous |
|--------------|-----------|--------------|---------------------------|
| 1 CRPG | 1355 | 1086 | 80.1% (1CRPG) |
| 2 CRPG | 754 | 429 | 56.9% (Army self-ID stat) |
| 3 CRPG | 620 | 608 | 98.4% (3CRPG) |
| 4 CRPG | 1000 | 230 | 23% (Army self-ID stat) |
| 5 CRPG | 920 | 184 | 20% (Army self-ID stat) |
| Total | 4649 | 2537 | 54.6% |

Scenario two

If we further adjust the numbers for 2 CRPG, 4 CRPG, and 5 CRPG to estimate the number of Indigenous people serving as Rangers within the unit based upon the percentage of people who self-identified as such among those Rangers who completed the survey, we arrive at the following:

| Patrol Group | # Rangers | # Indigenous (estimate) | % Indigenous |
|--------------|-----------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 CRPG | 1355 | 1086 | 80.1% (1CRPG) |
| 2 CRPG | 754 | 525 | 69.6% (self-ID adjusted) |
| 3 CRPG | 620 | 608 | 98.4% (3CRPG) |
| 4 CRPG | 1000 | 322 | 32.2% (self-ID adjusted) |
| 5 CRPG | 920 | 242 | 26.3% (self-ID adjusted) |
| Total | 4649 | 2783 | 59.9% |

These are estimates, but I contend that they are more representative of actual participation rates than the figures currently offered by the Canadian Army Reserves.

When we integrate these numbers with the overall estimate of Indigenous people serving in the Regular Force and Primary Reserve (2800 members out of 100,000), revised figures would yield:

Scenario one

| Component | Total | # Indigenous | % Indigenous |
|---|---------|--------------|--------------|
| Reg Force and P Res | 100,000 | 2800 | 2.8% |
| Canadian Rangers (1CRPG and 3CRPG adjusted) | 4649 | 2537 | 54.3% |
| CAF Overall Total | 104,649 | 5337 | 5.1% |

Scenario two

| Component | Total | # Indigenous (estimate) | % Indigenous |
|---------------------------------------|---------|-------------------------|--------------|
| Reg Force and P Res | 100,000 | 2800 | 2.8% |
| Canadian Rangers (all CRPGs adjusted) | 4649 | 2783 | 59.6% |
| CAF Overall Total | 104,649 | 5583 | 5.3% |

Given that, in both of these scenarios, the estimated rate of Indigenous participation in the CAF is well above the 3.5% target, this analysis would indicate that the CAF should either adjust its targets for Indigenous participation upward or clarify its language to specify which component(s) of the CAF require attention.¹⁸

Reconciliation involves recognizing the contributions that Indigenous peoples have made, and continue to make, in Canada. Underrepresenting rates of Indigenous service in the CAF does not help to advance this

process, reinforcing a deficit mindset that both downplays the high rates of Indigenous people's service and fails to acknowledge the CAF as an "employer of choice" for Indigenous people in Canada.¹⁹ The latter does not diminish the need to invest resources in recruitment and retention of Indigenous people – it amplifies it. Furthermore, the public circulation of misleading data about Indigenous participation rates could be misrepresented as either deliberate misinformation or disinformation emanating from DND/CAF. In this case, it should not be misconstrued as either. It is an example of how an over-reliance on a single methodology (in this case self-identification surveys) and misleading calculations based on partial data can dramatically distort the picture.

Statistics that treat Indigenous people serving in the Canadian Rangers *apart* from other Reservists, rather than as an intrinsic and valued *part of* the CAF,²⁰ sends the wrong signals – and is not aligned with the Canadian Army's strategic intent to situate the Canadian Rangers as an integral part of the "One Army." Commitments to enhance the effectiveness of the Canadian Rangers, as a sub-component of the Army Reserves who "are unique not only in the skills and expertise they bring, [as well as] the locations in which they operate and in their terms of service," affirm that the Rangers and their differentiated form of service are highly valued.²¹ Accordingly, this briefing note does not question the Canadian Army's commitment to the Canadian Rangers or to Indigenous people serving in the CAF. It only raises questions about the statistics that the military cites about participation rates.

Indigenous people have a long, distinguished history of service in the Canadian Armed Forces, and Indigenous veterans have won long-fought battles to have their contributions recognized and acknowledged by the Canadian public. The Canadian Rangers have become an integral part of this distinguished history of service, and the successful inclusion of Indigenous peoples in the defence team through the Canadian Rangers represents a poignant example of how embracing Indigenous knowledge and local skills not only accommodates but promotes diversity and the associated benefits that this brings to the CAF.²² In the future, statistics released on Indigenous participation rates in the CAF should reinforce this positive message – and, if my rough calculations are indicative of actual rates of service, should emphasize how the CAF is an employer of choice that already *exceeds* its goal of 3.5% Indigenous representation.

Notes

¹ House of Commons, Standing Committee on National Defence, *Improving Diversity and Inclusion in the Canadian Armed Forces* (2019), 24, <https://www.ourcommons.ca/Content/Committee/421/NDDN/Reports/RP10573700/nddnrp17/nddnrp17-e.pdf>.

² For a basic discussion of constraints on DND/CAF efforts to secure accurate Employment Equity self-identification data with respect to Indigenous members, see ADM(RS) 1258-3-022, "Evaluation of the Indigenous Affairs Program" (February 2020), 16, <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/audit-evaluation/evaluation-indigenous-affairs-program.html>.

³ See, for example, P. Whitney Lackenbauer, "The Canadian Rangers: A Postmodern Militia That Works," *Canadian Military Journal* 6/4 (2006): 49-60; Lackenbauer, "Teaching Canada's Indigenous Sovereignty Soldiers ... and Vice Versa: 'Lessons Learned' from Ranger Instructors," *Canadian Army Journal* 10/2 (2007): 66-81; Lackenbauer, "Aboriginal Peoples in the Canadian Rangers: Canada's 'Eyes and Ears' in Northern and Isolated Communities," in *Hidden in Plain Sight: Contributions of Aboriginal Peoples to Canadian Identity and Culture*, Vol. 2 ed. Cora Voyageur, David Newhouse, and Dan Beavon (Toronto: University of Toronto Press,

2011), 306-28; Lackenbauer, *The Canadian Rangers: A Living History* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013); Lackenbauer, *Canada's Rangers: Selected Stories, 1942-2012* (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2013); Lackenbauer, "The Military as Nation-BUILDER: The Case of the Canadian North," *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 15/1 (2013): 1-32; Lackenbauer, *Vigilans: The 1st Canadian Ranger Patrol Group* (Yellowknife: 1st Canadian Ranger Patrol Group, 2015); Lackenbauer, "Indigenous Communities are at the Heart of Canada's North': Media Misperceptions of the Canadian Rangers, Indigenous Service, and Arctic Security," *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 19/2 (December 2018): 158-192; Lackenbauer, "The North's Canadian Rangers," in *Strengthening the Canadian Armed Forces through Diversity and Inclusion*, eds. Alistair Edgar, Rupinder Mangat, and Bessma Momani (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 67-86; and Kikkert and Lackenbauer, "The Canadian Rangers: Cornerstone for Community Disaster Resilience in Canada's Remote and Isolated Communities," *Northern Review* (forthcoming 2021).

⁴ Backgrounder, 19 June 2017 (revised 26 February 2019), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/news/2017/06/les-peuples-autochtones-dans-les-forces-armees-canadiennes.html>.

⁵ Delphine Jung, « Un Huron-Wendat devient un haut gradé de l'armée canadienne, » Radio-Canada, 9 avril 2021, <https://ici.radio-canada.ca/espaces-autochtones/1783189/huron-wendate-grade-armee-canadienne-jocelyn-paul-autochtone>.

⁶ DND Supplemental Estimates 2020-21, "Activities – Domestic," last updated 19 November 2020,

<https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/proactive-disclosure/supp-estimates-a-2020-21/other-issues/activities-domestic.html>.

⁷ See, for example, Fred Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers* (Penticton: Theytus Books, 1985); Janice Summerby, *Native Soldiers—Foreign Battlefields* (Ottawa: Department of Veterans Affairs, 2005); P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Craig Mantle, eds., *Aboriginal People and the Canadian Military: Historical Perspectives* (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2007); Lackenbauer, R. Scott Sheffield, and Mantle, eds., *Aboriginal People and the Military: Canadian and International Perspectives* (Kingston: Canadian Defence Academy Press, 2007); Lackenbauer, John Moses, Sheffield, and Maxime Gohier, *A Commemorative History of Aboriginal People in the Canadian Military* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2010),

<https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/themes/defence/caf/militaryhistory/dhh/popular/aboriginal-people-canadian-military.pdf>.

⁸ Canadian Army, "Canadian Rangers" (2019), <http://www.army-armee.forces.gc.ca/en/canadian-rangers/index.page>.

⁹ DAOD 2020-2, Canadian Rangers, <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/policies-standards/defence-administrative-orders-directives/2000-series/2020/2020-2-canadian-rangers.html>.

¹⁰ P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Peter Kikkert, *Measuring the Success of the Canadian Rangers* (report submitted to 1CRPG, October 2020), <https://www.naadsn.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Rangers-Success-Metrics-Lackenbauer-Kikkert-high-res.pdf>

¹¹ <http://www.army-armee.forces.gc.ca/en/canadian-rangers/index.page>. The official 1CRPG, 2CRPG, and 3CRPG webpages all emphasize the Indigenous languages spoken by "many" of their Rangers and strong First Nation, Inuit, and Métis identities within their membership. The 4CRPG and 5CRPG webpages, which cover areas where the majority of the population is non-Indigenous, do not highlight Indigenous participation.

¹² [3rd Canadian Ranger Patrol Group \(therangerfoundation.ca\)](http://www.therangerfoundation.ca)

¹³ Lieutenant Jason Dech, "3rd Canadian Ranger Patrol Group," PowerPoint presentation, available online at [Microsoft PowerPoint - Greenstone deputation presentation \(civicsweb.net\)](https://www.civicsweb.net/microsoft-powerpoint-greenstone-deputation-presentation)

¹⁴ The report later cites statistics generated by Lindsay Rodman based upon a force of 93,953 excluding Rangers (63-64), but I have retained the round number of 100,000 given that the Ranger statistics that I offer are illustrative estimates.

¹⁵ DND Supplemental Estimates 2019-20, "Personnel," last updated 8 July 2020, <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/corporate/reports-publications/proactive-disclosure/supplementary-budget-b-2019-2020/other-issues/personnel.html>.

The Canadian Armed Forces Employment Equity Plan 2015-2020 identified a target of 3.4% Indigenous representation, which was revised to 3.5% in CAF Employment Equity reports from fiscal year 2016/17 onwards. See ADM(RS) 1258-3-022, "Evaluation of the Indigenous Affairs Program" (February 2020), 16.

¹⁶ Canadian Army, *Advancing with Purpose: The Canadian Army Modernization Strategy*, 4th ed. (Ottawa: Canadian Army HQ, December 2020), 16.

¹⁷ Canadian Army, Communications Plan – In Support to Commander, Canadian Army as Defence Team Champion for Indigenous Peoples, 4 April 2018.

¹⁸ The CAF Backgrounder on "Indigenous People in the Canadian Armed Forces" notes that, "based on self-identification figures from January 2019, there are approximately 2742 Indigenous members currently serving in the CAF Regular Force and Primary Reserve Force combined, or a representation of 2.8 per cent.... The Canadian Army has a representation of 3.0 per cent Indigenous people [not including the Canadian Rangers], the Royal Canadian Navy has a representation of 2.9 per cent, and the Royal Canadian Air 9

Force is at 2.4 per cent.” Backgrounder, 19 June 2017 (revised 26 February 2019), <https://www.canada.ca/en/department-national-defence/news/2017/06/les-peuples-autochtones-dans-les-forces-armees-canadiennes.html>.

¹⁹ See, for example, Murray Brewster, “Canadian military falling well short of its target for recruiting women,” CBC News, 5 June 2018, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/armed-forces-women-recruiting-1.4691356>.

²⁰ An evaluation of the DND/CAF Indigenous Affairs Program released by the Assistant Deputy Minister (Review Services) in 2020 “considers broader aspects of Indigenous affairs within DND/CAF” but that “Indigenous programs, activities and initiatives outside the evaluation scope that are not addressed include the Canadian Rangers and Junior Canadian Rangers.” Given the statistics provided in this research note, this is a major omission. ADM(RS) 1258-3-022, “Evaluation of the Indigenous Affairs Program” (February 2020).

²¹ Canadian Army, *Advancing with Purpose: The Canadian Army Modernization Strategy*, 4th ed. (Ottawa: Canadian Army HQ, December 2020), 16.

²² For recent studies, see Lackenbauer, “Indigenous Communities are at the Heart of Canada’s North”; Lackenbauer, “The North’s Canadian Rangers”; Magali Vullierme, “The Social Contribution of the Canadian Rangers: A Tool of Assimilation or Means of Agency?” *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies* 19/2 (2018): <https://jmss.org/article/view/62820/46852>; “Towards Human Security in the Arctic: Lessons Learned From the Canadian Rangers,” *Arctic Yearbook* (2019): 1-14, https://arcticyearbook.com/images/yearbook/2019/Scholarly-Papers/7_AY2019_Vullierme.pdf; and Lackenbauer and Kikkert, *Measuring the Success of the Canadian Rangers*.