

TURNING FEMINIST
PROMISES INTO PROGRESS

FEMINIST SCORECARD 2018

TRACKING GOVERNMENT ACTION TO ADVANCE
WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND GENDER EQUALITY



Turning Feminist Promises into Progress Feminist Scorecard 2018

Tracking government action to advance women's rights
and gender equality

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Oxfam is a global movement of people working to end injustice and poverty. Our mission is to build lasting solutions to poverty and injustice while improving the lives and promoting the rights of women and girls.

Oxfam Canada

39 McArthur Avenue, Ottawa, ON K1L 8L7

1 800 466 9326

info@oxfam.ca

www.oxfam.ca

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CONTENTS

FOREWORD	2
INTRODUCTION	3
METHODOLOGY	4
FEMINIST SCORECARD 2018	4
1 INVESTING IN WOMEN’S LEADERSHIP AND GENDER-BASED ANALYSIS	6
2 GLOBAL LEADERSHIP ON WOMEN’S RIGHTS	9
3 TACKLING CLIMATE CHANGE AND REGULATING EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES	12
4 INVESTING IN THE CARE ECONOMY	15
5 ENDING GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE	18
6 BUILDING A PROGRESSIVE TAX SYSTEM	21
7 RESPONDING TO HUMANITARIAN CRISES AND BUILDING LASTING PEACE	24
8 ADDRESSING THE UNEQUAL ECONOMICS OF WOMEN’S WORK	27
NOTES	30

FOREWORD

There is no doubt that 2018 has been a year of reckoning on women's rights across the world. The #MeToo movement has shown how pervasive and widespread sexual harassment and violence against women are across society, be it in the entertainment industry, in politics, or in the aid sector. As a committed feminist and fierce advocate of gender equality and human rights, I am shocked and dismayed by these stories, including what has happened in my organization. But I know that we are on the verge of seeing some real change in the way we think about, talk about and act on women's rights globally, including on how we tackle the deep-rooted social norms and inequalities that enable this harassment and abuse to happen.

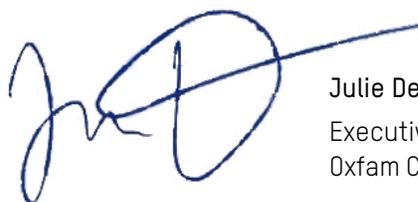
With this as the backdrop, Oxfam Canada is launching our second Feminist Scorecard to coincide with International Women's Day 2018. The scorecard assesses the Canadian government's progress over the past year on advancing women's rights and gender equality. This year, we recognize considerable commitments the government has made to advancing gender equality in Canada and around the world, particularly when it comes to women's representation and leadership, global development and climate change. While much work remains to be done, we realize that under this government's watch, gender equality has moved from being a side issue to a priority issue. We are definitely heading in the right direction.

This year's Feminist Scorecard is being launched at a time when we at Oxfam are grappling with how we deal with issues of sexual misconduct, power and privilege in our organization. We thought seriously about the appropriateness of assessing the government's progress on women's rights at a time when we have much reflection and work to do on these issues ourselves. But ultimately, our supporters have made it clear that while we have work to do to tackling sexual exploitation and transforming our culture at Oxfam,

they expect us to continue our work to advance women's rights in Canada and around the world. We understand that as we evaluate the Canadian government's progress on gender equality, people around the world are keeping a close eye on Oxfam.

We have announced a comprehensive action plan to stamp out abuse and drive fundamental transformation in our organization. Measures include an external investigation of past cases of sexual misconduct, setting up a High-Level Commission of women's rights experts to listen and make recommendations for change on not only sexual misconduct, but also on accountability and culture change. We are also strengthening our existing safeguarding measures, including doubling the number of staff working on safeguarding and tripling our safeguarding budget, establishing a global database of trusted referees and making Oxfam's whistleblower line independent. In Canada, we look forward to doing whatever we can to work with the government and other organizations to ensure that the humanitarian sector has the proper tools and policies in place to protect the people we serve.

As we wholeheartedly embark on this process of change, we remain committed to our work providing life-saving relief to people in humanitarian crisis, investing in long term and transformative development and advocating for the rights of women around the world. As we track the progress of the Canadian government over the coming year, we know that people will be tracking ours. We will rise to this challenge, never losing sight of our mission to end global poverty by promoting women's rights.



Julie Delahanty
Executive Director,
Oxfam Canada

INTRODUCTION

Last year, Oxfam Canada launched its first Feminist Scorecard. With a bold feminist vision and elected on a promise of inclusive growth, our view was that Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and his government were well-placed to take ambitious action to tackle the twin struggles of gender and economic inequality at home and abroad. Given Oxfam's commitment to supporting women's rights and gender equality our objective with the Feminist Scorecard was to assess the government's progress in turning feminist words into action.

Feminist Scorecard 2018 continues this tradition. It assesses the steps that the government took between March 2017 and February 2018 to make meaningful progress towards achieving women's rights and gender equality from a feminist perspective. Progress is assessed across eight policy areas: representation and leadership; global development; climate change and extractives; care work; gender-based violence; tax; conflict and crisis; and jobs and pay equity.

There is no doubt that the government is making policy and spending decisions to advance this agenda. Over the past year, feminists have celebrated several wins - Canada's first Feminist International Assistance Policy, the launch of the second National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security, the development of Canada's first gender budget, the passing of federal legislation on sexual harassment and violence and the creation of the Ombudsperson for Responsible Enterprise, just to name a few. Budget 2018, *Equality + Growth: A Strong Middle Class*, further delivered spending commitments in a number of areas, ranging from funding for women's organizations to "use it or lose it" second caregiver leave to ending violence against women to increasing the international aid budget. These are tangible policy and spending decisions that will advance gender equality and women's rights.

However, as this scorecard shows, there is still much work to do. We must situate these victories in a broader context. The world is facing multiple crises - economic inequality, climate change, displacement and violence - and women are disproportionately affected, especially women with intersecting identities. At the same time, hard-won women's rights have been clawed back in many parts of the world. Here in Canada, while there has been progress, considerable challenges remain. For example, violence against women and girls and gender-based violence continue to permeate many parts of our society. Women, especially racialized, Indigenous and immigrant women, remain over-represented in vulnerable and precarious work. Families continue to struggle to find decent and affordable child care and have to make difficult decisions as a result.

As we continue the fight to end inequality, it becomes particularly important to sharpen the focus on intersectionality, so we better address how different women face different degrees of discrimination. Indigenous women, racialized women, immigrant and refugee women, disabled women and the LGBTQI2 community experience wage inequality, access to public services and opportunities to contribute to and influence leadership differently, and policy and spending decisions must address these differences.

We congratulate the Canadian government for making serious policy commitments to advancing gender equality and realizing women's rights. Gender inequality was dismissed as a side issue for too long and women around the world have borne the brunt. In the era of #MeToo and #TimesUp the government has the opportunity to contribute to a massive shift on women's rights. The time is now. Canadian women, and women of the world, are counting on it.

METHODOLOGY

There is no one single change that will transform the lives of women living in poverty and struggling to realize their rights. The barriers that women face and the opportunities they lack stem from complex and long-entrenched systems of inequality and discrimination. A holistic approach that addresses a myriad of interconnected factors is therefore required to make real progress towards gender equality.

Oxfam Canada's Feminist Scorecard 2018 presents a feminist assessment of the Canadian government's progress on gender equality and women's rights over the one-year period between March 2017 and February 2018. Eight policy areas are assessed:

- 1 Representation and leadership: Investing in women's leadership and gender-based analysis
- 2 Global development: Global leadership on women's rights
- 3 Climate change and extractives: Tackling climate change and regulating extractive industries
- 4 Care work: Investing in the care economy
- 5 Gender-based violence: Ending gender-based violence
- 6 Tax: Building a progressive tax system
- 7 Conflict and crisis: Responding to humanitarian crises and building lasting peace
- 8 Work and pay equity: Addressing the unequal economics of women's work

Each of the policy areas includes an analysis of three key indicators according to which progress is assessed.

The Feminist Scorecard 2018 focuses on decisions made by the Canadian government between March 2017 and February 2018. The Scorecard does not offer a comprehensive analysis of every policy decision this government has made that has an impact on women and gender equality, nor is it a reflection of the state of women's rights in Canada or globally. Rather, it presents an assessment of the actions that have, or have not, been taken by the government in these eight policy areas. It is, in the simplest of terms, a snapshot of the volume and quality of action taken by the federal government during this specific time period.

Policy areas are rated using a traffic light range (red, yellow and green), indicating very little, some, or significant progress. In recognition of the fact that meaningful change requires time and sustained investments, key recommendations for action are outlined at the end of the sections on each policy area.

Oxfam Canada's understanding of feminist approaches to policy making is outlined in several publications, including [*Shortchanged: How to Make Work Paid, Equal and Valued for Women*](#) and [*Building an Economy that Works for Women: Oxfam Canada's Recommendations for Federal Budget 2018*](#).



GREEN = SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS



YELLOW = SOME PROGRESS



RED = LITTLE PROGRESS

FEMINIST SCORECARD 2018

WHAT ACTION has THE GOVERNMENT TAKEN to ADVANCE WOMEN'S RIGHTS and GENDER EQUALITY?



REPRESENTATION & LEADERSHIP

The government continues to be a staunch advocate for women's leadership and feminist approaches to policy-making. Increased investments in women's movements at home and abroad, greater capacity for Status of Women Canada and a heightened commitment to gender-based analysis demonstrate strong progress.



GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT

Canada has made significant progress on global development through its Feminist International Assistance Policy and strong commitments on sexual and reproductive health and rights. The government also announced the biggest boost in international aid in more than a decade. Now the government needs a plan to achieve the UN aid target of 0.7% of GNI.



CLIMATE CHANGE & EXTRACTIVES

The government has made good progress incorporating gender equality into its efforts to tackle climate change at home and abroad. The creation of a Canadian Ombudsperson for Responsible Enterprise is a welcome step. Now is the time to ensure the Ombudsperson focuses on women's rights and that gender-based analysis is incorporated into environmental laws and regulations.



CARE WORK

Unpaid care responsibilities and paid care work are grossly undervalued in today's economy. The government launched a new child care framework and introduced second caregiver leave, but investments in child care are too low. Without significant investments in the care economy, the government will not be able to meet its goals of boosting Canada's female labour participation rate and economic growth.



GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

The #MeToo movement has illuminated the pervasiveness of violence against women across society. Sexual harassment legislation for federal government workers and the national strategy to prevent and address gender-based violence are encouraging steps. But Canada is still lacking a national action plan and the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls has been plagued with setbacks.



TAX

The government has made great strides in integrating gender analysis into the budget process. It continues to crack down on tax avoidance at home and internationally. Corporations enjoy significant tax breaks around the world while governments struggle to make investments that would support gender equality and women's rights because of low levels of resource mobilization.



CONFLICT & CRISIS

Canada has rebuilt its reputation globally as a leader on women, peace and security. The government has integrated gender-based analysis into various new policies and committed to investing in humanitarian and peacebuilding programs that promote gender equality. But Canada must do more to help the world's most vulnerable refugees and ensure trade and defence policies do not undermine progress in peacebuilding.



JOBS & PAY EQUITY

Women in Canada and around the world are concentrated in the lowest-paid and most precarious work. While the government's promise of pay equity legislation is encouraging, details and investments are yet to be made public. Few other concrete actions have been taken to ensure women have work that pays decent wages and is safe. Action is needed this coming year to ensure women's work is equally paid and valued.



1 INVESTING IN WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP AND GENDER-BASED ANALYSIS

Score: green

Policies are best informed by the people they affect, yet women are under-represented in politics and decision making around the world. Many social and cultural barriers stand in the way of women's representation and leadership – whether in Canada, Colombia or Cameroon. Less than 24% of all national parliamentarians across the world are women,² and only 11 women are currently serving as heads of state.³ As of January 2017, globally only 18.3% of government ministers were women and they remain concentrated in traditionally gendered sectors such as education and family policy.⁴ While not all women in leadership positions will make choices that support women's rights, the current situation – one where men dominate positions of political power – means that women's priorities are far less likely to be acted on.⁵ This continued under-representation of women in decision-making positions, coupled with the capture of political decision-making by elites, results in policies and public spending decisions that are gender-blind or, worse, contribute to reinforcing women's economic inequality and social marginalization. This is further exacerbated for women who experience multiple forms of discrimination; immigrant or racialized women face even greater under-representation and are further limited in their ability to achieve economic equality.

Women activists and the movements they have built have played a fundamental role in improving the status of women around the world. Most of the major international advancements in women's rights that have occurred over the past decades – such as the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the Beijing Platform for Action – could not have been achieved without women collectively raising their voices and turning their struggles into a political force for change.⁶ Despite their tireless work to challenge discriminatory social norms and raise consciousness, women's organizations receive very little financial support from governments and donors.⁷

In Canada, major federal funding cuts under the previous Conservative government severely undermined the capacity of women's organizations to mobilize, offer frontline services to women, and get at the root causes of discrimination and inequality. These cuts had particularly dire consequences for women who are poor and marginalized and for Indigenous women who experience discrimination on multiple grounds.



REPRESENTATION & LEADERSHIP

Women around the world are looking to Canada for leadership on gender equality and women's rights at a time when many hard-won rights are being threatened. The government continues to be a staunch advocate for women's leadership and feminist approaches to policy-making. Increased investments in women's movements at home and abroad, greater capacity and influence for Status of Women Canada and a heightened commitment to gender-based analysis demonstrate good progress on women's representation and leadership.

“Strong, dynamic women are the heart of the women's movement and their leadership is key to achieving gender equality.”

— Maryam Monsef,
Minister of Status of Women¹

Walking the talk:

The federal government continues to highlight women's leadership and gender-based analysis as priorities. Its gender-equal cabinet is commendable and it has taken steps to invest more heavily in women's movements in order to ensure that its policies respond to the realities of the poorest and most vulnerable.

POLITICAL REPRESENTATION: Prime Minister Justin Trudeau held true to his commitment of a gender-balanced cabinet maintaining parity after the August 2017 cabinet shuffle. Women hold key portfolios, such as foreign affairs, justice and labour, and all cabinet members, including the minister of status of women, have full ministerial status. A first for Canada was the creation of a Special Advisory on LGBTQ2 issues in late 2016 to advise the Prime Minister on the LGBTQ2 agenda. Canada also sends a strong signal to the world through its diplomatic corps: half of all Canadian ambassadors are women. But more of them should be appointed to G20/G7 country posts. These actions show a strong commitment to gender equality and women's leadership and have attracted well-deserved praise in Canada and internationally.

GENDER-BASED ANALYSIS: The government has begun to implement its Action Plan on Gender-based Analysis (2016-2020).⁸ The plan sets goals and timelines for fully implementing, evaluating and resourcing gender-based analysis (GBA+) across the federal government. In Budget 2018, the government took further steps to strengthen gender-based analysis in policy making with the introduction of a Gender Results Framework, the creation of a new Centre for Gender, Diversity and Inclusion Statistics to act as a GBA+ data hub and commitment to publishing GBA+ of all budget items starting in Budget 2019.⁹ The government also strengthened Status of Women Canada by turning it from a federal agency into an official department, to be able to provide greater support to other departments to conduct quality GBA+. However, the budget of Status of Women Canada remains small, making

it difficult to strengthen the capacity of the civil service. Status of Women Canada's budget for 2016-17 was approximately \$36 million.¹⁰ This year's total spending is expected to be higher, given the progressive increases announced in Budget 2016 and the Fall Economic Statement in October 2017, which committed an extra \$41 million over six years.¹¹ These funding increases are welcome and will help ease the workload associated with supporting other departments and agencies to conduct gender-based analysis.

INVESTMENT IN THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT: Evidence shows that the most important and consistent factor driving policy change on gender equality is feminist activism.¹² However, funding for the Canadian women's rights movement was slashed under the previous government and many women's rights organizations have had to close their doors. More resources are needed to build a strong women's rights movement in Canada and abroad with particular attention given to building a movement that is inclusive and diverse, and includes support for smaller and chronically underfunded organizations representing racialized, disabled, immigrant, refugee and Indigenous women. Budget 2018 doubled funding for the Women's Program of Status of Women to \$40 million per year.¹³ The Feminist International Assistance Policy also earmarked \$150 million over five years to support women's organizations and movements around the world. These investments represent a positive step forward for women's rights.

Looking forward, the government should:

- Invest \$100 million per year to support Status of Women Canada and further increase the budget of the Women's Program by \$20 million a year. These funding increases would help the agency fulfil its important mandate of ensuring that federal policies benefit women and men more equally. They would also allow it to support diverse women's rights organizations across the country, the capacity of which has been undermined by a decade of funding cuts.

- Implement the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women’s 2016 recommendation for Canada to develop a comprehensive national gender equality strategy, policy and action plan that address the structural factors causing inequality.
- Adopt legislation to make gender-based analysis mandatory, in line with the recommendations of the 2016 report on gender-based analysis by the Standing Committee on the Status of Women, and ensure it outlines the obligations of federal departments and agencies and includes an accountability mechanism.

2 GLOBAL LEADERSHIP ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS

Score: green

Gender inequality, specifically the systematic discrimination against women and girls, is one of the most widespread and pernicious drivers of poverty and inequality worldwide. Women around the world continue to earn less than men, have less access to resources and education, are under-represented in decision making and disproportionately experience poverty. Women who are poor often experience multiple forms of discrimination as a result of their gender as well as their ability, race, and other identities. Women who respond to disasters, stand up for human rights and run for office often face threats and violence – yet evidence shows that real progress is achieved when women are empowered and can realize their rights.

In this context, providing aid with a focus on gender equality to developing countries is not just an act of charity, but a matter of justice and an investment in a more secure and sustainable future for all. An intersectional approach to this aid, with strong feminist analysis and the application of a human rights based approach, would acknowledge structural inequality and the multiple barriers to moving out of poverty that poor women face. Time and again, donor countries including Canada have reaffirmed their collective responsibility for sustainable development and some of Canada's global peers have committed to maintaining or reaching the UN aid target of 0.7% of gross national income. However, Canada's aid is near an all-time low hovering around 0.26% of gross national income.¹⁵



Focusing Canada's international assistance on the full empowerment of women and girls is the most effective way for our international assistance to make a difference in the world. Sustainable development, peace and growth that works for everyone are not possible unless women and girls are valued and empowered.

— Marie-Claude Bibeau, Minister of International Development and La Francophonie¹⁴



GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT

The majority of people living in poverty around the world are women. Ending poverty will only be possible if women and girls are fully involved, if their rights are respected and if they have equitable access to resources. Canada has made significant policy and financial commitments to supporting a feminist approach to development through its Feminist International Assistance Policy, through strong commitments on sexual and reproductive health and rights, through greater support to women's rights organizations and through the biggest boost in international aid in more than a decade. But while this investment stopped the hemorrhage, Canada is well behind some of its global peers in meeting the international aid target and needs to continue to invest.

Looking beyond international assistance to foreign policy more broadly, the government should use all levers at its disposal to address the systemic and structural inequalities that create gender inequality and deny women and girls their rights. Applying a feminist approach to aid, trade, defense and diplomacy and supporting feminist leadership within government are necessary to make transformative progress. Canada is well-placed to show global leadership by putting a feminist approach into practice across foreign policy and standing firm against the backlash to women's rights occurring in parts of the world.

Walking the talk:

FEMINIST INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE POLICY AND FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY: The government launched the first Feminist International Assistance Policy in June 2017 following extensive consultations and much anticipation.¹⁶ The policy has six action areas, with gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls both a "core action area" and mainstreamed throughout the other areas, and reorients spending towards gender equality by committing to allocating 95% of assistance to programs targeting or integrating gender equality as well as \$150 million over five years for women's organizations and movements. Budget 2017 established a new development finance institution, FinDev Canada, to provide private sector finance in developing countries with a budget of \$300 million.¹⁷ The government also continues to pursue a progressive trade agenda, which includes a focus on making trade policy work for women. Canada's renewed free trade agreement with Chile includes a chapter on trade and gender¹⁸ and Minister of Foreign Affairs Chrystia Freeland stated that a similar chapter is being proposed in the North American Free Trade Agreement negotiations.¹⁹ Canada's G7 Presidency in 2018 is a key opportunity to show global leadership on its feminist agenda. Advancing gender equality and women's empowerment, which

was announced as one of five core themes and mainstreamed in the other themes, will be addressed at all ministerial meetings.²⁰ The prime minister also announced the establishment of the Gender Equality Advisory Council, co-chaired by American philanthropist Melinda Gates and Canadian Ambassador to France Isabelle Hudon, which will ensure that advancing gender equality and women's empowerment are integrated across all themes, activities and initiatives of Canada's G7 Presidency.

SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH AND RIGHTS:

Last International Women's Day, the government announced a \$650 million funding commitment for sexual and reproductive health and rights. This funding will be focused on providing comprehensive sexuality education, strengthening reproductive health services, family planning and contraceptives, preventing and responding to sexual and gender-based violence, and supporting the right to choose safe and legal abortion.²¹ The government also announced that Canada will join the Family Planning 2020 global partnership and Ouagadougou Partnership among nine francophone West African countries. The government's vocal support for sexual and reproductive health and rights on the global stage is essential at a time when there is a strong backlash against women's sexual and reproductive rights.

INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE BUDGET: Canada's total spending on international assistance in 2017 is estimated to be \$5 billion.²² Budget 2018 committed an additional \$2 billion over five years and other financing initiatives, including an innovation program and sovereign loans.²³ This is a welcome increase and shows recognition that the Feminist International Assistance Policy will require additional resources. However, despite this increase, in five years Canada will still be spending 0.26% percent of gross national income on international assistance, well behind other donor countries such as France, Germany and the United Kingdom and a long way from the UN aid target of 0.7% of gross national income.²⁴

Looking forward, the government should:

- Develop a 10-year plan to achieve the UN aid target of 0.7% of gross national income. The government should also ensure that FinDev Canada, along with other development financing initiatives, is subject to the same principles as the Official Development Assistance Accountability Act, mandated to focus on poverty reduction, take into account perspectives of the poor, align with international human rights standards, including gender equality and women's rights and works in strategic alignment with the Feminist International Assistance Policy.
- Implement a progressive trade agenda by conducting human rights and gender equality assessments of current and future trade agreements, including gender chapters in all trade agreements with clear goals, outcomes and mechanisms for accountability and monitoring, investing in training for Global Affairs Canada staff on gender and trade, and committing funding to increase the voice and participation of women, including the most marginalized, in trade agreements and policy making.
- Ensure a coherent approach to the feminist agenda within all areas of foreign policy – aid, trade, defence and diplomacy – with a focus on facilitating the meaningful engagement and participation of a broad range of women's rights organizations and women human rights defenders in decision-making processes within all settings. Canada should use its leadership and experience to encourage other countries to spearhead a feminist foreign policy.

3 TACKLING CLIMATE CHANGE AND REGULATING EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES

Score: green

Climate change threatens everyone on the planet, but the poorest and most marginalized are bearing the brunt of harm and suffering. Women, who make up the majority of the world's poor, will be harder hit and face greater challenges in adapting to a changing climate. Extreme weather events have been steadily increasing over the past decade and disproportionately affecting poor people. Between 2008 and 2016, people in low-income and lower-middle-income countries were around five times more likely than people in high-income countries to be displaced by sudden-onset extreme weather disasters.²⁶ Greater effort must be made to include women on the frontlines in global climate change negotiations, considering their leadership in adaptation efforts, often against extraordinary odds.

The oil, gas and mining industries are major contributors to climate change and they can pose serious human rights risks to local communities. Well-documented instances of human rights violations and environmental harm have been associated with the international operations of some Canadian extractive companies.²⁷ The majority of the world's mining and mineral exploration companies are registered in Canada, which places the government in a unique position to raise global industry standards on human rights. Women and men experience the impacts of extractive



Proud that Canadian climate negotiators (almost all female!) are helping to train female negotiators from developing countries & that Canada led the way in getting first ever Gender Action Plan for climate action.

— Catherine McKenna, Minister of Environment and Climate Change²⁵



CLIMATE CHANGE & EXTRACTIVES

Women bear the brunt of climate change around the world. The government has made good progress over the past year by implementing the Pan-Canadian Framework on Clean Growth and Climate Change and incorporating gender equality into its efforts to tackle climate change at home and abroad. The creation of an independent Canadian Ombudsperson for Responsible Enterprise is a welcome step. Now is the time to ensure the Ombudsperson puts gender equality and women's rights at the heart of its mandate and that comprehensive gender-based analysis is incorporated into environmental laws and regulations.

industries very differently – from forced displacement to water contamination to sexual violence by security guards. Those who experience such abuses often have few mechanisms for seeking remedy or redress.

Walking the talk:

The federal government has made climate change one of its signature policy initiatives and made good progress in this area domestically and globally. It continues to stand firm on the Paris Agreement on climate change of 2015 despite the decision of the United States to pull out. The government has also put greater effort in integrating gender-based analysis into its climate action. Most groundbreaking this past year was its announcement of a Canadian Ombudsperson for Responsible Enterprise to oversee the human rights performance of Canadian companies operating abroad.

CLIMATE ACTION: One year into the implementation of the Pan-Canadian Framework on Clean Growth and Climate Change, the federal government has made steady progress to implement measures to reduce emissions from key emitting sectors.²⁸ The framework contains over 50 new clean growth and climate change-related measures, including carbon pricing, for the federal government, provinces and territories to advance collectively. The federal government must engage the provinces and territories more to ensure that implementation timelines are met. 2017 saw important new carbon pricing commitments from several provinces. However, the federal government has yet to introduce legislation to enact the federal carbon-pricing backstop system to ensure that provinces lacking a carbon pricing system will align with national benchmarks. Many more laws, regulations and strategies will need to be put in place in 2018 to ensure that all of the measures in the Pan-Canadian Framework on Clean Growth and Climate Change are implemented. Also, the government has yet to launch the competition to allocate \$600 million out of the \$2 billion of investments allocated in Budget 2017 over five years for provincial and municipal climate projects.

At the current pace, Canada will not meet its 2020 emission reduction targets under the Copenhagen Accord of 2009 and risks falling short of its 2030 climate targets under the Paris Agreement.²⁹

GENDER-RESPONSIVE ACTIONS: Over the past year, the government has taken a leadership role in bringing gender-based analysis and action to its climate commitments. At the most recent UN Climate Change Conference in November 2017, Canada strongly supported the adoption of the first-ever Gender Action Plan under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change to address the gender dimension of climate change.³⁰ Minister of Environment and Climate Change Catherine McKenna also committed Canada to exploring a just transition that would ensure negative socio-economic consequences are minimized in the move to a low-carbon economy.³¹ The Feminist International Assistance Policy includes environment and climate action among its six action areas, which presents an opportunity for the government to refocus its climate financing in more gender-responsive ways and reduce its over-dependence on delivery through multilateral institutions. Proposed reforms to the federal environmental assessment process were unveiled in February 2018, which, if enacted, would add gender-based analysis to the scope of assessment reviews and remove barriers to public participation that were introduced in 2012 by the previous government.³² How comprehensively gender impacts are factored into future assessments will likely be determined in regulations and once the proposed Impact Assessment Agency is up and running.

GREATER ACCOUNTABILITY FOR CANADA'S EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES: In January 2018, Minister of International Trade François-Philippe Champagne created the office of the Canadian Ombudsperson for Responsible Enterprise – a groundbreaking initiative to provide greater oversight of Canadian companies operating internationally.³³ Budget 2018 allocates funding of \$6.8 million over six years to the new office.³⁴ The mandate comes with powers to investigate allegations of human rights abuses involving Canadian companies and recommend concrete actions for how companies can improve their human rights performance. The creation of this position responds to longstanding

calls from human rights advocates, women's rights advocates and civil society organizations both in Canada and internationally. For the first year, the ombudsperson will focus on the oil, gas and mining industries as well as the garment industry. The ombudsperson has the potential to help address gender injustice in extractive industries if the mandate and powers are designed effectively. Details have yet to be worked out regarding how gender-based analysis will be incorporated into the ombudsperson's mandate. The government also formed a multi-stakeholder advisory body that will provide advice to the Minister of International Trade on matters related to responsible business conduct and human rights due diligence for Canadian companies operating abroad.

- Ensure comprehensive gender-based analysis of social, economic, health and environmental impacts is mandated in Canada's environmental assessment law and regulations.
- Put gender equality and women's rights at the centre of the mandate of the Canadian Ombudsperson for Responsible Enterprise. The ombudsperson must be granted adequate investigatory powers to respond to the business and human rights challenges associated with Canadian investment abroad.

Looking forward, the government should:

- Increase contributions to global climate financing and achieve a 50-50 balance between funding going to adaptation and mitigation initiatives. Also, more funds should be made available to the least developed countries, specifically to those most vulnerable to climate change and particularly women. Consistent with its Feminist International Assistance Policy, the government's climate financing should support diverse women's rights organizations that are leading the grassroots initiative on climate resilience and push for greater representation of diverse women on the boards of all multilateral mechanisms for climate financing.
- Work with the provinces and territories to accelerate implementation of all measures of the Pan-Canadian Framework on Clean Growth and Climate Change, including passing legislation to enact the federal carbon-pricing backstop system, and establish a mechanism to conduct annual monitoring and evaluation to track the attainment of Canada's targets.

4 INVESTING IN THE CARE ECONOMY

Score: yellow

In rich and poor countries alike, the responsibility for unpaid care work falls disproportionately to women. Conservative estimates put the monetary value of unpaid care work at US\$10 trillion per year, a sizable chunk of the world's approximately US\$75 trillion in gross domestic product (GDP).³⁷ Unpaid care work limits the hours that women can dedicate to income-generating activities and leaves women with less time to attend school and gain skills that could help them secure jobs. In Canada, women spend 50% more time on unpaid care work than men.³⁸

Child care investments are particularly beneficial to reduce women's burden of unpaid care work to allow them to enter the job market. Child care is both a right and an investment in Canada's economic growth. Evidence shows that the additional income mothers earn from being in the paid



CARE WORK

Long hours spent on unpaid care responsibilities limit women's time to engage in paid work that enables them to support themselves and their families. Paid care work is also grossly undervalued in today's economy. The government launched a new child care framework and introduced "use it or lose it" second caregiver leave, but investments in child care are too low. Without more significant investments in the care economy, the government will not be able to meet its goals of boosting Canada's female labour participation rate and economic growth.

“It's time to take a serious look at parental leave and child care policies. We should be encouraging women – and men – to make the best decision for their family situation.

– Prime Minister Justin Trudeau³⁵

“When we have a greater equality of parental leave and parental activities, we also are able to achieve a greater equality of life and work outcomes.

– The Honourable Jean-Yves Duclos, Minister of Families, Children and Social Development³⁶

workforce and the resulting GDP growth would fully compensate for the cost of child care.³⁹ A study by the International Monetary Fund on Canada's growth outlook found that a reduction of the current gap between men's and women's workforce participation by 7 percentage points would yield an increase of real GDP by 4%.⁴⁰ The study underscores the need to invest in child care to boost Canada's economic growth. Investing in the care economy is smart economics. Public spending on the care economy stimulates employment, contributes to more inclusive growth, and helps level the playing field for women by narrowing the gender pay gap and improving women's access to decent jobs.⁴¹

Walking the talk:

The government made some investments in the care economy and introduced measures to shift women's care burden. However, the increased investment in child care is not enough to move the needle on gender equality. A plan is needed to reach the international benchmark of 1 % of GDP for child care and provide caregivers with decent working conditions.

CHILD CARE: Budget 2017 committed \$7 billion over 10 years to early learning and child care initiatives.⁴² This means that a decade from now, the federal government will still be spending less than \$900 million annually on child care, keeping Canada at the bottom among Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries in terms of public spending on child care and at the top in terms of child care costs for families. Child care advocates continue to call for significant incremental investments to reach the international benchmark of 1% of GDP over time.⁴³ The government also announced its Multilateral Early Learning and Child Care Framework,⁴⁴ which sets the broad parameters for spending child care funds. However, the framework lacks goals, targets and timelines and does not outline implementation plans for the provinces and territories. Also, the framework indicates that funds should target "vulnerable" Canadians instead of making the child

care system accessible to all, which runs contrary to evidence. The 2017 Fall Economic Statement announced the indexation of the Canada Child Benefit (CCB), starting in July 2018, to keep pace with the cost of living.⁴⁵ The CCB has helped put additional income in poor families' pockets, but it is universal child care that will make a difference for children living in poverty and mothers' economic security.

SHIFTING THE CARE BURDEN: Based on its campaign promise, the federal government made parental leave more flexible in Budget 2017 and Budget 2018. Parents are now able to stretch out their leave from 12 months to 18 months, with benefits dropping from 55% to 33%. While this will help families deal with the ongoing child care crisis, it will not help struggling families with paying their bills and covering their needs. Budget 2018 introduced a new Parental Sharing Benefit. Parents can opt for additional weeks of "use it or lose it" parental benefits if they share the leave, starting in June 2019. This new measure seeks to encourage the second caregiver, typically fathers, to share care responsibilities within the household by having the option of taking five or eight weeks of leave at 55% or 33% of earnings respectively. These are welcome changes as stand-alone paternity leave plays an important role in redistributing unpaid work.⁴⁶ However, the low levels of benefits and accessibility hurdles will impede the success of the benefit. It was hoped that the federal government would take Quebec's lead in increasing benefits and eligibility. Quebec's five weeks of "father-only" leave has had the result of 78% of men taking parental leave in the province, in comparison to 27% in the rest of Canada.⁴⁷ In addition, while this new leave for the second caregiver should help redistribute unpaid care work in the household, it will not necessarily encourage women to return to work. Second caregiver leave is not a replacement for child care.

DECENT WORK FOR CAREGIVERS: Women make up the majority of caregivers. Of the roughly 190,000 people who make up Canada's early childhood education and care (ECEC) workforce, 96% are women.⁴⁸ ECEC workers are some of the lowest paid workers, despite having post-secondary training, experience

poor working conditions, working long hours without much support, and have little job security or benefits. Racialized and immigrant women fill the ranks of the lowest paid and most difficult care jobs such as special needs and senior care. It was disappointing that the Multilateral Early Learning and Child Care Framework did not include a workforce strategy that would ensure caregivers enjoy decent work that pay living wages and provide for safe working conditions. At greatest risk of exploitation are domestic workers and caregivers who migrate to Canada on temporary permits to work in homes and as live-in nannies. The government has not moved to work with provinces to ratify International Labour Organization Convention 189 on the protection of domestic workers. Also, advocates for migrant caregivers have been calling on the government to provide open work permits, or even better Permanent Residency, to caregivers coming to Canada.⁴⁹ Currently, it is difficult for caregivers to leave abusive employers as their work permits are tied to the employer.

Looking forward, the government should:

- Set a 10-year timetable to incrementally increase child care funding to meet the international benchmark of 1% of GDP. Budget 2019 should include an investment of \$1 billion, and measures to adapt a workforce strategy and legislation that lays the foundation for a national child care system based on the principles of universality, quality and comprehensiveness.
- Increase access and amounts of parental benefits and increase duration of second caregiver leave.
- Ratify International Labour Convention 189 on the protection of domestic workers and provide open work permits for caregivers coming to Canada.

5 ENDING GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

Score: yellow

Every minute of the day, violence is devastating the lives of millions of women and girls around the world. Such violence is a global crisis and reported cases show that it affects one in three women worldwide. Violence against women and girls knows no boundaries of geography or culture, but those living in poverty face higher levels of abuse. It is rooted in deeply seated unequal power relations between women and men, of which women and girls bear the burden throughout their lives.⁵²

Violence impacts all areas of women's lives, restricting their right to freedom and autonomy. There are serious and long-term physical consequences and mental health risks associated with experiencing violence. Women's economic opportunities are also restricted by violence and women who have lower economic security are at a higher risk of experiencing gender based violence.

In Canada, Indigenous women are six times more likely to be killed than non-Indigenous women.⁵³ Other populations, such as transgender women, women with disabilities and elderly women, are also at higher risk.⁵⁴ Canada's economy is estimated to annually lose \$4.8 billion due to the effects of intimate partner violence and \$3.6 billion due to the costs of sexual assault and other sexual offences against Canadian women.⁵⁵



We are living in important times. Every day, every week ... survivors of gender-based violence are coming together, speaking as one, standing shoulder to shoulder. They are finding their voice and their courage through one another. We thank them and say to them that we believe in them, that we will stand with them always.

— Maryam Monsef, Minister of Status of Women⁵⁰



GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

The #MeToo movement has illuminated the pervasiveness of violence against women in all aspects of society and how difficult it is to tackle deep-rooted social norms that perpetuate it. Sexual harassment legislation for federal government workers and the national strategy to prevent and address gender-based violence are encouraging steps. But Canada is still lacking a national action plan to end gender-based violence and the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls has been plagued with setbacks.



Gender-based violence remains a significant yet preventable barrier to equality. Canada will only reach its full potential when everyone has the opportunity to thrive, no matter who they are or where they come from. To achieve this, we need to work together to prevent gender-based violence. It's time to believe survivors; it's time to gain more knowledge about this problem; it's time to invest in solutions. It's time to act.

— Maryam Monsef, Minister of Status of Women⁵¹

Addressing violence against women and girls will require policies and legislation that help to deter harmful practices and provide accountability for perpetrators and justice for women and girls who have experienced violence. Also, investments and action at the community level are needed alongside strong partnerships with women's rights organizations and community influencers to help change the social norms, attitudes and behaviours that perpetuate violence and prevent laws from being implemented.

Walking the talk:

NATIONAL INQUIRY INTO MISSING AND MURDERED INDIGENOUS WOMEN AND GIRLS: Throughout 2017, the inquiry experienced major setbacks and failed to make substantial progress. It has been marred with concerns over transparency and the high turnover of leadership has led to questions about consistency. Groups representing Indigenous women have also raised concerns about the inquiry failing to adopt an approach that is trauma-informed and culturally sensitive, given that families involved are not receiving the support they need.⁵⁶ The Native Women's Association of Canada has been keeping its own report card on the inquiry and remains highly critical. It called on the government to restructure the current process.⁵⁷

FEDERAL STRATEGY TO PREVENT AND ADDRESS GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE:

In June 2017, Minister of Status of Women Maryam Monsef launched Canada's first federal response to gender-based violence, *It's Time: Canada's Strategy to Prevent and Address Gender-Based Violence*.⁵⁸ The strategy is based on three pillars: prevention, support for survivors and their families, and the promotion of responsive legal and justice systems. Budget 2017 allocated \$100.9 million for the strategy over five years, with \$20.7 million per year for implementation. An additional \$86 million over five years was added in Budget 2018.⁵⁹ A large proportion of the funding – \$77.5 million – will support the creation of a Gender-Based Violence Knowledge Centre headed by Status of Women Canada, which aims to align resources across the country and facilitate the sharing of research and data. Initiatives given additional support in Budget 2018 include preventing teen dating violence, those focused on populations at highest risk of experiencing violence, and equipping health professionals to respond. Budget 2018 also provided support to address sexual harassment in the workplace through investments in legal aid and programs to increase awareness about rights as well as funding for rape crisis centres. Although these investments are welcome and the federal strategy has strengths, the latter falls short of constituting a full national action plan in that it lacks targets for what it will achieve by when, does not outline clear responsibilities for implementation and does not set standards for the provinces and territories.

FEDERAL LEGISLATION ON SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND VIOLENCE:

In 2017, the government introduced legislation aimed at addressing sexual harassment and violence in the workplace, an important step to ensure employees within the federal government feel safe and know they will be supported if they speak out. Bill C-65 would mandate the investigation of all reported

incidents of harassment and violence and the provision of support to survivors. The bill also mentions the importance of changing workplace culture, including through programs to raise awareness. Budget 2018 committed \$34.9 million over five years, with \$7.4 million per year ongoing to implement the bill.⁶⁰ Federal employees will also be granted five days of paid leave if they experience family violence in recognition that financial independence is crucial for survivors to leave abusive relationships.⁶¹

Looking forward, the government should:

- Develop a comprehensive, coordinated national action plan to prevent and address gender-based violence that covers the federal, provincial, territorial, municipal and Indigenous governments and their governance. The plan should address the structural factors causing inequality and violence as well as include targets, timelines, indicators and resources for implementation. It should also recognize the multiple, intersecting forms of discrimination that lead to higher risks of violence and be formed through a process based on the experiences of marginalized groups including LGBTQI2 and Indigenous people. Such a plan was recommended by the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women in 2016.
- Ensure that the provision of shelters and other services for women experiencing violence see sustained and scaled-up investments, including at the provincial level.
- Develop a feminist approach to ending violence against women and gender-based violence that ensures an intersectional approach and includes evidence building, feminist monitoring and evaluation and increased support for women's rights organizations working on transformative changes related to this issue at different levels.

6 BUILDING A PROGRESSIVE TAX SYSTEM

Score: yellow

Extreme inequality continues to grow and undermines the fight against poverty. Last year, 82% of wealth that was created went to the richest 1% of the global population, while the 3.7 billion people who make up the poorest half saw no increase at all.⁶³ Key drivers of the inequality crisis are tax competition, tax havens and tax avoidance, which cost governments billions of dollars every year and undermine their abilities to provide public services. While the rich are conceiving ever more elaborate schemes to avoid paying their fair share of taxes, the public is pressed to fill the gaps and pay for services that should be provided by governments. The Paradise Papers laid bare that the government needs to do much more to crack down on the use of tax havens. More than 3,400 Canadian companies and wealthy individuals were implicated or found to be using tax havens leading to estimated revenue losses for Canada of \$10 billion to \$15 billion per year.⁶⁴

Tax rules have different impacts on women and men. Fiscal policy, therefore, is an important policy tool for decreasing economic inequality, reducing poverty and advancing gender equality. It plays a critical role in redistributing wealth through the provision of essential public services. But a simple redistribution of income and wealth via higher taxes on the very wealthy and increased social spending for the poor is not enough to make real progress on gender equality. In fact, gender-neutral taxation has the potential to undermine women's economic security. It is thus essential that governments bring gender-based analysis and perspectives into their fiscal policy and budget process. Gender budgeting is a key tool to advance gender equality and bring women's voices and realities, and considerations for intersectionality, to the forefront of the budget process.

“We're looking towards a budget that's going to very clearly focus on how we can help all Canadians, but we're specifically thinking about: how do we make sure that we have strong outcomes for women in our economy?”

— Bill Morneau, Minister of Finance⁶²



TAX

A progressive tax system is key to tackling economic inequality and advancing gender equality. The government has made great strides in integrating gender analysis into the budget process. It continues to crack down on tax avoidance at home and internationally. Corporations enjoy significant tax breaks around the world while governments struggle to make investments that would support gender equality and women's rights as a result of low resource mobilization.

Walking the talk:

The federal government continues to make progress in making the tax system more progressive and fairer, having introduced long-overdue gender budgeting throughout the budget process and continuing its efforts to close tax loopholes and crack down on tax avoidance. However, more needs to be done to balance personal and corporate income taxes and raise revenues from corporations.

GENDER BUDGETING: Budget 2017 introduced Canada's first Gender Statement and the government continued to strengthen its gender budgeting approach throughout the year. The statement was far from perfect and lacked gender-based analysis of the tax system, but was a welcome first step. Following the introduction, the government worked to improve its gender budgeting approach and made greater effort to consult with women's rights organizations. Minister of Finance Bill Morneau held several roundtables on gender and the economy throughout his consultations in the lead-up to Budget 2018 and the budget reflected them. Budget 2018 took Canada's gender budgeting approach to the next level. It included gender-based analysis for all policy priorities in the budget, legislation to enshrine gender budgeting in future budgets and a Gender Results Framework with six action areas and numerous indicators to track progress. Moving forward, the participation of diverse women in the budget process should be prioritized, especially those women at the bottom of the economic ladder.

CLOSING TAX LOOPHOLES: Budget 2017 and Budget 2018 included investments and measures to make Canada's tax system fairer. The government continued to boost the Canada Revenue Agency's capacity to crack down on tax avoidance and also continued to implement the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's Base Erosion and Profit Shifting (BEPS) measures to reduce profit shifting by corporations. In June 2017, Canada signed on to the Multilateral Convention to Implement Tax Treaty Related Measures to Prevent Base Erosion and Profit Shifting to streamline implementation of BEPS commitments, albeit with

a long list of reservations.⁶⁵ To ensure greater transparency, the federal government, provinces and territories paved the way for greater cooperation on transparency of beneficial ownership, which helps to combat money laundering and tax avoidance.⁶⁶ However, the government should go further and make disclosure of beneficial ownership public. Moreover, the government came under fire last summer for its proposed tax changes for private corporations – an important measure to close loopholes for wealthy individuals. But many more and bigger tax loopholes need attention. Considering that federal spending as a share of GDP – currently at 14.6% of GDP – is at its lowest level since 1949, closing tax loopholes and cracking down on tax avoidance must remain a priority.⁶⁷

PROGRESSIVE TAXATION: The government has sought to make the tax system simpler, fairer and more efficient over the past year. It conducted an internal review of federal tax expenditures that led to the elimination of 12 of them and modifications to six others. While this is a good first step, the review should have been conducted by an independent commission and made publicly available. Neither Budget 2017 nor Budget 2018 included gender-based analysis of the tax system. Considering that certain tax measures, such as pension income splitting, disadvantage women, this is a major oversight. Canada's overly complex tax system is advantageous for the wealthiest who have the means to employ tax experts to reduce their tax burden significantly. Meanwhile, the poor, many of which are women, are struggling to navigate the tax system and take advantage of benefits that they are eligible to claim. For example, a review by Finance Canada revealed \$175 million in benefits went unclaimed by the working poor eligible for the Working Income Tax Benefit due to a lack of knowledge about it or the process for applying.⁶⁸ Budget 2018 made some positive changes to that benefit to increase accessibility and amounts. In terms of balancing personal and corporate income tax, the government took a step back when it announced a reduction of the tax rate for small and medium-sized businesses from 10.5% to 9%. Corporations and businesses continue to pay taxes at historically low rates, while individual taxpayers have to make up for the shortfall.

Looking forward, the government should:

- Continue to advance its gender budgeting approach and ensure that women’s organizations and activists, including those representing women in low-paying, part-time and precarious jobs, are front and centre of the budget processes for all departments and agencies. The Standing Committee on Finance should ensure that at least 15% of witnesses in the pre-budget consultation hearings are representatives of women’s rights organizations and provide guidance for all submissions to include gender-based analysis.
- Commission an independent review of the tax system, which includes gender-based analysis, to find a better balance between personal and corporate income taxes, close inefficient tax loopholes, identify regressive income tax measures that hurt women and allocate the tax burden according to the principles of ability and fairness.
- Raise more revenue by increasing the corporate tax rate from 15% to 21%, cracking down on tax avoidance, implementing BEPS measures and mandating public country-to-country reporting and disclosure of beneficial ownership.
- Champion a second generation of global tax reforms at the UN level that put all countries on an equal footing and tackle the key problems not addressed by BEPS, including tax havens, tax incentives, special export zones and tax competition. Developing countries lose billions of dollars every year as a result of tax dodging, money which they could have invested in gender-sensitive public services.

7 RESPONDING TO HUMANITARIAN CRISES AND BUILDING LASTING PEACE

Score: yellow

The world is facing humanitarian crises on an unprecedented scale. More than 65.6 million people around the world are displaced due to conflict and persecution – the highest figure recorded since the Second World War.⁷¹ Many more are vulnerable to the effects of climate change and extreme weather events. The different impacts of crises, conflicts and natural disasters on women, girls, men and boys as well as their differing needs are still too often misunderstood and neglected by governments and humanitarian organizations. While these crises can present opportunities for women to take on leadership roles and transform gender roles, gender-blind humanitarian interventions have often failed to capitalize on these opportunities. Some progress has been made in the humanitarian sector to integrate gender-based analysis, but greater leadership is needed to increase engagement with local and national partners, particularly women's rights organizations, in line with Canada's commitments in the Grand Bargain.⁷²

UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and subsequent related resolutions, collectively referred to as the Women, Peace and Security agenda, provide a roadmap for governments' actions to empower women in efforts to prevent, end and recover from armed conflicts and build sustainable peace. Actions have been slow and inconsistent since the resolution was adopted in 2000. Women continue to be under-represented in peace negotiations and peacebuilding processes despite evidence showing that women's participation is integral to reaching and sustaining peace agreements. Greater political will and resources are needed to accelerate the implementation of the Women, Peace and Security agenda.

Walking the talk:

PEACE AND SECURITY: Canada launched its second National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security in November 2017 after extensive consultations with civil society. Much improved from the first plan adopted in 2010, the second plan recognizes the critical link between gender equality and security, strengthens the whole-of-government approach



CONFLICT & CRISIS

Canada has rebuilt its reputation globally as a leader on women, peace and security. The government has integrated gender-based analysis into various new policies and committed to investing in humanitarian and peacebuilding programs that promote gender equality. But Canada must do more to help the world's most vulnerable refugees and ensure trade and defence policies do not undermine progress in peacebuilding.

“Taking a feminist approach to peace and security is ... a smart, practical solution to hard security needs.

— Chrystia Freeland,
Minister of Foreign Affairs⁶⁹



The path to peace needs empowered women. Where women are included in peace processes, peace is more enduring; where women are included in the economy, economic growth is consistently higher and where women are included in governance, states are more inclusive and more stable. We hope Canada's second National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security inspires our international partners to collaborate with us on this important issue and support women in creating an inclusive, gender-equal and stable world.

— Chrystia Freeland, Minister of Foreign Affairs⁷⁰

and includes a mechanism for civil society to support implementation. The government had the opportunity to put its commitments into practice when Canada co-hosted the Vancouver Foreign Ministers' Meeting on Security and Stability on the Korean Peninsula with the United States in January 2018. At the meeting, it made efforts to bring a delegation of women peacemakers as close to the negotiating table as possible. The government showed leadership in November 2017 when it spearheaded the Elsie Initiative aimed at improving women's participation in UN peace operations, along with a \$21 million initial investment.⁷³ In April 2017, the government introduced legislation to accede to the Arms Trade Treaty. Minister Freeland promised to include a clause in this legislation that would prevent the export of weapons in the case of a substantial risk that they could be used to commit human rights violations and gender-based violence. However,

serious concerns about the legislation remain, since the majority of military exports will stay unregulated and unreported.

STANDING WITH REFUGEES: Canada showed global leadership in 2016 by resettling 45,000 Syrian refugees, but the government's refugee targets returned to historical levels in 2017. The 2017 target for government-assisted refugees was 7,500, which is below the annual average – 7,600 – of government-assisted refugee arrivals between 2000 and 2015.⁷⁴ Budget 2018 took a small step to remedy this by announcing new funding to resettle an additional 1,000 women and girls. The focus on the most vulnerable is welcome but the overall number is out of step with Canada's efforts to promote a strong international response to refugees and is disappointing in this time of unprecedented need. On a positive note, the government recently announced that 80% of its

spousal sponsorship backlog has been cleared – a welcome development given new research showing that family separation is particularly challenging for women and girls left stranded in countries of transit.⁷⁵ On the world stage, Canada is in a position to lead on the Global Compact on Refugees, since several key countries, such as the United States and Germany, are not assuming the same leadership roles they once did. The government championed greater responsibility sharing in its submission to the negotiations on the compact. Standing its ground during future negotiations and insisting on a predictable and equitable methodology for establishing each country's fair share of responsibility for refugees will be important. Also, in line with its feminist foreign policy principles, Canada should champion the participation and inclusion of women refugees in the negotiations.

HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE: Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy includes a focus on gender-responsive humanitarian action. The commitments to preventing and responding to gender-based violence, supporting the full range of sexual and reproductive health and rights, and strengthening women's local leadership during humanitarian crises are welcome. To deliver on these commitments, however, the government must provide adequate funding. The dedicated pool of funding for humanitarian assistance in Budget 2018 is a step in the right direction and will help make Canada's humanitarian assistance funding more predictable. However, Canada still lags behind countries with much smaller economies, such as Norway and Sweden.⁷⁶ A clear humanitarian strategy and substantial increase in the international aid budget are needed to position Canada as a true global leader in this area. Furthermore, its funding mechanisms to respond to slow-onset crises, such as the ever-worsening food crisis in the Horn of Africa, and the global displacement crisis are far too slow.

Looking forward, the government should:

- Increase refugee resettlement numbers, especially government-assisted refugees, and continue to prioritize groups or individuals who are most vulnerable to harm, such as women, children and members of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex community. Champion the adoption of a Global Compact on Refugees that includes an equitable and predictable responsibility sharing mechanism and promotes women's rights and gender equality.
- Follow through on its Grand Bargain commitment to increase funding to, and partnerships with, local women's organizations involved in humanitarian assistance and show leadership on the Call to Action on Protection from Gender-Based Violence in Emergencies, which commits to ensuring that every humanitarian effort mitigates the risk of gender-based violence and provides safe and comprehensive services to those affected by it.
- Allocate dedicated resources for the implementation of the National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security to ensure full implementation and success.
- Ensure that the legislation to accede to the Arms Trade Treaty includes guarantees that arms exports to the United States, and weapon sales brokered by the Canadian Commercial Corporation, will not be used to commit human rights violations abroad.

8 ADDRESSING THE UNEQUAL ECONOMICS OF WOMEN'S WORK

Score: red

The world over, women are over-represented in informal, vulnerable and precarious work. Despite having surpassed men in educational attainment, women are hampered by unequal distribution of unpaid care work, gender barriers in many fields of work, the undervaluing of jobs held by women, and the often unspoken social norms that offer men higher wages and rates of promotion. Too many women are working full-time and yet are stuck in poverty. Women are often forced into low paid and insecure jobs due to the difficulty of accessing social security. Women also take up many more temporary, contract or part-time jobs, which offer low wages and few benefits, due to their care responsibilities. These situations make it even more challenging for women to leave abusive relationships, including work relations.

Gender inequality and economic inequality are inextricably linked. The world's current economic model relies on women's cheap labour to maximize shareholders' profits. A chief executive officer from one of the top five global fashion brands earns in just four days what a garment worker in Bangladesh earns in her lifetime.⁷⁸ Here in Canada, a housekeeper must work close to two years to earn what the top global hotel chief executive officers earn in a single day.⁷⁹ Addressing the unequal economics of women's work is essential to closing the gap in earnings and opportunities between women and men.



JOBS & PAY EQUITY

Women in Canada and around the world are concentrated in the lowest-paid and most precarious work. Multiple layers of discrimination further exacerbates the economic insecurity of Indigenous, racialized, immigrant, refugee and disabled women. While the government's promise of pay equity legislation is encouraging, details and investments are yet to be made public. Few other concrete actions have been taken to ensure women have work that pays decent wages and is safe. Considering the government has campaigned on inclusive growth, substantial investments and policies must be put in place this coming year to ensure women's work is equally paid and valued.

When we dig a little deeper, when we peel back that outer layer, we see that there are a whole host of barriers facing women in the workplace. Removing these barriers will take effort, leadership, and a willingness to change the nature of work as we know it.

— Prime Minister Justin Trudeau⁷⁷

Walking the talk:

The government campaigned on a promise of inclusive growth and gender equality, yet women continue to make up the majority of minimum wage and precarious workers, especially Indigenous, racialized and immigrant women, and earn less than their male counterparts. Words have not translated into meaningful actions to build an economy in which women have the same opportunities and wages as men. Realizing this promise should be a priority for the government over the next year.

LIVING WAGES AND EMPLOYMENT INSURANCE:

While some provinces have recognized the importance of raising minimum wages to move closer to living wages, the federal government has not followed suit. Prime Minister Trudeau has repeatedly stated that he has no intention of raising minimum wage. While only a small percentage of federally regulated employees are minimum wage earners, paying living wages sends a strong signal that workers' contributions to economic growth are valued. In addition, women are concentrated in low-paid and insecure jobs as a result of their care responsibilities and difficulty accessing employment insurance. Some changes were made to employment insurance in Budget 2017 and Budget 2018. These changes will help people who have access to the employment insurance system, but do not ease access for those struggling to meet the eligibility requirements. The employment insurance system still favours higher-earning and more securely employed workers, leaving too many women with little choice but to move from one precarious job to another. The government needs to overhaul the system to reflect the realities of an economy with increased precarity. The government must also do more to incentivize employers to pay living wages. It can do so by awarding federal contracts to living wage employers only.

PAY EQUITY: The gender wage gap is a persistent problem in Canada with women earning on average 74 cents for every dollar that men earn. For

racialized and Indigenous women, it can be as low as 56 cents.⁸⁰ Also, there are stark differences between unionized and non-unionized jobs and within different sectors and professions. For some jobs the gender wage gap is as wide as 40%.⁸¹ The government committed to pass proactive pay equity legislation through the budget implementation act in Budget 2018, which covers the federal sector and importantly also government contracts over \$1 million—a good move to ensure the legislation will have impacts beyond the federal sector. Passing it through the budget implementation act will ensure legislation is adopted swiftly, but it remains to be seen what goes in the legislation and whether or not important features such as pay transparency, maintenance and enforcement infrastructure—in the form of a pay equity commission—are included and intersectional factors are addressed. It is important that the government continues to consult pay equity experts to set up a robust system. Legislation is not enough to close the wage gap, however. Besides factors such as women's care responsibilities, discriminatory business practices also need to be addressed alongside legislation. The government should set up regulatory frameworks and assist businesses in diagnosing the practices that contribute to the wage gap and provide solutions.

DECENT WORK FOR WOMEN: Budget 2017 and Budget 2018 allocated significant resources to boost growth in several sectors, including digital, clean technology, agri-food, advanced manufacturing, bio-sciences and clean resources. While they are important, all of them are male-dominated sectors – women make up less than one-third of those working in the agriculture, manufacturing, science and technology sectors. Budget 2018 included measures to encourage more women to enter the Science, Technology, Engineering and Math (STEM) sectors, and made some investments to encourage greater women's entrepreneurship.⁸² While these are welcome, the majority of women are workers, not entrepreneurs, and are concentrated in the health and social services sectors. Investments in sectors need to be more balanced to ensure women have the same access

to decent jobs and employment opportunities as men. Racialized, Indigenous and immigrant women make up the bottom rank of the economy. Employed in precarious jobs, they are vulnerable to exploitation and violence. Unions play a key role in giving workers a voice and power to negotiate their working conditions. The government must move swiftly to implement International Labour Organization Convention 98 on the right to organize and collective bargaining and provide incentives to businesses to unionize. Again, this could be done through procurement regulations. Canada also has to do better in holding companies operating abroad accountable for labour rights violations in their supply chains. Women have few avenues to lodge complaints and access justice for violations, when companies are not required to report on their gender and human rights impacts within their supply chains.

Looking forward, the government should:

- Ensure women earn living wages by raising the minimum wage for workers under federal jurisdiction and awarding federal contracts only to living wage employers.
- Overhaul the employment insurance system to increase access, duration and level of employment insurance benefits for women and tie them to need rather than earnings.
- Ensure the new 2018 federal proactive pay equity legislation achieves equal pay for work of equal value, incorporates the recommendations of the 2004 Federal Pay Equity Task Force and sets a progressive benchmark for the provinces and territories. The legislation must include intersectional analysis and provide for better research and data. Imperative is the establishment of an independent oversight body or commission with adequate financial resources to ensure timely and effective compliance as well as enforcement, transparency and maintenance.

- Swiftly implement ILO Convention 98 and incentivize businesses to unionize by prioritizing unionized businesses in procurement.
- Extend the mandate of the Canadian Ombudsperson for Responsible Enterprise to cover all economic sectors and require Canadian companies operating abroad to monitor and report on gender and human rights impacts within their supply chains.



Equal pay for work of equal value is a human right. With Budget 2018, we're taking a leadership role in ending the systemic undervaluation of women's work by announcing proactive pay equity legislation.

— The Honourable Patty Hajdu,
Minister of Employment, Workforce
Development and Labour⁸³

NOTES

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