EXTRACTIVE EQUALITIES: CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF SEXUAL AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN CANADA'S FEMINIST INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE POLICY

By Tamsyn Riddle

Submitted to

Central European University

Department of Gender Studies

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Erasmus Mundus Master´s Degree in Women´s and Gender Studies (GEMMA)

Main Supervisor: Julia Sachseder (Central European University)

Second Supervisor: Andrea Fernández García (University of Oviedo)

EXTRACTIVE EQUALITIES: CONCEPTUALIZATIONS OF SEXUAL AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN CANADA'S FEMINIST INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE POLICY

By Tamsyn Riddle

Submitted to
Central European University
Department of Gender Studies

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Erasmus Mundus Master´s Degree in Women´s and Gender Studies (GEMMA)

Main Supervisor: Julia Sachseder (Central European University)
Second Supervisor: Andrea Fernández García (University of Oviedo)

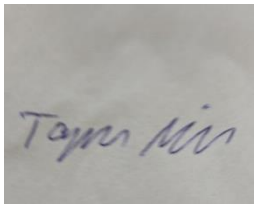
I hereby declare that the thesis is the result of original research; it contains no materials accepted for any other degree in any other institution and no materials previously written and/or published by another person, except where appropriate acknowledgement is made in the form of bibliographical reference.

I further declare that the following word counts for this thesis are accurate:

Body of the thesis: 30022 words

Entire manuscript: 33429 words

Signed: Tamsyn Riddle



Abstract

My thesis will explore the "post"-colonial relations of power of Canadian international development policies and programs. As a supposed leader on gender equality, Canada has implemented its Feminist International Assistance Policy to integrate gender equality concerns into its international development programs, and yet Canadian resource extraction companies operating abroad, continue to be linked to cases of sexual violence with little accountability. I will examine this contradiction through looking at how the work done by Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP) serves to depoliticize and decontextualize sexual violence, and how this forms part of a broader project of coloniality. In doing so, I will examine how the policy defines and conceptualizes sexual and gender-based violence as part of Canada's efforts to take a so-called "feminist" approach to international development and what work this conceptualization enables on behalf of the Canadian government. Drawing on interpretive and critical policy analysis, case studies of programs addressing sexual and gender-based violence funded after the implementation of the FIAP, and interviews with those affected by it, I will show how this policy employs ideas of gender equality and individualized, depoliticized understandings of sexual violence which create a benevolent image of Canada that erases the power dynamics that facilitate and enable sexual violence, as well as Canada's role in perpetuating colonial global power inequalities . The broader contribution of this research will be to investigate how exactly neoliberal policy-making practices work to insulate governments from even feminist critique, and divert attention from structures of colonial capitalism towards narrow technical questions.

Table of Contents

Introduction

Canada is often seen as a leader on gender equality, praised by UN Women for its gender-balanced cabinet and its purported integration of gender equality concerns into its foreign and domestic policies (UN Women, "UN Women and Canada"). This characterization further increased when Canada implemented its Feminist International Assistance Policy in 2017 (Tiessen and Black 2019). Programming related to sexual and gender-based violence has been key to this feminist approach of Canada, with specific funding announcements declaring that addressing these forms of violence is "a priority of Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy" (Global Affairs Canada, "Canada announces new support"). The FIAP's branding as "new" and "innovative" (Tiessen and Black 2019) signals its importance in making gender equality an essential component of Canada's global image.

At the same time, Canada's foreign relations are marked by its dependence on extractivism; for instance, 75% of the world's mining companies are based in Canada (Global Affairs Canada 2021). Many of these companies have been linked to high numbers of instances of gender-based violence in the communities where they work, mostly in the Global South (EarthRights International, MiningWatch Canada and the Human Rights Research and Education Centre Human Rights Clinic, 2016). Canadian mining companies were involved in four times as many incidents of human rights and other abuses compared with other countries, according to a 2009 study by the Prospectors and Developers Association of Canada (Simons 2019, 418). In this way, the violence carried out by Canadian companies harms local communities in the Global South with little recourse (Manning 2016). Civil society groups like MiningWatch Canada have called for increased transparency and regulation in the mining sector, with EarthRights International (ERI), MiningWatch Canada and the Human Rights Research and Education Centre Human Rights Clinic at the University of Ottawa submitting a report in 2016 to the UN

Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) to accuse the Canadian government of not doing enough to prevent and address human rights abuses, including gender-based and sexual violence, in conjunction with the activities of Canadian mining companies (EarthRights International, "Report to UN Committee"). Already in 2005, the Canadian Parliamentary Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Development prepared a report on the adverse impacts of Canadian mining companies on countries in the Global South, with several recommendations (Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Development of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 2005)— and yet Canada still has no clear regulations for mining companies based in Canada to adhere to human rights in their operations abroad (Simons 428). But while an emerging body of scholarship has critiqued Canada's FIAP, and feminist foreign policy more broadly, for not going far enough, for instrumentalizing gender equality for neoliberal economic aims, and for not taking an intersectional approach, so far no research has connected the FIAP's depoliticization of feminist issues like gender-based violence to Canada's political economy of resource extraction and the violence it produces. In my thesis, I will examine how it is possible that Canada can so successfully maintain this feminist image while profiting from gender-based violence, by examining the FIAP as the cornerstone of this approach. Indeed, some have argued that this violence is not incidental but inherent to the capitalist and colonial exploitation of Indigenous territories (Manning 2016).

In examining the apparent contradictions between the realities of Canadian resource extraction and Canada's positive image as a neutral, well-meaning peacekeeper, I will argue that this image of Canada is maintained through governmental discourses that serve to depoliticize gender-based violence, defining is as a part of nature and as a technical problem with technical solutions, like training and awareness-raising, over structural ones. By analyzing the discourses in the policy and the programs that arise from it about what violence is and what causes and

solutions it has, I examine how these discourses remove sexual and gender-based violence from its political-economic roots, and how this aligns with the discourses used to justify the lack of Canadian regulation towards resource extraction companies. To do so, I will employ a theoretical framework drawing on decolonial feminist and political-economic approaches to understand how Canadian government discourses reify colonial power dynamics that position Canadian aid as benevolent and Canada as a leader on gender equality compared to countries in the Global South that are held back by regressive social norms. Theorizing sexual violence as intimately related to political economic power relations, I will examine how the conceptualizations of violence in the policy lead GAC to implement certain kinds of programs over others and perpetuate a colonial role of Canada as the saviour of poor women in the global south.

Methodologically, I will develop an approach that combines discourse analysis with interviews with NGO workers who implement projects funded through the FIAP. I use discourse analysis to examine the nexus of what is said and unsaid in the text of the policy itself and in the programs that are implemented through it, and combine this with an analysis of how interviewees at GAC-funded NGOs understood the policy and what it means for their work. I analyze the ways that the FIAP conceptualizes gender-based violence in the context of the violence that, I argue based on secondary research on Canadian resource extraction, Canada is responsible for fostering through its lack of regulation towards Canada-based resource extraction companies. As I describe more in my Methodology chapter, I analyze how violence is conceptualized by the policy, by GAC programs, by interviewees, and by the voluntary guidelines that Canada uses to regulate its mining companies.

These discourses, exemplified by the Feminist International Assistance Policy, as the cornerstone of Canada's "feminist" approach to international development programming,

situate gender-based violence outside of existing power dynamics, which themselves are naturalized as Canada positions itself as a benevolent actor instead of the beneficiary of hegemonic power relations. Drawing on discourse analysis of the policy, I will analyze how the language used by the policy constructs these understandings of gender-based violence and of Canada. As well, by interviewing NGO implementing partners of Global Affairs Canada and by highlighting case studies of GAC-funded programs, I will examine how the policy's discourses shape GAC's work in international development. Using a decolonial, feminist lens that does centre power relations will allow me to understand discourses around gender-based violence as a site where power relations are contested.

In the following chapters, I will begin by elaborating on the state of existing research on feminist foreign policy, the coloniality of international development, and neoliberal approaches to sexual and gender-based violence. Next, I outline my theoretical framework before providing further context on the political economy of resource extraction and the construction of Canada as a benevolent, multicultural leader on gender equality. Subsequently, I describe my methodological approach. My empirical analysis begins with the policy itself, examining how it conceptualizes sexual and gender-based violence and how it envisions the role of Canada in international development. I then analyze the descriptions of projects funded through the FIAP, looking at how these projects conceptualize sexual and gender-based violence and how this is similar to the conceptualizations in the FIAP. Similarly, I analyze interviews conducted with staff at NGOs that implement projects funded by Global Affairs Canada that thus follow the FIAP, examining what the FIAP means for the work GAC does in addressing sexual and gender-based violence in international development. Next, I move to analyzing the Voluntary Principles, a set of voluntary guidelines that Canada has signed on to encourage resource extraction companies to address human rights concerns related to their work; this allows me to

examine the similarities between the discourses in the FIAP and those used to explain and justify violence connected to resource extraction.

Taken together, my thesis contributes to decolonial feminist knowledge production on feminist foreign policy, extractivism, and on gender-based violence specifically. I will aim to understand the importance of sexual and gender-based violence within the FIAP, and in turn the importance of the FIAP within Canada's political economy of resource extraction. Specifically, I will aim to answer the research question: How do Canadian government international development policies, such as the FIAP, conceptualize and address sexual and gender-based violence, and how does this conceptualization constitute colonial power relations?

The broader contribution of this research will include an in-depth understanding of how exactly neoliberal policy-making practices work to insulate governments from even feminist critique, and divert attention from structures of colonial capitalism towards narrow technical questions

Background

Introduced in 2017, Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy was designed and implemented to "mainstream" gender considerations into all of Canada's international development programming. This means that programs funded through Global Affairs Canada, the foreign aid arm of the Canadian government, must integrate gender equality concerns into their programming (Global Affairs Canada, 2017). With the introduction of this policy, Canada set an initial target of 95% of Canada's bilateral international development assistance initiatives directly targeting or otherwise integrating gender equality considerations by 2021-2022 (Ibid). It also meant an increase in programming specifically aimed at increasing gender equality. It has five program areas: the core action area of Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women and Girls, and then other pillars of Human Dignity (health and nutrition, education,

humanitarian action); Growth that Works for Everyone; Environment and Climate Action; Inclusive Governance; and Peace and Security (Ibid).

The FIAP is one of the first feminist international assistance policies worldwide, with Canada being the second country after Sweden to pass a feminist international assistance policy (International Women's Development Agency 2021, 7; Parisi 163). Canada's FIAP has been regarded as the most ambitious of comparable policies, since it sets out a guideline of 95% of Canada's ODA targeting gender equality (Ibid) Within Canada, the FIAP has been upheld as an important resource for civil society groups, which in 2023 co-wrote an open letter calling for the policy and Canada's gender-related funding commitments to be expanded; they specifically referred to programs related to gender-based violence in this call (Cooperation Canada 2023). In the next chapter, I will contextualize Canadian extractivism within the country's political economic relations, before elaborating more in depth on how the FIAP has been understood by academic scholarship.

Context: Canadian Political Economy and Violence

In this chapter, I provide a background on Canada and its history of settler colonialism more broadly, as well as its foreign relations, to demonstrate the importance of analyzing the FIAP and Canadian foreign relations more broadly in the context of the Canadian resource extraction industry. I draw on secondary research to connect the concept of coloniality to Canada's history (and present) of settler colonialism and the mythologies of Canada as a peaceful, multicultural nation that justify this. After providing some foundational information on Canada's history and political economy, which I will show is heavily reliant on resource extraction, I will delve into the connections between resource extraction generally and sexual violence, and argue that these connections implicate colonial power structures and show that Canada is at least partly responsible for the violence associated with its mining operations. Together, this forms the backdrop against which the FIAP was created, and the image that Canada is trying to manage on the global stage. This is important to contextualize the FIAP as a document that is not neutral, but emerges from particular political and economic relations.

Colonial Mythologies of Benevolence

Tyler Shipley describes a "dialectic between ideology and political economy" in Canadian history, showing how the Canadian government's stance towards different nations as well as different ethnic groups, like Jewish and Japanese Canadians, has never been static but rather has been shaped by and has also informed Canadian political economic relations (207). As such, in order to understand Canadian extractivism and violence, it is important to understand how Canada constructs itself culturally and in the international sphere, as well as understanding the material interests that are related to these conceptualizations.

Midzain-Gobin and Smith argue that foundational to Canada's self-identity is "myth-making" founded on a purposeful erasure of its settler colonial history. They argue that this myth-making enables Canadian coloniality to persist by erasing the fundamental inequalities that undergird relationships between the settler state and Indigenous nations. These power relations have shaped key national narratives of Canada, from the idea of the uninhabited frontier to the corresponding idea of white Canadians as benevolent and tolerant (Mackey 1999, in Preston). This image in turn corresponds to Canada's positive self-conception and international image that is tied to multiculturalism. Arvin et al (2013) also note that the idea of Canadian multiculturalism makes it more difficult to discuss the structure of settler colonialism, because it positions the differences among "Canadians" as primarily based on ethnic and cultural diversity and places all racial minorities on the same level, rather than attending to the hierarchical structures imposed by colonization for the specific purpose of control over the land (10).

Canadian Multiculturalism

Past scholarship has demonstrated that in more recent decades, Canadian nationalism is often tied to the idea of multiculturalism (Amarasingam et al, 2016, 120), a discourse that paints Canada as a welcoming haven where immigrants from around the world can succeed. This is in addition to nationalistic discourses that highlight Canada's role in peacekeeping and its supposed support for human rights (Granatstein 2011). Kernerman argues that in Canada, nationalist unity is imagined as possible through the multicultural "embrace of diversity" (2005, 5), no matter how flimsy. Indeed, Eisenstein notes that discourses of multiculturalism are often co-opted by nation states to "depoliticize and deradicalize" demands for inclusion from racialized and immigrant groups (2000, 40). In this way, state policies of multiculturalism

can be seen as an attempt to erase structures of racism and imperialism that make true equal opportunities impossible (Ibid).

In the case of Canada, the rhetoric of multiculturalism erases the violence of Canadian history and Canada's present political economic relationships. Tyler Shipley writes of the 1990s that:

> The Canadian ruling class had seized upon the idea of a Canadian multicultural mosaic as a way of diffusing the real racial and cultural tensions that threatened to upset the settler capitalist project. The language of "diversity" would serve as a "diffusing or a muting device," undermining, for instance, Indigenous movements towards armed struggle over land claims and reducing them to "cultural demands"…this multiculturalism was part of the ideological apparatus that would be used to justify Canada's increasing presence in global affairs. The conflicts in Somalia, Rwanda and the Balkans were relentlessly framed as "ethnic violence" in a concerted effort to distinguish those places from Canada, a state which claimed to have transcended ethnicity and embraced modern multiculturalism." (382)

As such, Canadian discourses of multiculturalism work not only to create a benevolent image of Canada in the wake of its settler colonial exploits, which I will now describe further, but further entrench an image of Canadian progressiveness compared to the Global South that ignores the actual racial dynamics of Canada. Moving into examining Canada's political economy of resource extraction in the next section, this discourse is crucial for understanding how Canada is able and works to maintain a positive image on the world stage while benefiting from the violence of resource extraction, which I elaborate on later in this chapter.

Canada as a Settler Colony

Preston (2017) argues that Canada's colonial self -justifying mythologizations begin with the idea of "terra nullius," which cast Indigenous lands as empty and therefore not just available for settler use but requiring the civilizing force of European colonialism (6). Preston argues that this contributed to the "resourcification" of Indigenous lands, with Western

conceptualizations of private property transforming Indigenous lands into resources to be used and exploited through processes that in turn cast Indigenous peoples as lazy for not exploiting these resources. This racializing conceptualization, which I discuss more in my theoretical framework, is foundational to Canada's approach to coloniality.

Arvin et al write that at the core of the settler colonial project is the eugenic idea of native people becoming less native over generations until they disappear entirely. (12-13) Indeed, Canadian colonization is an ongoing process in which Indigenous people were subjected to a wide range of policies that many scholars have argued are genocidal (eg Byrd 2019). This includes a long history of Indigenous nations being forcibly removed from their traditional territories, even after signing treaties in many cases to enshrine their rights in Canadian law. Along with their removal from the land, the Canadian state subjected Indigenous nations to forced starvation, the removal of children from their families, and ongoing discrimination in Canadian labour, criminal justice, and other systems (eg Sucharov 2022). There continue to be such high rates of all forms of violence against Indigenous people in Canada that Canada eventually held an National Inquiry into the issue of Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls ("Reclaiming Power and Place"). While the focus of my research is on the FIAP and how it enables forms of violence, like sexual violence, against Indigenous women in countries other than Canada, I will now elaborate on how this is inextricable from Canada's settler colonial history and present.

Resource Extraction and Canadian Political Economy

Often referred to as a "petrostate" (Parson and Ray 2018), Canada is heavily dependent on resource extraction. Grinspun and Mills describe the uniqueness of Canada's political economy, with its "abundance of land" giving it an advantage in "primary production for export markets" (2015, 135) shaping its relationships with hegemonic powers like the United States.

This is in addition to Conservative governments' decisions to increase Canada's reliance on resource extraction, to the point that it began to crowd out non-resource extraction sectors of Canada's economy (Ibid 137).

As of 2012, Canada was a "net investor abroad," with most of this related to what Arellano (2010) calls "resource-seeking FDI" aimed at enhancing the operations of Canadian companies abroad (Veltmeyer 2012). Much of this resource extraction happens in Latin America, where many countries were opened up to foreign investment (Veltmeyer). According to Veltmeyer, this industry has the highest average rate of profit in the world, with a complex maze of regulations that make these profits difficult to trace (Ibid).

The influence of this sector can clearly be seen in Canadian policy-making, which Grinspun and Mills say "focuses explicitly on creating the ideal conditions for extractive industries," particularly in international relations (138). This is particularly the case in Latin America, where Canadian embassies broker relationships between Canadian businesses and local officials (139). Export Development Canada, despite being a state agency, is "secretive about its operations" and helps Canadian companies get financial support with minimal regulation (139). Relevant treaties prioritize investor rights over human rights obligations (140). When there has been legislation proposed that would more heavily regulate mining companies it often fails, for instance with Bill C 300, which was defeated after lobbying by mining industry associations (142). Also, an analysis from Grinspun and Mills showed that Canadian international development activities, particularly under the previous Harper government, used "capacity-building" activities to influence the legal codes of countries where Canadian mining companies work in order to encourage them to lift environmental and other regulations, making these companies operations easier (140). As Blackwood and Stewart write: "The results of these interventions…are advantageous for foreign investors at the expense of workers, local

communities, and host governments" (2012, in Grinspun and Mills, 140). No wonder, then, that there remains a lack of regulation of Canadian mining activities. Indeed, the previous Conservative government used a voluntary, corporate social responsibility approach (Grinspun and Mills 143).

From Canada to the World

As discussed in my theoretical framework, I understand domestic and foreign policy as entangled and interrelated. Indeed, Shipley notes the numerous disparate examples of countries, from Somalia to Afghanistan, where Canadian soldiers referred to the locations where they were posted as "Indian Country," (2020, 8) perpetuating a colonial view of their position based on their settler positionalities within Canada. Thus, it is important to understand the settler colonial relations of Canada in order to properly conceptualize its place in the world, and to understand the interconnections between settler colonialism in Canada and the role Canada plays in international affairs.

It is also important to understand the relationship between sexual violence and coloniality. Shipley underscores that sexual violence has been a key link between Canadian coloniality at home and abroad: "Canadian settlers' pervasive and ongoing practice of sexual violence against Indigenous women was reflected in the same behaviours by Canadian soldiers in Korea. The mixture of violence and manipulation that Canada used to seize land from Indigenous communities was replicated by Canadian capitalists in Honduras in the 21st Century." (Shipley, 8) I elaborate further on the relationship between sexual violence and colonial power structures in my theoretical framework.

Canadian Foreign Policy

Shipley gives a wide array of examples in which, he argues, Canadian foreign policy enacted imperialist ambitions, often supporting the United States in waging war. Indeed, Canadian historians have pointed out that particularly since the beginning of the War on Terror, Canada has often followed the United States in its foreign policy decisions (eg McQuaig, 2007). For instance, Shipley describes how Canada repeatedly voted against movements for independence in Asia, for instance selling weapons to the Netherlands to help it defeat independence movements in Indonesia after voting against their withdrawal from the colony in 1948 (230). Canada was also heavily involved in the Gulf War (347) and a strong supporter of establishing the state of Israel (208) through rhetoric that explicitly positioned Palestinians as unfit to govern their own land. Still now, Shipley notes that Canada is one of the world's largest exporters of weapons (7). However, Canada has sometimes sided against the United States due to its own political economic interests, for instance supporting the Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza because of his regime's heavy reliance on Canadian mining companies when the United States didn't (231). And yet, Shipley notes that opposition to Canadian intervention has often been dismissed as childish and illogical (7)- largely because Canada has maintained an image as a peaceful country.

This image is due in large part to Canada's role in establishing the first UN peacekeeping forces (Rudderham 2008), something that has been core to Canada's international image and identity since the post-war era (Cros 2015). These peacekeepers often saw themselves through a colonial lens, imagining themselves as a civilizing force saving wild savages from themselves (Shipley 350). These colonial attitudes became clear through incidents like the so-called Somali Affair, an instance where Canadian peacekeepers stationed in Somalia shot and killed two Somalis who had fallen for a trap set by the Canadians to lure supposed food thieves, and two

weeks later tortured, sexually assaulted, and ultimately killed a 16-year old who mistakenly entered their camp. Razack argues that instances of violence like this one worked to "to establish Northern nations as powerful and superior, nations in full control of the natives they had come to keep in line" (2004, 55, in Shipley, 355). As such, it is important to interrogate Canadian narratives of benevolence and the role they play in enabling Canadian violence.

Mining and Sexual Violence

There are several ways that mining operations, including Canadian ones, are connected to high incidences of sexual violence. First, there are documented cases of sexual violence linked to private security and other forces used to displace communities to build mines and to enforce their securitization, forms of violence to which women are particularly vulnerable (Jenkins 2014, 33). An often-mentioned case of this was what has been described as widespread gang rape of women in Porgera, Papua New Guinea, by Barrick Gold private security guards (Jenkins 334). Rustad et al note how rape is often used strategically to drive populations out of areas where mines are being built (2016, 477), as well as to prevent entry to mining sites and to discourage artisanal (informal, illegal, small-scale) mining around the sites of larger mines run by multinational companies (Tobalagba 2020, 349). In this way, sexual violence cannot be separated from or said to be incidental to the activities carried out by these companies, implicating Canada as a country where many mining companies are based; this shows the importance of a political economy approach to understanding sexual violence, and demonstrates what is lost in the FIAP's depoliticized approach to violence.

One area research on the link between mining and sexual violence examines the gender dynamics of mining work, suggesting that gender inequalities work to create a context where violence is justified. Past scholarship has understood mining cultures as steeped in hypermasculinity (Tobalagba 349), and women in mining often occupy mostly administrative

positions (Jenkins 332) and other feminized roles such as catering and cleaning (Lauwo 2018, 697) that are considered to be the "lowest-status" jobs (Jenkins 331). Where they do more manual labour, it is justified through the idea that women are more likely to be cautious with heavy machinery, which Jenkins sees as an extension of "the classic 'nimble fingers' critique" (332). Meanwhile, Lauwo found that numerous women she interviewed who worked in mining described being denied awaited promotions after going on maternity leave (699). Women working in mining report high rates of sexual harassment, particularly in night shifts, but often keep silent because they are afraid of losing their jobs if they report this harassment (696). Lauwo describes how women feel their complaints are not taken seriously when they do come forward with concerns (701). This all is in spite of mining companies' stated commitments to gender equality, which may seem positive but nonetheless often rely on ideas of equality that purport to treat all workers the same (700). Lauwo notes that many women feel that policies only exist "on the surface" and are not properly implemented (697). While mining companies may adopt policies that emphasize equality, mining work is co-constitutive of gender relations, perpetuating the othering of women as their bodies become hypervisible and their care responsibilities are weaponized against them.

While little of this body of research has explicitly connected workplace sexual violence in mining to coloniality, it is worth noting, as Manning does, that mines in Porgera, Papua New Guinea, which remains a French colony, hired more than half their employees from outside of the community (2016, 578). Their justification was based on low levels of education and technical training in the local community; this means that local men mostly work in "low-skilled" positions (578), while the highly-compensated board and leadership of Barrick Gold is mostly composed of white men living in the Global North (585), reinforcing colonial hierarchies of power. Manning links these gendered inequalities in access to work and educational opportunities to structural adjustment programs that Papua New Guinea was forced

to adopt, which forced the country to cut education and other social programs, with a disproportionately negative impact on women (583-4). In this way, histories of colonialism and coloniality make sexual violence more easily normalized and excused.

However, research has not only demonstrated how this violence happens within mining as a workplace, but also spills out of it into the surrounding communities. Research shows that rates of domestic violence and sexual violence are higher in mining communities in general (Manning 581). Tobalagba writes that the influx of male workers modifies these communities' gender dynamics, as this mostly male workforce has access to large amounts of cash with few familial or other financial responsibilities, meaning this money can be spent on alcohol and purchasing sexual services (349). While some scholars, like Tobalagba (2020), position sex work as always inherently a form of sexual violence in ways that reduce the possibilities of agency, Jenkins argues that the presence of sex industries in these communities does enable and encourage male mine workers to sexualize women more in general (335). This further genders women as inferior to men, and normalizes sexual violence against women who are seen as primarily sexual objects of male attention.

Mining can also change gender norms in communities, contributing to domestic and intimate partner violence. Rustad et al describe how this often occurs in post-conflict situations, such as the DRC, where men feel destabilized by changing gender norms, especially when these changes go against patriarchal traditions (477). They describe how un- or underemployed men feel humiliated by their wives outearning them through work in artisanal mining, one of the most accessible forms of work that women in many communities turned to while their husbands were involved in the conflict (Ibid, 478). In Papua New Guinea, Manning describes how sexual violence committed by private security forces towards women linked with illegal mining activities enables further violence towards these women, as the shame and stigma associated

with sexual violence leads to worse treatment by men in their communities (581). Meanwhile, Barrick Gold's remediation framework only covers violence committed by its employees during work hours (582), meaning that the company validates patriarchal views of women who have experienced violence as undeserving of justice.

Their implicit defense may be that communities are already sexist; for instance, in 2011 Peter Munk, founder and then-chairman of the board of Barrick Gold, dismissed questions about gang rape by security guards in Barrick Gold mines in Porgera, Papua New Guinea by referring to gang rape as a "cultural habit" over which the company had no control (Manning 585). However, this ignores the role of mining and coloniality in creating and fostering gendered inequalities in the first place. More than that, in contexts like Papua New Guinea where many Canadian mining companies operate, Indigenous women have often been opposed to mining, but silenced by male-dominated institutions that were created and empowered during the implementation of patriarchal structures through colonialism (Horowitz 2017, 1420). Indeed, Horowitz notes that sexual violence towards Indigenous women in Papua New Guinea began when the first European settlers arrived there to work (1426). It is no wonder, then, that still in the present, Indigenous women in Papua New Guinea are 7 times more likely to experience sexual violence than women in Metropolitain France (1426). The racial hierarchies of coloniality lead to a further silencing of women impacted by mining-related sexual violence, as ethnic solidarity is often formulated by men in ways that exclude women using the justification that there is no time for women's issues while colonial issues, such as mining, still exist (Horowitz 2017, 1422). Instead, men in communities impacted by coloniality choose to participate in the patriarchal structures created by mining companies, or else oppose them through the existing, also patriarchal structures of community life (1427-1429). In the end, it is clear that mining activities strain the gender dynamics of host communities in profound ways that only further re-entrench the coloniality of gender.

Sexual violence is also linked with the use of private security forces and attendant gaps in accountability. Many cases of sexual violence have been linked to private security forces' efforts to curtail illegal, artisanal mining in the areas where companies work; these security forces often use sexual violence to punish women who are or are seen as being connected with illegal mining (Manning 580). While some of this violence has also been carried out by police forces, Imai et al note that Canadian mining companies often play a large role in getting this police intervention in the first place, with one example of a company paying a mayor directly to "keep the peace" (31-2); in Papua New Guinea, Barrick Gold directly oversees the members of the country's police force charged with protecting mine sites (Manning 580). The security industry is one of the largest industries in Papua New Guinea, where many Canadian mines are located, and increasingly relied upon to fill gaps in the state's capacity (Lusby 2017, 25). Lusby found that mining companies deliberately fostered a pseudo-military environment, prioritizing "discipline and loyalty" and using militaristic tactics to engender such loyalty (Ibid 30). In interviews, they characterized violence as "redemptive and helpful," and saw their role as centered on "maintaining peace" through occasional use of state- and company-sanctioned violence (31). While these guards said they were opposed to domestic and sexual violence, their comments on the issue revealed views that they understood women's transgressions of traditional gender roles as almost a kind of violence itself, one requiring punishment (36). These views are revealing of the kind of culture that may be common in private mining security forces, but as Pettinger argues, this culture cannot be understood as separate from the economic relations (463) of coloniality in which mining and mining-related sexual violence occur.

Indeed, this culture of normalized masculine violence without accountability forms part of a broader history in regards to, for example, police and military forces in Papua New Guinea, a phenomenon that has been documented in many other contexts as well (Manning 580-581). These security forces are hired by companies to ensure that illegal mining is not happening,

and use sexual violence to "punish" the mostly Indigenous women who engage in it largely because they have been excluded from other forms of paid work (Manning 579). Further, these women are often merely exercising their rights to use the land, a right supposedly guaranteed by the law of the country (579-580). The colonial structures in which mining companies operate ensure that these companies can maximize their profits at the expense of Indigenous women, who experience none of the benefits of mining and all (or a disproportionate amount) of its harms.

Further, much of the existing research on mining and sexual violence has used legal perspectives to show how the lack of accountability for states and corporations involved creates a grey area in which sexual violence associated with mining companies is able to continue. Simons argues the connection between mining and sexual violence forms part of the broader failure of international law to properly hold corporations accountable (424), and the reliance of neoliberal globalization on "strategic regulation and deregulation" (Ibid, 429). International human rights conventions like CEDAW have failed to tackle the issue of citizens of a country perpetrating violence, and particularly sexual violence, abroad (427). Another way this lack of regulation presents itself is with the use of subsidiaries, in which parent companies take on all the profits and none of the legal liabilities related to mining (Imai et al 209). This regulatory gap is gendered, with "women's issues" relegated to realms of law, like international law, where there is no enforcement (Simons 429).

Perhaps unsurprisingly, when it comes to Canadian mining companies, there is a discrepancy between what academics and other independent researchers have reported and what companies have done, particularly in the vast under-reporting of sexual violence (Imai et al 24). Simons describes how the Canadian government has claimed to have "no legal means to prevent or sanction Canadian companies operating in zones of weak governance" (419). Instead, Canada

uses voluntary Corporate Social Responsibility codes as the main way of enforcing the conduct of Canadian corporations abroad, while the two main government offices responsible for such matters don't conduct investigations and can't regulate companies (Imai et al, 5). Imai et al note that it is clear that companies are aware of the violence and unrest that often accompany the construction of a new mine, mentioning it in disclosure documents, with Barrick Gold even acknowledging the possibility that their own employees may not "respect...human rights" (21) — but the lack of accountability means that they do not have to act on these risks. Canadian government policy generally has relied less on enforcement than on education and corporate social responsibility (Ibid, 38). Tobalagba, meanwhile, discusses gaps in other forms of international governance, like how OECD guidance situates sexual violence as extreme and disregards the roles of companies themselves in creating the problem itself (354). Without any means or will to implement regulations on an international or domestic level, and without supranational bodies to advocate for such measures, it is no wonder that sexual violence in conjunction with mining continues to be met with indifference.

This, too, is not coincidental but tied to colonial power imbalances between nations. Manning mentions that Canadian aid has often been tied to "corporate interests," with close partnerships between the Canadian government and companies like Barrick Gold being funded through Canada's former Canadian International Development Agency (now Global Affairs Canada) (576). Meanwhile, the Canadian parliament voted against measures to hold Canadian mining companies accountable for violence committed by their employees abroad (Manning 585). Perhaps this is unsurprising, given the profits Canadian mining companies generate for the Canadian government as well as the Canadian public through, for instance, the Canadian Pension Plan, which is invested in Barrick Gold (584). Meanwhile, governments in the Global South are often forbidden from regulating transnational companies, like mining companies, as part of structural adjustment programs, meaning that Canada's lack of enforcement is then

forced onto Papua New Guinea in the name of "development." (Manning 584) By reinscribing colonial gender relations in which sexual violence against Indigenous women does not matter as much as the "violence" of women who transgress gender norms and engage in illegal mining, Canada is able to continue to benefit from mining activities.

Conclusion

Thus, the FIAP and other Canadian policies and practices must be contextualized within the country's ongoing conditions of settler colonialism within Canada, and foreign relations that are marked by coloniality. This includes a heavy dependence on resource extraction, an industry that that produces conditions of violence against women in the Global South by positioning these women as expendable and allowing violence against them as an unavoidable cost of making profit. These political economic relations of violence are excused and justified through Canadian mythologies of benevolence through multiculturalism, ideas which detract attention from the harms Canada is responsible for and continues to profit from. While existing research has begun to map these political economic relations, there is a lack of research on how exactly Canada and its policies address (or don't address) the violence of Canadian resource extraction. In subsequent chapters, I will develop my analysis of the FIAP to show how mythologies of Canadian exceptionalism are constructed and the function they play in excusing Canadian violence.

Literature Review

In my research, I will aim to contribute to knowledge production about the relationship between policies related to gender equality and state branding. More specifically, I will be bringing together critical perspectives on international development with research on sexual violence to show the function of depoliticizing discourses about sexual and gender-based violence for Canada's aims in constructing a benevolent international image.

Thus my research will contribute to critical understandings of the role of feminist foreign policy, and understanding neoliberal approaches to sexual violence within this.

In this chapter, I will begin with an overview of critical research on feminist foreign policy, including Canada's FIAP, and more broadly the coloniality of international development. I will then move into research on neoliberal and colonial approaches to addressing gender-based violence to situate the kinds of work that is being done by NGOs (and Canada) in the realm of international development.

Feminist Foreign Policy

Feminist foreign policy is an emerging area for countries in the Global North, with Sweden introducing the first such policy in 2014 (Bergman Rosamond et al 2023) and Canada becoming the second, introducing its FIAP in 2017 (Parisi 2020, 163). Put in place by left-leaning political parties, feminist foreign policies then spread to other countries, so that by 2023 there were such policies in Sweden, Canada, France, Luxembourg, Mexico and Spain, with policies in the works in Germany, Chile and Libya (Zhukova 2023, 845). While some scholars have lauded such efforts and analyzed them in technical terms (eg, Rao and Tiessen 2020), more critical scholars have contributed to research that demonstrates that such policies are not

neutral and are part of efforts of nation states to use feminist ideals to improve their international images. Karlsson introduces the idea of foreign policy as something to be "sold", looking at the example of Sweden's policy to argue that the government's focus on "relatability" and "sellability" has led to tradeoffs in the construction of gender equality in the policy, ultimately contributing to the policy being rolled back with growing right-wing sentiment in Sweden (2024, 10). Here, Karlsson takes as a given the technical benefits of having a "feminist" policy. Zhukova argues that feminist foreign policy-making has become a site of competition between states in ways that reproduce colonial hierarchies of power hierarchies in international relations (864), although Zhukova is more interested in how these hierarchies are symbolically gendered than in their relationship with coloniality. Bergman Rosamond and Hedling situated such policies as a component of state feminism, a combination of women and feminist's engagement in political life and the state's (purported) support for feminist causes and movements (2022, 306). For instance, Berman Rosamond et al argue that Canada and Sweden's feminist foreign policies are deeply shaped by the colonial legacies of both countries, with these legacies informing both domestic and foreign policies and practices (2023). However, their critique is made through a framework of "care needs" that still assumes it as possible that the Canadian state could provide "care" to Indigenous populations, criticizing the Canadian state for its "paternalistic care" towards Indigenous populations it subjected to centuries of genocidal violence, a framing that suggests a possibility of repair by the Canadian state even as they question its "feminist benevolence" as a re-enactment of its colonial violence (17). This stands in contrast to strong assertions from Indigenous scholars and writers that "reconciliation" is impossible as long as the colonial nation state of Canada exists (Manuel 2017). Similarly, Bergman Rosamond and Hedling analyze how Sweden's feminist foreign policy works to build on narratives of Sweden's exceptionalism as the first country to make such a policy and ultimately produces "new binaries" between feminist nations like Sweden

and backwards nations that do not integrate feminist principles into their foreign policy. However, their research also takes at face value the "feminist ambitions" of Sweden's policy.

More broadly, this research on feminist foreign policy largely employs post-structuralist approaches and has also largely not engaged with political economic relations of the countries developing such policies. This is what I will contribute by analyzing Canada's FIAP in the context of Canada's political economic relations.

Canada and the FIAP

In the case of the FIAP, Zhukova argues that it makes economic concerns even more central than Sweden's feminist foreign policy does, and notes that Canada's policy emerges from a longer-term focus on human security from Canadian international development programming (845). Indeed, Parisi argues that the FIAP's central conceptualization of gender equality is as a barrier to economic growth (165). Like Sweden's policy, some have argued that the FIAP perpetuates the image of Canada as a "good and moral force" in the world (Parisi 165). Rao and Tiessen note that the process of developing the policy did not adequately consult civil society partners in the countries where GAC works (2020). As a result, many partner organizations had varying views of the meaning of gender equality (Rao and Tiessen, 360)

Existing research has examined the Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP) as a neoliberal tool for Canada to manage its international reputation. Parisi (2020) situates the FIAP broadly within the history of Canadian international development policy and its use of ideas of gender to maintain a positive, innocent global image of Canada, as well as creating a new separation from the US and "rebranding" after years of Conservative party government. Parisi argues that the policy embodies both "feminist neoliberalism and neoliberal feminism", with the former promoting gender equality as sound economic policy while the latter sees neoliberal economic policies as the best way of achieving gender equality; these two

approaches are "relational and overlapping" in the FIAP, and both form part of how the policy works to construct Canada as a "good international citizen". These analyses will be critical for me to conceptualize the policy as part of a broader colonial project.

Previous research has also examined how the FIAP conceptualizes gender and gendered inequalities. Cadesky (2020) examined how the FIAP essentializes women to characterize them as mothers and caregivers without analyzing the social and political processes through which these roles come to exist. According to Morton et al (2020), the policy also employs an idea of empowerment that infantilizes women in the Global South (though Morton et al do not analyze this infantilization through the lens of race or coloniality). Cadesky also discusses how the FIAP employs an individualistic focus on empowerment, instead of focusing on gender equality, which would enable an understanding of structural forces that disempower individual women; in the FIAP, gender equality and empowerment are conflated. Cadesky also argues that the FIAP takes an instrumentalist approach, seeing gender equality as a tool for enabling other forms of social and economic equality. In the process, Cadesky argues that it makes women responsible for solving other issues. Rao and Tiessen also see the policy as instrumentalizing gender equality, (2020, 354-5), pointing out that the policy makes only surface-level mentions of gender inequalities without analyzing systems and structures of oppression as they relate to gender. These analyses thus describe the FIAP's conceptualization of gender as shallow and decontextualized; however, most analysis of the FIAP in this vein has assumed the neutrality of Canada and taken for granted an interest by the state in achieving some form of gender equality and the possibility of gender equality existing in a settler colonial state. It is also worth considering Wilson's critique of dominant neoliberal approaches to gender and development that "do not simply 'instrumentalize' and dilute gender equality objectives" but rather "these approaches to gender, and the specific models of material development they are embedded in, rely on, and actively reinforce and extend, existing

patriarchal structures and gendered relationships of power. (2015, 5). Little of the critical research on the FIAP extends its analysis to the extent of this type of analysis.

Several scholars have examined how the policy claims, but fails, to incorporate the concept of intersectionality to understand the relationships between gendered and other forms of oppression. Mason (2019) describes how the movement of intersectionality from academic theory to becoming a depoliticized buzzword has caused inconsistent understandings of the concept, such as those employed by the FIAP. According to Morton et al, this policy makes mention of various marginalized groups but still homogenizes women as a category, ignoring other systems of oppression (2020). Rao and Tiessen note that the policy places little emphasis on intersectionality, and Parisi describes how the FIAP mostly employs an additive model of oppression, and where it mentions intersectionality, does not incorporate insights from, or even name scholars of, intersectional theory. This dovetails with critiques of other Canadian policies and Canada's work in international development more broadly. Abraham (2015) describes how international development discourses, including those used by Canada's former Women in Development program (now subsumed under the Global Affairs Canada through the FIAP) instrumentalizes gender. In a similar vein, Wehbi et al (2010) describe how disabled people are erased from Canadian international development discourses and, when they are present, are used to reinforce colonial discourses that position the Global South as inferior to Canada. However, these analyses miss the opportunity to question the strategic function of shallow discourses around gender and other systems of oppression for the Canadian state.

In situating Canada within the global state system, other scholars have written about the contradictions in Canada's approach to international relations, adopting the "feminist" FIAP but still perpetuating colonial violence in other ways. Swan (2022) describes how Canada's FIAP depends on the "anti-politics machine," a mechanism through which international

development policies and practice work to depoliticize issues such as Israeli settler colonialism, severing the connection between structural forces and problems like poverty that arise from them. With regards to gender specifically, Swan writes that technocratic policies erase the connection between politics and gender relations, as in the example of Canadian funding to Gaza, which focuses on humanitarian assistance on the one hand while Canada continues to enable the brutality of Israel's occupation of Palestine on the other. Cadesky similarly writes about how the FIAP works to give Canada "political cover" for engaging in foreign policy practices that disempower women, such as supporting Saudi Arabian attacks on Yemen. Aylward and Brown (2020) similarly highlight how Canadian international development policies and practices take contradictory approaches to issues of sexual orientation and gender identity, mentioning LGBTQ+ communities and identities as needing protection but still not prohibiting funding to organizations that themselves actively work to perpetuate discrimination against these communities. While these analyses have characterized such contradictions as a flaw of the FIAP, past research has not extended these examinations to fully understand Canadian policies not as failing to live up to stated values and ideals due to poor policy-writing, but actually succeeding in depoliticizing such ideas in order to continue a broader project of coloniality. These connections between coloniality and gender-based violence within the FIAP are what I want to develop further in my research.

International Development

In the realm of critical scholarship on international development more broadly, past research has worked to establish the link between conceptualizations of gender and coloniality. Dogra (2011) writes about how representations of "third world women" in INGO fundraising and advocacy materials essentialize women as a homogenous, powerless group of victims while distracting from the structural causes of problems like poverty. Writing about Icelandic

international development policies, Loftsdóttir (2012) examines how these perpetuate nationalistic and imperialist notions of Europe as the origin of ideas of justice and equality. Kothari (2006, in Abraham 2015) describes how race is "silent but prevalent" in the field of international development, implicitly appearing through the creation of ideas of "distance, difference, and otherness" that work to frame the "developing" world in opposition to, and needing the help of, the industrialized world (5-6). Meanwhile, Uma Kothari (2005) draws a throughline from colonial administration to current development practice, arguing that there is a continuity in the coloniality of knowledge and power from colonial regimes to current neoliberal regimes that value "professionalism" in a way that reinforces the continuation of colonial power inequalities (428-9). She argues that this reflects the universalization that is core to neoliberal approaches (Ibid), in this way linking coloniality with neoliberal rationality. This is a connection that I will seek to build on in examining the function of neoliberal ideas of violence in the FIAP.

Sexual Violence

There is also a body of research on gender-based violence and sexual violence in international development specifically, situating many interventions in colonial power dynamics. Menzel and Tschorner (2023) write about how de-politicization and technicalization shape donor priorities in international development programming, describing how donor priorities are often unrelated to local conceptualizations of issues relating to gender-based violence. They demonstrate this through comparing the prominence of frames of sexual violence as "wartime rape" in the DRC compared with the emphasis on domestic violence in Sierra Leone. However, their analysis does not include coloniality as a theoretical frame and as such leaves room for conceptual development in terms of the power dynamics at work in the relationships between donors and local organizations. Ticktin argues that interventions demonstrate "humanitarianism

at its limit", (2011, 261) arguing that these forms of violence emerge clearly from structural causes that depoliticized, crisis-based humanitarian approaches cannot pretend to solve. Veit describes how the "humanitarian machine" depoliticizes sexual and gender-based violence due to its reliance on governance feminism and its transformation of violence from a political to a technical problem (2019).

There is also an emerging body of literature on the instrumentalization of gender equality, albeit without mentioning gender-based violence. Some research uses the concept of femonationalism to illuminate examples, like Colella's analysis of nationalist discourses in Italy (2021) and Garraio's analysis of feminist responses to sexual assaults reported on New Year's Eve in Cologne (2021), where ideas of gender equality have become tied to racist and anti-immigrant sentiments. Humniski argues that the European Union "mythologizes" gender equality as a self-evident "European value" to evade any serious discussion of its actual gender policies (2022). Boyd argues that the new emphasis on girls' education in international development instrumentalizes gender equality in ways that foster inequalities by casting women in the Global South as future participants in capitalist expansion as debtors, consumers, and cheap labour (2016). Mhajne similarly argues that Israel instrumentalized reports of sexual violence to motivate its latest war on Gaza and argues that this is made possible by an emphasis by the West on rape at the exclusion of other structural forms of violence that would otherwise characterize the Israeli occupation of Palestine (2024).

Feminist and political economy research on anti-violence initiatives has also critiqued the neoliberalism of dominant approaches to addressing sexual violence, analyzing how such approaches ignore the structural causes of violence that have been exacerbated by neoliberal economic reforms. Bumiller (2008) analyzes how grassroots feminist anti-violence groups became co-opted by the neoliberal state, resulting in watered-down approaches that fail to

address unequal power relations, including economic ones, as a cause of sexual violence. Gotell (2012) writes about how feminist anti-violence activism in Canada has been weakened by neoliberal state policies, while Beres et al (2009) describe the impacts of these changes on frontline sexual assault and rape crisis centres. However, this research is mostly focused on North American contexts and doesn't include coloniality as a lens of analysis, nor does it, for the most part, focus on the strategic function of such approaches to sexual violence. One exception is Harrington (2022), who describes how neoliberal governments individualize sexual violence as a problem that inhibits women from achieving their "human capital potential." My research will thus build on this existing body of research and bring it into the realm of feminist international relations and feminist political economy.

On the other hand, feminist international relations research about sexual violence has often focused on conflict settings. Adding to feminist international relations debates about the function and conceptualizations of sexual violence and initiatives to address it, my contribution is to integrate such analyses with an understanding of the political economy of Canadian extractivism. While emerging feminist international relations scholarship has examined sexual violence and its political economic roots, some of this scholarship has also been criticized for exceptionalizing violence in conflict situations, removing it from any consideration of structural causes and essentializing women as always automatically victims of male violence (True 2012, 40). Eriksson Baaz and Stern note that the narrative of rape as a weapon of war is "decidedly policy friendly" in its simplicity and universality, but obscures the complexities of war-related sexual violence (2013, 4). Dolan et al similarly note that feminist IR has in some ways fetishized conflict-related sexual violence, oversimplifying complex phenomenon to omit any understanding of the role of sexual pleasure in sexual violence, and depicting peacetime norms as necessarily less violent and more egalitarian (2020). Sara Meger also demonstrates how wartime sexual violence has been securitized and fetishized, and notes that such

securitization does not actually guarantee or even clearly advance the eradication of such violence, allowing sexual violence to move conceptually from feminist research to fitting more comfortable in security paradigms that erase the "underlying social relations" that contribute to violence (51). Autessere (2012) argue that a focus on sexual abuse in conflict in the DRC has obscured a broader and more complex environment of structural violence in the country. My thesis aims to adapt the lessons from this research outside the context of war to look at Canadian extractivism, examining the structural causes of sexual violence in terms of political economy.

Outside of academic research, there are also many decolonial feminist approaches, particularly those created for non-academic audiences, to conceptualizing sexual and gender-based violence that foreground colonial domination as a cause of violence against Indigenous women, both in so-called Canada and the places in the Global South where Canadian companies operate with more impunity. These include the report "Violence on the Land, Violence on our Bodies" by Women's Earth Alliance and the Native Youth Sexual Health Network (2016), which is significant to my analysis in its conceptualization of environmental and sexual and gender-based violence as inherently linked and caused by colonial capitalism.

Canadian Resource Extraction

Meanwhile, my work relies on an understanding of the relationship between resource extraction projects and instances of sexual violence, something I will elaborate on more in the "Context: Canadian Political Economy and Violence" chapter and in my theoretical framework. Specifically, there is an emerging area of research that highlights the role of the Canadian state in instances of sexual violence related to resource extraction, particularly by Canadian companies. This research argues that the Canadian state is abnegating its responsibility for instances of violence that it benefits from Manning (2016) uses intersectionality to demonstrate

how intersections of race, gender, and nationality inform the harms and benefits of different demographics such as male workers and female community members related to mining. Imai et al (2017) conducted a legal analysis to show the responsibility of the Canadian government for cases of sexual violence carried out by workers at Barrick Gold mines. My research will contextualize such cases within the broader Canadian project of depoliticizing sexual violence so that government policies can gesture towards the issue without addressing its colonial roots.

Theoretical Framework

In order to understand how the FIAP conceptualizes gender-based violence, I will rely on a theoretical framework based on decolonial feminist and political economy approaches. I aim to answer the research question "How do Canadian government international development policies, such as the FIAP, conceptualize and address sexual and gender-based violence, and how does this conceptualization constitute colonial power relations?" To do this, I will examine Canadian government discourses about gender-based violence in the context of Canada's political economic relations, particularly centering around resource extraction. Specifically, I will examine these gender equality policies and conceptualizations of violence through the lens of critical perspectives that centre structural causes of sexual and gender-based violence and question the role of gender equality policies from countries like Canada as tools of co-optation of feminist ideals, used to manage countries' reputations. I will also examine the role of such policies in light of Canada's role as a Western power with its own settler colonial history and with significant involvement in international development, peacekeeping, and other seemingly benevolent practices abroad alongside its strong resource extraction industry.

For this purpose, I am drawing on decolonial and feminist political economy theories on violence, international development, and Canada. I will begin with an explanation of the importance of a political economy approach to my topic, then situate Canada as a settler colony and colonial power more broadly, then discuss how gender, race, and intersectionality form essential parts of understanding the political economy of gender-based violence.

Political Economy and Violence

Importantly, True employs a feminist political economy methodology to argue that political-economic forces such as "neoliberal economic restructuring" broadly speaking, work to

produce and enable conditions of violence, writing that "women's economic and social subordination, and not merely men's aggression in the private sphere, makes them especially vulnerable to violence at home, at work or elsewhere." True thus describes a political economy analysis of gender as one that investigates the links between the economic, political, and social realms (42). Such analyses highlight the gendered impacts of political economic issues. Rai says that feminist political economy "critiques mainstream economic theory and policy, suggests alternative modes of analysis that put centre-stage both productive and reproductive economies and develops methodologies to take forward this critique and analysis," and is useful for feminist scholarship on international development because many of the key issues and debates in both fields intersect (2018, 142). For instance, True describes how the exploitation and legal vulnerability of women migrant workers, along with the resentment that gendered regimes of labour can produce in male workers who see the influx of women migrant workers in certain industries and locations, serve to make sexual violence against them excusable and thus more common (2012, 51). True notes that approaches taken by the UN and other multinational bodies that employ more liberal feminist approaches often refuse to connect violence against women to these structural and economic causes (40). This framework forms the basis of my analysis of Global Affairs Canada's approach to gender equality in the FIAP.

Coloniality

Crucial to the thesis' understanding of political economy is Quijano's concept of coloniality as an ongoing project beyond official state colonialism (2000, 533). This is important in understanding Canada as a settler colonial state that also engages in international development practices that cannot be understood as colonial in the traditional sense, but must be situated in the context of the long trajectory of global capitalist expansion through the imposition of Eurocentric ideas of modernity (Quijano 539).

Specifically, I will examine international development policies and practices as co-constitutive of coloniality. Arturo Escobar conceptualizes international development as a "system of relations" generally and a process involving the "restructuring of global culture and political economy" emerging from the post-war era through the invention of the idea of poverty as a problem in the Global South, to which the only solution was economic growth (21). Escobar writes that "the 'third world' has been produced by the discourses and practices of development since their inception." (4) These practices meant the re-formulation of pre-existing inequalities in power between the Global North and Global South based on conceptualizations of modernity (18). Thus, development can be understood as a "discursive formation, giving rise to an efficient apparatus that systematically relates forms of knowledge and techniques of power." (10) As such, I will examine development as first and foremost a discursive formation that produces specific material relations.

As mentioned above, the Eurocentric concept of modernity is crucial for understanding the coloniality of international development, as development discourses rely on divisions of countries based on ideas of modernity. Escobar notes that with the emergence of the field of development came a "transnationalized middle-class experts" who impose ideas of "modernity and rationality" as part of a broader civilizing project, creating new technical language for older, colonial understandings of Third World countries as backwards and needing intervention from the First World (xvi). Mignolo describes modernity as "a complex narrative…that builds Western civilization by celebrating its achievements while hiding at the same time its darker side, 'coloniality' (2). Mignolo thus argues that coloniality is "constitutive of modernity," as conceptualizations of modernity and progress were defined through the development and evolution of processes of coloniality (2-3).

Bergman Rosamond et al, using a "transnational feminist approach", note that foreign and domestic policy must be understood as "mutually constitutive" and "permeable constructs" because in a globalized world, transnational linkages cannot easily be disentangled from the fabric of local everyday life (2022, 5). Thus, the domestic policies of countries like Canada with colonial histories have to be understood in the context of these legacies (Ibid).

Settler Colonialism

In the context of Canada, I will situate coloniality as a structure of power relations within the country- namely, settler colonialism- and transnationally. Settler colonialism is described by Patrick Wolfe as "a structure, not an event," centered on the logic of "elimination" of the people Indigenous to land in order to exploit its resources (2006). The eugenicist logic of settler colonialism imagines that Indigenous people will become "less native" over time until they disappear, becoming "extinct" and therefore no longer a barrier to the expansion of the settler state (Arvin et al 2013, 10). Bergman Rosamond et al, using a "transnational feminist approach", note that foreign and domestic policy must be understood as "mutually constitutive" and "permeable constructs" because in a globalized world, transnational linkages cannot easily be disentangled from the fabric of local everyday life (2022, 5). Thus, the domestic policies of countries like Canada with colonial histories have to be understood in the context of these legacies (Ibid). Indeed Shipley notes the numerous disparate examples of countries, from Somalia to Afghanistan, where Canadian soldiers referred to the locations where they were posted as "Indian Country," (2020, 8) perpetuating a colonial view of their position based on their settler positionalities within Canada. Thus, I understand Canada's political economy as inextricably tied to colonial power relations, with these colonial power relations structuring not just Canada's domestic policies but in turn its international relations.

Race, Intersectionality, and Coloniality

I will also employ the concept of intersectionality to look at the relationships between processes of racialization and gendering, and how they relate to the colonial power relations mentioned above. A political economy analysis of these power dynamics would be incomplete without understanding how they rely on particular constructions and intersections of systems of oppression like those based on race and gender. For instance, past scholarship has argued that Canadian extractivism relies on racializing discourses that position Indigenous populations as lazy and unproductive, making their claims to the land less legitimate than those of European settlers (Preston 2017, 6). Similarly, past research on the coloniality of international development has demonstrated that international development discourses often rely on gendered and racialized tropes of women in "developing countries" as helpless victims of regressive cultures (eg, Abraham 2015). Thus, to incorporate an intersectional framework into my analysis, I will use not only Crenshaw's introduction to the concept (1991) but also will extend it by employing Dhamoon's approach to the concept, centering power relations in my selection of which intersections to examine (239) and understanding interactions and intersections between, for instance, race and gender not in terms of fixed categories but dynamic, historically contingent processes and structures of oppression (234). I will conceptualize gender, race, and other systems of oppression as part of processes of coloniality. For instance, Thobani writes that "colonialism…has been central to the development of western forms of sovereignty as racialized forms of power through the institution of the law within modernity'" (2007, p. 37, in Preston, 5). As such, I will conceptualize race not as merely a system of oppression that intersects with coloniality, but an inherent part of it, particularly in the context of Canada as a settler colony.

Gender and Violence

In order to understand the coloniality of the FIAP, it is essential for me to conceptualize the relationship between gender, and gender-based violence, and coloniality. In my thesis, I will discuss how Canadian international development policies and practices reinforce colonial ideas of gender, casting Canadian women as more empowered and Canada as more egalitarian compared to the countries in the Global South where Canadian international development programming takes place. Therefore, I draw on Maria Lugones's analysis of how coloniality has been imposed through the creation of hierarchical dichotomies of human/non-human in which Indigenous peoples are positioned as pre-modern and savage. (2010, 743) This in turn positions colonized women as "not-human-as-not-yet-women" (2010, 744). As such, colonial violence against women is enabled and justified by this positioning vis-a-vis women in the Global North; this is crucial for understanding the relationship between policies related to gender specifically, like the FIAP, and coloniality.

Chandra Talpade Mohanty characterizes Western feminism as dangerously universalizing in its use of the idea of the "Third World Woman" as a "singular monolithic subject" (1984, 333) that relies on the idea of the "West" as default and prioritizes issues for feminist organizing accordingly. This conceptualization sees Third World Women as an "already constituted group defined by victimization" (339), casting Third World men as automatically perpetrators of violence rather than producing context-specific analyses of specific gender relations (341). Lugones has also argued that the assumption of the universality of colonial ideas of gender "obscures ratehr than uncovers the organization of life among the colonized" (2020, 30). In other words, Western feminist analyses of gender-based violence, like that of the FIAP, have universalizing tendencies that risk reproducing colonial power dynamics.

For the purpose of my thesis, I use Jacqui True's conceptualization of violence against women as including instances of "rape and sexual abuse, forced trafficking, intimate partner violence, female genital mutilation, maternal death, femicide, dowry deaths, honour killings, female infanticide, sexual harassment and forced and early marriage" (39). While True uses the term violence against women, I will largely use the term sexual and gender-based violence to include in this definition forms of violence against men and boys; I will use the term "violence against women" where the source I am drawing on uses this term, and otherwise use the term "sexual and gender based violence."

Methodology

In order to examine Canadian coloniality, I focus on the FIAP, the cornerstone of Canada's focus on gender equality as a tool for creating a positive, progressive Canadian brand on the global stage (Parisi 2020).

I aim to examine the Feminist International Assistance Policy in the context of Canada's political economy and specifically its relations with practices of violence. For this reason, I examine not only the FIAP document itself, but aim to situate it in the context of Canada's political economy of resource extraction. I then seek to understand how the policy has shaped Canadian international development programming and how (and to what end) the FIAP's conceptualization of gender-based violence is operationalized in the real world, and how it relates to the regulation (or lack thereof) of Canadian resource extraction companies and instances of violence that occur alongside their operations.

To do this, I examine not only the language used by the FIAP, but also follow the implications of this conceptualization of gender equality to see their impacts on real-world programming. I examine projects funded by Global Affairs Canada (GAC) since the passing of the FIAP, which are all required to conform to its guidelines. I highlight case studies of programs funded after the implementation of the FIAP that address sexual and gender-based violence to examine what the implementation of the FIAP has meant for GAC's approach to these issues. I also examine the discourses employed by the Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights, one of the voluntary mechanisms Canada has for regulating its companies' operations abroad, to understand how they conceptualize sexual and gender-based violence and how this relates to Canadian extractivism.

Further, I conducted 4 interviews. Given the difficulty in arranging interviews with Global Affairs Canada staff who work closely with the policy itself, I instead focused on interviewing people impacted by the policy, to understand how they see the links between Canadian coloniality and gendered and environmental violence (and whether or how they see the FIAP as part of this). The interviewees include staff from four Canadian NGOs that work in the field of international development. These NGOs were selected as recipients of funding from Global Affairs Canada who implement gender-related programming and as such have to follow the guidelines set out by the FIAP[1]. One of these NGOs received additional funding from GAC specifically related to combatting gender-based violence. Interviewee 1 works on gender equality issues at a large international development organization, and in their comments on the FIAP they focused largely on gender-based violence as an issue of social norms. Interviewee 2 works at an organization that focuses on torture, and in their interview spoke more abstractly about torture in relation to human rights, connecting many of their answers to human rights conventions and other legal documents. Interviewee 3 works at a small media development organization, and in our interview they were the most interested in the geopolitical implications of the FIAP. Interviewee 4 works at a relatively new gender equality-focused organization that was established as a "signature initiative" of the FIAP, and as such they work most closely with the Canadian government; in spite of this, their comments were the most critical of Canada and its colonial history and present. I elaborate more on the contents of these interviews in Analytical Chapter 3.

My methodology is based on the approach of critical discourse analysis outlined by Fairclough, drawing especially on Marianne Jorgenson's elaboration of these concepts, which sees discourse in "a dialectical relationship with other social dimensions" (2002, 61), and the ways

[1] I have not included the interview transcripts in the thesis due to word count restrictions, but they are available to be shared upon request with any interested readers.

in which knowledge is socially constructed (5), as well as the ways that discourses are never fixed but change in interaction with social processes, particularly those that relate to power structures (6-7). Jorgenson notes that Fairclough sees discourse as an important, but just one of, the parts of social realities (7). Further, critical discourse analysis has as an explicit aim to uncover and challenge the ways in which discursive practices maintain and reproduce societal power relations and inequalities (63). I combine this with an interpretive policy approach, which foregrounds the "underlying problems and unintended consequences" of policies (Bartels, N.d) and pays close attention to the power dynamics of policy analysis (Yanow 2010, 116).

Indeed, Fairclough emphasizes the relationship between texts and the contexts in which they are produced, noting that texts are embedded in the "social matrix of discourse" (1992, 237). Thus, it is not enough to analyze the language used by a policy itself without examining its social, political, and economic context. In the case of the FIAP, I will examine it in the context of Canada's foreign relations more broadly, and particularly its political economy of resource extraction, to get a fuller view of Canada's relationship with sexual and gender-based violence.

Some limitations of this research are the scope of my analysis. In analyzing GAC programs, I was not able to find in-depth information about each program, so the case studies featured only cover the descriptions of these projects available in the GAC Project Browser, a list of GAC-funded projects with key details about each project including short descriptions. They are thus missing a full and detailed understanding of the work these projects are doing. In terms of interviews, I wasn't able to secure interviews with anyone at Global Affairs Canada, and I interviewed only a limited number of NGO staff. As well, in interviewing NGO workers who apply the FIAP to their work, many seemed hesitant to speak critically about Global Affairs Canada, despite being reassured that their comments would be anonymized.

More broadly, in trying to argue that the Canadian government uses depoliticized conceptualizations of violence to cover for the violence of Canadian resource extraction activities, there is a lack of policy documents or comments from politicians that directly address this violence. I thus make the connection between the FIAP's branding of Canada and Canadian resource extraction through examining common discursive threads between the FIAP and Canadian approaches to holding mining companies accountable for sexual and gender-based violence.

Analytical Chapter 1: FIAP Analysis

In the coming analytical chapters, I will analyze the discourses Canada employs to depoliticize sexual and gender-based violence across different media, beginning with the FIAP itself and then examining what the FIAP means for GAC-funded programs, both in how these programs are described and in how implementing partners understand them. I then move to examining the discourses employed by the Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights to see how they conceptualize gender-based violence and what the similarities between their conceptualizations and that of the FIAP say about Canadian extractivism.

Part 1: Gender-Based Violence in the FIAP

In this chapter, I examine the language of the FIAP policy itself to see how it conceptualizes gender-based violence. This analysis makes it clear that the FIAP conceptualizes sexual and gender-based violence through a neoliberal approach that positions violence as a technical problem with technical solutions. This approach obscures the relationship between Canada's colonial capitalist economic relations and gender-based violence, instead brushing over the causes of this violence. When its causes are described or implied, it is to imagine sexual and gender-based violence as a problem of technical knowledge, the result of a lack of proper training (which Canada is well positioned to provide) or else a cultural problem related to the backwards traditions of the Global South, decontextualized from unequal power relations between countries.

First, it is worth noting that the policy does not actually offer an analysis of what gender inequality is, or what sexual and gender-based violence is. Instead, the policy follows two introductions by the relevant Canadian ministers by delving into different issue areas it aims to tackle, which are: Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women and Girls (core

action area), Human Dignity (health and nutrition, education, humanitarian action), Growth that Works for Everyone, Environment and Climate Action, Inclusive Governance, and Peace and Security. Instead of beginning with what gender equality is and understanding how its different causes can be addressed, which would come back to questions of political economy, the policy segments these different areas to point towards narrow and technical solutions, as if gender equality in health care is inherently different than gender equality in the humanitarian sphere.

Indeed, the policy thus mostly mentions such issues, including sexual and gender-based violence, by listing them when describing the types of initiatives that it will introduce to tackle these issues. In this way, it presents a shallow analysis of how sexual and gender-based violence comes to exist: these are presented as isolated issues removed from their root causes. For instance, "Canada will ensure that investments in education include provisions for separate and appropriate washroom facilities, as well as systems to help manage menstrual hygiene, and that support is given to programs that help prevent and respond to school-related gender-based violence." The policy also lists the type of health programming it will lead Canada to focus on, which include "initiatives that help fight infectious diseases through equity-based approaches and a focus on diseases, such as HIV, that particularly affect women and girls…and that address the ongoing challenge of sexual and gender-based violence." In this way, sexual and gender-based violence is disconnected from other issues while being grouped together broadly. Further, the relationship between gender-based violence and gender equality more broadly is only implied: sexual violence is situated as a discrete issue, separate from, for instance, fighting infectious diseases. In this way, the policy evades any discussion of the root causes of sexual and gender-based violence. In describing the gendered challenges faced by women, the FIAP describes high rates of gender-based violence under the broader heading of "more family responsibilities and fewer opportunities." Here, GBV is listed along with "greater burdens of

unpaid care work" and "fewer assets and resources" as well as women being "forced into early marriage", as one of many gender-related issues. Similarly, in the category of gender and health, the policy says that it will focus on programs that "that address the ongoing challenge of sexual and gender-based violence," again describing this as a vague problem that naturally exists and does not need to be elaborated on. There is an implicit link here between these different forms of gendered inequalities but the commonality is not elaborated on, nor are the causes of these issues actually acknowledged or discussed. This framing of gender based-violence isolates symptoms of violence from their causes, and in doing so sidesteps any discussion of colonial power structures and Canada's reliance on them.

Naturalizing and Normalizing Violence

The policy also often describes sexual violence as if it is natural and inevitable, or at least as if its causes cannot be addressed directly. For instance, it often uses passive language to frame sexual and gender-based violence, for instance listing as a gender-based challenge that women experience: "In many of the world's poorest countries, in comparison to men and boys, women and girls face greater burdens of unpaid work, have fewer assets and resources, are exposed to higher rates of sexual and gender-based violence, and are more likely to be forced into early marriage." There is no mention of who is enacting this violence, what it looks like, and what causes it; instead, violence is a challenge that women face and that they are then made responsible for addressing. By not naming the causes of violence at all, this discourse serves to reinforce the idea that violence is inevitable and cannot be eliminated.

The policy also often positions sexual and gender-based violence as accidental, something that happens because of misconceptions about consent and that thus can be addressed through awareness-raising. On the topic of the rights of adolescent girls, the policy states that "many have an inadequate understanding of their sexual and reproductive health and rights, and

many face sexual and gender-based violence." This implies that there is a connection between the inadequate understandings of these girls and the fact that they experience violence. Not only is this problematic for erasing the role of perpetrators, this also ignores the structural causes of sexual and gender-based violence and the structural factors that allow it to continue, instead situating it as a problem of individual bad men who are merely uneducated. Conceptualizing violence as a problem of awareness for women and girls in this way responsibilizes those at risk of violence for preventing it, ignoring how instances of violence are enabled by societal power imbalances. For instance, women may be aware that what they are experiencing constitutes domestic violence but have no recourse for leaving a relationship due to poverty and legal constraints. As Dogra notes, this decontextualized focus on awareness ignores the strategic decision-making women have to make in instances of violence (342). This approach goes against feminist perspectives on violence that see sexual and gender-based violence not as being an unfortunate outcome of men's biologically violent nature but about power and control (for instance, Brownmiller 1975), an understanding that would mean that the awareness of women means little to perpetrators of violence who may be well aware that they are violating the principles of consent but also know that they are unlikely to face consequences for it.

A related form of depoliticization evident in the policy is the medicalization of sexual and gender-based violence. This becomes clear in the interventions, when they are more specifically stated, that are suggested for addressing sexual and gender-based violence. For instance, in the humanitarian sphere, the policy says that Canada will "dedicate a portion of its humanitarian assistance funding to providing counselling and psychosocial support to those in need", also mentioning the need for "stronger measures to keep people safe and help survivors rebuild their lives." While this does mention vaguely the notion of keeping people safe, its main focus is on the aftermath of violence. Here, instead of a structural issue, violence is

primarily an individual issue that can be dealt with through medical care without disrupting or even questioning the structures that make it possible for violence to happen. It is also indicative that programs" that address the ongoing challenge of sexual and gender-based violence" are listed as one of the focus areas under health in the policy, as part of "programs and projects that put gender at the heart of their efforts to improve health care." This further reinscribes sexual and gender-based violence as (primarily or largely) a health issue. The language of "ongoing challenge" also harkens to the language of epidemics and of health issues as natural and scientific, rather than produced by social phenomena; Lauren Berlant describes how the framing of issues like obesity as "epidemic" or a "crisis" obscures their origins in deeply entrenched, historically emergent social causes (2007).

Violence as a Cultural Issue

The policy also often attributes sexual and gender-based violence to vaguely-defined cultural causes, linking to colonial ideas of "third world" cultures as backward and uniquely unequal. This then gives cover to Canadian coloniality, which, as numerous scholars have noted, has and continues to impose patriarchal norms onto Indigenous sexualities (for instance, Burns 2020).

What the policy says directly about sexual and gender-based violence is that its programming "will include support for comprehensive approaches that help end these forms of violence so that fewer women and girls are subjected to domestic violence; intimate-partner violence; trafficking and exploitation; child, early and forced marriage; and female genital mutilation/cutting." By grouping together phenomena like female genital mutilation/cutting with domestic and intimate partner violence, the policy reinforces the idea of sexual violence as primarily a cultural problem, linked to social norms that make violence possible. Such an analysis ignores how cultural phenomena may be co-constitutive with economic relations. This

also reinforces racist and colonial ideas about the backwards cultures of developing countries. Indeed, Kothari notes how terminology related to "tribalism, ethnicity, tradition, and culture" are often used in development discourses to imply race without stating it outright (in Abraham, 19). Dogra also describes how international development discourses rely on depictions of women in the Global South as "traditional and religious" (338), for instance absenting men to connote that these women are from gender-segregated cultures to then invoke paternalistic impulses in the Western audience of such materials (338-9).

Violence as a Distraction from Economic Production

The policy also describes sexual and gender-based violence as an economic problem, instrumentalizing gender equality as a way of enabling full participation in capitalist economic production. For instance, it describes the situation of women in the Global South as such: "In many of the world's poorest countries, in comparison to men and boys, women and girls face greater burdens of unpaid work, have fewer assets and resources, are exposed to higher rates of sexual and gender-based violence, and are more likely to be forced into early marriage." Sexual and gender-based violence is grouped together with economic inequality. Here, there is no analysis attempting to link labour market participation and gender or to discuss the class inequalities that impact these gender differences. This is not just a matter of intersectionality but also political economy. The policy has no discussion of how the labour market is structured by capitalist economic relations in ways that depend on, and reproduce, gender inequality, and how these relations may be impacted by Canadian intervention. Indeed, Jacqui True describes how policies of trade liberalization and marketization, such as those that Canada advances, are associated with increases in violence against women (50). In many contexts this is made worse by lessened social safety nets and the creation of free trade zones that create an influx of young,

poorly-paid young migrant women who are then made vulnerable to violence with little legal recourse or protection (49).

The policy's depiction of women's labour market participation can also be further problematized. Dogra notes that, in a scan of international development NGO public-facing materials and the images they use, the few depictions of Global South women outside of traditional gender roles is in the realm of work (339). These depictions fit into the "neoliberal logic of 'good economic sense,'" which position women as an instrument of development only (Ibid). It also reinforces patriarchal ideas about women's agency, imagining that they only work out of sheer necessity or because they have been abandoned by male breadwinners (Ibid). Abraham describes how the trope of women's labouring bodies taps into racist ideas of, for instance, black women as more resilient than delicate white women, or rural women as tougher than civilized women from the developed world (13). Further, a focus on empowerment can also obscure how constructions of gender are tied up in economic relations, so that, for instance, men who feel their status in society is threatened by women's economic advances may become more violent towards their female partners (True 48). These effects may be exacerbated by global power inequalities. For instance, True gives an example from Kuwait, where men saw gender equality as an unwanted symbol of liberalization and took out their anger about this against women (49). However, this cannot only be understood as a matter of negative gender norms but also of the competition introduced by, for instance, trade liberalization and the creation of free trade zones filled with industries that primarily hired women. In many of these cases, the influx of female workers lowered wages for all and made jobs available for men more scarce, creating a sense of resentment that must be understood in the context of scarce economic resources (True 49).

Thus, the FIAP conceptualizes gender-based violence as a natural and technical problem, a conceptualization that I will connect to Canadian coloniality to demonstrate how it gives a cover to the violence of Canadian resource extraction.

Part 2: Colonial feminism and Canadian Benevolence in the FIAP

In this section, I will look at how the policy depicts Canada, arguing that it re-inscribes gender equality as a "Canadian value" in ways that reify Canada's reputation as a "peacekeeping nation" (as I have discussed in more detail in the "Context: Canadian Political Economy and Violence" chapter). This image of Canada, I will argue, serves to reinscribe colonial hierarchies of power that position Canada above countries that receive its international development funding. Examining the ways that the policy describes Canada and its role in international development thus reveals how this image of Canada is constructed and how it enables Canada to depoliticize violence more broadly.

As I have argued in the earlier "Context: Canadian Political Economy and Violence" chapter, Canadian nationalism has often been linked to multiculturalism, an idea that serves to whitewash the violence that undergirds Canadian settler colonialism and extractivism. In the discursive construction of Canada, the FIAP employs ideas of gender equality to perpetuate a form of nationalism that relies on Canadian benevolence.

First, the policy advances a colonial view of Canada as inherently more egalitarian than other countries. The policy says that it is based on "Canada's expertise and comparative advantage," (Global Affairs Canada, 2017) and that Canada is well positioned to "help the people of the world's developing countries," that it is "worth reminding ourselves why we

step up." (Ibid) It also notes that "we are positioning Canada at the forefront of this global effort." The Minister's letter begins by saying that "I will speak up for the poorest and most vulnerable, especially women and girls, and they can count on the commitment and expertise of our team". (Ibid) The policy doesn't define what gender equality means or describe why it is lacking in some places, or why Canada has achieved leadership in it. The policy and its announcements instead rely on stereotypes of "developing countries" as backwards and lacking in equality. The policy's lack of mention of colonial power relations thus serves to reinforce these power relations, giving no explanation of how coloniality created gendered hierarchies, let alone addressing how these gendered inequalities are further entrenched by colonial power relations. In turn, this justifies continued coloniality as Canada's leadership on gender equality makes it necessary for the Canadian Minister of International Development to "speak up for" the colonized women who are in turn understood as unable to speak for themselves (Spivak, 1988).

The policy positions gender equality as a (uniquely) and inherently Canadian quality, stating that the policy "reflects Canadian values" (Global Affairs Canada, 2017). This description imagines that Canada donates to international development programming merely out of benevolence, rather than because doing so benefits Canada. In turn, this erases the structural and political economic causes of gender inequality, imagining that inequality is just a problem of bad intentions rather than power dynamics that benefit some — namely, those in the Global North — over others. These power dynamics are what I refer to as Canadian coloniality.

Further, the policy describes gender equality as a primarily economic goal, noting that ""This is a matter of basic justice and also basic economics" (Global Affairs Canada, 2017). It says

that “empowering women, overseas and here at home, makes families and countries more prosperous,” and notes that “Women already generate nearly 40 percent of the world’s gross domestic product (GDP) and the potential for further growth led by women is relatively untapped” (Ibid). Aside from problematically instrumentalizing gender equality for economic reasons, this conceptualization reveals the neoliberalism of the Canadian government’s approach to gender equality, something that Mignolo describes as the “transnational ideology of the market” (2011, 161). In the Canadian context specifically, this fits conveniently with Canadian narratives of multiculturalism in their reliance on the idea of equal opportunities; structures of racism and imperialism, both within Canada and abroad, are imagined to be easily eliminated simply through Canadian goodwill and dedication. Thus, by demonstrating economic arguments for the importance of gender equality, and imagining gender equality as a matter of integrating women into existing capitalist practices, the policy offers a justification for imperialist and capitalist expansion, excusing their harms in the name of empowering women. This is done by extending the logic of multiculturalism from its Canadian context to the rest of the world; if Canada is giving international development funding to women in the Global South to start businesses and join their countries’ economies, they will surely have no excuse in the future to complain of inequality and injustice. Similarly instrumentalizing is the policy’s emphasis on how gender equality worldwide will benefit Canadians,. For instance, it says that “empowering women, overseas and here at home, makes families and countries more prosperous”, and that “Canada’s international assistance will benefit not only partner communities but also Canadians.” (Global Affairs Canada, 2017) This view is also instrumentalizing, and in this case it also erases the benefits that Canadian companies get from fostering gender inequality in the Global South. This strategy in the policy serves to feed into the multicultural narrative of Canada as a tapestry of people from all around the world, tying in closely with the rhetoric of diversity being

Canada's strength ("Diversity is Canada's strength," 2015). In this way, imagining gender equality worldwide as beneficial to Canada further entrenches narratives of Canadian multicultural benevolence.

Lastly, the policy also reinforces problematic images of women and girls in "developing countries", feeding into racist myths and in turn justifying Canadian coloniality. The policy refers to "The poorest and most vulnerable, especially women and girls" and says that women are "the most vulnerable to poverty, violence and climate change." (Global Affairs Canada, 2017) This mention of vulnerability removes (real) conditions from their structural roots in forms of inequality that Canada perpetuates. However, the policy does not only mention women's vulnerability, but connects it to their need for empowerment — by Canada. For instance, the policy says that "In many countries, a mix of discriminatory laws and policies, coupled with…harmful cultural practices, limits the sexual and reproductive health and rights of women and girls." (Ibid) Here, an implicit difference is created between Canadian women, who benefit from the gender expertise and equality of Canada, and women of the Global South, who are imagined to be helpless victims. Indeed, Eisenstein writes that in nationalist discourses, first world women represent modernity, while colonized women represent tradition (43). Through this conceptualization of women in the Global South, the FIAP reproduces colonial discourses that perpetuate the view of Canada as an egalitarian nation in comparison.

Further, the policy also mobilizes ideas of solidarity and community to flatten global power dynamics, further erasing the violence of which Canada can be understood to be part. The policy says that "We commit to all of this because international solidarity is a shared Canadian value", that "Canada is part of a global community." Describing the role of international volunteering and civil society partnerships in Canada's international development programming, the policy explicitly ties this to Canada's supposed

multiculturalism: “Eager to make a difference, Canadians, including youth and people from our diverse cultural communities, are at the forefront of our international development and humanitarian efforts.” Describing Canada’s actions through this lens erases the unequal terms on which Canada cooperates with other countries, sidestepping any mention of colonial power relations. Tying this to Canadian multiculturalism also erases the forms of violence that result in the inequalities that bring immigrants and refugees from colonized countries in the Global South to Canada. This flattening of power dynamics further entrenches the idea of Canadian benevolence and reifies the position of “developing countries” as less invested in gender equality because of inherent, cultural reasons, rather than because of their history of colonization. This discourse thus works to hide the violence that Canada maintains worldwide — and its gendered dimensions.

Thys, by reproducing Canadian exceptionalist arguments that position the country as welcoming, benevolent, and egalitarian, the FIAP erases Canadian violence abroad and blames the victims of inequality both in and outside of Canada. Further, it entrenches power hierarchies that justify coloniality through the benevolence of countries like Canada that are deserving of their position of power.

Analytical Chapter 2: Conceptualizations of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence in GAC-funded programs

In this chapter, I examine the discourses employed by the project descriptions of international development projects funded by GAC since the inception of the FIAP in order to examine what the policy means for the work GAC implementing partners carry out. To do this, I searched in the GAC project browser, a repository of past and current projects with information about the funding they received, and the results expected and achieved. I examined the language used by all the projects that either received funding after 2017, when the FIAP was implemented, or that had already received funding and were continuing project activities past that year. While not all the projects can be understood in their full scope, the language used by these case studies reveals repeated themes that characterize Canada's approach to understanding and addressing violence.

In different ways, most projects exemplify neoliberal approaches to tackling sexual violence: they imagine sexual violence as an individual issue, as an unstoppable force of nature that cannot be prevented as a complicated technical issue that can be solved only with more knowledge or technology; alternatively, they imagine sexual violence as rooted in social norms and preventable through education. They also often tackle sexual and gender based violence as an issue that can only be addressed after the fact through existing criminal justice and medical systems. These also dovetail with colonial views of cultures in the Global South as more backwards and thus more violent, and needing intervention from enlightened Canada. Examined all together, this chapter shows how these project descriptions reiterate the neoliberal and colonial discourses that can be seen in the policy itself.

Conceptualizations of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence

Fetishization of Technology

These programs advance a neoliberal approach to addressing violence as a technical problem with technical solutions. In its most extreme form, this means funding quick-fix programs that take up notions of innovation: exciting, short-term solutions that promise "new" approaches to existing problems. As Haydon et al describe, much of the scholarship on philanthrocapitalism emphasizes how neoliberal market logics structure philanthropic work, including in international development (2021). For instance, one GAC-funded project delivers "Gender Based Violence (GBV) prevention toolboxes to 100 schools in three provinces in South Africa". This technical approach also involves a fetishization of technology as a tool for social change, characterizing sexual and gender-based violence as problems that are simply too complex to have been solved already and therefore require technological disruption. For instance, another project lists as goals "building and sustaining digital platforms for the promotion of violence prevention including GBV."

Sexual Violence as Mysterious, Complicated, Understudied

Another technical aspect of such projects is an emphasis on the need for more information, ignoring decades of feminist knowledge production on the structural causes of violence as well as their more specific cultural and political manifestations. For instance, GAC includes a project whose goal is that "policy and programming is increasingly informed by an expanded knowledge base on effective approaches to prevent violence against women." This ignores the extensive amount of knowledge production that already exists about the structural causes of sexual violence since feminist movements in the Global North began criticizing the role of state structures in enabling sexual violence in the 1970s and 80s (Hall 2015). This technical approach is also seen in the emphasis of GAC-funded projects on quantifying social change, with most

of the projects that have their results published sharing these results as quantities. They often measure success with quantities, for instance with a project that aims to "support the health and rights of women and girls in South Sudan by increasing the availability of skilled healthcare providers, improving attitudes toward sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) and the fighting against gender-based violence (GBV)" through supporting "10 health institutes which will train up to 5,000 healthcare workers, provide services and support to up to 7,000 survivors of GBV, and reach up to 500,000 people with positive messaging on SRHR and the fight against GBV." Another project description says "The project focuses on 8 regions across Ethiopia, targeting 14 million people." As Fuentes and Cookson argue, this emphasis on quantifiable metrics is a cornerstone of mainstream neoliberal approaches to development, which aim for efficiency over structural change (2020). These quantifiable metrics create the impression of objectivity (Merry 2011 and Liebowitz and Zwingel 2014, in Fuentes 2020) to "'depoliticize' politics" (Rose 1991, in Marx 2019) further working to erase the social relations and power structures that produce phenomena like gender-based violence in specific contexts. In this way, the projects funded through the FIAP work to perpetuate understandings of sexual and gender-based violence as a complicated issue of technical expertise that Canada is then able to position itself as uniquely qualified to provide.

Sexual Violence as an Issue of Individual Empowerment

Many GAC-funded projects either directly or indirectly position sexual and gender-based violence as a problem for (individual) women to address. Some do this through interventions that directly address women, such as a project that "provides women with tools to improve their own safety, in public, at home, and at work and at the same time it works with public and private institutions to implement policies to prevent violence against women." In this way, these NGOs use the neoliberal language of empowerment and agency to reframe traditional

notions of blame and responsibility: it is positive that women are able to protect themselves from violence. One project is called "Empowering girls and front-line actors against sexual and gender-based violence," and "aims to strengthen the protection of girls' rights in Senegal so that girls can better address violence against them." Its project outcomes were deemed successful when children said they felt "able to protect themselves" by being able to "identify risky situations and to refer to care structures." Another project by the International Rescue Committee, which focuses mostly on SRHR and gender-based violence service provision in response to the COVID-19 pandemic, describes as an expected outcome "increased participation and agency of women and girls in sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) issues." While many other projects do not refer as directly to the idea of being able to prevent oneself from experiencing violence, a very common approach uses the concept of comprehensive sexual education to euphemistically suggest that sexual and gender-based violence is a problem of education. While it is often, once again, left vague how this actually works, the projects that do this imagine that potential victims of violence will learn how to spot this violence in advance and thus avoid such situations. For instance, one project lists as one of many activities "implementing comprehensive sexuality education curricula that aims to positively change gender inequalities" Another says that the comprehensive sex education that it offers "enables them to identify violence and sexual abuse." Here, comprehensive sexuality education is painted as a more thorough way of uprooting structures that lead to violence- but by changing the behaviour of the potential victims of violence, rather than questioning the environment in which it occurs and the social structures that actually reward violent behaviour.

Sexual Violence as a Force of Nature

With such technical approaches, GAC-funded programs operationalize the view of sexual and gender-based violence as a force of nature, something that cannot be stopped and can only be

responded to. This often occurs through health-related interventions, which use euphemistic language to evade discussing how violence comes to happen. Such projects often group gender-based violence under the umbrella of SRHR (sexual and reproductive health and rights), grouping experiences of violence together with health problems that, while they can still be politicized and tied to structural causes, have no perpetrator and thus no possibility of accountability. This also removes any analysis of the inequalities that contribute to such health problems.

For instance, a humanitarian project is introduced with the sentence: "During conflicts, natural disasters and other complex emergencies, sexual and reproductive health (SRH) needs must not be overlooked." Here, these needs are characterized as emerging on their own, and even the question of who should respond to these needs or who overlooks them is not addressed. Another project says that it "helps [children and adolescents] engage with health care providers as gender equality champions and active collaborators in the fight to eradicate SGBV," erasing the power differential between health care providers and children, and in turn the question of responsibility for addressing sexual and gender-based violence. Another project aims to improve "the policy and operational environment at subnational levels for preventing unwanted pregnancies, HIV/AIDS and sexual and gender-based violence." In this way, these programs provide a vision of gender based violence as a collective issue for collaboration by multiple stakeholders, with no one to be held responsible.

Support in the aftermath of violence

Violence as an (Unstoppable) Health Issue

Similarly, the health focus of many projects means that they are more oriented towards support *after* violence has occurred. While this is not to deny its importance on an individual level, these projects discursively construct such support in a way that casts sexual and gender-based

violence as an unstoppable force of nature that can only be healed and not prevented. One project lists as its goals “an increase in women and girls’ use of sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) and gender-based violence (GBV) services”.

Another project aims “to support the health and rights of women and girls in South Sudan by increasing the availability of skilled healthcare providers, improving attitudes toward sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) and the fighting against gender-based violence (GBV).” Another project in South Sudan works on “sensitizing communities about the availability of SRHR, GBV, and HIV services and mobilizing these communities to prevent and respond to GBV.”

In such projects, the focus on increasing access to existing health services demonstrates that GAC-funded NGOs approach sexual and gender-based violence through the lens of health care in ways that depict it as inevitable, a problem for individuals who then need resources from existing health systems. While the language of “fighting against gender-based violence” suggests a broader need to address the causes of violence, this project itself focuses only on service provision, suggesting that all that can really be done about gender-based violence is providing support in the aftermath. Another project “aims to support government services and civil society actors involved in the defense of children's rights….including the care and rehabilitation of victims.” Here, it becomes clear how GAC-funded projects characterize sexual and gender based violence as an issue that primarily harms vulnerable individuals, meaning that the focus of interventions should be on “rehabilitating” victims so they can return to their normal lives and societies. In this way, nothing else needs to change.

Violence as a Criminal Justice Issue

Many projects funded by GAC focus on improving the functioning of criminal justice systems in prosecuting perpetrators of violence, imagining that gender-based violence is able to

continue because these systems are simply lacking in some technical capacity and skills or lack a sufficient gender lens, rather than imagining more radical alternatives to existing criminal justice systems and practices. For instance, one program "focuses on increasing the professionalization of key stakeholders in the child protection system (security forces, prison staff, justice system staff and social workers) by targeting the training, procedures and operating methods of their associated professional bodies." Critiques of criminal justice approaches to gender-based violence have come from activist groups like INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence (2007) and feminist and racial justice scholars (Bernstein 2012), and have resulted in emerging community-based practices, such as many of those highlighted by Rojas et al (2012) that have been led by marginalized communities impacted by police violence. Rojas et al note that such alternative forms of justice are necessary because of the violence of policing and criminal justice systems, which not only have long histories of failing to create justice in situations of sexual violence but have directed violence towards racialized communities (Ibid).

Other project descriptions mention activities like "supporting the relevant government ministries to develop and enact gender-responsive SRHR, GBV, and HIV laws and policies". One project, which aims to prevent gender-based violence, even has as its name "Inclusive Violence and Crime Prevention in South Africa." Another project has as its expected results "improved effectiveness of defense and security forces, social, medical, educational, and justice services in preventing and addressing sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) against girls and boys in Mali." Here, sexual and gender-based violence is characterized as an issue for criminal justice intervention, and criminal justice systems are framed as needing Canadian "support". This further reifies the coloniality of gender, imagining that countries around the world lack these laws simply because gender is less of a concern to them, ignoring how the imposition of European laws and legal systems was central to colonization and specifically to

the imposition of (what would become) capitalist economic relations (Merry 1991, 891). This also reaffirms Canada's imagined position as a progressive, feminist force in the world, something described in greater detail in the "Context: Canadian Political Economy and Violence" chapter.

Coloniality

Violence as a Cultural Issue

While the abovementioned projects position violence as something that cannot be prevented, others see it as preventable through addressing supposedly harmful, backwards social norms. Here, violence is primarily depicted as existing within the social sphere and primarily within interpersonal relationships. For instance, one project mentions as a goal "Increased mobilization of children, especially girls, associations supporting them, and community protection networks in the prevention of and action against SGBV against girls and boys in Mali." Another has the goal of creating "increased community protection networks, civil society associations, and children, especially girls playing a greater role in preventing and responding to sexual and sexist violence against girls and boys." Here, it is collective work to create norms that make violence not happen and that make it possible to respond to it, so that children also play a role as do the institutions that support them. It is also worth noting that here, the causes and manifestations of violence are so distant that the genders of its victims can merely be listed- violence against girls and boys- without distinguishing between them. Especially given the emphasis on girls earlier, this phrasing ends up suggesting that girls are more responsible for the existence of violence than boys are. Similarly, another project says that it "collaborates with families and communities to create more gender equitable roles and relations inside households." This example makes clear that such projects see sexual and gender-based violence as an issue that occurs within the family and the domestic sphere, an

idea which, while true in many cases, erases the political and economic roots and the role of other institutions such as workplaces in creating and fostering enabling conditions for violence to occur. Another project "collaborates with families and communities to create more gender equitable roles and relations inside households," a formulation that also situates gender-based violence in relation to forms of inequality but imagines that these inequalities emerge on their own, existing as part of nature, or perhaps are the legacy of backwards cultures that want to improve but only can with the help of Canada. More than that, this conception of social norms often relies on constructions of backwards cultures in developing countries of the global south. For instance, several programs mention "harmful traditional practices," with programs "increasing awareness on SGBV, including harmful traditional practices" or implying the connection of religious practices with sexual and gender-based violence with activities like "providing training to 100 religious leaders on the integration of GBV prevention into their community development activities" for a project in South Africa. In this way, GAC-funded programs work to perpetuate colonial ideas of sexual violence as based in backwards cultures, as opposed to the progressive culture of Canada.

Violence as a Human Rights Issue

These interventions primarily frame sexual and gender-based violence as an issue of inalienable, universal human rights. These rights are often framed as under attack, with militaristic language used to describe their need to be "defended", but without any clear enemy or reason. For instance, one program describes as an expected outcome the "increased capacity of civil society organizations (CSOs) and legal system actors to protect and defend human rights in cases of gender-based violence," and "increased capacity of civil society organizations (CSOs) and legal system actors to protect and defend human rights in cases of gender-based violence (GBV)". Another program aims to support government services and civil society

actors involved in the defense of children's rights, specifically targeting the prevention and fight against sexual violence against children, especially girls." Here, the vagueness of what is being fought and why makes it possible to cast government and civil society actors as not only benevolent but heroes in the fight against the nebulous, mysterious evil that is violence.

Another project aims to create a "strengthened enabling environment for vulnerable youth and adolescent girls and boys to meaningfully exercise their rights to gender equality and SRHR." Here, the paradigm of human rights also further responsibilizes individuals, meaning that the responsibility of governments is only to create an environment in which they can exercise existing rights, rather than discussing how power structures limit what individuals can do about the violence they experience. By framing human rights as under attack, these programs nod at the political and structural causes of gender-based violence and the inequalities it is implicated in, without having to more explicitly address and explain the structural causes of this violence- and Canada's responsibility for them.

Indeed, many scholars have described how Western ideas of human rights have been used to detract attention from the harms of neoliberal economic reforms and have even been used to legitimize them (Whyte). Human rights are also tied to colonial regimes of power and knowledge; for instance, Maldonado-Torres notes that the concept of human rights is also tied to Eurocentric conceptions of who is (and is not) human (2017), while Walter Mignolo argues that these concepts were developed in tandem with each other and thus cannot be disentangled from the coloniality of power (2011). In this way, GAC's emphasis on discourses of human rights reinforces colonial power dynamics in which Canada positions itself as a well-meaning and qualified technical leader on topics of gender equality, making any critique of its resource extraction activities more difficult.

Example: GAC programs in Occupied Palestine

While all of these programs work to depoliticize sexual and gender-based violence, perhaps nowhere is this clearer, and at no time, than now looking at Canadian programs in Palestine. While Canada has been criticized for its strong support to Israel in recent years- for instance, exporting more and more military goods with fewer restrictions (Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East, 2022), GAC's programming in the West Bank and Gaza is primarily humanitarian-focused. While widespread use of sexual violence against Palestinian people has formed part of the ongoing project of Israeli settler colonialism (Medien 2021, Abdulhadi 2019), GAC-funded projects primarily fall into the previously mentioned themes and patterns, positioning sexual violence against Palestinian women as a cultural issue or else a problem of poorly designed, inefficient services that need to be upgraded. Existing programs describe their activities as "putting in place prevention initiatives that support targeted households and communities for decreasing harmful practices, attitudes and behaviours toward women and girls," "fostering innovative approaches to improving service providers' capacity to provide gender-responsive services for victims and survivors of violence," and "building the capacity of civil society actors and human rights advocates to advocate for policy and legal frameworks to protect women and girls' rights." These projects erase the occupation to naturalize its violence, severing any connection between the violence of settler colonialism and sexual and gender based violence. In doing so, they naturalize and depoliticize sexual and gender-based violence, positioning it as an inevitable reality. Indeed, one such project begins with the note that "Projects under this appeal help to reduce the vulnerability of Palestinians, especially women and children, affected by the ongoing crisis." This language of vulnerability exemplifies how GAC-funded projects conceptualize violence in ways that erase its structural roots. Through the example of GAC programs in Palestine, it becomes clear what the effects are of the depoliticizing depictions of sexual violence presented elsewhere by the FIAP:

structural problems like occupation are normalized and naturalized and the only solutions imaginable to high rates of violence are ones that address only the surface-level impacts of this violence.

The Role of Government and Civil Society

In addition to reinforcing the previously mentioned neoliberal and colonial approaches of the policy, the discourses about government also reveal how the FIAP enables particular relationships between Canada and the countries it funds, and perpetuates Canada's role in reinforcing neoliberal economic relations in which NGOs fill in the gaps left behind by governmental policies. These projects imagine that governments are benevolent and concerned about gender-based violence, but simply need more support to do so- namely, Canadian support. For instance, one project says that it "supports and reinforces Bangladesh's own policies and regulations concerning violence against women and generates knowledge and capacity that contribute to more effective prevention of gender-based violence by government and civil society," and that it aims to foster "strengthened enabling environments for women and girls' access to SRHR and GBV services at national, state, and local levels." Here, GBV services are an apolitical good that, it is implied, are lacking in many countries simply because they do not have enough governmental resources, resources that Canada can support with.

These projects also reinforce GAC's reliance on NGOs to fill in the gaps in government services. One project mentions "providing training to stakeholders from municipalities and civil society on how to develop, implement and evaluate GBV prevention measures," suggesting that what is needed to eradicate gender-based violence is merely better collaboration between actors who are all differently-, but well-placed to tackle this complicated issue. This further reinforces the conceptualization of Canada as the peacekeeper, the neutral facilitator of positive relations between other countries. This idea pervades Canadian military depictions and

discourse and even public understandings of the country's military record, stemming from a comparison with the United States (Rubboli 2005, 146). Wegner demonstrates, through examples of relations between Canadian peacekeepers and civilians in Afghanistan and in conflicts with Indigenous nations within Canada, the racist and colonial ideas that allow the conceptualization of the Canadian military as a "peacekeeping force," even outside of peacekeeping operations, to operate, casting protestors as disruptors of peace (2023). In this way, the label of "peacekeeping" gives cover to Canadian colonial and militaristic violence.

Another project aims for "enhanced collaborative action between state and non-state actors for gender-based violence prevention and gender equality at all levels in South Africa; and (2) improved implementation by state and non-state actors of the recommended actions contained in the White Paper on Safety and Security, the National Strategic Plan on Gender-Based Violence and Femicide, and the Integrated Urban Development Framework in South Africa." The mention of such government technical plans and resources shows that Canada is invested in the idea of civil society filling the gaps in government services, and again depicts gender-based violence as an issue that emerges naturally from a lack of resources. Another goal of this project is "developing a shared conceptual framework for GBV prevention," suggesting that the continuation of gender-based violence is just a problem of a lack of coordination, and different understandings of the issue- or a lack of proper knowledge production and information sharing on gender-based violence. This lack of coordination in developing shared understandings could theoretically have been tied to the different interests of civil society and government actors, but in connection with the other types of programming listed, it is instead implied that this lack of knowledge just means that certain actors are behind in their knowledge and need training from the enlightened Canadians. Indeed, other projects emphasize this need for knowledge of state actors and civil society alike, with activities like "developing participatory educational and training materials for selected state professional bodies"

suggesting that gender-based violence is a technical problem that state professional bodies simply lack the technical skills to understand. In this way, GAC-funded NGOs reinforce neoliberal Canadian government discourses of civil society and government collaboration to Canada, and reinforce not only the emphasis on technical expertise mentioned above, but also harken to the benevolent image of Canada as an expert on gender equality, an image that reinforces colonial power dynamics, as mentioned further in the "Context: Canadian Political Economy and Violence" section. One project mentions in its activities that it "coached 61 NGO members and local authorities (of whom 51 women) on gender equality, including workshops from Canadian volunteers." Here the role of Canada becomes more clear: Canadian volunteers, many of whom are youth with few of the "technical" skills that Canada is trying to export abroad, are qualified to help NGO workers who may have been working for decades within the existing NGO system in a country.

There was one example of a project that takes a different view of the role of governments, understanding that governmental policy is not designed primarily or only based on technical capacity and that it is influenced by different interests that have something to do with power dynamics. Fos Feminista, an international alliance of SRHR and gender-related NGOS, has a project that "aims to influence laws and policies by increasing government sensitivity and willingness to prioritize SGBV prevention and response in their political agendas. Finally, it seeks to improve local capacities to hold governments accountable for their legal and political commitments to prevent and respond effectively to SGBV." Still, these activities centre around "developing strategic communications and social mobilization plans for the public to demand the government prevent and respond to SGBV" and "creating and disseminating advocacy reports with recommendations on how to enhance public policies on SGBV prevention and response"- tactics that may have limited effectiveness in challenging governmental power structures and still assume the fundamental benevolence of the nation state as a structure.

All in all, the projects funded by GAC since the passing of the FIAP reproduce its discourses, demonstrating that the FIAP's conceptualizations of gender-based violence are not limited to the policy itself but inform and shape the work that GAC implements abroad. Through these projects, GAC reaffirms neoliberal understandings of sexual and gender-based violence as a complicated, technical issue, and as an intractable fact of nature that cannot be avoided and can only be addressed through criminal justice or medical support in its aftermath. It also depicts violence as a cultural and human rights issue, further entrenching colonial power relations by positioning Canada as inherently more progressive than the countries where its international development programming takes place. Further, examining the actual work implemented through the policy reveals how it envisions the role of Canada and of NGOs. Continuing the FIAP's emphasis on collaboration, these programs envision NGOs as necessary actors with the technical expertise to efficiently fill in the gaps left behind by a lack of government services. In this way, sexual violence is not only depoliticized but this also serves to whitewash the violence of Canadian support for neoliberal regimes that seek to defund social services. More broadly, this serves to reaffirm Canadian coloniality by advancing Canada's image as a neutral, benevolent peacekeeping force. In the coming chapters I will argue that this conceptualization forms part of Canada's approach to covering for the violence of its resource extraction activities.

Analytical Chapter 3: Interview Analysis

In this chapter, I analyze interviews conducted with staff at GAC-funded NGOs who use the FIAP in their work. These interviews reveal that NGO actors who work with Global Affairs Canada align closely with its approach to gender equality and gender-based violence more specifically. The way they spoke about the policy's impact on their work demonstrates close alignment, but more than that, the way they characterized gender-based violence- reflected and reinforced the conceptualizations of violence put forth by the FIAP, demonstrating how it shapes GAC programming overall to ensure a depoliticized approach to gender-based violence, and an image of Canadian benevolence abroad. Specifically, GAC implementing partners approached sexual and gender-based violence as a cultural issue, as a narrow technical issue, as a health issue that cannot be prevented, as a policy issue, and overall as an issue that Canada has no role in perpetuating but has the expertise to solve abroad . As such, these findings make it clear that the conceptualization of violence in the FIAP does not merely exist on paper but comes to life in programs that perpetuate colonial power relations in Canada's role as benevolent saviour to helpless women in the Global South, and in their approach to relationships on the ground with local civil society and government actors. This chapter takes my analysis from merely looking at the FIAP to understanding the work it enables more broadly by understanding the varying perspectives of NGO actors who work with GAC.

Alignment with the policy

The interviews were instructive for how NGO actors described their support for and agreement with the policy. Interviewee 3 described themselves as a "wholehearted and enthusiastic supporter" of the policy. When asked about the impact of the policy on their work, interviewees either said that the policy didn't change much because their approaches were already aligned with similar conceptualizations of gender equality and gender-based violence, or noted how it

impacted their policies, as with Interviewee 1, who cited the fact that a majority of their organizational funding comes from GAC: “It's got to be over 75% of all of our funding for us, so we're very much aligned to it.” When asked if they had critiques of the policy, Interviewee 1’s response was to say that they didn’t because the policy is “pretty broad” and “covers all the areas that we work on.” They then added that it made little difference to their work because “like we're already working with marginalized groups. We're already targeting youth. We're already targeting women,” describing the policy as a “helpful tool”. A similar sentiment was expressed by other organizations, from Interviewee 2 saying that the FIAP doesn’t have a huge influence on their work because other donors have similar demands, to Interviewee 3 saying that they’ve been working on gender for much longer than the FIAP has existed. Also revealing is that one interviewee, a gender advisor whose role was in part to make sure partner organizations were following FIAP guidelines, noted that this was usually not difficult because “they’ve learned to speak the same language”- in other words, FIAP guidelines were seen as aligning with similar donor demands that even local NGOs would already be used to. This indicates a close philosophical alignment between their approaches and that of GAC, and indeed other NGO and government actors, in a broad manner, beyond the FIAP’s role in imposing particular metrics and tools on their work. By developing more about this alignment in the next sections, I will show the outlines of the FIAP, to demonstrate that the approach to violence conceptualized by the FIAP is not isolated to the policy but forms part of a broader approach from the government of Canada, which I will also analyze in Chapter 4 on the Voluntary Principles. This is to say that it is not just the FIAP itself that depoliticizes violence, but Canadian government approaches more broadly.

Sexual Violence without structural causes

Overall, interviewees from GAC-funded NGOs conceptualized sexual violence in a way that was removed from structural forces like economic relations. One part of this is an emphasis on concepts of positive masculinities, a concept that has become more popular in feminist research but has been critiqued for positioning masculinity as a disease to which men are just victims (Waling 2019), and for failing to engage men in challenging the systems of oppression from which they benefit (Laporte 2019). While such approaches can be beneficial, the ways that interviewees spoke about masculinity and the role of men primarily was about "working within the system" and not imposing radical change on such social norms or understanding social norms as existing within broader power structures. Interviewee 3 noted the importance of making men feel comfortable in co-creating solutions: ""I think that a confrontational approach to something about which there is a lot of shame and the shame then shuts down a process of iterating solutions is not always the best way to go". This was framed in terms of incentives, that including men is a strategic move: "It's just important to remember that the agents of change for long-term, sustainable change are both men and women, and if you are trying to ensure that the change is fully grounded, then there needs to be more inclusive language." Here, violence is positioned as something that exists only in the interpersonal social realm. Similarly, Interviewee 1 summarized the importance of positive masculinities programing as: "Over time, if we're able to shift the individuals within the system that we're working in, that then has a shift on the larger culture." This approach positions violence as primarily an individual problem, and positions Canadian NGOs as neutral and able to easily intervene in these social norms. Such analyses evade discussion of the political and economic factors in violence, and also imagines violence as happening for no reason and to no one's benefit, meaning that everyone is invested in ending it. Interviewee 1 even said, about high rates of pregnancy associated with sexual abuse of teenage girls, "no one in the community

wants this." As such, the interviewees position sexual and gender-based violence as something contained to the social realm, divorced from political economic- power relations, even those relating to gender; male violence to them was not about domination but about not knowing better.

As such, interviewees divorced gender based violence from any discussion of structural causes. At most, many interviewees made mention of the idea of sexual violence being related to broader structural issues but demonstrated a shallow analysis of the role of governments in perpetuating these power dynamics. For instance, Interviewee 2 mentioned "root causes" and said that "there is an inherent power imbalance when someone is deprived of liberty," but made no analysis of how these power structures came to exist and for whose benefit. Similarly, Interviewee 1 contrasted a FIAP-based approach with one where "they only think about the number of women, they're not thinking about transforming power dynamics." However, they still made no mention of the power dynamics the state itself is implicated in, and as such this analysis of power was very shallow.

Violence as a Cultural Problem

Another way that interviewees depoliticized violence was by conceptualizing it as primarily a cultural issue. The interviewee from APT, when asked about the root causes of violence, cited ""prejudices and stereotypes that are just reinforced more and more in detention settings." When asked to elaborate further, they described the "hypermasculine cultures of detention settings," connecting these to social norms rather than power structures of domination that define such settings. With this comes an emphasis on gender based violence as an interpersonal issue divorced of its political, social, and economic context. For instance, Interviewee 2 mentioned that ""gender-based violence can happen of course by public officials directly in detention settings, but can also happen by other detainees." While this is of course true, this

puts the emphasis only on physical acts of violence and not power structures that enable violence from staff in detention centres towards detainees who have few measures of achieving justice. Interviewee 1 said "We're working a lot with very young girls in a school system where- and even for boys in these school systems- where violence is normalized." Here, violence is depicted as a force of nature and something that NGOs cannot intervene in much.

Their understanding of violence as a cultural issue also dovetails with colonial views of the countries where they work as inherently more regressive than Canada, and of international development actors' actions as innocent or justified by technical expertise. In some cases, comments interviewees made directly dovetailed with colonial views of the Global South as dominated by backwards cultures that need Western intervention. Interviewee 1 described differences between Burkina Faso and Cote D'Ivoire, where they now work, by saying that "it's almost like gender equality is new to some organizations here." When asked about this, they said that one possible reason for a resistance to ideas of gender equality was the fact that women were very "visible in public space" in some parts of Cote D'Ivoire, according to her, so "there's resistance to this idea of gender equality because it's like women are already in these spaces, women are already very loud." Here, they set themselves apart from locals who might perceive gender equality to exist, implying that their understanding of it is oversimplified and needs correcting by Canadian international development actors who know better. Interviewee 3, speaking about what GAC could do better, began to talk about the Congo, describing it as "this place that seems to have never been governed before, from the Congo kings selling their people on down." This comment reveals a colonial perspective, positioning underdeveloped Congo as inherently savage and uncivilized, unable to govern itself even before colonialism. They also went on to describe how Congo "might become a much more interesting theatre for global affairs" because of its mineral wealth, revealing that at least in her view, development assistance is closely tied with strategic foreign policy interests and should

be thought of this way. Interviewee 1 also told a story about a woman in civil society saying she was a radical feminist, and then "you could just sense all the men in the room tensed up, because in CDI saying you're a radical feminist is like, you hate men. It's like it was in Canada years ago." Here, the idea of development is tied with conceptions of modernity that cast countries receiving development assistance as "behind" and needing Canadian assistance to catch up.

Narrow Neoliberal Conceptualizations of Violence

They also spoke about sexual and gender-based violence as a technical issue, dovetailing with neoliberal approaches to sexual violence as something that can be solved with new technology or other quick fixes that do not account for broader power relations (eg Harrington 2022) In fact, generally they approached the FIAP as a technical tool instead of a document with a particular worldview and understanding of gender. When asked about how the FIAP conceptualizes gender-based violence, most interviewees began almost immediately to speak about its measurement tools and other technical aspects of the policy. Interviewee 1 did mention that GAC indicators are too quantitative and "very much about reach and less about impact," giving the example of "gender-sensitive pedagogy" and how the impact of this pedagogy would be measured less than, for instance, the number of teachers trained. Related to this, interviewees often described approaches to sexual violence, and the impact of the FIAP, primarily in terms of language use. Interviewee 1 began describing the impact of the FIAP on their work in terms of "framing" issues of gender-based violence, and also described the change they've seen in local partners' approaches to gender equality since the FIAP was implemented as "a lot partners have learned how to speak the language." They also described the difference they noticed in NGOs that had worked with funders like GAC for longer as "they're better at speaking the language that we want them to speak because that's what gets you funding." In

other words, they see the primary impact of the policy as about surface-level changes to language and framing that are made to please the donor, rather than even seeing or considering the possibility of creating deeper change at a structural level.

Violence as a Policy Problem

Still, this technical view of sexual and gender-based violence came across in other ways, such as their emphasis on policy change as the key tool for addressing issues of violence. For instance, Interviewee 3 gave as an example the "epidemic of domestic violence" in Kenya and Tunisia resulting from COVID-19 pandemic lockdowns. While they mentioned how journalists worked to show that this was a "systemic problem leading to other systemic outcomes such as an epidemic of teen pregnancy," and "put it on the agenda of officials," they then praised the governments of both countries for how they "took ownership of the situation." This works to imply that the government has no pre-existing role or responsibility, a view reinforced by the epidemic language which connects sexual and gender-based violence to health problems (like COVID-19), a depiction that naturalizes violence and erases the role of the state in fostering conditions where it can occur. Interviewee 2 similarly spoke about "putting [violence] on the agenda of officials" through their advocacy work. This programming is instructive for understanding the outcomes of such discourses; here, Interviewee 2 is advocating for broadening the criteria for considering alternatives to detention for women, such as trans women and women with past experience of victimization, as well as improving the situations women face "once they are deprived of liberty." As such, they do not see- or at least mention- any need to question the processes of detention themselves and the violence that detention can bring to women and their families. Indeed, many critical feminist scholars have noted how experiences of detention dovetail with gender-based and sexual violence, and that these forms of violence are further enabled by border regimes and other forms of criminalization that cast

certain women, such as migrant women, as disposable (Kirby 2020, Ramachandran et al 2024). Instead of seeking to question the inherent violence of practices of detention, Interviewee 2 seems to be merely aiming to change the category of who is deemed deserving of such violence.

Violence as a Health Issue

They also directly spoke about sexual and gender-based violence as an issue primarily in terms of health. Interviewee 1 saw their programming's primary connection to gender based violence as being through their role as "part of a referral pathway"- in other words, witnessing cases and passing them on to service providers, mostly in health care. They described the project as such: "you can't talk about the sexual health of adolescent girls without talking about GBV because it's really intertwined- we're talking about very high rates of teenage pregnancy." In other words, this violence is primarily important as a health problem to be dealt with or because of the health situations it produces.

Violence as detracting from Capitalist Economic Relations

Related to this, interviewees also spoke about addressing gender equality, and gender-based violence, specifically, as something that can enhance capitalist economic productivity, rather than being part of the functioning of the economy. Interviewee 1 noted that there are different indicators in the FIAP for innovative finance work with "private sector folks who generally don't think about gender equality" compared with traditional international development grants, but instead of describing the difference between these two funding streams in, they described the problem with this as a bureaucratic or technical one, a problem of "how do you bring those two worlds together." Interviewee 4 also spoke about the lack of gender equality considerations by organizations in the "Blended Finance" space, talking about "the wealth of knowledge that Canadian organizations now have about…how to do transformative gender work and translating that into the Blended Finance space where you've got private sector folks and folks

who generally don't know about gender equality." Interviewee 4 also mentioned that the primary way that their Investment program worked on sexual violence was through workplace sexual harassment policies. It is revealing that the sections of GAC that are expected to be economically productive are those that tackle sexual violence primarily through policies to prevent it from interfering with economic growth.

Canada's international brand and coloniality

Moreover, interviewees mostly did not see colonial power dynamics as relevant to sexual violence or even to international development work in general. At most, they described efforts to give more power to local communities and local partners in technical terms as smart strategic choices. For instance, Interviewee 3 praised GAC's new emphasis on localization because "it builds confidence in institutions of governance, including in an effectively failed state like DRC because the state governor takes ownership of the issue and actually does something about it." They also went on to describe how "we've never felt pressure from GAC to do it…it's just a logical decision," noting that local staff were more effective in many roles in her organization and that with a Canadian person, "there could be unintended consequences from not knowing the context." Here, problems of colonial power relations are translated into technical questions of knowledge and efficiency. Similarly, Interviewee 1 described, when asked about local collaboration, how a gender advisor from GAC in Cote D'Ivoire "did a mini training with our partners on gender-based analysis and why it's important, which I think was actually really helpful for partners to understand why we're asking these questions." In other words, participation of local communities is not done in a way that challenges the power dynamics, and still operates through the framework of training and education. Interviewee 1 did say, expressing some awareness of the colonial power dynamics in which they were working, "you cannot have a Canadian woman in that room saying she's a radical feminist,

because then you're done. Your conversation is done"- however, this expresses more of a technical concern about not being listened to, rather than arguing that there would be problems with the power dynamics of such an interaction. Perhaps most illustrative of this erasure of power dynamics is Interviewee 3's suggestion for what GAC and the FIAP could do better: engaging with diaspora communities to "leverage the funding that they already send" to the country, "tapping into the wealth of knowledge that already exists in these communities."

These colonial power relations are also reflected in the way interviewees spoke about Canada, justifying these unequal power dynamics. Interviewee 3 noted that "Canada has a huge role to play" in international development from a gender perspective. They also echoed the historical notion that Canada "invented the word peacekeeping and brought it to the UN." When asked about principles of human rights, Interviewee 3's primary concern was about Canadian nativism at home more than critique from the Left or from other countries, saying that "I think that the consensus behind those principles is thin and there's a lot of people who are like … we need to focus on the home front before we go preaching about human rights internationally." Also revealing is a comment Interviewee 3 made about what Canada could do better: "I think that Canadians and Canadians have French language capacity in a way that no other world power bar France or Belgium can bring, and both France and Belgium have a very negative colonial connotation… I think there's a huge potential role that Canada could play in its sort of soft power." Here, Canada and other western power are painted as benevolent and unjustly held back by their bad reputations; this also makes clear that such actors see Canada as not a colonial power or at least, not perceived as such internationally.

This also relates to the idea of Canada's brand and reputation, which many interviewees viewed as positive. Not only this, but they saw it as important, and well-deserved, for Canada to have such a positive image. Interviewee 1 remarked that there is power in "Canada publicly using

the word 'feminist' in their international assistance policy" because "that is quite powerful in terms of influencing other governments"- in other words, the FIAP is conceptualized here first and foremost as a tool for communicating Canada's feminist stance to other governments, never mind whether the policy is actually "feminist" or what that means conceptually. Similarly, Interviewee 3 remarked on the need to share more about what Canada is doing because GAC money allocated without a lot of scrutiny- but was not critiquing this lack of scrutiny so much as saying that this sharing would help to mitigate the distrust it could create. Interviewee 3 also said, when asked about problems with GAC and the FIAP, that it is a problem that much of Canada's development funding is allocated through multilaterals so "people don't know what Canada is doing," saying that the benefits of such knowledge being more widespread would be the ability for Canadian diplomats and other development actors to function "with more good will." In other words, colonial power dynamics manifest only in (unjustified) suspicion of benevolent Canadian and other Western actors, which would be rectified if only they were aware of the good Canada was really doing. Similarly, Interviewee 1 said that "everybody knows about Canada's famous feminist assistance policy. Everybody knows about our positioning on gender equality," compared to other donor countries who may fund gender equality programs but not be as well known for it; they said this as a possible result of the FIAP being implemented, indicating that at least in the perception of some Canadian NGO workers, the policy has successfully influenced Canada's international perception. This is revealing for the role implementing partners play in spreading this positive image, seeing it as a shared goal that they form part of, rather than something worth critiquing. Interviewee 4, meanwhile, described an organization incorporating LGBT concerns as a "taking a more FIAP approach," as if organizations based in the Global South wouldn't possibly do so on their own. This demonstrates a colonial view of the role of Canada in international development. It is also worth noting that such views of Canadian grandiosity and superiority come across even more

strongly and explicitly from these NGO partners than in the policy itself; this further demonstrates the coloniality of Canadian international development interventions beyond the FIAP as a singular policy, suggesting that such views of Canada and its innocence towards violence are an entrenched part of how it operates internationally.

Thus, the interviewees reflect many of the same assumptions and ideas around sexual violence and Canada in general that are embedded in the FIAP itself and in the GAC program descriptions discussed in previous chapters. Interviewees saw sexual and gender based violence primarily as a cultural issue in ways that reinforced ideas of women in the global south as universally oppressed and marginalized, and as an individual issue divorced from political economic relations in which Canada is implicated. Thus, the conceptualizations of violence put forth by the FIAP do not exist only in the text of the policy, but come to life in GAC-funded programs. As such, these conceptualizations of violence are not contained to the FIAP, but rather form part of Canada's broader discursive approach. This broader approach to depoliticizing violence is, I argue, how Canada is able to position itself as a feminist nation while benefiting from the violence of resource extraction activities without receiving significant critique for these contradictions. In the next chapter, I will examine how these discourses dovetail with those that are used to excuse Canada's responsibility for the violence of its resource extraction activities to argue that the depoliticized understandings of violence I have analyzed in the preceding chapters are not accidental but play a strategic function for Canada's political economic and foreign relations.

Analytical Chapter 4: Analysis of the Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights

As mentioned in past chapters, Canada has few regulations for its mining activities abroad. When it comes to cases of sexual violence and other issues that are subsumed as human rights issues, most regulations are through various voluntary Corporate Social Responsibility guidelines and agreements that Canada participates in. One such voluntary measure to regulate human rights abuses is Canada's participation in the Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights, an initiative by a group of NGOs, governments of countries with large resource extraction sectors, and resource extraction companies. In this chapter, I analyze the principles themselves, as well as a 2019 Strategy Document that was meant to reinforce the original principles and VPI's strategies for implementing them. I examine the discourses employed by the Voluntary Principles on issues of sexual and gender-based violence to show how they align with those employed by the FIAP. This examination reveals a neoliberal, colonial approach that sees violence as an individual, rather than structural problem, and one rooted in the cultural problems of countries that need international NGO and companies' intervention to solve. This dovetails with the conceptualization of violence presented in the FIAP, showing that such conceptualizations of violence are not neutral but are part of a broader project of justifying the violence of resource extraction projects. By examining these discursive similarities, I will argue that the conceptualizations of violence employed by the FIAP and the Principles alike do not emerge naturally or by coincidence but together work to give cover to the violence of resource extraction.

Background

The purpose of the Voluntary Principles is described in terms of "sharing best practices," and "dialogue" to "deepen understanding and collective solutions to complex on-the-ground

problems." According to its website, its membership includes governments of Argentina, Australia, Canada, Colombia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ghana, Switzerland, United Kingdom, and the United States; a long list of oil companies; and many international and regional human rights NGOs like UNICEF and Human Rights Watch.

Violence without Causes

Similar to the FIAP, the Principles often depict violence as a force of nature, something that just happens without clear causes and thus cannot directly be stopped, only managed. The first example of this is the euphemistic language used to refer to instances of gender-based violence. The Principles themselves never refer directly to these forms of violence, mentioning them only in a Strategy document (Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights 2019). Here, sexual violence is listed among other issues like "the repression of human rights defenders," something which I will elaborate on later in this chapter. While here sexual violence is named, it is grouped together with other "threats" to "human security and human rights". In the Principles themselves (Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights, 2023), the only section of the principles that mention violence are the ones that refer, seemingly, to civil conflicts in countries where mining companies work, beginning with: "Depending on the environment, violence can be widespread or limited to particular regions, and it can develop with little or no warning." Otherwise, they are subsumed under the language of "human rights concerns." (Ibid) As such, they refer euphemistically to instances of violence, saying that "acknowledging the difficult security issues faced by Companies operating globally, we recognize that security and respect for human rights can and should be consistent." (Ibid)

Violence as a Technical Problem

The principles also position instances of violence and human rights abuses generally as a technical matter and thus something that can be prevented and addressed through training. In terms of violence carried out by security forces, the principles say that "Companies should support efforts by governments, civil society and multilateral institutions to provide human rights training and education for public security as well as their efforts to strengthen state institutions to ensure accountability and respect for human rights," implying that such violence can be prevented if only security forces receive the right training. This ignores the power structures, particularly those that relate to colonial power imbalances, that make such accountability unlikely. Later, the principles say that "Companies should communicate their policies regarding ethical conduct and human rights to public security providers, and express their desire that security be provided in a manner consistent with those policies by personnel with adequate and effective training." Here, companies do not have power to do anything more than "express desire", and the extent of their desires is for training to be provided, as if this is all that could be needed to prevent violence from occurring. Similarly, also about private security, the principles say that "Where appropriate, Companies should include the principles outlined above as contractual provisions in agreements with private security providers and ensure that private security personnel are adequately trained to respect the rights of employees and the local community." In a similar vein, the principles say that "Private security should maintain high levels of technical and professional proficiency**,** particularly with regard to the local use of force and firearms." Here, violence is framed as a lack of professional proficiency, as if instances of violence happen naturally and simply because the perpetrator does not know better. This once again hides the power dynamics that make instances of violence possible, obscuring the role of governments like that of Canada in producing conditions where violence can happen. This aligns with discourses in the FIAP that position sexual and gender-based

violence as an issue of training, albeit while targeting youth and men. Such discourses further work to remove sexual violence from structural causes, and in this way the FIAP's depoliticization of violence can be understood within the context of approaches to resource extraction regulation that rely on the same ideas.

This technical view of violence is also evident in an emphasis on the credibility and ability to follow laws and regulations of companies and security forces. In terms of risk assessments, the principles say that "Companies should review the background of private security they intend to employ, particularly with regard to the use of excessive force." Similarly, the principles mention the importance of human rights records in risk assessments: "Risk assessments should consider the available human rights records of public security forces, paramilitaries, local and national law enforcement, as well as the reputation of private security. Awareness of past abuses and allegations can help Companies to avoid reoccurrences as well as to promote accountability." Here, it is implied that there are some private security forces that use excessive force and others that don't, as if this difference is based on technical aptitude in following human rights regulations and that forces with no previous record of using excessive force are therefore benevolent. This perpetuates a view of violence as accidental and unpreventable, convenient for the Canadian government's lack of regulation of the violence of its resource extraction activities. This, too, echoes the FIAP's conceptualization of violence as an unpreventable force of nature more broadly, as well as its reliance on criminal justice and legal systems, as if such systems do not also create conditions for sexual violence to happen, something I elaborated on more in Chapter 2: Conceptualizations of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence in GAC-funded programs.

Violence disrupting Economic Production

Here, violence is a mere backdrop for the pursuit of profit by companies who find these issues "difficult" and have no role in contributing to them. This evasion of accountability for instances of violence is also clear in the language the principles use to refer to abuse by security officials. For instance, they say, "While public security is expected to act in a manner consistent with local and national laws as well as with human rights standards and international humanitarian law, within this context abuses may nevertheless occur." This harkens back to the FIAP's conceptualization of violence as primarily important in how and when it disrupts capitalist economic productivity. Although in this case the FIAP focuses on how experiences of violence inhibit women's economic "empowerment," these discourses align closely, demonstrating how the FIAP advances an agenda similar to that of Canadian resource extraction companies.

Violence as a Cultural Problem

They also often allude to human rights abuses having their roots in cultural problems. This is especially evident when discussing violence, which is only outright mentioned in the original principles in the context of civil conflicts in a country. In an updated Strategy Document from 2019, VPI members add that "Numerous challenges remain in addressing continuing human rights vulnerabilities in the natural resource industries," noting that their members are "increasingly aware of the repression of human rights defenders, gender-based violence such as sexual abuse and exploitation; entrenched gender biases which can undermine women and girls' enjoyment of their rights." Here, these concepts are grouped together to suggest that entrenched gender biases are the causes of gender-based violence. They also say that "Violent conflict is a major driver of security-related human rights violations," and go on to describe conflicts as rooted in factors like "the absence of rule of law" with no mention of the possible role resource extraction can play in exacerbating such issues.

Moreover, in the original principles, civil conflicts are referred to in a manner that suggests that companies have no relationship or role in worsening or impacting these conflicts. This is evident in the principles' considerations for risk assessments. For instance, in discussing what risk assessments companies should make before operating in a given context, the principles note that "identification of and understanding the root causes and nature of local conflicts, as well as the level of adherence to human rights and international humanitarian law standards by key actors, can be instructive for the development of strategies for managing relations between the Company, local communities, Company employees and their unions, and host governments. Risk assessments should also consider the potential for future conflicts." (2023) Here, even the potential of future conflicts is imagined to be a static fact about the context of mining operations, conjuring images of backwards places in the Global South as conflict-ridden. Similarly, the principles note the importance of considering a region's "potential for violence", noting that "Depending on the environment, violence can be widespread or limited to particular regions, and it can develop with little or no warning…Risk assessments should examine patterns of violence in areas of Company operations for educational, predictive, and preventative purposes." Here, violence is associated with geography to suggest that certain areas are more prone to violence, and the emphasis on the possibility of violence emerging unexpectedly signals a view of violence as rooted in primordial, uncivilized cultures that can thus be blamed for any instances of violence that occur in conjunction with mining operations there. This is similar to colonial discourses in the FIAP that cast sexual and gender-based violence as a cultural issue that thus requires Canadian intervention because of Canada's supposedly more egalitarian culture. In this case, the framing of violence as stemming from backwards culture reinforces colonial stereotypes to render nations like Canada blameless for violence that they contribute to in these contexts. The alignment between the FIAP and the Principles in these neoliberal and colonial framings of backwards cultures demonstrates that

the FIAP's conceptualization of violence cannot be understood in isolation from Canadian resource extraction activities.

Addressing Violence as Grounds for Collaboration

Another way the principles conceptualize sexual violence is as grounds for collaboration by well-meaning actors. In the updated Strategy Document from 2019, the authors say that "The number of companies, governments, and civil society organizations which are members of the VPI remains small relative to the number that would benefit from more universal implementation. The Initiative must adapt and expand to ensure its continued relevance in a changing world." Here, human rights abuses and violence are imagined to be issues that merely require more collaboration from stakeholders, nevermind the different interests these stakeholders supposedly might have. This strategy document also says that "Members are aware that underlying conflict drivers such as political, social and economic exclusion and lack of opportunity, the absence of the rule of law, insufficient civic space and ability to dialogue, repression, persecution of human right defenders, and poor human security, all create conditions where the risk of violent conflict increases…Members are committed to having a positive impact on local governance, peace and stability and playing a proactive role in preventing conflict, rather than reacting to it is essential for effective implementation." This seeming acknowledgement of the role of structural factors like "political, social and economic exclusion" nonetheless sidesteps any discussion of the role of resource extraction industries in creating such inequalities, instead insisting on the possibility that its members exist separately from different forms of violence and thus can come together to solve them in their complexity. Here, the FIAP's emphasis on collaboration between government, civil society, and private sector actors reaches its limit and the flaws with such an approach become clear. By depoliticizing sexual violence and positioning its solutions in terms of collaboration,

governments like Canada's are able to continue profiting from resource extraction on the one hand and claim a feminist approach to eradicating sexual violence on the other without attending to any contradictions between these approaches.

Meanwhile, in introducing the policy, its authors write that "Mindful of these goals, the participants agree to the importance of continuing this dialogue and keeping under review these principles to ensure their continuing relevance and efficacy." The preamble to the principles also mentions that "security is a fundamental need, shared by individuals, communities, businesses and governments alike," positioning these actors on an equal level and implying an equal responsibility for the protection of security by all of them. When outlining general principles, the principles say that "Companies should hold structured meetings with public security on a regular basis to discuss security, human rights and related work-place safety issues. Companies should also consult regularly with other Companies, host and home governments, and civil society to discuss security and human rights. Where Companies operating in the same region have common concerns, they should consider collectively raising those concerns with the host and home governments." Here, companies are positioned as benevolent, with human rights concerns positioned as something that would obviously concern them.

Responsibility for Violence

This emphasis on collaboration also works to remove the responsibility for instances of violence from companies and place it further on other actors. In terms of the role of private security, the principles say that "Companies should consult with other Companies, home country officials, host country officials, and civil society regarding experiences with private security. Where appropriate and lawful, Companies should facilitate the exchange of information about unlawful activity and abuses committed by private security providers." Here,

companies are positioned as innocent to the problems that can be caused by private security. The preamble to the principles also states that "Understanding that governments have the primary responsibility to promote and protect human rights and that all parties to a conflict are obliged to observe applicable international humanitarian law, we recognize that we share the common goal of promoting respect for human rights." The responsibility of companies is thus positioned as lesser than that of governments, ignoring the connections between the two and the ways in which governments may bend to the demands of companies, particularly in the resource extraction sector. Here, the agenda of the Principles becomes clear; while they are purportedly aimed at improving the human rights practices and records of mining companies, they are also working to justify human rights abuses, such as practices of violence, by positioning companies as blameless when compared to governments and private security forces. In this way, the aforementioned discourses about violence contribute to making it possible for companies to position themselves as blameless for human rights abuses like sexual violence, demonstrating how the depoliticization of sexual violence by government discourses, exemplified by the FIAP, does not merely make for less effective anti-violence initiatives but also makes it easier for companies to develop discourses that alleviate their responsibility for violence committed during their operations.

The Principles also further make clear that they prioritize profit-seeking activities over human rights concerns through an emphasis on the voluntariness of the principles, for instance stating in the preamble that "We hereby express our support for the following voluntary principles." In other words, the principles are not guidelines that must be followed necessarily, but vague guidelines to be supported unless they inconvenience companies. The principles often use other language that emphasizes this, for instance mentioning the security risks associated with equipment transfers and say that companies "should consider the risk of such transfers." Another principle says that "private security should act in a lawful manner. They should

exercise restraint and caution in a manner consistent with applicable international guidelines regarding the local use of force." The word "should" here emphasizes that these human rights concerns are a mere add-on for companies primarily concerned with profitability, and continues to divorce instances of violence from these profit-seeking activities. The initial framing of the principles also makes this clear, noting that "The ability to assess accurately risks present in a Company's operating environment is critical to the security of personnel, local communities and assets; the success of the Company's short and long-term operations; and to the promotion and protection of human rights"- here, human rights are listed after the success of companies.

Some of the language used further implies that companies should be prioritized by governments, for instance "Where host governments are unable or unwilling to provide adequate security to protect a Company's personnel or assets, it may be necessary to engage private security providers as a complement to public security"- implying the expectation that host governments should provide security to companies. Similarly, another principle is that "Private security should have policies regarding appropriate conduct and the local use of force (e.g., rules of engagement). Practice under these policies should be capable of being monitored by Companies or, where appropriate, by independent third parties." In other words, the principles imagine that companies will monitor themselves fairly enough that it is unnecessary for third parties to monitor them, and such third party monitoring would be at their discretion.

Related to this is a lack of concern for the responsibilities companies may have in creating problems with human rights. For instance, "Although governments have the primary role of maintaining law and order, security and respect for human rights, Companies have an interest in ensuring that actions taken by governments, particularly the actions of public security providers, are consistent with the protection and promotion of human rights." This emphasis on the "primary role" of governments in contrast with the mere "interest" of companies

positions companies as benevolent, innocent actors who cannot have any responsibility for fostering conditions of violence. Similarly, another principle says that "Companies should record and report any credible allegations of human rights abuses by public security in their areas of operation to appropriate host government authorities. Where appropriate, Companies should urge investigation and that action be taken to prevent any recurrence." Here again, the role of companies is to make sure that governments are enforcing human rights, and there is no question that companies themselves could have responsibility for such abuses.

The imbalanced allocation of blame for violence is even more clear in the language used by the Principles to describe complaints related to human rights abuses, language that further prioritizes the perspectives of companies. They do this by giving a large amount of leeway for the possibility of false accusations- and in turn for companies to dismiss complaints. In describing this investigation process, the principles say that "Every effort should be made to ensure that information used as the basis for allegations of human rights abuses is credible and based on reliable evidence", adding that "Additional or more accurate information that may alter previous allegations should be made available as appropriate to concerned parties." In other words, there is automatic doubt that allegations of human rights abuses are credible, something that is worth considering in the context of the power differentials between complainants of such cases and the multinational companies they would be going against. The principles also say that "All allegations of human rights abuses by private security should be recorded. Credible allegations should be properly investigated," suggesting that while all allegations should be recorded, only those deemed "credible" by companies even deserve an investigation. Especially in the context of voluntary principles, this means a strong advantage to companies against the communities in which they work, an advantage that is obscured by this vague emphasis on collaboration. In this way, the same neoliberal discourses about sexual violence that the FIAP employs to obscure the structural roots of sexual violence and the

responsibility of companies allow these companies to position possible complaints of violence as automatically suspect.

Coloniality and Resource Extraction

Here and elsewhere, the colonial power dynamics implicating the resource extraction sector and Canada become clear. For instance, the principles say, "acknowledging that home governments and multilateral institutions may, on occasion, assist host governments with security sector reform, developing institutional capacities and strengthening the rule of law, we recognize the important role Companies and civil society can play in supporting these efforts." While this is framed as a positive example of collaboration, it is clear that the actors involved in creating these principles envision governments in the Global South as less capable of developing their own systems and policies, and once again blame host countries for the violence that occurs there rather than placing the responsibility on multinational companies and the countries that could be regulating them.

In this way, Canadian government discourses that position violence as a technical matter and something unrelated to political economic relations and power dynamics align with the discourses that the Voluntary Principles employ to evade responsibility. It is worth noting the discursive differences between the Principles and the FIAP: the Principles go to much greater length to (re)allocate responsibility for instances of violence, implicitly blaming anyone who makes a complaint about mining companies and their role in creating conditions of violence, while the FIAP and other work largely sidesteps such questions in avoiding altogether the topic of sexual violence related to mining activities abroad and positioning instances of violence as something the Canadian government has no role in creating and every reason to want to address. Thus, examining the Principles themselves shows the logical extension of such evasion on the part of the Canadian government. The lengths the Principles go to to discursively

remove responsibility from companies, despite the Principles being a collaboration between companies, civil society, and governments including Canada's, suggests that these actors together have an interest in depoliticizing sexual violence. This discursive alignment shows the work the FIAP does to conceptualize sexual and gender-based violence in such a way that Canada can get credit for addressing it through positively-framed international development initiatives that happen at the same time as, and detract attention from, sexual violence excused by Canadian mining companies.

Conclusion

In my thesis, I have aimed to conduct a political economy analysis of sexual and gender-based violence policies from the government of Canada to argue that Canadian policies depoliticize sexual and gender-based violence and remove it from structural roots in political economic relations in order to excuse the violence Canada benefits from in terms of resource extraction and its coloniality. Specifically, I aimed to investigate how Canada's FIAP conceptualizes sexual and gender-based violence, and how this conceptualization co-constitutes colonial power relations from so-called Canada. Using discourse and thematic analysis to look at the FIAP itself and the programs GAC funds through it, including through interviews with staff at NGOs implementing programs funded following the FIAP, as well as the discourses Canada uses around violence related to resource extraction through the Voluntary Principles, I have analyzed the discourses GAC employs in regards to sexual and gender-based violence in order to see how these discourses depoliticize violence to help the Canadian government give cover to the violence of Canadian resource extraction industries. In this chapter, I will reflect on these findings and their broader implications for scholarly and activist debates about sexual violence, resource extraction, and national branding.

Discussion

To summarize, in the FIAP itself, the language used to describe sexual and gender-based violence depoliticizes violence, removing it from an understanding of its structural causes in various interrelated ways. From GAC-funded programs and interviews with implementing partners, it is clear that the conceptualizations in the policy do not exist only on paper but come to life in GAC-funded programs. These programs employ a variety of approaches to sexual and gender-based violence, but broadly speaking they construct sexual and gender-based violence

in the same ways as the policy- as a technical problem, as a problem of backwards cultures- and reinforce Canada's benevolent image.

Meanwhile, the gap in regulation towards resource extraction industries is filled only by voluntary measures, such as the Voluntary Principles. These principles echo many of the FIAP's conceptualizations of violence, seeing it as emerging naturally and mysteriously, as if without causes; seeing it as related to the violent cultures of countries where mines exist; and seeing it as a technical issue of training and education. This conceptualization evades any discussion of the responsibility resource extraction companies have for sexual violence, although there are well-founded associations between these activities and cases of sexual and gender-based violence. In this way, the feminist discourses of the FIAP give cover to forms of gender inequality that are fostered by Canadian coloniality.

In the preceding chapters, I have shown that the FIAP forms part of a broader approach from Global Affairs Canada to depoliticize sexual and gender-based violence. Using a theoretical framework that sees such forms of violence as intimately tied to power dynamics, chief among which are political economic forms of power, I have demonstrated the various, sometimes conflicting approaches the FIAP takes to addressing sexual and gender-based violence. The FIAP thus positions sexual and gender-based violence as something that occurs naturally and is disconnected from structural causes, and thus as a problem that cannot be prevented but only treated through intervention from medical and criminal justice systems; when it does characterize instances of violence as preventable, this is through a narrow, individualistic framing that ignores the power dynamics at work in producing violence, instead positioning it as an interpersonal problem to be solved through training and education. Related to these forms of depoliticization, the policy depicts sexual and gender-based violence as a problem because it lessens the ability of women to participate in capitalist economic relations. Here and in these

other characterizations, it is clear that this depoliticization not only limits the effectiveness of GAC's interventions, but actively creates the conditions for its reproduction by normalizing the political economic conditions that reproduce it. This can be seen as an example of "purplewashing," a practice in which governments use professed commitments to gender equality to improve a country's image, for instance as part of Zionist narratives of Palestinian backwardness on gender equality (Decolonize Palestine)

Limitations

One of the limitations of this project is that its scope is limited to discourse and thematic analysis of the policy and programs implemented that follow it. It also does not include much detailed information on the history and background of the policy, nor does it include the voices and perspectives of those responsible for designing and implementing it at the Government of Canada. Future research could delve more into the design of the FIAP to understand how it was conceptualized in relation to the international image of Canada. As well, in connecting Canadian gender equality discourses with Canadian resource extraction, it would be useful for future research to interview or to otherwise analyze the work of the Canadian Ombudsperson on Responsible Enterprise as it becomes more established.

Conclusions

The FIAP and programs implemented through it also perpetuate colonial power dynamics in reifying the role of Canada as the saviour of countries with backwards gender norms, particularly in gendered terms. One of the main ways this occurs is through conceptualizations of sexual and gender-based violence as a cultural problem, an idea which relies on colonial stereotypes about cultures of the Global South. This, combined with the policy's conceptualization of Canada as a leader on gender equality, solidifies the role of Canada within the coloniality of international development.

In this way, the FIAP can be understood as an exercise of Canadian branding, with even NGO actors conceptualizing its importance in part in terms of Canada's international image. The FIAP itself puts forth an image of Canada as a benevolent actor, a broker of peace on the world stage, that dovetails with Canada's self-image as a multicultural nation with a peacekeeping history. This image erases the history of Canadian involvement in imperialist ventures worldwide.

This also dovetails with conceptualizations of the role of NGOs. GAC-funded programs abroad reproduce a reliance by states on civil society actors, further casting sexual violence as a complicated, add-on issue for which governments have no responsibility. The extension of this can then be seen in the discourses used to excuse instances of violence by Canadian government, corporate, and civil society actors, as demonstrated by the Voluntary Principles, which discursively work to pre-empt any idea of responsibility on the part of corporations for fully addressing instances of sexual violence, or for governments to regulate these companies. Instead, this conceptualization of violence as inevitable, a mysterious and complicated issue that requires collaboration, means that companies are merely expected- or hoped- to do what they can, however small that is, to address it. This emphasis on multi-sectoral collaboration demonstrates that within the context of Canada's reliance on resource extraction, the interests of civil society, government, and corporate actors are closely aligned, or at least not drastically opposed, even when civil society actors are supposedly taking on the work of solving the forms of violence that governments and corporations worsen. Unpacking the specific meanings and conceptualizations of violence that these actors use is key to understanding how this can be possible.

Thus, my research contributes a critical engagement with knowledge production on feminist foreign policy by applying a decolonial political economy framework to extend existing critical understandings of the FIAP as a colonial document, as explained in my literature review. This thesis extends such analyses to begin to demonstrate the FIAP's role in not only branding Canada but excusing other forms of violence that Canada benefits from, connecting the FIAP's discourses with Canada's reliance on resource extraction. In this way, it takes a more political economy approach to existing post-structuralist analyses of documents like the FIAP. It also fills a gap in international political economy analyses of Canadian feminist policy-making more generally by understanding these policies in the context of extractivism. This research furthers feminist and decolonial scholarship in understanding the interrelatedness of foreign and domestic policies, by linking Canada's branding at home and abroad. In this way, my research highlights the importance of Canadian extractivism in shaping the country's priorities and the discourses it relies on.

Thus, my thesis extends scholarly and activist debates about the meaning and role of sexual and gender-based violence, building on feminist analyses of phenomena like "purplewashing" as part of how governments co-opt feminist discourses and ideas. While existing analyses of this phenomenon have discussed the instrumentalization of ideas of gender equality, my research suggests that ideas about sexual violence are instrumentalized in specific ways that serve to naturalize and justify this violence, detracting attention from the structural causes that contribute to it.

My research also contributes to theorizing the political economy of sexual and gender based violence by looking at how gender-based violence is discursively excused and permitted. It thus contributes to bridging critical understandings of the limitations of existing approaches to

sexual violence, bridging bodies of research about the neoliberalism of narrow, technical approaches to addressing violence with research on the coloniality of approaches that assume that countries like Canada are inherently more egalitarian than others and capable of "saving" women in the Global South from their misogynistic cultures.

This research begins to chart feminist research on approaches to sexual violence as not only successful or not due to neoliberalism and coloniality, but as tools that can be instrumentalized to cover for violence. By bringing together the FIAP's depoliticization of violence and that of the Voluntary Principles, my thesis begins to develop a feminist analysis of how such approaches to sexual and gender-based violence play a particular function, not only in excusing instances of violence but more broadly in allowing the political economy of violence to continue. In this way, my research contributes empirically to understandings of how sexual violence forms an inextricable part of Canada's political economy of resource extraction.

Reference List

Abdulhadi, Rabab. 2019. “Israeli Settler Colonialism in Context: Celebrating (Palestinian) Death and Normalizing Gender and Sexual Violence.” *Feminist Studies* 45 (2-3): 541-573

Abraham, Christiana. 2015. “Race, Gender and ‘Difference’: Representations of ‘Third World Women’ in International Development.” *Journal of Critical Race Inquiry* 2 (2). https://doi.org/10.24908/jcri.v2i2.4723.

Amarasingam, Amarnath, Gayathri Naganathan, and Jennifer Hyndman. 2016. “Canadian Multiculturalism as Banal Nationalism: Understanding Everyday Meanings Among Sri Lankan Tamils in Toronto.” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 48 (2): 119–41. https://doi.org/10.1353/ces.2016.0016.

Bartels, A., Eckstein, L., Waller, N., Wiemann, D. (2019). Postcolonial Feminism and Intersectionality. In: Postcolonial Literatures in English. J.B. Metzler, Stuttgart. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-476-05598-9_15

Melanie A Beres, Barbara Crow, and Lise Gotell. 2009. “The Perils of Institutionalization in Neoliberal Times: Results of a National Survey of Canadian Sexual Assault and Rape Crisis Centres.” *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 34 (1): 135–63. https://doi.org/10.29173/cjs1613.

Bergman Rosamond, Annika, Jessica Cheung, and Georgia de Leeuw. 2023. “Caring Feminist States? Paternalistic Feminist Foreign Policies and the Silencing of Indigenous Justice Claims in Sweden and Canada.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, November, 1–24. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2023.2274407.

Bergman Rosamond, Annika, and Elsa Hedling. 2022. “The Digital Storytelling of Feminist Foreign Policy: Sweden’s State Feminism in Digital Diplomacy.” *European Journal of Politics and Gender* 5 (3): 303–21. https://doi.org/10.1332/251510821X16523466058289.

Bergman Rosamond, Annika, and Elsa Hedling. 2022. “The Digital Storytelling of Feminist Foreign Policy: Sweden’s State Feminism in Digital Diplomacy.” *European Journal of Politics and Gender* 5 (3): 303–21. https://doi.org/10.1332/251510821X16523466058289.

Berlant, Lauren. 2007. “Slow Death (Sovereignty, Obesity, Lateral Agency).” *Critical Inquiry* 33 (4): 754–80. https://doi.org/10.1086/521568.

Bernstein, Elizabeth. 2012. “Carceral Politics as Gender Justice? The ‘Traffic in Women’ and Neoliberal Circuits of Crime, Sex, and Rights.” *Theory and Society* 41 (3): 233–59. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11186-012-9165-9.

Brand, Ulrich, Mathias Krams, Valerie Lenikus, and Etienne Schneider. (2022.) “Contours of Historical-Materialist Policy Analysis.” *Critical Policy Studies*, 16 (3): 279–96. https://doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2021.1947864.

Brownmiller, S. (2005). Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape (1975). In R. K. Bergen, J. L. Edleson, & C. M. Renzetti, *Violence against women: Classic papers* (pp. 5–8). Pearson Education New Zealand.

Bumiller, Kristin. 2008. "In an Abusive State: How Neoliberalism Appropriated the Feminist Movement against Sexual Violence." https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822389071.

Burns, Madeline Mackenzie Lynn. 2020. "Reclaiming Indigenous Sexual Being: Sovereignty and Decolonization Through Sexuality." *The Arbutus Review (TAR)* 11 (1): 28–38. https://doi.org/10.18357/tar111202019427.

Byrd, Jodi A. 2019. "Weather with You: Settler Colonialism, Antiblackness, and the Grounded Relationalities of Resistance." *Critical Ethnic Studies* 5 (1–2): 207–14. https://doi.org/10.5749/jcritethnstud.5.1-2.0207.

Cadesky, Jessica. 2020. "Built on Shaky Ground: Reflections on Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy." *International Journal* 75 (3): 298–312. https://doi.org/10.1177/0020702020953424.

Canadians for Justice and Peace in the Middle East. 2022. "Arming Apartheid: Canada's Arms Exports to Israel." https://assets.nationbuilder.com/cjpme/pages/6073/attachments/original/1649696945/Final_-_Arming_Apartheid_-_CJPME_-_2022-04-13.pdf?1649696945

Cohn, C. and C. Duncanson. 2020. "Women, Peace and Security in a changing climate." *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 22(5): 742-762, DOI: 10.1080/14616742.2020.1843364

Colella, Daria. 2021. "Femonationalism and Anti-Gender Backlash: The Instrumental Use of Gender Equality in the Nationalist Discourse of the Fratelli d'Italia Party." Gender & Development 29 (2–3): 269–89. https://doi.org/10.1080/13552074.2021.1978749.

Cooperation Canada. (2023.) "Open Letter to Chrystia Freeland." https://cooperation.ca/wp-content/uploads/2023/02/Open-Letter-to-Chrstia-Freeland_ENG_v2.pdf

Clisby, Suzanne, and Athena-Maria Enderstein. 2017. "Caught between the Orientalist–Occidentalist Polemic: Gender Mainstreaming as Feminist Transformation or Neocolonial Subversion?" *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 19 (2): 231–46. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2016.1258262.

Eisenstein, Zillah. 2000. "Writing Bodies on the Nation for the Globe." In *Women, States and Nationalism*. Routledge.

Decolonize Palestine. N.d. "Purplewashing." Decolonize Palestine. https://decolonizepalestine.com/rainbow-washing/purplewashing/

Dogra, Nandita. 2011. "The Mixed Metaphor of 'Third World Woman': Gendered Representations by International Development NGOs." *Third World Quarterly* 32 (2): 333–48. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2011.560472.

EarthRights International, MiningWatch Canada, and the Human Rights Research and Education Centre Human Rights Clinic at the University of Ottawa. “Report to UN Committee: Canada Complicit in Mining Companies’ Pervasive Abuses Against Women.” 2016. https://earthrights.org/media_release/report-to-un-committee-canada-complicit-in-mining-companies-pervasive-abuses-against-women/#:~:text=At%20Papua%20New%20Guinea's%20Porgera,violence%20and%20brutal%20gang%20rape

Eriksson Baaz, Maria, and Maria Stern. 2013. *Sexual Violence as a Weapon of War? : Perceptions, Prescriptions, Problems in the Congo and Beyond*. Zed Books ; Nordiska Afrikainstitutet. https://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:nai:diva-1758.

Escobar, Arturo. 1995. *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. STU-Student edition. Princeton University Press. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7rtgw.

Fairclough, N. 1992. *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Fuentes, Lorena, and Tara Patricia Cookson. 2020. “Counting Gender (in)Equality? A Feminist Geographical Critique of the ‘Gender Data Revolution.’” *Gender, Place & Culture* 27 (6): 881–902. https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2019.1681371.

Garraio, Júlia. 2021. “Cologne and the (Un)Making of Transnational Approaches to Sexual Violence.” *European Journal of Women’s Studies* 28 (2): 129–44. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506820938094.

Global Affairs Canada. “Canada announces new support for projects working to end gender-based violence around the world.” December 7, 2022. https://www.canada.ca/en/global-affairs/news/2022/12/canada-announces-new-support-for-projects-working-to-end-gender-based-violence-around-the-world.html

Global Affairs Canada. “Minister Ng promotes Canada’s mining industry at virtual Prospectors & Developers Association of Canada 2021 Convention.” March 17, 2021. https://www.canada.ca/en/global-affairs/news/2021/03/minister-ng-promotes-canadas-mining-industry-at-virtual-prospectors--developers-association-of-canada-2021-convention.html

Granatstein, J. L. 2011. *Canada’s Army: Waging War and Keeping the Peace*. University of Toronto Press.

Grinspun, Ricardo, and Jennifer Mills. 2015. “Canada, Extractivism, and Hemispheric Relations.” In *Beyond Free Trade: Alternative Approaches to Trade, Politics and Power*, edited by Kate Ervine and Gavin Fridell, 133–51. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137412737_8.

Grosfoguel, R. 2011. “Decolonizing Post-Colonial Studies and Paradigms of Political Economy: Transmodernity, Decolonial Thinking, and Global Coloniality.” *Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World*.

Hall, Rebecca Jane. 2015. *Feminist Strategies to End Violence Against Women*. Edited by Rawwida Baksh and Wendy Harcourt. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199943494.013.005.

Harrington, Carol. 2022. "Neoliberal Problematizations of Sexual Violence." In *Neoliberal Sexual Violence Politics: Toxic Masculinity and #MeToo*, edited by Carol Harrington, 17–42. Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-07088-4_2.

Haydon, Steph, Tobias Jung, and Shona Russell. 2021. "'You've Been Framed': A Critical Review of Academic Discourse on Philanthrocapitalism." *International Journal of Management Reviews* 23 (3): 353–75. https://doi.org/10.1111/ijmr.12255.

Horowitz, Leah S. 2017. "'It Shocks Me, the Place of Women': Intersectionality and Mining Companies' Retrogradation of Indigenous Women in New Caledonia." *Gender, Place & Culture* 24 (10): 1419–40. https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2017.1387103.

INCITE!, ed. 2007. *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex*. 2007. Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv11smnz6.

Imai, Shin, Leah Gardner, and Sarah Weinberger. 2017. "The 'Canada Brand': Violence and Canadian Mining Companies in Latin America." SSRN Scholarly Paper. Rochester, NY. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2886584.

International Women's Development Agency. 2021. "From Seeds to Roots: Trajectories Towards Feminist Foreign Policy." https://iwda.org.au/assets/files/IWDA_FFPTrajectoriesReport_Web.pdf

Jenkins, Katy. 2014. "Women, Mining and Development: An Emerging Research Agenda." *The Extractive Industries and Society* 1 (2): 329–39. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.exis.2014.08.004.

Jorgenson, Marianne, and Louise J.Phillips. 2002. *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. SAGE Publications Ltd. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781849208871.

Karlsson, Isabelle. 2024. "Legitimating Policy Branding: Constructing 'Sellability' of Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy." *Media and Communication* 12 (January). https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.7772.

Kestler D'Amours, Jillian. 2022. "Fight ramps up to prevent Canadian companies' abuses abroad." Aljazeera. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/8/18/fight-ramps-up-to-prevent-canadian-companies-abuses-abroad

Kernerman, Gerald. 2007. "Multicultural Nationalism: Civilizing Difference, Constituting Community." In *Multicultural Nationalism*. University of British Columbia Press. https://doi.org/10.1515/9780774851473.

Kinnvall, C (2016): The Postcolonial has Moved into Europe. Bordering, Security and Ethno-Cultural Belonging, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 54(1), 152-168.

Kirby, Paul. 2020. “Sexual Violence in the Border Zone: The EU, the Women, Peace and Security Agenda and Carceral Humanitarianism in Libya.” *International Affairs* 96 (5): 1209–26. https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiaa097.

Kothari, Uma. 2005. “Authority and Expertise: The Professionalisation of International Development and the Ordering of Dissent.” *Antipode* 37 (3): 425–46. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0066-4812.2005.00505.x.

Kothari, U. 2006. “An agenda for thinking about ‘race’ in development.” *Progress in Development Studies*, 6 (1), 9-23

Laporte, Jeremy. n.d. “Disrupting the Toxic vs. Healthy Masculinity Discourse: An Autoethnographic Study.” M.A., United States -- Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Lowell. Accessed May 14, 2024. https://www.proquest.com/docview/2243746336/abstract/8F4E849EC75A40C0PQ/1.

Lauwo, Sarah. 2018. “Challenging Masculinity in CSR Disclosures: Silencing of Women’s Voices in Tanzania’s Mining Industry.” *Journal of Business Ethics* 149 (3): 689–706. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10551-016-3047-4.

Loftsdóttir, Kristín. 2012. “Whiteness Is from Another World: Gender, Icelandic International Development and Multiculturalism.” *European Journal of Women’s Studies* 19 (1): 41–54. https://doi.org/10.1177/1350506811425837.

Lugones, Maria. 2010. “Toward a Decolonial Feminism.” *Hypatia* 25(4): 742–759

Lugones, María. 2020. “Gender and Universality in Colonial Methodology.” *Critical Philosophy of Race* 8 (1–2): 25–47. https://doi.org/10.5325/critphilrace.8.1-2.0025.

Lusby, Stephanie. 2017. "Securitisation, Development and the Invisibility of Gender." In *Transformations of Gender in Melanesia*, edited by Macintyre Martha and Spark Ceridwen, 23-44. Canberra: ANU Press. https://www.academia.edu/36918460/Securitisation_development_and_the_invisibility_of_gender.

Maldonado-Torres, Nelson. 2021. “On the Coloniality of Human Rights.” In *The Pluriverse of Human Rights: The Diversity of Struggles for Dignity*. Routledge.

Marx, Ulrike. 2019. “Accounting for Equality: Gender Budgeting and Moderate Feminism.” *Gender, Work & Organization* 26 (8): 1176–90. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12307.

Manning, Susan M. 2016. “Intersectionality in Resource Extraction: A Case Study of Sexual Violence at the Porgera Mine in Papua New Guinea.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 18 (4): 574–89. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2016.1189670.

Manuel, Arthur. 2017. “Until Canada Gives Indigenous People Their Land Back, There Can Never Be Reconciliation.” *Rabble.Ca*. January 18, 2017. https://rabble.ca/indigenous/until-canada-gives-indigenous-people-their-land-back-there-can-never-be-reconciliation/.

Mason, Corinne L. 2019. “Buzzwords and Fuzzwords: Flattening Intersectionality in Canadian Aid.” *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 25 (2): 203–19. https://doi.org/10.1080/11926422.2019.1592002.

Medien, Kathryn. 2021. “Israeli Settler Colonialism, ‘Humanitarian Warfare,’ and Sexual Violence in Palestine.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 23 (5): 698–719. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2021.1882323.

Merry, Sally Engle. 1991. “Law and Colonialism.” Edited by Martin Chanock, Sally Falk Moore, Joan Vincent, Peter James Nelligan, Robert J. Gordon, Mervyn J. Meggitt, Yash Ghai, et al. *Law & Society Review* 25 (4): 889–922. https://doi.org/10.2307/3053874.

Midzain-Gobin, Liam, and Heather A. Smith. 2020. “Debunking the Myth of Canada as a Non-Colonial Power.” *American Review of Canadian Studies* 50 (4): 479–97. https://doi.org/10.1080/02722011.2020.1849329.

Mignolo, Walter D. 2011. *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options*. Duke University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv125jqbw.

Mignolo, Walter D. 2011. “WHO SPEAKS FOR THE ‘HUMAN’ IN HUMAN RIGHTS?” *CADERNOS DE ESTUDOS CULTURAIS* 3 (5). https://periodicos.ufms.br/index.php/cadec/article/view/4554.

MiningWatch. 2016. “Violence at Canadian-owned mines turns up heat on Trudeau to create new standards.” https://miningwatch.ca/news/2016/10/31/violence-canadian-owned-mines-turns-heat-trudeau-create-new-standards

McKinsey and Company. “The power of parity: Advancing women’s equality in Canada”. 2017. https://www.mckinsey.com/featured-insights/gender-equality/the-power-of-parity-advancing-womens-equality-in-canada

McQuaig, Linda. *Holding the Bully's Coat: Canada and the U.S. Empire*. Canada: Doubleday Press. 2007.

Parson, Sean, and Emily Ray. 2018. “Sustainable Colonization: Tar Sands as Resource Colonialism.” Capitalism Nature Socialism 29 (3): 68–86. https://doi.org/10.1080/10455752.2016.1268187.

Meger, Sara. 2016. “The Fetishization of Sexual Violence in International Security.” *International Studies Quarterly* 60 (1): 149–59. https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqw003.

Menzel, Anne, and Lisa Tschörner. 2023. “Responding to Sexual Violence: How (De-) Politicization and Technicalization Shape Donor-Funded Interventions.” *International Peacekeeping* 30 (1): 128–54. https://doi.org/10.1080/13533312.2022.2157820.

Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. 1984. “Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses.” *Boundary 2* 12/13: 333–58. https://doi.org/10.2307/302821.

Morton, Sam E., Judyannet Muchiri, and Liam Swiss. 2020. "Which Feminism(s)? For Whom? Intersectionality in Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy." *International Journal* 75 (3): 329–48. https://doi.org/10.1177/0020702020953420.

Parisi, Laura. 2020. "Canada's New Feminist International Assistance Policy: Business as Usual?" *Foreign Policy Analysis* 16 (2): 163–80. https://doi.org/10.1093/fpa/orz027.

Perera, Daniel Alejandro. 2013. "'We Have a Road Map'. Whiteness, Biopolitics, and the Rise of Technocratic Philanthrocapitalism: The Emergent Neoliberal Governance Project of the Guatemalan Oligarchy." Thesis. https://doi.org/10.15781/T2M42S.

Ponzanesi, S. 2016. "The Point of Europe: Postcolonial Entanglements." *Interventions* 18(2), 159-164, DOI: 10.1080/1369801X.2015.1106962

Preston, Jen. 2017. "Racial Extractivism and White Settler Colonialism: An Examination of the Canadian Tar Sands Mega-Projects." *Cultural Studies* 31 (2–3): 353–75. https://doi.org/10.1080/09502386.2017.1303432.

Quijano, Anibal. 2002. "The Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism and Latin America." *Nepantla: Views from South,* 1(3), 533-580

Ramachandran, Vignesh, Jensine Raihan, and Akash Singh. 2024. "Under Attack from the State and in Our Homes: Materialist Interventions and Lessons in Abolition Feminisms from Desis Rising Up and Moving." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 45 (1): 24–52.

Rao, Sheila, and Rebecca Tiessen. 2020. "Whose Feminism(s)? Overseas Partner Organizations' Perceptions of Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy." *International Journal (Toronto, Ont.)* 75 (3): 349–66. https://doi.org/10.1177/0020702020960120.

Reclaiming Power and Place: the Final Report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls. Canada, 2019. Web Archive. https://www.loc.gov/item/lcwaN0028038/.

"Community Accountability: Emerging Movements to Transform Violence." 2011. *Social Justice* 37 (4 (122)): 1–11.

Rudderham, M.A. 2008. "Canada and United Nations Peace Operations: Challenges, Opportunities, and Canada's Response." *International Journal* 63 (2): 359–84. https://doi.org/10.1177/002070200806300210.

Rustad, Siri Aas, Gudrun Østby, and Ragnhild Nordås. 2016. "Artisanal Mining, Conflict, and Sexual Violence in Eastern DRC." *The Extractive Industries and Society* 3 (2): 475–84. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.exis.2016.01.010.

Simons, Penelope. 2019. "Unsustainable International Law: Transnational Resource Extraction and Violence Against Women." Law and Contemporary Problems 26 (April): 415.

Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Development of the Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and International Trade. *Fourteenth Report*. 2005. https://www.ourcommons.ca/DocumentViewer/en/38-1/FAAE/report-14

Sucharov, Maxwell. 2022. "The Ugly Truth to Canada's Big Lie: A Tale of Ongoing Settler Colonial Genocide of Canada's Indigenous Peoples and the Creation of an Apartheid State." *Psychoanalysis, Self and Context* 17 (2): 196–206. https://doi.org/10.1080/24720038.2022.2046753.

Rai, Shirin M. 2018. "Chapter 10: Gender and Development." In *Handbook on the International Political Economy of Gender,* edited by Juanita Elias and Adrienne Roberts. Edward Elgar, 2018.

Rubboli, Massimo. "Canada, Peacekeeper to the World? Myths, Values, and Reality in Canadian Foreign Policy." In *Building Liberty: Canada and World Peace, 1945-2005*, edited by Conny Steenman-Marcusse and Aritha Van Herk. Barkhuis, 2005.

Swan, Emma. 2022. *"The Personal Is Political!": Exploring the Limits of Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy under Occupation and Blockade*. What Lies Ahead? Tickner, A. (2003). Seeing IR differently. Notes from the Third World. In Millenium 32 (2): 295-324.

Tiessen, Rebecca, and Stephen Baranyi. 2017. *Obligations and Omissions: Canada's Ambiguous Actions on Gender Equality*. McGill-Queen's Press - MQUP.

Tiessen, Rebecca, and David Black. 2019. "Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy: To Whom Is Canada Back?" In *Canada, Nation Branding and Domestic Politics*. Routledge.

Tobalagba, Anaïs. 2020. "Corporate Human Rights Due Diligence and Assessing Risks of Sexual Violence in Large-Scale Mining Operations." *Australian Journal of Human Rights* 26 (2): 347–65. https://doi.org/10.1080/1323238X.2020.1813377.

True, Jacqui, ed. 2012. *The Political Economy of Violence against Women*. Oxford University Press.

UN Women. "UN Women and Canada." May 2020. https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/Headquarters/Attachments/Sections/Partnerships/Donor%20Countries/Partners-for-change-Canada-en.pdf

Veit, Alex. 2019. "Feminism in the Humanitarian Machine. Introduction to the Special Section on 'The Politics of Intervention Against (Conflict-Related) Sexual and Gender-Based Violence.'" *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 13 (4): 401–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/17502977.2019.1649009.

Veltmeyer, Henry. 2012. "The Natural Resource Dynamics of Postneoliberalism in Latin America : New Developmentalism or Extractivist Imperialism ?" *Studies in Political Economy* 90 (September): 57–85. https://doi.org/10.1080/19187033.2012.11674991.

Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights. "Providing Global Leadership in Security and Human Rights: Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights Initiative Strategy 2019-2022." 2019. https://www.voluntaryprinciples.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/VoluntaryPrinciplesStrategyDocument2019-2022.pdf
Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights. "The Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights." N.d.

Wolfe, Patrick. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." *Journal of Genocide Research* 8 (4). 2006: 387–409

Women's Earth Alliance and Native Youth Sexual Health Network. Violence on the Land, Violence on our Bodies. 2016. http://landbodydefense.org/uploads/files/VLVBReportToolkit2016.pdf?

Waling, Andrea. 2019. "Problematising 'Toxic' and 'Healthy' Masculinity for Addressing Gender Inequalities." *Australian Feminist Studies* 34 (101): 362–75. https://doi.org/10.1080/08164649.2019.1679021.

Wegner, Nicole. 2023. *Martialling Peace: How the Peacekeeper Myth Legitimises Warfare*. Edinburgh University Press. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781474492850.

Wehbi, Samantha, Lindsay Elin, and Yahya El-Lahib. 2010. "Neo-Colonial Discourse and Disability: The Case of Canadian International Development NGOs." *Community Development Journal* 45 (4): 404–22.

Wilson, Kalpana. 2015. "Towards a Radical Re-Appropriation: Gender, Development and Neoliberal Feminism." *Development and Change* 46 (4): 803–32. https://doi.org/10.1111/dech.12176.

Whyte, Jessica. 2019. *The Morals of the Market: Human Rights and the Rise of Neoliberalism*. Verso Books.

Wolfe, Patrick. 2006. "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native." *Journal of Genocide Research* 8 (4): 387–409. https://doi.org/10.1080/14623520601056240.

Women's Earth Alliance and Native Youth Sexual Health Network. "Violence on the Land, Violence on our Bodies: Building an Indigenous Response to Environmental Violence."

Yanow, Dvora. 2007. "Interpretation in Policy Analysis: On Methods and Practice." *Critical Policy Studies*, 1 (1): 110–22. https://doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2007.9518511.

Zhukova, Ekatherina. 2023. "A Struggle for Hegemonic Feminisation in Six Feminist Foreign Policies Or, How Social Hierarchies Work in World Politics." *Millennium* 51 (3): 643–972. https://doi.org/10.1177/03058298231182186.