

GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN CANADIAN HUMAN SECURITY POLICY: THE LIMITATIONS OF BUREAUCRATIC AND SECURITY DISCOURSES

Shelina Ali

*Department of Political Science
Concordia University*

Abstract – The purpose of this study is to assess how feminist literature on bureaucratic discourse and human security can contribute to a greater understanding of the challenges of gender mainstreaming within policy on human security and conflict management. My particular focus on gender is linked to the reality that gender power relations are consistently present within all societies internationally, most often resulting in the subordination of femininity and by consequence, women. Feminist critiques of the bureaucracy make a strong argument for why there is such difficulty in establishing a gendered security policy, by addressing the gender biased nature of bureaucratic structure, knowledge, and discourse. Through the analysis I hope to shed light on the barriers and access points available within the Canadian bureaucracy in terms of gender mainstreaming in human security policy. Past studies have focused on what gendered aspect of conflict and security policy *have* ignored, but not *why* they have ignored these aspects. This paper will attempt to further uncover the why, and what feminist theory can contribute towards understanding the difficulty of gender mainstreaming in Canadian human security policy.

Introduction

Gender mainstreaming has gained ground within the international sphere over the past three decades, pushed forward with the help of the UN decade for women initiated in 1975. Since then, issues of gender inequality have become an important focus of national and international political agendas, as well as a notable aspect of public policy conception. The visibility of gender issues within policy on economic empowerment, political participation, social policy, and international development policy is commendable, yet by no means consistent. One area of public policy that has lagged behind significantly in terms of incorporating issues of gender equality is security policy, including both human security and conflict management.

Conceptual Definitions: Sex, Gender, and Mainstreaming

Central to properly exploring the ways in which gender analysis and equality is absent in security policy is establishing clear definitions of both sex and gender. Pulling from feminist theory, sex is rooted in the biological differences that characterize who is male and who is female. Gender, on the other hand refers to the social construction of societal roles based on an individual's sex, and refers to notions of femininity and masculinity.¹ Femininity is most often described in terms of socially constructed roles of nurturance, emotion, and subjectivity, whereas

¹ Susan M. Okin, "Gender, the Public, and the Private," in *Feminism and Politics*, ed. Anne Phillips (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998), 116.

masculinity often encompasses characteristics such as universalism, rationalism, and objectivity. In addition, masculinity is frequently tied to aggression and competitiveness.² The concept of “gender is about power relations, designating roles of dominance and sub-ordination or non-dominance on the basis of constructed identity categories of man and woman.”³ Sex does not have to delineate the gender of a person, but given the societal structures that associate biological qualities with gender roles this is more often the case. As Mackinnon points out in her influential piece “Difference and Dominance: On Sex Discrimination” because sex is a biological distinction and not an equivalence there can be no such thing as sex equality, equality must be conceived in terms of gender.⁴ Yet it is also important to view gender as transcendent, because gender identities are not only limited to individuals, but also characterize communities, governments, and institutions, therefore having important consequences for the “products” of these various organizations. In addition, masculinity and femininity are not in themselves homogeneous categories, thus the value of an individual’s femininity and masculinity are integrally related to other social identities and how these identities are also constructed within society.⁵

Given these definitions, what does it mean to achieve gender equality in public policy generally? Gender equality involves giving legitimacy and value to both masculinity and femininity, and not just equality between men and women. It is a much more transformative process that demands changes in society as a whole, deconstructing a long existing hierarchy between traditionally masculine and traditionally feminine characteristics. It involves the levelling of power relations between genders, a process that is daunting, and therefore one of the main reasons why gender equality is often viewed as women’s equality, and not in terms of parity between the feminine and masculine.

Achieving gender equality occurs through the process of gender mainstreaming, which (assesses) the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies, or programmes...making women’s as well as men’s concerns and

² Mary Caprioli, *Gender Equality and Civil War*, Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit – The World Bank Group; (Available from [http://Inweb18.worldbank.org/ESSD/sdvext.nsf/67ByDocName/GenderEqualityandCivilWars/\\$FILE/WP8trxtsep3.pdf](http://Inweb18.worldbank.org/ESSD/sdvext.nsf/67ByDocName/GenderEqualityandCivilWars/$FILE/WP8trxtsep3.pdf)); Joshua S. Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Okin, "Gender, the Public, and the Private."; J. A. Tickner, *Gendering World Politics* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2001).

³ Gunhild Hoogensen, "Gender, Identity, and Human Security: Can we Learn Anything from the Case of Women Terrorists?," *Canadian Foreign Policy* 12, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 126.

⁴ Catharine Mackinnon, "Difference and Dominance: On Sex Discrimination," in *Feminism and Politics*, ed. Anne Phillips (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998), 295. Mackinnon isolates two branches of analysis within equality discourse: the sameness branch and the difference branch. Under the sameness branch, there is a single standard of equality for men and women, but this standard uses maleness as the referent. Therefore, women, socialized in a different standard, must adopt masculine qualities to become a legitimate actor within the public sphere. The difference branch assumes that men and women are inherently different, yet once again, maleness is seen as the optimal way of being, and thus women are perpetually deficient in comparison. Mackinnon, "Difference and Dominance," 296-297.

⁵ See Charlotte Hooper, *Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations, and Gender Politics* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2001).

experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes...⁶

I contend that it also involves recognizing the relations of power between genders and attempts to reconstitute these relations in a non-hierarchical manner. This added aspect of gender mainstreaming is a more abstract manner of viewing the process, and will have limited applicability to public policy, but nonetheless is an important factor in the persistence of gender inequality and an important exercise in reforming gender relations.

Gendering Canadian Public Policy?

The gender-based analysis process that the Canadian *Federal Plan for Gender Equality* puts forth is essential to breaking down the pre-existing gender hierarchies and recognizing that the discourse of objectivity and knowledge may not necessarily reflect an environment where masculinity and femininity are valued equally within a public policy forum. “The government of Canada has had a longstanding commitment to analyse policy impacts on women early in the policy decision-making process.”⁷ Canada has been one of the world leaders in gender mainstreaming, establishing some important policies including the 1995 *Federal Plan for Gender Equality (FPGE)* and the Canadian International Development Agency’s (CIDA) 1999 *Policy on Gender Equality and Development*.⁸ Under the *FPGE* the Canadian government committed itself to carrying gender-based analysis in all of its policies and programming within all government departments.⁹ Yet despite this rich history, Canada has demonstrated slow progress when addressing the gendered dimensions of security policy, only superficially integrating gender based analysis in most cases. Exploring the status of gender mainstreaming within two important Canadian policies that have addressed human security and conflict management: the *Responsibility to Protect (R2P)* and *Canada’s Policy on Failed and Fragile States (FFS)* I will demonstrate how an inadequate grasp of gender-based analysis, as well as gender-biased bureaucratic discourse, has made several gendered dimensions of human security and conflict invisible, especially in terms of female agency in conflict, and gender-based violence (GBV).

It is important to note that while gender based analysis is weak within the two policies in question, issues of age, race, sex, religion, ethnic groupings, are also grossly ignored. The intersections between all of these identities is important to keep in mind, yet my particular focus on gender is linked to the reality that gender power relations are consistently present within all societies internationally, most often resulting in the subordination of femininity and by consequence, women.

⁶ Claire Turenne Sjolander, "Canadian Foreign Policy: Does Gender Matter?," *Canadian Foreign Policy* 12, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 19.

⁷ Status of Women Canada, "Canadian Experience in Gender Mainstreaming," (Status of Women Canada, Government of Canada, 2001), 1.

⁸ Status of Women Canada, "Setting the Stage for the Next Century: The Federal Plan for Gender Equality," (Status of Women Canada, Government of Canada, 1995).

⁹ Status of Women Canada defines gender-based analysis “as a process that assesses the differential impact of proposed and/or existing policies, programs and legislation on women and men. It makes it possible for policy to be undertaken with an appreciation of gender differences, of the nature of relationships between women and men and of their different social realities, life expectations and economic circumstances. It is a tool for understanding social processes and for responding with informed and equitable options.” Status of Women Canada, "Gender-based Analysis: A Guide for Policy-Making," (Status of Women Canada, Government of Canada, 1996), 4.

Feminist critiques of the bureaucracy make a strong argument for why there is such difficulty in establishing a gendered security policy. Through arguments about bureaucratic structure, knowledge, and discourse, the critiques provide a dismal picture that pinpoints the reasons why gender-mainstreaming does not fit within the current bureaucratic structure and discourse. With a focus on positivism- or empirical evidence- the case for gender in security policy becomes convoluted and often unconvincing – not enough women die as armed combatants in conflict (compared with men), nor do they actively participate in conflict, therefore why should gender-mainstreaming occur. Women do not disappear, and they do not remain inactive. They have a tangible impact on conflict and are also concretely affected. Past studies have focused on what gendered aspect of conflict and security policy *have* ignored, but not *why* they have ignored these aspects. This paper will attempt to further uncover the why, and what feminist theory can contribute towards understanding the difficulty of gender mainstreaming in Canadian human security policy.

Feminisms, Discourse, and Bureaucracy

The debate about gender mainstreaming within a bureaucracy is persistent and polarizing, especially in terms of how knowledge and expertise can adequately reflect the gender structures that are consistently present within public policy. Bureaucrats are recruited based on expertise, not elected by the public, allowing decisions to occur in a rigid and depersonalized environment. This expertise becomes problematic in that it reflects “rational matter of factness and the personality type of the professional expert.”¹⁰ Koch discusses how the primacy of science in the production of objective knowledge neglects the importance of social interpretation of experience and condition within bureaucracy.¹¹ The traditional understanding of knowledge within the bureaucracy “produces an irreconcilable tension between objective and human values.”¹²

Michel Foucault famously illuminates the problematic nature of such knowledge, which is communicated through the use of language, or discourse. According to Foucault,

Knowledge is that of which one can speak in a discursive practice and which is specified by that fact: the domain constituted by the different objects that will or will not acquire a scientific state – knowledge is also the field of coordination and subordination of statements in which concepts appear, and are defined, applied, and transformed.¹³

Therefore knowledge becomes legitimated and defined in terms of the socially accepted discourse, and different types of discourse are judged in a hierarchical manner within societies and their institutional structures.¹⁴ Scientific discourse has been judged in such a manner, and prioritized as language that can communicate empiricism and objectivity, and thus neutrality, therefore fitting with the requirements of bureaucratic expertise illuminated by Weber.

¹⁰ Max Weber, "Bureaucracy," in *Essays on Sociology*, ed. Hans Gerth and C. W. Mills (London, UK: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1948), 240.

¹¹ Andrew M. Koch, "Rationality, Romanticism and the Individual: Max Weber's "Modernism and the Confrontation with 'Modernity'," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 25, no. 1 (March 1993): 125.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge* (Oxford, UK: Routledge, 1989), 181.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 216.

This vision of knowledge and bureaucratic expertise has become especially pertinent in many feminist critiques of the bureaucracy. Given the dominance of objectivity and positivist knowledge, efforts to mainstream gender within bureaucracy become problematic. For instance, expertise is a fundamental aspect of bureaucracy and at the same time, inherently damaging in terms of gender equality. For feminist theorists, the notion that knowledge is the basis for this neutral objectivity is fallacious.¹⁵ Knowledge cannot be neutral, especially if it is acquired in an environment of subordination, where only a few homogeneous experiences qualify as expertise.¹⁶ Current notions of expertise legitimize only certain experiences, those in line with hegemonic masculinity as argued by Hooper, in turn allowing a bureaucracy to function in a neutral and efficient manner.¹⁷ Consequently, Stivers asserts that the danger of programs such as affirmative action is that an agency that is not open to diverse perspectives and expertise, will continue current patterns of subordination.¹⁸ Even if women are present, they are required to conform to certain notions of expertise that do not take into account their experiences. According to Reimann, the idea of expert knowledge tends to neutralize “the hierarchy of power structures of society, women’s needs, the allegedly non political private sphere, and most importantly, the gendered notion of international conflict...”¹⁹ Knowledge in an ideal-type bureaucracy simply means that a policy maker defines a situation in a specific context and encourages others to conform to the policy makers approach to the problem, whether or not it reflects the intricacies of a situation.²⁰ Simply making room for women leaders and decision-makers does not mean that decisions will be made in a manner that reflects femininity (or the socially constructed roles of women).

The anti-feminine characteristics of public administration have not remained confined to government policy, “the penetration of administrative discourse into personal life signifies the ascent of the cult of rationality... (meaning) the subjection of very intimate aspects of human relationships, emotions, and identity to the reign of commerce and technique.”²¹ The advent of modernization per se has bestowed bureaucratic organization with piercing power that can subsume the claim that the personal is political, into the personal is also rational, empirical, and measurable. This is especially dangerous when faced with issues of conflict and security, as rationality in the face of violence and devastation can lead to ignorance in terms of what does not fit in with this model of public administration.

The pre-eminence of rationality also ties into the important division of the private and public sphere within many modern societies. The private sphere is the sphere deemed domestic

¹⁵ Tickner, *Gendering World Politics*, 64.

¹⁶ Camilla Stivers, *Gender Images in Public Administration: Legitimacy and Administrative State* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1993), 129.

¹⁷ Charlotte Hooper discusses the plurality of masculinities and femininities present within society. These gender roles are no monolithic and are influenced through their intersection with other identities such as race and class. Hooper, *Manly States*, 55. She identifies how descriptive discourse such as savagery, institutions such as those perpetuated by colonial governments, and the actual physical characteristics of men, all help to construct notions of masculinity that are in turn assigned and socialized. This leads to the establishment of a hegemonic masculinity, which in today’s international arena, according to Hooper, is characterized by the bourgeois rational male.

¹⁸ Stivers, *Gender Images in Public Administration*, 129.

¹⁹ Cordula Reimann, "Engendering the Field of Conflict Management: Why Gender Does Not Matter! Thoughts from a Theoretical Perspective," in *Common Ground or Mutual Exclusion? Women's Movements and International Relations*, ed. Marianne Braig and Sonja Wolte (London, UK: Zed Books, 2002), 103.

²⁰ Stivers, *Gender Images in Public Administration*, 132.

²¹ Kathy Ferguson, *The Feminist Case Against Bureaucracy* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1984), 53.

and reproductive in nature, and outside the realm of government policy and bureaucratic interference. It is the public sphere that is seen as political hence the sphere associated with rationality and issues to be regulated through bureaucracy. With the rise of feminism in the mid and late twentieth century and the recognition by feminists and other individuals concerned with issues of equality that *the personal is political*, issues such as domestic violence, sexual abuse, and marital rape have all entered into the realm of public policy. This is a significant gain for women, who are overwhelmingly the victims and survivors of private acts or domestic violence. Yet, there is the danger that by incorporating these issues into the public sphere, without fundamentally transforming the public sphere to accommodate them, inadequate interventions will be constructed and used to demonstrate that gender equality is being addressed. Yet taking issues that are private in character into a policy environment as described above, robs them of any subjective characteristics that need to be dealt with. This becomes especially apparent when countries such as Canada gear programming towards achieving results when dealing with sexual violence in war, but within policy, neglect to analyze the structures of domination that are essential to this issue, and the different reasons why sexual violence happens. This becomes a superficial solution to a deeply engrained dynamic of conflict and war.

Where does gender mainstreaming fit within the context of bureaucratic policies relating to security and conflict management? Reimann attempts to engender the field of conflict management thereby pushing for “the deconstruction of gender-biased knowledge claims, and the reconstruction of a gender-sensitive theory and practice.”²² In examining three streams of conflict management – settlement, resolution, and transformation – Reimann concludes that the field of conflict management is necessarily masculine and ascribes to a deep-rooted need for objectivism, “the view that objective knowledge of the real world out there is possible whether or not this knowledge is grounded in subjective experience.”²³ Consequently, empirical evidence is what fuels conflict management and leads to rational decision making that can be grounded in “scientific” fact. Where some international relations theorists may argue that conflict management does include a feminine perspective through conflict resolution, Reimann contends that the notion that conflict resolution is inherently feminine in character neglects the agency of women in conflict situations, especially as combatants, providers of domestic labour, and political actors.

Tickner sees the maintenance of a realist view of security in terms of national security and identifiable enemies as an ongoing barrier to legitimizing the role of women as agents within conflict and peace. “This worldview is grounded in an understanding of human subjects as self-contained instrumentally rational actors confronting an objective external reality (and) renders questions about identity and interest formation as unimportant.”²⁴ Even outside of the realm of gender, this worldview no longer holds, as guerrilla armies, privatization of security, and local and international terrorism has complicated security beyond any sort of objective understanding. The actors in conflict are no longer predictable, and motivation for conflict increasingly revolves around identity.²⁵ Tickner comments that it is not only feminists that are uncomfortable with this realist worldview, critics such as poststructuralists state that many issues within the realm of

²² Reimann, “Engendering the Field of Conflict Management,” 100.

²³ Ibid., 107.

²⁴ Tickner, *Gendering World Politics*, 45.

²⁵ International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, “The Responsibility to Protect,” (International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, December 2001).

security do not fit within a positivist state-centric frame. These issues include deciding the legitimate actors in conflict, and on what basis third party military intervention should occur.

Giles and Hyndman move outside of the war-specific context, and look at the gendered context of militarized violence in the absence of war. They state that “sites of war and peace are ultimately linked. Both can be sites of violence.”²⁶ Even in contexts that are deemed peaceful, the violence that occurs often mirrors the gendered violence that takes place in war. This can be seen especially when dealing with human security in dangerous cities, or what the Government of Canada deems *Fragile Cities*. Places such as Rio de Janeiro, Brazil and Cape Town, South Africa, are not war zones, but they are sites of violence, they are fragile, and living there has huge repercussions for women and girls as masculinity and dominance are consistently perpetuated within these contexts. Fragile cities experience high levels of violence, with ingrained gendered power structures that lead women and men to experience these contexts differently. Accordingly, if human security is to include the security of women, men, girls and boys, the definition of conflict must remain fluid and not only include internationally defined wars, but areas of heightened violence. As such, Giles and Hyndman view a comprehensive and subjective understanding of gender power relations as essential to any attempt at conflict resolution, reconciliation, and prevention.²⁷

The ever-important issue of nationalism and conflict, raised in *Sites of Violence* isolates the importance of feminist analyses of nationalism as a gendered phenomenon where men and women are essential to a project that reproduces or intensifies gender subordination. However, a point that western feminists have often neglected is that nationalism allocates femininity a very legitimate and recognized place within society:

Ultranationalist movements have used women as cultural representatives and constructed them in relation to western domination. Women are the carriers of authenticity; this puts them in a difficult position vis-à-vis their gender and religious identities.²⁸

Hyndman and Giles illustrate how nationalist movements have validated femininity by framing the role of women as preservers and transmitters of cultural beliefs as essential to the survival of a group. Femininity is valuable, but despite its cultural worth, the actual choices and opportunities of women are limited. In many regions, nationalist movements continue to take hold of gendered power structures, using them for their benefit, and these gender structures are perpetuated in conflict as can be seen in places such as Afghanistan, Iraq, and Rwanda. Yet, due to the historically driven pattern of silence on women and gender issues within conflict, governments, such as Canada’s, who attempt to deal with these issues, have ignored the very basic gendered aspect of nationalism, failing to comprehend the intricate gender aspects of nationalism, thereby leaving them incapable of effectively addressing gender inequalities.

Expertise and Knowledge in the Canadian Bureaucratic Context

²⁶ Wenona Giles and Jennifer Hyndman, "Introduction: Gender and Conflict in a Global Context," in *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones*, ed. Wenona Giles and Jennifer Hyndman (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 4.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Quoted in Ibid., 10.

The hierarchical structure of Canadian bureaucracy and its focus on positivist policy decisions and results is outlined by Savoie through his analysis of central agencies and the characteristics of an institutionalized Cabinet.²⁹ Central agencies, according to Savoie's analysis include the Prime Minister's Office, the Privy Council Office, the Public Service Commission, and the Treasury Board Secretariat. Within the microcosm of a bureaucracy controlled by these central agencies, Savoie demonstrates how notions of bureaucratic objectivity and knowledge are maintained, as elected representatives are fed information through deputy ministers all of whom are trained within central agencies. Of most concern to the current discussion of bureaucratic knowledge and expertise is the implementation of New Public Management within Canadian bureaucracy. Specifically, since the mid-1990's the Treasury Board Secretariat's reorganization has reformed it into "a management board role, (modernizing) the way in which it exercises its responsibilities and a much more strategic and results oriented focus, away from an emphasis on individual transactions and approvals."³⁰ New Public Management is espoused as a technique to adapt to modernization and the increasing demands of the contemporary capitalist economy, especially apparent in its focus on results and performance evaluation. According to Savoie, performance evaluation is a "central feature of the new public management movement and its desire to focus on results rather than process."³¹ As a result

translation of the neoliberal policy paradigm in the domain of the public services also reveals that deep core elite assumptions or beliefs have an enduring impact in structuring the way that members of the mass public think about themselves as political being, how they articulate their interests, how they conceive of modes of association with others and how they devise courses of collective action.³²

This focus on results has actually been welcomed by many gender analysts and feminists, following the desire to see actual impacts for women, not just the token "add women and stir" approach, popular in the 1970's and 1980's. I would argue that this reinforces strict notions of knowledge and the need for objective discourse, Results are something tangible, thereby something that can be framed in an objective manner. Yet the question remains, can all policy impacts be translated into this type of knowledge, especially when it comes to something as abstract as gender relations (not relations between the sexes), and, additionally, what makes a result significant?

²⁹ An institutionalized cabinet refers to a structure where "central agencies are expected to provide Cabinet with the broader picture whether in terms of defining challenges and opportunities in pursuing a proposed policy agenda, identifying the constraints involved in a policy option, on in presenting the economic and fiscal outlook. In short, they are responsible for providing ministers with a government-wide perspective of all their activities, a process that ranks priorities to assist in making decisions and defining policy objectives." Donald J. Savoie, *Governing from the Centre: The Concentration of Power in Canadian Politics* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 29. An institutionalized cabinet leads to the control of policy process by central agencies, and limits Ministerial power within public policy.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 199.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 222.

³² David Clark, "Neoliberalism and Public Service Reform: Canada in Comparative Perspective," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 35, no. 4 (December 2004): 789.

The government of Canada embarked on the RBM path in 2000 with the policy document *Results for Canadians: A Management Framework for the Canadian Government*.³³ The policy states, “Few things have contributed more in recent years to the development of Canadian public administration than has the focus on results. The Government of Canada intends to enhance this emphasis in the future – a commitment that responds to citizens' concerns about the value they obtain for their tax dollars. Managing for results is fundamental to citizen-focused government.”³⁴ Consequently, this document commits all government departments and agencies to produce results to strengthen bureaucratic accountability within Canada. This focus on results is geared towards establishing the strengths and weaknesses of policies and programs and producing performance indicators through which the government's successes and failures can be assessed. Performance indicators are clearly defined as “the foundation of results-based management.”³⁵

Of the three government departments that are the main players in Canada's whole-of-government approach to security policy, CIDA has made significant and important attempts to integrate gender into the RBM lexicon. CIDA defines a result as “a describable or measurable development change resulting from a cause and effect relationship. RBM is a philosophy (where) development results involve changes in power relations, how resources are distributed.”³⁶ CIDA distinguishes between quantitative and qualitative indicators, showing that development results, especially in terms of gender equality, are often reflected in changes in societal perspectives, and a feeling of empowerment. The discussion around quantitative and qualitative results points to important progress within certain arenas in government, to manage results in a gender inclusive manner. Yet, despite CIDA efforts, a whole-of government approach means that there needs to be consistency in what are reported as objective results, and the difficulty associated with measuring changes in gender power relations implies that significant policy initiatives with trivial or un-measurable results will suffer in the face of more tangible results.³⁷

CIDA has also isolated three corporate result areas, and all policy and programming must be able to produce results in one of these three result areas. The areas include advancing women's participation in decision-making, supporting women and girls in the realization of their human rights, and to improve women's access and control over resources and the benefits of development.³⁸ Two main problems arise with this clear commitment to gender equality results, firstly, it is not clear what a gender equality result actually is. Is the act of gender-based analysis a result, is increasing the number of women in parliament a result, or are changes in power relations a result? The first two are easy enough to isolate, although they consist of very different

³³ Treasury Board Secretariat, “Results for Canadians: A Management Framework for the Canadian Government,” (Treasury Board Secretariat, Government of Canada, March 2000).

³⁴ Ibid., 10.

³⁵ Ibid., 11.

³⁶ Results-Based Management Division, “RBM Handbook on Developing Results Chains,” (Canadian International Development Agency, Government of Canada, December 2000), 10.

³⁷ In 2005, CIDA produced the *Framework for Assessing Gender Equality Results*, which is constructed to assess CIDA's progress in gender equality development results isolating whether or not CIDA has met its corporate commitments. This framework is an important assessment of gender equality results in terms of CIDA's projects and programs, but is limited in that it only assesses CIDA's corporate commitment but does not assess the compatibility of results management and gender equality. See Canadian International Development Agency, “CIDA's Framework for Assessing Gender Equality Results,” (Canadian International Development Agency, Government of Canada, 2005).

³⁸ Results-Based Management Division, “RBM Handbook on Developing Results Chains,” 7.

outcomes, the third is much harder to pinpoint, and can be measured in many subjective ways. Secondly, it is not clear that these results are sufficient in terms of achieving gender equality, nor whether they are areas relevant to human security issues. For instance, where do female combatants fit within the result structures, and, in the case of sexual violence in war, how can a result be measured until after violence has occurred. Because conflict means instability, indicators and results will also vary depending on the context and intensity. Both these difficulties mean that gender equality results cannot be universalized. Each result depends on a different context, and the impact is relative to the degree of equality or inequality. Not contextualizing results demonstrates a limited understanding of feminist theory; and its potential contribution to transforming bureaucratic processes.

Sjolander's analysis of Canadian foreign policy also demonstrates that gender mainstreaming has posed a difficult challenge within Canada and internationally. Sjolander claims that "without challenging underlying structures and premises of institutions, on the one hand, and global structures, on the other, we are unable to respond to the gendered reality with which women and men live."³⁹ She illuminates that even CIDA, whose commitment to gender equality spans three decades, often turns to efficiency when pushing for greater gender equality, as gender inequality has been linked to limiting growth.⁴⁰ The necessity to relate gender equality to poverty reduction is also apparent in the *IPS: Development* policy document, which contends that "Canada strongly supports and advocates for the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, the Beijing Platform for Action, and the MDGs, which also converge around the notion that addressing inequality between men and women is fundamental to achieving poverty reduction and sustainable development."⁴¹ CIDA recognizes that gender equality is essential to basic human rights, but also reaffirms its connection to growth, rationalizing the need for gender equality in terms of numbers and bureaucratic requirements of efficiency. If gender equality can produce growth, and growth can be measured, it can't be wrong. Yet, security policy presents new challenges to achieving results in gender equality, as aspects of conflict are so deeply embedded in gender power structures that results are often difficult, and even qualitative results are immeasurable.

Sex Mainstreaming within Canadian Security Policy

Canada's *Responsibility to Protect (R2P)* and *Failed and Fragile States* policy statements and programmes provide guidance on how the Canadian government approaches the issue of human security and are constructed as a whole-of-government approach to peace, security, conflict. They seek out the expertise of many different government departments in order to deal with the issue of security, mainly human security, in a holistic and contemporary manner.

R2P as a Canadian Value

Canada's R2P policy grew out of the report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) entitled *The Responsibility to Protect*. The report isolates four principles for military intervention: the just cause threshold, the precautionary

³⁹ Sjolander, "Canadian Foreign Policy," 29.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Canadian International Development Agency, "A Role of Pride and Influence in the World: Development - Canada's International Policy Statement," (Canadian International Development Agency, Government of Canada, 2005), 21.

principle, the right authority, and operational principles.⁴² Its purpose is to deal with the controversy surrounding military intervention and to delineate guidelines that will ensure that military intervention is pursued where it is needed the most in a manner that will not intensify existing conflict. Canada's R2P policy has mirrored closely the guidelines set out in the report, most likely because the report was sponsored by the Canadian government, thus logically its recommendations and principles might be expected to embody many Canadian values and be incorporated within Canada's foreign policy. It also outlines the three main dimensions of military intervention: the responsibility to prevent, react, and rebuild.

R2P is the results of the UN Secretary General's request that the international community adapt to contemporary conflicts, learning to deal with them in an effective and situated manner, hopefully preventing the massive scale of civilian deaths and gross human rights abuses which have shaped civil conflicts in places such as Rwanda, Bosnia, and Sudan. Former Prime Minister Paul Martin highlighted the importance of R2P to Canadian human security policy at the World Summit in 2005. He stated:

We need expanded guidelines for Security Council action to make clear our responsibility to act decisively to prevent humanity's attack on humanity. The "Responsibility to Protect" is one such guideline... It is a powerful norm of international behaviour. And this week, we have taken a very important step to that end. We are proud that R2P has Canadian lineage, that it is now a principle for all the world.⁴³

The disconnect between Canada's human security programme and gender mainstreaming is surprising in that Canada is committed to preventing conflict and protecting civilians, yet does not recognize the obvious mechanisms by which an effective human security program should be gendered. McPhedran et al isolates several different areas where women are "missing" from human security policy. For example, *R2P* recommends security sector reform (SSR) in an attempt to increase the capacity of security institutions to protect civilians. Since the security needs of civilians are often gendered, especially in societies which adhere to more traditional gender roles, the 'lack' of gender analysis in *R2P* is perplexing.⁴⁴ In addition, R2P barely addresses gender-based violence, ignoring violence against women in the just cause threshold and only addresses rape in wartime in relation to ethnic cleansing, whereas its presence occurs in situations that are not deemed as ethnic cleansing also.⁴⁵ Furthermore, it addresses gender-based violence only through sexual violence, thus ignoring the many different forms of violence that mostly affect women and girls, including trafficking, domestic violence, and traditional harmful practices.⁴⁶

⁴² International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, "The Responsibility to Protect."

⁴³ Paul Martin, New York: World Summit (2005)., "Statement by the Right-Honourable Paul Martin, Prime Minister of Canada, to the High-Level Meeting of the Sixtieth Session of the United Nations General Assembly," (Prime Minister's Office, Government of Canada, September 16, 2005).

⁴⁴ Marilou McPhedran, Jennifer Bond, and Laurel Sherret, "R2P Missing Women – Canada's Responsibility to Perceive" (paper presented at the Fragile, Dangerous and Failed States Conference, University of Victoria, Victoria, BC, 2005), 8.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 10.

⁴⁶ Traditional harmful practices refer to practices that are culturally specific and rooted in complex social and political structures. These practices may include female-genital mutilation, early/forced marriage, dowry price, and female infanticide.

A New Policy Area: Failed and Fragile States

The “whole-of-government” approach to failed and fragile states is another policy tool used to deal with the changing nature of international conflict. This policy statement spans three different policy documents, *The International Policy Statement (IPS)* on defence, diplomacy, and development. The motivation behind the IPS is that “failed and failing states dot the international landscape, creating despair and regional instability and providing a haven for those who would attack us directly.”⁴⁷ In order to comprehensively deal with this issue, the government of Canada has taken a 3D approach – defence, development, diplomacy - illuminating roles within failed and fragile states for the Department of National Defence (DND), Foreign Affairs Canada (DFAIT), and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).⁴⁸

DND has prescribed further military engagement within failed and fragile states, in an effort to strengthen national security. DND has taken a traditional approach to security, with a focus on national security versus human security. Meanwhile, using diplomatic capabilities DFAIT focuses on prevention, using a variety of mechanisms such as development, fostering human rights and democracy, and increasing human security, as elaborated within the *R2P* doctrine. In terms of prevention, DFAIT mainly focuses on expanding the role of the armed forces in peace support operations, stabilization of post-conflict societies including strengthening law enforcement, legislatures, and regulatory regimes. DFAIT has also embarked on exploring the issue of fragile cities “adopting an urban lens through which to view human security issues allows for a better understanding of peacebuilding or conflict-generating trends that are unique to cities, so as to strengthen and improve upon human security policy and programming.”⁴⁹ The focus of this particular subsection of failed and fragile state policy is on slums, the lack of public security, the growth in private security, and the availability of small arms that perpetuate violent gang activity.⁵⁰ CIDA, using its expertise in international development, also looks towards prevention, stabilization, and reconstruction in failed/fragile states through sustainable development mechanisms. CIDA’s focus within failed and fragile states is two fold: a focus on harmonization with other donors to increase aid effectiveness and a focus on governance.⁵¹

This whole-of-government approach poses a difficult obstacle for gender mainstreaming within this policy area because different government departments have different levels of commitments to gender equality policy outcomes and gender-based analysis, and work with divergent policy discourses. According to the North-South Institute (NSI), the unequal commitment across government departments implies that gender equality has not been mainstreamed within failed and fragile states policy.⁵² There is a danger that if it is not explicitly

⁴⁷ Department of National Defence, “A Role of Pride and Influence in the World: Defence - Canada's International Policy Statement,” ed. Government of Canada Department of National Defence (2005), 1.

⁴⁸ Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, “A Role of Pride and Influence in the World: Diplomacy - Canada's International Policy Statement,” ed. Government of Canada Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada (2005), 18.

⁴⁹ Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, “Freedom from Fear in Urban Spaces,” ed. Government of Canada Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada (2006), 2.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Canadian International Development Agency, “A Role of Pride and Influence in the World: Development - Canada's International Policy Statement,” 24.

⁵² Stephen Baranyi and Kristiana Powell, “Bringing Gender Back into Canada’s Engagement in Fragile States: Options for CIDA in a Whole-of-Government Approach,” (Ottawa, ON: North-South Institute, 2005), 7.

integrated, the discourse related to policy will fall back on empirical evidence and the statements made by those who have the most power and whose experiences will thereby be reflected with greater ease.

Women as Agents in War

In order to establish the need for gender equality to be explicitly and systematically integrated into policy, I believe that it is important to explore how women are agents in conflict, therefore how they are impacted by and sustain conflict both through combat and non combat roles. The focus on women is deliberate, as although understanding the role of men in conflict is by no means complete, it is not widely ignored or disputed that men influence conflict in significant ways and often hold high stakes within disputed power relations. Women, on the other hand, are often marginalized within the decision-making process that takes place before conflict and do not die as a result of conflict to the same degree as men.⁵³ I do not propose to discuss why women should become integral players in peace and conflict, as but to outline how they already are, and the ways in which Canadian policy discourse fails to recognize these roles because of its gender-biased nature.

Female Combatants

“Since security has traditionally been conceptualized in masculinised terms and women have been excluded from this, the experiences and roles of women have rarely been of interest in literature on security.”⁵⁴ Conceptualizing security in purely masculine terms leaves no room for exploring the power relations that are the foundation of conflict, and how they thrive upon unequal gender relations, at times leading to the active participation of women in armed conflict. Smaller numbers of women in combat does not mean there are no women and girls in combat, nor does this mean that their needs and experiences cannot shape the content and relevance of policy and praxis. Women and girls have increasingly become active within combat roles, both in traditional government forces and non-traditional forces. Often, while undertaking non-traditional roles, women in combat normally ascribe to highly conservative gender constructions to legitimate their actions.⁵⁵

Research on conflicts during the past several decades indicates that a significant minority of women and girls have undertaken combat roles in rebel and paramilitary forces. For instance, the United Nations Observer Mission (ONUSAL) to El Salvador estimated that women were 29% of combatants in the country’s civil war.⁵⁶ Women are estimated to consist of a third of the

⁵³ It is debatable whether the many hundreds of thousands of women who have survived sexual violence in conflict are in a better position than the many more men who have died from conflict, as many women and girls have little or no quality of life. They are faced with numerous barriers to recovery from this type of trauma including severe health problems including HIV infection, fistulas and incontinence, forced impregnation, sterilization, and genital mutilation. This is compounded by the mental and emotional effects of sexual violence, including anxiety, depression, and suicide, as well as socio-economic effects such as rejection by their families and communities, social stigma, and limited access to economic resources. Human Rights Watch, "The War Within the War: Sexual Violence Against Women and Girls in Eastern Congo," (New York, NY: Human Rights Watch, 2002); Médecins Sans Frontières, "I Have No Joy, No Peace of Mind," (Geneva, Switzerland: Médecins Sans Frontières, 2004).

⁵⁴ Miranda Alison, "Women as Agents of Political Violence: Gendering Security," *Security Dialogue* 34, no. 4 (December 2004): 447.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*: 446. The focus of the current discussion will be with regards to rebel and paramilitary groups because it is in these arenas that R2P and FFS policy matter the most.

⁵⁶ United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, "Gender Equality: Striving for Justice in an Unequal World," (New York, NY: United Nations, 2006), 219.

Maoist rebel forces in the ongoing internal conflict in Nepal, and make up an estimated 40% of armed combatants of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).⁵⁷ These are just a few numbers, noting that it is difficult to assess the size and sex composition of rebel and paramilitary forces because of their very nature as non-legitimate actors within the international system.

Trends demonstrate an increase in female suicide bombing, exploring how gender roles shape a woman's desire to become involved in bombing activities is important, firstly, because it attempts to identify root causes, and secondly, because it points to the transcendent nature of violence, that it is not a male specific act, and that recent evidence points to gender inequality and patriarchy as a root cause for both the involvement of men and women.⁵⁸ Zedalis also finds this is true with female suicide bombers, referring to Hamas leader's Sheikh Ahmed Yassin's statement that the recruitment of female suicide bombers was a symptom of the numerous obstacles faced by male suicide bombers, and reflected an "evolution in fighting."⁵⁹ Despite limited data, what does the presence of female combatants mean and how does it change policies related to peace and security? The involvement of women in violent acts legitimates the fact that conflict affects both men and women differently as participants, as well as victims. The agency of women needs to be established to affirm their role and their place in conflict.

Women and girls are also involved in non-combat roles within paramilitary, rebel, as well as military spheres, and are the actors overwhelmingly filling the domestic related non-combat roles.⁶⁰ These are feminine socially constructed roles, many of which fit well within the parameters of GBV, which will be discussed later, and many of which are crucial to sustaining a group's ability to continue waging violent conflict. Roles include childcare, meal preparation, sex slaves/prostitution, companions or wives (often through forced marriage), in addition to crucial logistical roles such as messengers, porters, and de-mining activities.⁶¹ The United Nations study on Women, Peace, and Security states that the inclusion of women within rebel and paramilitary forces in such roles is part of the "assault on civilian livelihoods," bringing a distinctly violent interpretation to everyday activities and actions, because these activities are important to sustaining conflict.⁶² For instance, UNRSID reports that in eastern DRC there have been cases of women being buried alive for providing food to armed groups, targeted as witches within their own villages for fulfilling a traditionally feminine role of care giving for individuals who were seen as the enemy.⁶³

Women and girls also have a role in reinforcing masculinity, the social role that is most important in carrying out acts of violence, playing a role in cheerleading men into battle. Sandra

⁵⁷ Rosemarie Skaine, *Female Suicide Bombers* (London, UK: Macfarland and Company Publishers, 2006), 86; United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, "Gender Equality," 219.

⁵⁸ Alison, "Women as Agents of Political Violence.,"; Mary Caprioli, "Democracy and Human Rights versus Women's Security: A Contradiction?," *Security Dialogue* 34, no. 4 (December 2004).

⁵⁹ Debra D Zedalis, *Female Suicide Bombers* (Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 2004), 7.

⁶⁰ Susan McKay and Dyan Mazurana, "Où Sont Les Filles?," (Montreal, QC: Droit et Démocratie, 2004); United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, "Gender Equality."

⁶¹ In times of conflict, it is often difficult to distinguish between women involved in prostitution, survival sex, and sex slavery, as the economic conditions and livelihoods of women are often dismal, and sex becomes a valuable currency given the gendered climate in which conflict occurs. United Nations, "Women, Peace and Security," (New York, NY: United Nations, 2002), 22.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, "Gender Equality," 213.

Bartky expressed the role of masculine reinforcement best in her discussion of the role women overwhelmingly play in providing emotional labour. She states,

Behind every great man is a woman, we say, but behind every monster there is a woman too, behind those countless men who stood astride their narrow worlds and crushed other human beings, causing them hideous suffering and pain. There she is in the shadows, a vague female silhouette, tenderly wiping blood from their hands.⁶⁴

Bartky does not bestow moral judgement upon the provision of emotional labour by women, but reaffirms that women are socialized to carry out this type of role, especially within highly patriarchal societies, and the provision of this type of labour is damaging, to both those who provide it and society as a whole.⁶⁵ According to Goldstein, women participate in shaming men, but also in shaping their identities and belief systems in favour of war.⁶⁶ Thus women become agents in the degree and extent to which violence is carried out, and examples can be drawn from a wide variety of conflict setting such as the Occupied Palestinian Territories/Israel, Rwanda, Sri Lanka, and the Sudan. Amnesty International documented the case of the *Hakama* in Darfur, Sudan, where women fill the traditional role of praise-singers and cultural performers, and accompany male Janjaweed fighters as they carry out attacks, including the rape of *foreign* women.⁶⁷ The precise influence that this emotional support has on perpetuating and reinforcing patterns of masculinity and conflict is unclear, as it cannot be measured, and it is difficult to pinpoint and document. Yet, the inability to measure emotional labour and conflict does not discount its potential importance in understanding the nature of conflict itself, as well as policy interventions that can contribute to peace and security.

In times of conflict, all actions become political, as they will help or hinder one of the contending forces. To purport that women and girls do not directly engage in these actions and are not directly impacted by them, is to view conflict in isolation from the many different power structures that influence the presence of conflict, the fundamental and ever present one being that of gender.

Conflict Prevention and the Need for Gendered Early Warning Systems

The preceding discussion is by no means an exhaustive analysis of the role and agency of women in conflict and post-conflict situations, but it highlights the major manners in which conflict is fundamentally gendered, and provides a basis from which to understand how gender analysis and gender power structures play a crucial role in conflict prevention and identification of conflict risk state through early warning systems. Early warning systems are important as they highlight where conflict prevention needs to be engaged - these systems are meant to be proactive,

⁶⁴ Sandra Lee Bartky, *Femininity and Domination: Studies in The Phenomenology of Oppression* (New York, NY: Routledge 1990), 113.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Goldstein, *War and Gender*, 309.

⁶⁷ Amnesty International, "Sudan, Darfur: Rape as a Weapon of War," (London, UK: Amnesty International Secretariat, 2004). The Globe and Mail recently published the article, "Hateful Chatter Behind the Veil," discussing the role that the wives of four of the Toronto terror suspects held regarding jihad, discussing how their wives demanded that the suspect engage in jihad as part of their marital obligations. Omar El Akkad and Greg McArthur, "Hateful Chatter Behind the Veil," *Globe and Mail*, June 26, 2006.

not reactive, thus *preventing* conflict.⁶⁸ Goldstein contends that “contrary to arguments that masculinity is an arbitrary and time-bound social construction, those parts of masculinity that are found most widely across cultures and time are not arbitrary but shaped by the war system.”⁶⁹ A gendered early warning system recognizes the often hyper-masculinized environment in which conflict unravels, addressing how the polarization of gender power relations and roles is a telling sign of instability.⁷⁰ According to Schmeidl and Piza-Lopez, gendered early warning systems inform governments and inter-governmental changes of micro-level changes within society that anticipate macro-level conflict therefore a “gender lens enriches early-warning analysis and allows for more appropriate response options benefiting men and women equally.”⁷¹ In addition, a gendered early warning system takes into account the many ways gender cross-cuts with race, social status, age, marital status, etc, thereby enhancing the principles of human security, by adhering to an individual level approach to peace and security. As Caprioli demonstrates, societies that are more gender equal are less likely to resort to conflict via their foreign policy: “the more inclusive a society the less likely it will resort to force as a means of conflict resolution.”⁷²

Measuring state fragility in terms of gender-based analysis becomes complicated through important indicators that are not easily expressed in numbers or accurate. If the experiences of women in pre-conflict and conflict situations are taken into account, clear entry points for gender analysis appear within existing frameworks, yet the measurements produced will not encompass the complex nature of gender inequalities and how they influence conflict. Governance and political instability indicators are essential to early warning systems, yet it is not clear that women and men are included within the indicators related to political rights, civil rights, and human rights. Caprioli contends that,

Common definitions of human rights are based on political rights and limited to abuses perpetrated by the state. Research has demonstrated, however that women’s security is systematically violated in both the public and private spheres, and legal equality in the public spheres cannot lead to women’s security without equality in the private sphere.⁷³

Clarity needs to be established because the exclusion women is often justified based on cultural factors and the division between the public and private sphere, therefore political and civil rights indicators may not be constructed to account for the rights of women and girls, unless gender analysis is integrated into the framework.

Yet, issues of gender relations can be expressed simply by incorporating fertility as an indicator, yet only if there is the understanding that high fertility rates (which, increase a states likelihood of internal conflict) are associated with access to sexual and reproductive health and rights, including safe abortions and contraception.⁷⁴ Sexual and reproductive health and rights

⁶⁸ Suzannel Schmeidl and Eugenia Piza-Lopez, "Gender and Conflict Early Warning: A Framework for Action," (Geneva, Switzerland: International Alert and Swiss Peace Foundation, 2002), 4.

⁶⁹ Goldstein, *War and Gender*, 266.

⁷⁰ Schmeidl and Piza-Lopez, "Gender and Conflict Early Warning," 12-14.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 10.

⁷³ Caprioli, "Democracy and Human Rights versus Women’s Security," 412.

⁷⁴ Caprioli, *Gender Equality and Civil War*, 15; Schmeidl and Piza-Lopez, "Gender and Conflict Early Warning."

can communicate a great deal about the human rights of women, as these rights delineate the control women can exert over their own bodies and sexuality, often setting the stage for limiting GBV and acceptable expressions of masculinities. Sex-specific refugee migration is another indicator that has foreshadowed the eruption of conflict, where educated males make up the majority of first and second waves of refugee flows, as they are often the first to be killed in conflict.⁷⁵ Furthermore, as was explicitly seen in Rwanda, the manner in which women are portrayed in the media, and the degree to which women are targeted as scapegoats for societal problems, is another type of early warning sign and indicator for the unravelling of state stability and the onset of conflict, albeit extremely difficult to measure and often merely seen as acceptable within a society.⁷⁶ These are just a few illustrations of the many ways that early warning can incorporate gender analysis, but also the many ways that gender power structures present a challenging area in terms of measurement and objectivity.

It appears that this new discourse has not progressed far enough away from traditional security discourse to move towards gender mainstreaming. Numbers of deaths are not a telling sign of conflict as can be seen in the earlier critique of failed and fragile states indicators. The lines of conflict have become hazy, and feminist discourse can offer a great deal in terms of overcoming the limitations of current framing of peace and security issues.

Gender-Based Violence: Normalized in Warfare

Gender-based violence has been given increasing recognition within peace and security discourse, especially as it relates to sexual violence, more specifically rape, in war. Yet, GBV encompasses a variety of acts that are embedded in gendered power relations of a society, and are overwhelmingly committed against women and girls, but also claim men and boys as victims.⁷⁷ UNFPA states that GBV “is perhaps the most widespread and socially tolerated of human rights violations...gender-based violence is preponderantly inflicted by men on women and girls. It both reflects and reinforces inequities between men and women and compromises the health, dignity, security and autonomy of its victims.”⁷⁸

Ward and March define GBV as violence against an individual that is rooted in socially ascribed gender differences.⁷⁹ The devaluation of women, and by association femininity, leaves the female sex open to widespread abuse, and this violence intensifies in situations of political instability and conflict, becoming a *norm* rather than an *exception* in conflict situations. Acts encompassed within the term GBV vary from rape, forced impregnation, forced marriage, domestic violence, sexual slavery, and trafficking. According to Goldstein, war is inherently misogynistic, thus sexual violence during war is used as a strategy to feminize the enemy

⁷⁵ Schmeidl and Piza-Lopez, "Gender and Conflict Early Warning," 15.

⁷⁶ Binaifer Nowrojee, "Shattered Lives: Sexual Violence during the Rwanda Genocide and its Aftermath," (New York, NY: Human Rights Watch, 1996); Schmeidl and Piza-Lopez, "Gender and Conflict Early Warning," 17.

⁷⁷ Violence against women is often conflated with GBV, but GBV is a more all-encompassing term because it recognizes that all the different types of GBV occur in the context of unequal power relations between men and women, where women are most often targeted because they are marginalized within societies, but does not preclude that men who do not conform to hegemonic masculine social and cultural norms can also be victimized as they too suffer from gendered power relations.

⁷⁸ United Nations Fund for Population Advancement, "Gender-based Violence: A Price Too High," in *State of the World Population 2005* (New York, NY: United Nations).

⁷⁹ Jeanna Ward and Mendy Marsh, "Sexual Violence against Women and Girls in War and Its Aftermath: Realities, Responses, and Required Resources" (paper presented at the Symposium on Sexual Violence in Conflict and Beyond, Brussels, Belgium, 2006), 15.

therefore the act of rape embodies war.⁸⁰ Goldstein discusses several ways of feminizing a population including gendered massacres, where men are killed and women are raped, castration, which symbolically emasculates the enemy, homosexual rape, and gendered insults and intimations.⁸¹

GBV in war can also be seen as an intensification of the pre-existing patriarchal structures within society.⁸² Within a patriarchal society, women are the property of men; men own their sexuality. Thus, GBV, and more specifically rape, is used as a means of violating the “valued property” of the male enemies. Moreover, it targets the reproductive abilities of women, and can be used to destroy communities.⁸³ In this way, rape becomes a political act. It is used to achieve the disintegration of one community or ethnic group by violating the life giving capacities of that group, and “spoiling” its women. *Where are the Girls?* records the experiences of girl child soldiers, and their role as wives and domestic providers within an armed group. Even after the conflict has ended, gender-based violence continues as girls are rejected by their families and communities for being associated with armed groups, since their affiliation with armed groups normally means they engaged in sexual activities, forcefully or otherwise, outside of marriage.⁸⁴ Girls additionally have to contend with their own feelings of shame, even if their involvement was coerced, because to individuals outside the armed groups they have greatly deviated from cultural norms, even though the role of girls within armed groups remained highly gendered.

The use of rape in the Sudanese civil war, as well as the conflict in Darfur, is widespread and is a fundamental part of the conflict. It is especially important when viewed in terms of Sudan’s highly patriarchal society, where women, or more specifically, their sexuality, are possessions of men.⁸⁵ In Sudan, the rape and enslavement of women took on another dimension as the war was transformed from a civil war to a religious war. Sexual violence was justified through the use of Shari’ a law, which classifies women in the south as infidels, and therefore legitimate targets for this kind of violence.⁸⁶ Women were raped and intentionally impregnated, as a means to wear away at societal structures, and to destroy communities and ethnic divisions without any hope of retribution or justice.⁸⁷

A crucial aspect of calculated sexual violence used during conflict is gendered propaganda, which in the case of the Rwandan genocide, permeated the airwaves of the radio station Kangura, which later became known as RTLM (Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines). Much of the extremist propaganda in Rwanda focused on the sexuality of Tutsi women. The charges against Tutsi women were two-fold: firstly, according to extremists, Tutsi women thought they were superior to Hutu men and therefore knowingly used their sexuality to infiltrate the Hutu community and destroy its social structure.⁸⁸ Secondly, Hutu extremists

⁸⁰ Goldstein, *War and Gender*, 371.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 357.

⁸² Inger Skjelsbaek, "Sexual Violence and War: Mapping out a Complex Relationship," *European Journal of International Relations* 7, no. 2 (2001): 212.

⁸³ *Ibid.*: 220.

⁸⁴ McKay and Mazurana, "Où Sont Les Filles?," 52.

⁸⁵ Asma Abdel Halim, "Attack with a Friendly Weapon," in *What Women do in Wartime: Gender and Conflict in Africa*, ed. Clotilde Twagiramariya and Meredith Turshen (London, UK: Zed Books Ltd., 1998), 91.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 93.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Nowrojee, "Shattered Lives," 10.

believed that because of their superiority, Tutsi women dominated employment in Rwanda, pushing Hutu into the ranks of the unemployed and poor.⁸⁹ With propaganda centered on Tutsi women, and their manipulative use of sexuality to achieve domination, sexual violence became the norm at the outbreak of conflict in 1994.

GBV is endemic in the ongoing civil war in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), which engages some of the armed groups and individuals active in the Rwandan genocide. HRW states that rape is used as a method of warfare by most of the armed groups, and is increasingly used by individuals who are not members of armed groups but who nonetheless hold power.⁹⁰ The “climate of impunity” persisting in DRC is fuelling the increase in sexual violence on all fronts.⁹¹ In neighbouring Burundi, the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) estimated that 19% of teenage girls have experienced some form of sexual violence during the country’s ongoing civil war.⁹²

GBV in conflict is not restricted to sexual violence as a method of warfare. According to Rehn and Sirleaf, high rates of domestic violence have not been viewed as a cause or symptom of conflict, yet recent evidence suggests that domestic violence is a significant dynamic of states involved in conflict, pointing to significant increases during and after conflict.⁹³ Caprioli also finds “that societies with high levels of family violence are more likely to rely on violent conflict resolution and more likely to be involved in wars.”⁹⁴ In their 2002 study on women and conflict, Rehn and Sirleaf uncovered the fact that Cambodian women, who were victims of domestic violence, often had the very same weapons their husbands or male family members used in battle, used against them.⁹⁵ An increase in domestic violence is another indicator of hyper-masculinization of society, especially when the victims are overwhelmingly women, girls and boys.⁹⁶ Furthermore, UNRSID pinpoints that homicide rates as a result of domestic violence increase following a conflict, regardless of outcome, as hyper-masculinization required for warfare persists in peacetime.⁹⁷

The loss of husbands, or other male relatives during conflict, puts women in many societies in a precarious position and leaves them open to a variety of forms of GBV. Where state assistance is available to women who have lost their husbands to conflict, if a woman cannot provide a body she is not eligible for assistance, often further disenfranchising her because her marital status is in limbo.⁹⁸ As such, widows are often remarried to other male relatives to ensure their survival and forced marriage increases among girls in an effort to

⁸⁹ Ibid., 11.

⁹⁰ Human Rights Watch, “The War Within the War,” 23.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Francoise Nduwimana, “Canada’s Support for the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in the African Great Lakes Region,” (Ottawa, ON: Gender and Peacebuilding Working Group, June 2006), 21.

⁹³ Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, “Women, War, and Peace: The Independent Experts’ Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women’s Role in Peace-building,” (New York, NY: United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2002), 16.

⁹⁴ Mary Caprioli, “Gendered Conflict,” *Journal of Peace Research* 37, no. 1 (January 2000): 55.

⁹⁵ Rehn and Sirleaf, “Women, War, and Peace,” 16.

⁹⁶ Why is domestic violence seen as gendered? According to one estimate, 40 to 70% of all female homicides globally are a result of intimate partner violence. This is not the case for male homicides. Ibid.

⁹⁷ United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, “Gender Equality,” 303.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 214.

prevent sexual assault.⁹⁹ Thus, with little political, social, or even economic power many women and girls fall victim to trafficking, forced marriage, and survival sex. Ward and Marsh state that in humanitarian situations it is not uncommon for women and girls to use sex to receive food rations, ensure safe passage, or receive basic goods and services.¹⁰⁰

The benefit (or some might argue, downside) to addressing the presence of GBV in conflict is that it moves this type of violence into the public sphere. This is a benefit in that it gives voice to the victims, and recognizes that although women do not die in conflict as frequently as men, their quality of life is also questionable after facing such horrors. At the same time, it seems that all societies have to some degree or another accepted this type of violence as a natural part of life. Therefore the problem of objectivity arises: where does everyday GBV stop and GBV in conflict begin? This question is a significant problem as the Canadian government moves into the policy area of human security in cities. This policy area addresses violence in cities such as Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and Cape Town and Johannesburg, South Africa. Using the example of South Africa, there is no actual conflict defined in terms of security discourse, yet rates of gender-based violence are abnormally high, according to UNIFEM an estimated 147 women are raped daily. In the context of policy discourse related to human security, does this count in terms of fragile cities and human security? I would argue that levels of GBV such as these should be included in discussions regarding human security in cities, yet, while DFAIT's discussion paper on *Freedom from Fear in Urban Spaces* discusses gun violence and armed conflict, it does not isolated GBV as a relevant issue.

The issue of GBV cannot be dealt with through existing policy frameworks for several reasons. Firstly, a policy maker cannot predict the incidence of GBV through empirical means. Predicting GBV involves examining social structures between men and women, and recognizing the many ways in which femininities are de-legitimized or seen as inferior ways of being. Secondly, the extent of GBV is difficult to assess. Cases often go unreported or are seen as culturally relative. "Illegal discrimination and violence is under-reported, because of fear of reprisal, biased social policies, and the unconscious psychological collusion of victims of sexual violence with their oppressors."¹⁰¹ It is interesting that GBV is one of the only forms of violence that resides in a sphere of moral relativism, where it is both denounced and ignored by public policy. As a result, the only manner available to effectively address GBV within a public policy framework is as an after thought. Existing policy frameworks are not able to deal with prevention or subjectivity, because it is impossible to produce results from a situation that has not yet unfolded and that is relatively unpredictable in terms of scope. By the time GBV has occurred, results are only band-aid solutions; dealing with GBV through post-violence counselling, legal frameworks, and reintegration. The issue of GBV illustrates the utmost importance of feminist theory with regards to peace and security. Feminist theory allows the underlying social structures that legitimize these types of violence to be addressed, and recognizes the integral nature of GBV within conflict. If conflict is not recognized as gendered by policy makers, then its victims and agents will remain male, and the role that women play in conflict, their subordination as a perpetuation of conflict, will remain invisible.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 216.

¹⁰⁰ Ward and Marsh, "Sexual Violence against Women and Girls in War and Its Aftermath: Realities, Responses, and Required Resources", 21.

¹⁰¹ Caprioli, "Democracy and Human Rights versus Women's Security," 417.

Conclusion

Canadian public policy regarding human security faces challenges to gender mainstreaming on several fronts. Firstly, human security policy illustrated through *R2P* and *Failed and Fragile States* is conceived using gender-biased bureaucratic discourse. Despite efforts within the government of Canada to mainstream gender into all policies and programmes, there has not been complimentary structural change to make room for gender analysis and considerations of gender equality. Gender mainstreaming involves recognizing relevant power relations and leads to the end goal of gender equality, which conceptually involves transforming power relations. These are very abstract functions for a bureaucracy grounded in objective knowledge and results. Furthermore, gender power relations are subjective and characterized by the contextual environment in which they exist.

Gender mainstreaming in human security policy is challenged on a second front, through gender-biased security discourse. Theory on security and conflict management has been shaped by addressing the actions and agents that are most visible in conflict and only recently has human security been prioritized on the international policy agenda. Yet, despite the focus on human security, the role of women and the roles that they assume in society has not factored into the dialogue. Additionally, factors such as civil and political rights, economic inequality, and human development have been addressed as important issue in state fragility, yet women and the roles they assume in society, have not been given a legitimate place. Women are both agents and victims of war but their agency and victimization, like men, is shaped by their gender and the power relations that exist between masculine and feminine roles. Bureaucratic discourse and human security policy is gender biased because it consistently accounts for the experiences attached to masculinity, and thus in most cases men.

The continued challenge to gender mainstreaming in human security policy, in Canada and internationally, is the challenge of transforming existing policy structures, and thereby recognizing other forms of knowledge and other world views. Realistically, the fact that we cannot measure the degree to which gender power structures directly influence war – mainly because war does not occur between women and men, but the way it is carried out is influenced by gender roles – begs that bureaucratic discourse must take a “leap of faith” if the government of Canada is actually committed to gender equality. But in terms of human rights and a rights-based approach to both foreign and international development policy, the empirical difficulties should not hinder progress of gender mainstreaming within human security. The policy area of human security is founded in human rights, and indicators for failed and fragile states incorporate mechanisms of human rights and the protection of civilians, so why should gender mainstreaming not be a fundamental part of the discourse?

For practical purposes, I will close with a few important lessons for Canadian policy in the area of human security. Feminist theory as a starting point for analysing the issue of security provides an important perspective because its nature is to explore inequalities, thereby recognizing and analyzing power and how this shapes the experiences of all individuals, therefore women and men, girls and boys. It also provides space to recognize numerous forms of agency in conflict, not just the agency of those groups carrying out the actual act of warfare. Finally, feminist theory can contribute to shaping knowledge around prevention of conflict, and the GBV that persists within it. There must be a rationale for why gender inequalities are intensified, and roles polarized, in conflict and knowledge needs to be sought out in that respect.

Bibliography

- Akkad, Omar El, and Greg McArthur. "Hateful Chatter Behind the Veil." *Globe and Mail*, June 26, 2006.
- Alison, Miranda. "Women as Agents of Political Violence: Gendering Security." *Security Dialogue* 34, no. 4 (December 2004): 447-463.
- Amnesty International. "Sudan, Darfur: Rape as a Weapon of War." London, UK: Amnesty International Secretariat, 2004.
- Baranyi, Stephen, and Kristiana Powell. "Bringing Gender Back into Canada's Engagement in Fragile States: Options for CIDA in a Whole-of-Government Approach." Ottawa, ON: North-South Institute, 2005.
- Bartky, Sandra Lee. *Femininity and Domination: Studies in The Phenomenology of Oppression*. New York, NY: Routledge 1990.
- Canadian International Development Agency. "CIDA's Framework for Assessing Gender Equality Results." Canadian International Development Agency, Government of Canada, 2005.
- . "A Role of Pride and Influence in the World: Development - Canada's International Policy Statement." Canadian International Development Agency, Government of Canada, 2005.
- Caprioli, Mary. "Democracy and Human Rights versus Women's Security: A Contradiction?" *Security Dialogue* 34, no. 4 (December 2004): 411-428.
- . *Gender Equality and Civil War*. Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit – The World Bank Group; (Available from [http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/ESSD/sdvext.nsf/67ByDocName/GenderEqualityandCivilWars/\\$FILE/WP8trxtsep3.pdf](http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/ESSD/sdvext.nsf/67ByDocName/GenderEqualityandCivilWars/$FILE/WP8trxtsep3.pdf)).
- . "Gendered Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 37, no. 1 (January 2000): 51-68.
- Clark, David. "Neoliberalism and Public Service Reform: Canada in Comparative Perspective." *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 35, no. 4 (December 2004): 772-793.
- Department of National Defence. "A Role of Pride and Influence in the World: Defence - Canada's International Policy Statement." edited by Government of Canada Department of National Defence, 2005.

Ferguson, Kathy. *The Feminist Case Against Bureaucracy*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1984.

Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada. "Freedom from Fear in Urban Spaces." edited by Government of Canada Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, 2006.

———. "A Role of Pride and Influence in the World: Diplomacy - Canada's International Policy Statement." edited by Government of Canada Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, 2005.

Foucault, Michel. *Archaeology of Knowledge*. Oxford, UK: Routledge, 1989.

Giles, Wenona, and Jennifer Hyndman. "Introduction: Gender and Conflict in a Global Context." In *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones*, edited by Wenona Giles and Jennifer Hyndman, 3-23. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004.

Goldstein, Joshua S. *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Halim, Asma Abdel. "Attack with a Friendly Weapon." In *What Women do in Wartime: Gender and Conflict in Africa*, edited by Clotilde Twagiramariya and Meredith Turshen, 85-100. London, UK: Zed Books Ltd., 1998.

Hoogensen, Gunhild. "Gender, Identity, and Human Security: Can we Learn Anything from the Case of Women Terrorists?" *Canadian Foreign Policy* 12, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 119-140.

Hooper, Charlotte. *Manly States: Masculinities, International Relations, and Gender Politics*. New York, NY: Colombia University Press, 2001.

Human Rights Watch. "The War Within the War: Sexual Violence Against Women and Girls in Eastern Congo." New York, NY: Human Rights Watch, 2002.

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. "The Responsibility to Protect." International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, December 2001.

Koch, Andrew M. "Rationality, Romanticism and the Individual: Max Weber's 'Modernism and the Confrontation with 'Modernity'.'" *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 25, no. 1 (March 1993): 123-144.

Mackinnon, Catharine. "Difference and Dominance: On Sex Discrimination." In *Feminism and Politics*, edited by Anne Phillips. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Martin, Paul , New York: World Summit (2005). . "Statement by the Right-Honourable Paul Martin, Prime Minister of Canada, to the High-Level Meeting of the Sixtieth Session of

- the United Nations General Assembly." Prime Minister's Office, Government of Canada, September 16, 2005.
- McKay, Susan, and Dyan Mazurana. "Où Sont Les Filles?" Montreal, QC: Droit et Démocratie, 2004.
- McPhedran, Marilou, Jennifer Bond, and Laurel Sherret. "R2P Missing Women – Canada's Responsibility to Perceive." Paper presented at the Fragile, Dangerous and Failed States Conference, University of Victoria, Victoria, BC 2005.
- Médicins Sans Frontières. "I Have No Joy, No Peace of Mind." Geneva, Switzerland: Médicins Sans Frontières, 2004.
- Nduwimana, Françoise. "Canada's Support for the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in the African Great Lakes Region." Ottawa, ON: Gender and Peacebuilding Working Group, June 2006.
- Nowrojee, Binaifer. "Shattered Lives: Sexual Violence during the Rwanda Genocide and its Aftermath." New York, NY: Human Rights Watch, 1996.
- Okin, Susan M. "Gender, the Public, and the Private." In *Feminism and Politics*, edited by Anne Phillips, 116-141. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Rehn, Elisabeth, and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. "Women, War, and Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peacebuilding." New York, NY: United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2002.
- Reimann, Cordula. "Engendering the Field of Conflict Management: Why Gender Does Not Matter! Thoughts from a Theoretical Perspective." In *Common Ground or Mutual Exclusion? Women's Movements and International Relations*, edited by Marianne Braig and Sonja Wolte, 99-128. London, UK: Zed Books, 2002.
- Results-Based Management Division. "RBM Handbook on Developing Results Chains." Canadian International Development Agency, Government of Canada, December 2000.
- Savoie, Donald J. *Governing from the Centre: The Concentration of Power in Canadian Politics*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- Schmeidl, Suzannel, and Eugenia Piza-Lopez. "Gender and Conflict Early Warning: A Framework for Action." Geneva, Switzerland: International Alert and Swiss Peace Foundation, 2002.
- Sjolander, Claire Turenne. "Canadian Foreign Policy: Does Gender Matter?" *Canadian Foreign Policy* 12, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 19-31.

- Skaine, Rosemarie *Female Suicide Bombers*. London, UK: Macfarland and Company Publishers, 2006.
- Skjelsbaek, Inger. "Sexual Violence and War: Mapping out a Complex Relationship." *European Journal of International Relations* 7, no. 2 (2001): 211-237.
- Status of Women Canada. "Canadian Experience in Gender Mainstreaming." Status of Women Canada, Government of Canada, 2001.
- . "Gender-based Analysis: A Guide for Policy-Making." Status of Women Canada, Government of Canada, 1996.
- . "Setting the Stage for the Next Century: The Federal Plan for Gender Equality." Status of Women Canada, Government of Canada, 1995.
- Stivers, Camilla. *Gender Images in Public Administration: Legitimacy and Administrative State*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1993.
- Tickner, J. A. *Gendering World Politics*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2001.
- Treasury Board Secretariat. "Results for Canadians: A Management Framework for the Canadian Government." Treasury Board Secretariat, Government of Canada, March 2000.
- United Nations. "Women, Peace and Security." New York, NY: United Nations, 2002.
- United Nations Fund for Population Advancement. "Gender-based Violence: A Price Too High." *In State of the World Population 2005*. New York, NY: United Nations.
- United Nations Research Institute for Social Development. "Gender Equality: Striving for Justice in an Unequal World." New York, NY: United Nations, 2006.
- Ward, Jeanna , and Mendy Marsh. "Sexual Violence against Women and Girls in War and Its Aftermath: Realities, Responses, and Required Resources." Paper presented at the Symposium on Sexual Violence in Conflict and Beyond, Brussels, Belgium 2006.
- Weber, Max. "Bureaucracy." In *Essays on Sociology*, edited by Hans Gerth and C. W. Mills, 196-240. London, UK: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1948.
- Zedalis, Debra D. *Female Suicide Bombers*. Carlisle, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 2004.