

Campaigns Research
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Concordia 2025-2026: Anticipating the Administration's Strategic Direction in the Coming Years

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The Big Picture: Massive Changes in Funding Sources Foreshadow a Changing Institution

At the beginning of the 2025-2026 academic year, Concordia continues to face a declining financial situation. While short-term factors, including Concordia's need to adhere to a deficit reduction plan set by the Quebec government, prevent immediate structural change to the university's business model, there is evidence to suggest that the administration is preparing for longer term structural changes. Traditional sources of revenue, from both provincial ministry funding and student fees are continuing to tank, while research specific funding has risen astronomically. If these trends continue, Concordia may pivot away from its current structure as a public-service comprehensive university towards that of a smaller, increasingly privatized research institution.

Downsizing and restructuring the university would be no short term task. Two main factors continue to push Concordia to focus on attempting to remain a traditional comprehensive university for as long as possible in the immediate future. The first factor is simply that offering a wide array of courses and degrees to a traditional undergraduate student body protects the key source of revenue from student tuition. This revenue stream may be diminishing but it remains too important and too large in proportion to other revenue streams to abandon in the short term.

The second factor is the provincial deficit reduction program that the university is bound to abide by with the Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur. This program requires the university to submit year-by-year plans for deficit reduction to the provincial government for approval.

Continued provincial grant funding for the university is contingent on the approval of these plans and on Concordia's adherence to their direction. Concordia representatives emphasized in this year's budget presentation that "It remains important to comply with the recovery plan, even as new structural pressures have emerged since it was first approved. Changing direction now could risk credibility, a downgrade to Concordia's credit rating and an increase in borrowing costs."¹ This provincially supervised recovery plan prevents any overarching structural transformations to Concordia's business model until the 2029-2030 academic year, and possibly longer if Concordia needs to negotiate with the province to extend the plan's end date based on continued revenue deficits in the coming years.

Despite this evidence to show that Concordia cannot make any major structural adjustments in the coming few years, there is also ample evidence to suggest that Concordia may plan to do so in the longer term.

A comparative analysis of provincial higher education budgets cited by Concordia's Board of Governors shows that overall public funding for Quebec universities is down 7% (adjusted for inflation) over the last five years.² Concordia's projected deficit for 2025-2026 totals \$84 million before the implementation of planned spending cuts of \$51 million and 86.5% of the university's annual revenue is projected to come from provincial funding and student tuition fees.³ Concordia's administration is no doubt deeply concerned by this loss of core operating revenue and has responded with measures such as lobbying Marc Miller to "examine the possibility of reducing the time required by Citizenship and Immigration Canada to issue study permits."⁴ A higher education strategy consulting firm recently suggested to this year's BoG that the Trump administration's crackdown on American universities and targeting of international students presents Quebecois universities with a unique opportunity to market themselves as a

¹ Denis Cossette and Anne Whitelaw, "[Facing Financial Reality Together: Concordia's 2025-26 Budget](#)," Annual Budget Talk, May 26, 2025.

² Concordia University Board of Governors, "Agenda - Board Retreat," Meeting Agenda, September 5, 2025; Alex Usher, "[Provincial Budgets 2025-26](#)," *Higher Education Strategy Associates*, May 20, 2025.

³ Denis Cossette and Anne Whitelaw, "[Facing Financial Reality Together: Concordia's 2025-26 Budget](#)," Annual Budget Talk, May 26, 2025.

⁴ Graham Carr, "[Concordia University to Marc Miller, Immigration](#)," Canadian Registry of Lobbyists Monthly Communication Report, July 7, 2025.

haven for students and researchers fleeing the U.S.A.⁵ Despite such optimism, both provincially and federally, Canadian government's remain anti-immigration and committed to downsizing international student acceptance. Given the consistent downturn in this revenue over the last half decade, it is unlikely that Concordia leadership anticipates a positive turnaround on funding linked to student enrolment numbers.

In contrast with traditional revenue, Concordia's status as a recipient of research specific funding is on the rise. The university recently reported that Concordia ranked fifth in Canada and first in Quebec on a 2024 list of the country's top research universities, and saw an astronomical 47.6% growth in research-specific funding compared to 2023.⁶ Research funding is project specific, and unlike annual provincial subsidies and student tuition fees, cannot be redistributed into the overall operations budget of the university as needed. Despite these constraints, large scale and long-term research project funding can provide for many of the operational costs of running specific research labs and teams including salaries, infrastructure investment, and department expansions. Successful research projects also provide the opportunity for Concordia to market itself as a profitable and reliable candidate for future capital funding. Got money to spend? Concordia will deliver the results for your industry or state needs. Research-specific funding at Concordia focuses on key areas for both private and public investment including aerospace technology development, electrification and battery technology, cybersecurity, AI, critical minerals, and far-north development. As public universities across Canada continue to lose traditional sources of funding, these strategic areas of private and public research investment may provide a way out of the debt spiral for Concordia at the cost of Concordia's broad, student-focused learning environment. The strategic direction of the university seems to be following this new revenue stream, with the reappointment and promotion of Faye Diamantoudi and Mourad Debbabi, two of Concordia's top administrators responsible for bringing in the vast amounts of new research funding.

At the Gina Cody School of Engineering, Dean Mourad Debbabi has been reappointed for another five year term. As "an internationally recognized expert in cybersecurity, cyberforensics and critical infrastructure protection," Debbabi has massively grown the school of engineering. Under his leadership, "enrolment grew by more than 55 per cent" from 2020-2025, and "external research funding increased by 85 per cent, thanks to strong partnerships with

⁵ Volume10, "[Savoirs sans Frontières. Regards Sur l'impact de La Communauté Étudiante Internationale Universitaire Au Québec](#)," Presentation, June 2025.

⁶ Marta Samuel, "[5 Decades of Discovery, How Concordia's Rapid Rise as A Research Leader Is Redefining the Future](#)," *Concordia University Magazine*, Summer 2025, 4.

industrial and governmental partners.”⁷ Debbabi is also the Director of the Security Research Centre at Concordia and the Hydro Quebec Hitachi Partnership Research Chair and is touted as having been “instrumental in establishing the National Cybersecurity Consortium and the Cyber Security Innovation Network, a \$160-million national initiative for cybersecurity research, innovation, and training.⁸ No doubt his experience in private-public academic partnerships and national security research has informed the school’s founding of Concordia’s two current flagship research programs Volt-Age and the Applied AI Institute.

At the top of the pyramid, Effrosyni (Faye Diamantoudi) has been named interim Provost and Vice-President Academic, a promotion from her previous role as Dean of Graduate Studies. Available evidence suggests that she has a good chance of staying in her new role in a permanent capacity. Her appointment in an interim capacity is likely a trial run where she will be considered for the role permanently based on her performance. In this fall 2025 period - if she wishes to take on the job full time - she has every incentive personally and professionally to act decisively, particularly in relation to any student dissent on campus in order to be viewed as adequately capable of protecting the university’s reputation as an attractive environment for research investment. As an economics professor, Faye Diamantoudi has an academic history of specializing in “coalition formation and foresight,” and “international environmental agreements.”⁹ Her research and experience has focused on the difficulties of bringing together private and public sector institutions and organizations with diverging interests into collaborative projects including across international borders and differing policy environments. She has applied this experience in her time as an administrator starting with four years as associate dean of recruitment and awards, before becoming dean of graduate studies and in 2024 also taking on the role of Concordia’s interim vice-president of research and graduate studies. Her focus as Dean of graduate studies has been on integrating Concordia’s doctoral research into the private sector or what she calls “the professionalization of research degrees.”¹⁰ Diamantoudi gave a talk to *The Walrus* in June 2025 on “Electrification and Investment in the Knowledge Economy.”¹¹ During this talk she explained that her role “As a dean [is] to fuel the Canadian

⁷ Vincent Allaire, “[Mourad Debbabi Reappointed as Dean of Concordia’s Gina Cody School of Engineering and Computer Science](#),” August 20, 2025.

⁸ Ibid; Concordia University, “[Mourad Debbabi](#),” accessed September 9, 2025.

⁹ Concordia University, “[Effrosyni Diamantoudi](#),” accessed September 9, 2025.

¹⁰ Concordia University, “[Concordia University - Effrosyni Diamantoudi Is Named Concordia’s Dean of Graduate Studies](#),” Education News Canada, accessed September 9, 2025.

¹¹ [Dr. Faye Diamantoudi: Electrification and Investment in the Knowledge Economy](#), *The Walrus*, June 3, 2025.

economy with human capital, with expertise that innovates, produces new technologies, and introduces ways of achieving growth with less [environmental] spillover damage.”¹². If to Faye, students are simply “human capital,” to be marshalled for market needs, then she likely won’t hesitate to crack down on student dissent in her new role.

So how does all of this change impact student organizing on campus? Concordia is not ready yet to give up their reputation as a public service university outwardly devoted to progressive research and sustainability. They need to try to maintain this to be able to maintain incoming student levels. That being said, as the university’s role as a public institution for mass higher education brings in less and less revenue, overall student experience outside of key, highly-funded programs, (especially at the undergraduate level) likely matters less and less to Concordia administration. High profile, national-security-linked, revenue generating research projects, on the other hand, encourage the university to further crack-down on student dissent in favour of making the university a ‘secure’ environment for capital investment. Concordia needs to keep its “stakeholders” happy and while this has traditionally meant the provincial education ministry and students, private donors and research investors are gaining increasing importance. Students will likely face significantly higher degrees of repression than usual so that the university can be seen to provide insurance that donations and investments are ‘protected’.

¹² Ibid.

The Why: Concordia Research and the NATO Member National Security State

Why is there an influx of new research funding at the same time as Concordia experiences a massive decline in overall revenue? It comes down to geopolitics and the interests of the NATO bloc states and capitalist classes. The contemporary world is in the midst of a 20th Century style great power conflict, the likes of which has not been seen since the American-Soviet Cold War. As with the first Cold War, whether the war is actually 'cold' or 'hot' depends on whether you live in an active war zone like Ukraine or Palestine, or a sheltered country engaging by proxy like Canada and the United States. After 30 years of free-trade globalization and largely unchallenged American financial and military hegemony, the international neoliberal order has fractured, with cracks that began appearing during the fallout from the 2008 financial crisis widened to breaking point by sanctions and asset seizures against Russia following the 2022 invasion of Eastern Ukraine.¹³ Donald Trump's 2025 tariff campaign has functioned as a clumsy and highly ineffective crisis response to the American state's realization that its hegemony is slipping through its fingers, losing kinetic battles and economic wars of production in both military and 'civilian' spheres.

In particular, NATO military production, led by the American arms industry, is falling short of meeting military and economic needs. The military industrial complex in the west is highly privatized and primarily effective at generating enormous surplus profits and maximizing financial market value. In the three most decisive recent wars between American military and proxy forces and 'enemy' countries - namely Ukraine vs. Russia, U.S.A. vs. Yemen, and Israel and the U.S.A. vs. Iran - the United States and aligned countries or proxy forces have been unable to overcome the unmatched productive capacity of their adversaries. As technological developments in drones and hypersonic missiles have become key to the new generation of industrial warfare, large scale conflicts have been shaped by the ability of each country to produce large amounts of weaponry, quickly, efficiently, and at the lowest possible cost per unit. Despite the impact of years of sanctions, Yemen, Russia, and Iran have managed to out-pace NATO arms industries, producing munitions more efficiently, quickly, and at lower costs.¹⁴ Ansar

¹³ Philip Luck, [How Sanctions Have Reshaped Russia's Future](#), February 24, 2025; United States of America Treasury, "[U.S. Treasury Announces Unprecedented & Expansive Sanctions Against Russia. Imposing Swift and Severe Economic Costs](#)," Press Release, February 8, 2025.

¹⁴ Yauhen Lehala, "[Is Russia Outpacing NATO In Weapons Production?](#)," Russia, *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, July 25, 2025; [Why Russia's Glide Bombs Are So Hard for Ukraine to Stop | WSJ Equipped](#), The Wall Street Journal, June 19, 2024.

Allah's campaign in the Red Sea, in particular, significantly depleted the American navy's air defense munitions stockpile, prompting concern and ultimately the withdrawal of the Americans.¹⁵ During the so-called 12 day war, Iran also forced significant depletion of Israeli and American defensive munitions, with systems like the iron dome requiring at least two defensive missiles to be deployed to intercept one incoming projectile.¹⁶

It is for these above reasons that the words "rearmament" are on the lips of top bureaucrats across the NATO countries with the recent ratification of a 5% of GDP defense spending target for all member nations.¹⁷ Canada is, of course, no exception, and Concordia as an aerospace industry university, already the recipient of private-public defense research partnerships will no doubt be implicated.¹⁸

In civilian economic terms, NATO countries are also falling short. BRICS nations, the growing global south economic block of resource and manufacturing-based economies led by Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa, are steadily outpacing the west in terms of real (as opposed to speculative and financial) economic development and growth. As Trump's trade war attempts to bring the world to heel regarding America's economic agenda, BRICS countries have been able to evade the worst of the impacts, increasingly trading with each other through alternative supply chains supported by China's global Belt and Road initiative.¹⁹ As all of this happens we are also in the midst of what some have called "the fourth industrial revolution," - namely the mass-scale roll out of large language models or generative AI and the application of generative AI to new generations of automated technology including robots and drones and industrial production machinery.²⁰ For this new 'industrial revolution' and for NATO rearmament, access to key minerals for industrial manufacturing is critical. AI in particular, requires a massive buildup of the capacity of the Canadian electrical grid - a project which will need a lot of mined material to complete.²¹ The problem for western countries is that, as the European Parliament

¹⁵ Tom Porter, "[Houthi Attacks Exposed US Navy Issues over Ammo Supplies, Says Admiral](#)," *Business Insider*, May 15, 2025; "[Yemen Pushes US Navy to Limits with Advanced Drone, Missile War: WSJ](#)," *News, Al Mayadeen English*, June 5, 2025.

¹⁶ Gianluca Mezzofiore Araujo Tamara Qiblawi, Madalena, "[US Used up about a Quarter of Its High-End Missile Interceptors during Israel-Iran War, Exposing Gap in Supplies](#)," *CNN*, July 28, 2025; [TRT Global - Israel Faces Shortage of Interceptors amid Iran Tensions: US Official Tells WSJ](#), June 18, 2025.

¹⁷ NATO, "[Defence Expenditures and NATO's 5% Commitment](#)," *NATO*, August 27, 2025.

¹⁸ Liberal Party of Canada, "[Liberals Release Plan to Rebuild, Reinvest, and Rearm the Canadian Armed Forces | Liberal Party of Canada](#)," March 25, 2025, .

¹⁹ Bloomberg, "[How Chinese Manufacturers Are Navigating Trump's Tariffs](#)," *Yahoo Finance*, September 8, 2025.

²⁰ McKinsey and Company, "[What Is Industry 4.0 and the Fourth Industrial Revolution?](#)," August 17, 2022.

²¹ Shaz Merwat, "[Power Struggle: How AI is challenging Canada's electricity grid](#)," December 4th, 2024.

has recently stated, when it comes to production-critical minerals, especially the category known as ‘rare earth minerals,’ “China has a quasi-monopolistic position on the global market.”²² China has recently imposed export restrictions on rare earth minerals that are essential to the production of energy grid technology, computer chips, and 21st century weapons.²³ The restriction is currently limited to preventing western defence contractors from accessing these minerals for weapons production, but even this limited capacity has sparked a rush to find alternative supply chains. As a global mining powerhouse, Canada is seen as a possible solution to NATO’s mineral access crisis.²⁴

Concordia’s major flagship research programs right now are oriented towards these key strategic military and civilian sectors. At the top of the list are Volt-Age, an “electrification research program,” and Concordia’s Applied AI Institute. The Applied AI institute consists of “9 research centres across four faculties,” “105+ professors and 200+ graduate students” researching in the areas of “society, science and emerging technology.”²⁵ Earlier this year Concordia announced a new Applied AI institute project “supported by DIGITAL, Canada’s Global Innovation Cluster for digital technologies, to speed up the use of applied AI in industry. The collaboration marks Concordia’s first formal partnership with a federal innovation supercluster and is backed by a \$727,001 investment from DIGITAL to advance AI and machine learning use in manufacturing.”²⁶

The Volt-Age project also brings enormous amounts of funding to the university. It is touted to be “Supported by a \$123 million Canada First Research Excellence Fund,” making it Canada’s number one electrification research program.²⁷ The Power Corporation of Canada recently donated \$1 million to the Volt-Age research project and the company’s deputy chairman

²² European Parliament, “[Commission Must Tackle China’s Export Restrictions on Rare Earth Elements](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/press-room/20250704IPR29456/commission-must-tackle-china-s-export-restrictions-on-rare-earth-elements),” Press Release, July 10, 2025, <https://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/press-room/20250704IPR29456/commission-must-tackle-china-s-export-restrictions-on-rare-earth-elements>.

²³ Gracelin Baskaran and Meredith Schwartz, “[The Consequences of China’s New Rare Earths Export Restrictions](#),” *Center for Strategic and International Studies*, April 14, 2025.

²⁴ Harold Burling, “[China Claps Back at the USA over US Tariffs](#),” *Canadian Mining and Energy*, December 4, 2024; Aidan Josh, “[Delusion Fuels Made-in-Canada G7 Plan to Cut Reliance on Chinese Critical Minerals](#),” *The Canada Files*, June 20, 2025.

²⁵ Concordia University, “[Applied AI Institute](#),” accessed September 16, 2025.

²⁶ Christian Durand, “[AI Institute Supports Manufacturing Innovation | Applied AI Institute - Concordia University](#),” May 29, 2025.

²⁷ Concordia University, “[Volt-Age](#),” accessed September 4, 2025.

has followed that funding with an additional \$6 million from his personal pockets.²⁸ Mark Carney wants “to make Canada the world’s leading energy superpower,” so electrification and new generation battery technologies have strategic importance.²⁹ The Volt-Age project is currently advertising new battery production technology using Canadian mines and has been receiving significant funding for this work.³⁰ Recent job listings for the project highlight the applications of research for replacing diesel generator infrastructure in the far north of Canada - work that factors heavily into Canadian national security priorities to develop arctic ports and military bases.³¹ While such research projects are not necessarily outwardly classified as defence affiliated, there is functionally no difference between military and civilian spheres in the actual usage of such technology given that both government sources and think-tank analysis emphasize that bolstering civilian power generation capacity in the Canadian arctic is necessary for expanding military operations in the north.

Another key area for Concordia’s research funding is the emerging department of chemical and materials engineering which has been gaining prominence through Volt-Age and Concordia’s aerospace partnerships. While the department was founded in 2018, Gina Cody School of Engineering has just launched a new bachelors of chemical engineering program to funnel undergraduate students into the research pipeline. Recent notable work in the department includes a collaborative project on protective engine blade coating partnered with Raytheon subsidiary Pratt and Whitney, organized through the Consortium for Research and Innovation in Aerospace in Québec (CRIAQ).³² Head researcher on the project, Pantcho Stoyanov has a dozen or so patents invented by him and assigned to RTX or Raytheon.³³ This latest research on engine blade coating has potential direct links to the IDF considering that

²⁸ Ian Harrison, “[Business Leader André Desmarais Commits \\$6 Million to Empower Graduate Research at His Alma Mater](#),” September 4, 2025; Ian Harrison, “[Concordia Announces a \\$1-Million Donation from Power Corporation of Canada to Advance Art Volt](#),” June 10, 2025.

²⁹ Liberal Party of Canada, “[Mark Carney’s Liberals to Make Canada the World’s Leading Energy Superpower](#),” April 9, 2025.

³⁰ Arianne Paquin, “[New North American-Made LFP Batteries Supported by Concordia Research](#),” July 21, 2025; Christian Durand, “[Concordia Secures \\$6.2M in Funding for Collaborative Centres on Energy and Its Transition Research](#),” May 16, 2025.

³¹ Benjamin J. Sacks, “[Actionable Options Exist for Canada to Enhance Its Arctic Sovereignty](#),” RAND Corporation, June 26, 2025; Nick Murray, “[Canada Will Build 3 Arctic Military Hubs as It Ramps up Regional Footprint](#),” Global News, March 6, 2025; Office of the Prime Minister of Canada, “[Reinforcing Canada’s Security and Sovereignty in the Arctic](#),” Press Release, March 18, 2025.

³² Vincent Allaire, “[Concordia and Pratt & Whitney Push Aerospace Coatings Forward](#),” September 10, 2025.

³³ “[Pantcho P. Stoyanov Inventions, Patents and Patent Applications](#),” Justia Patents, accessed September 16, 2025.

Pratt and Whitney Canada are a key manufacturer of engines for IDF Heron TP drones.³⁴ While Concordia is not always as eager to promote its military research, a look at the CRIAQ website's listing of "funded projects in progress" reveals that Concordia is a research partner on four of the first five projects listed, each with direct military applications including AI research on "human-automation conflict prevention".³⁵

³⁴ "Heron TP (Eitan) MALE UAV," *Airforce Technology*, accessed September 16, 2025; Nur Dogan, "[Workers Picket Military Contractor, Tell Trudeau Government To Halt Israel Exports](#)," *The Maple*, December 14, 2023.

³⁵ Boréale Média, "[CRIAQ's Funded Projects in Progress](#)," accessed September 11, 2025.

Other Areas of Note in Concordia's Desperate Search for Revenue Sources:

Nickel and Diming: Increasing Pre-Existing Revenue Streams Wherever Possible:

The key place to pay attention to Concordia's revenue generation is the Office of Budget Planning and Business Development, an administrative department under the supervision of the Vice President of Services and Sustainability.³⁶ The Office's current mission is defined by the 2025-2026 budget report as "Increasing the performance of ancillary operations such as residences, parking and summer camps".³⁷ The [Facilities Management](#) department operates and administers Concordia's real estate property portfolio, including the generation of revenues from rent collection. Budget Planning and Business Development operates Concordia Hospitality's space booking and event, student residences, food services, parking, printing, and locker rentals - in other words all of the non-academic services that students, staff, faculty, and members of the public must pay to access. 'Increasing performance' means maximizing revenue generation, and therefore increasing the price of access to goods and services sold by the university so that this revenue can play a larger part in meeting the overall budgetary needs of the university.

Campus advertising space for rent has also seen a visibly increased presence on campus. New electronic billboards, for instance, represent a revenue farming opportunity for the university administration, and signal the progression towards a privatized and commercialized educational space. While some advertising space is managed directly by Concordia much of it is also contracted out to firms like Rogers Sports and Media and UB Media.³⁸

Generating New Revenue Streams: For-Profit Educational Programs:

Concordia is also looking to expand its offering of courses and programs oriented towards 'non-traditional' university students. Micro-courses, professional development, and online learning are being expanded, particularly at John Molson School of Business. Likewise programs where for-profit services can be run with student labour are being ramped up and publicized, notably with the School of Health. The university's Budget Update FAQ section

³⁶ Concordia University, "[Budget Planning and Business Development](#)".

³⁷ Concordia University, "[Budget Updates](#)," June 20, 2025.

³⁸ Concordia University, "[Campus Advertising](#)".

states that the university is looking at “exploring new program models that serve a wider range of learners, including professionals and industry-specific audiences,” and “pursuing partnerships with international institutions and sectors, though not through the creation of physical campuses abroad.”³⁹ Concordia’s website now has a section devoted to “undergraduate microprograms,” JMSB is promoting its Executive Centre program of for-profit private course offerings for the business elite.⁴⁰ The university has even partnered with the United Nations to “bolster cybersecurity in West and Central Africa,” securing what seems to essentially be a consulting contract.⁴¹ Concordia’s School of Health is also promoting its public, revenue generating programs, where a new Nutrition Centre offering dietitian services and cooking classes joins the PERFORM Centre Gym and fitness classes and the athletic therapy clinic.⁴² The School of Health has also recently received private funding from Lady Mireille Gillings, a biotech entrepreneur who specializes in the latest business model of taking new pharmaceutical technologies developed with public funding in China and licensing the drugs for international sale at astronomical markups.⁴³

³⁹ Concordia University, “[Budget Updates](#),” June 20, 2025.

⁴⁰ Concordia University, “[Undergraduate Microprograms](#),” accessed September 4, 2025; Darcy MacDonald, “[John Molson Executive Centre Is Unlocking Leadership Potential This Fall](#),” August 27, 2025.

⁴¹ Christian Durand, “[Concordia Partners with the United Nations Development Programme and Give1Project to Bolster Cybersecurity in West and Central Africa](#),” December 18, 2024.

⁴² Concordia University, “[Public Programs | School of Health \(SoH\)](#) - Concordia University,” accessed September 4, 2025.

⁴³ “[Great Concordian: Lady Mireille Gillings, Biotech Trailblazer and Global Health Philanthropist | School of Health \(SoH\)](#),” accessed September 4, 2025.