## A Feminist Economic Recovery Plan for Canada: Human Rights Approach







### LAND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The Canadian Feminist Alliance for International Action acknowledges the location of our office on the traditional, unceded territories of the Algonquin nation. We recognize both our responsibility and obligation to the Algonquin people on whose traditional territory we work, learn and live.

We also acknowledge all Treaty peoples – including those who came here as settlers – as migrants either in this generation or in past generations—and those who came here involuntarily, particularly forcibly displanted Africans, brought here as a result of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and Slavery.

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#### **ABOUT FAFIA**

The Canadian Feminist Alliance for International Action (FAFIA) is an alliance of women's organizations in Canada. It was founded after the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995.

FAFIA's mandate is to monitor and report on Canada's compliance with its international human rights obligations to protect and advance women's human rights in Canada. FAFIA is an alliance of equality seeking organizations committed to making international agreements on women's human rights a reality in women's everyday lives in Canada.

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#### ABOUT YWCA CANADA

YWCA Canada is a leading voice for women, girls, Two-Spirit and gender-diverse people.3 For 150 years, we've been at the forefront of a movement: to fight gender-based violence, build affordable housing and advocate for workplace equity. We work to advance gender equity by responding to urgent needs in communities, through national advocacy and grassroots initiatives.

Local YWCAs invest over \$258 million annually to support over 330,000 individuals across the nation. Today, we engage young leaders, diverse communities, and corporate partners to achieve our vision of a safe and equitable Canada for all.

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#### **SUMMARY**

In this insert, the Canadian Feminist Alliance for International Action (FAFIA) provides a human rights framing of key issues raised in the Feminist Economic Recovery Plan for Canada published July 28, 2020.

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#### INTRODUCTION

Canada's path to a meaningful COVID-19 recovery must include an intersectional feminist and human rights lens; it must recognize, protect and advance the fundamental human rights of people in Canada. Since 1976, Canada has ratified seven United Nations treaties. If governments in Canada had fulfilled their international human rights obligations, in particular their obligation to progressively realize the rights set out in the International Covenant on **Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, Canada would** be much better equipped to minimize the impacts of the pandemic. The impact of COVID-19 on women, in particular, Indigenous women, Black women, racialized women, newcomer women, women living with disabilities and 2SLGBTQ communities, has been devastating-laying bare, and deepening pre-existing social and economic inequalities.

Governments in Canada must act in ways that allow all people in Canada to enjoy the human rights guaranteed to them in the international human rights treaties that Canada has ratified. Canada's failure to recognize, protect and fulfill fundamental economic and social rights has contributed to the harms caused by the COVID-19 pandemic and its disproportionate impact on women. A COVID-19 feminist economic recovery must include transformative structural change to allow for the realization of these rights. This chapter considers the following economic and social rights which underlie the Feminist Economic Recovery Plan for Canada: the right to an adequate standard of living, including food, clothing, and housing and to the continuous improvement of living conditions; the right to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health; and the right to social security including assistance in times of job loss and supports for families and children<sup>1</sup>.

The pandemic is not the cause of women's social and economic inequality. Rather, women's pre-existing social and economic inequality puts women at higher risk during the pandemic and has led to their disproportionate suffering. For a recovery process to be both feminist and resilient – Canada's recovery plan must recognize women's pre-existing inequalities and design a new gender and social pact, rooted in core human rights principles, and intended to fulfill women's economic and social rights. More than ever, the protection and fulfillment of these rights is crucial.

Here is a glossary of some core principles in international human rights law.



#### Human Rights are Indivisible and Interdependent

The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights presented an integrated conception of human rights, joining in one vision civil and political rights, such as the right to life, liberty and security of the person, with social and economic rights, such as the right to an adequate standard of living. Since the two central International Covenants – the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) – which separated the rights, were adopted, parties to the treaties have repeatedly emphasized that civil and political and social, economic and cultural rights are indivisible and interdependent. The enjoyment of each set of rights is dependent on, and indivisible from, the enjoyment of the other. Indivisibility means that we cannot prioritize political and civil rights to the detriment of social and economic rights.

These sets of rights are equal to one another, non-hierarchical and mutually reinforcing<sup>2</sup>. Civil and political and economic and social and cultural human rights were designed to be implemented holistically and as interdependent rights<sup>3</sup>. By neglecting the core principle of indivisibility and prioritizing the protection of certain rights over others, women's social and economic inequality has been perpetuated—especially for Indigenous women, Black women, racialized women, newcomer women, women living with disabilities and 2SLGBTQ communities.



#### **Equality and Non-Discrimination**

The right to equality and non-discrimination is recognized explicitly, and as a core principle, in international human rights law. The right to equality and non-discrimination obliges states parties to guarantee equality before the law and equal protection of the law. It also obliges governments to take steps to ensure equality in outcomes, or in the substance of conditions. The goal of the right to equality is to eliminate disadvantage and marginalization that is experienced by groups in society, and by the individuals who are members of those groups4. The right to equality requires governments not only to refrain from enacting discriminatory laws, policies and action, but also to take positive steps to eliminate the systemic and deeply-rooted disadvantages that some groups, including women, face<sup>5</sup>. Akin to Canada's constitutional and statutory guarantees of equality, international human rights law guarantees women not just equality on the face of law, and not just equal access to opportunities, but also equality in the substantive conditions of their lives. Article 3 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), to which Canada is signatory, states: "States Parties shall take in all fields, in particular in the political, social, economic and cultural fields, all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women..."

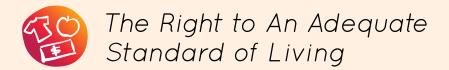
The discrimination of women based on sex and gender is inextricably linked with other factors that affect women, such as race, ethnicity, religion or belief, health, status, age, class, caste, and sexual orientation and gender identity. States parties must legally recognise and prohibit such intersecting forms of discrimination and their compounded negative impact on the women concerned (...) Accordingly, the Committee finds that an act of intersectional discrimination has taken place.

- Cecilia Kell v Canada, 2012

### Intersectionality

The conceptual framework of intersectionality was developed by Kimberlé Crenshaw, a Black feminist and law professor. The concept was developed to identify the power dynamics within discrimination law that were not easily identified by the courts. Intersectionality is a way to understand intersecting power structures that create over lapping systems of discrimination against individuals that belong to more than one social category. An intersectional approach does not address discrimination such as ethnic origin, racialization, gender, social class, disability, and age as discreet, sequential and severable factors. Instead, such an approach centres on the intersection of social categories to conceptualize the complexity of women's lives. International human rights law explicitly recognizes the rights of historically marginalized groups of people and has developed a substantive view of intersectionality. In Canada, women, Two-Spirit and gender-diverse peoples face multiple and intersecting forms of inequities that cannot be addressed by rights siloed law and policy approaches. Instead, a holistic, systems focused approach that accounts for the unique nature of intersecting identities is necessary.

# Key Human Rights Underlying the Feminist Economic Recovery Plan



International human rights law has long recognized the right to an adequate standard of living, which includes the rights to adequate food, clothing, housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. CEDAW expressly considers adequate living conditions for rural women in relation to housing, sanitation, electricity and water supply, transport, and communications<sup>8</sup>.

As a signatory to core human right treaties, including the ICESCR and CEDAW, governments in Canada are obliged to recognize, protect and fulfill social and economic rights such as the right to an adequate standard of living, food, clothing, and

housing. We have yet to see these rights recognized and protected in our domestic legal and policy frameworks. This is not only a legal problem, but also a structural, political and cultural problem?. While many women in Canada have experienced advancement in their ability to realize civil and political rights, for example, the right to vote, stand for public office, own property and to be equal before the law in marriage and family life, they have not seen sufficient, stable advancement to equality in the fulfillment of their economic and social rights, including the rights to an adequate standard of living, and to just and favourable working conditions.



### The Right to the Highest Standard Attainable of Physical and Mental Health

Health is a fundamental human right. The right encompasses timely access to health services, medical facilities and medicines, as well as to the conditions essential to health including safe drinking water and adequate sanitation and nutrition<sup>10</sup>. Black, Indigenous, immigrant, and racialized women who work in employment sectors such as sanitation, retail, food supply chain, healthcare and caregiving services, experience precarious working conditions heightened by the pandemic. The high rates of infection are directly related to racialized and poor women who are most exposed and at risk during the pandemic. 90 percent of paid long-term care home staff in Canada are women<sup>11</sup>; and 42 percent of personal support workers are racialized<sup>12</sup>. With "18 percent of personal support workers identify as Black, compared to four percent of the population 13, and five percent identified as Indigenous, compared to two percent of the population". As of June 2020, immigrants, refugees and other newcomers accounted for 43.5 percent of all COVID-19 cases in Ontario, even though they only make up just over 25 percent<sup>14</sup>.

In Ontario, among women who tested positive, 36 percent were employed as healthcare workers, with 45 percent of these workers identifying as immigrants and refugees. There is a very high percentage of positive cases among women who immigrated as economic caregivers (55 percent) and from specific countries of birth (53 percent from the Philippines, 64 percent from Jamaica and 76 percent from Nigeria<sup>15</sup>). Although Filipinos constitute 1.2 percent of the Canadian workforce, they make up 5.6 percent of Canada's total health care aide labour force<sup>16</sup>. The vast majority of these workers are women.

Poor and racialized communities are among those the hardest hit by the pandemic<sup>17</sup>. In Toronto alone, between May 20 and July 16, 2020, Black patients amounted to 21 percent of COVID-19 cases, even though they only account for nine percent of the population<sup>18</sup>. Black women in Canada face health disparities and poor health outcomes due to marginalization and social exclusion, and are disproportionately impacted by major chronic diseases like diabetes, cancer, cardiovascular and cerebrovascular disease, HIV/AIDS, lupus and hypertension<sup>19</sup>. Research shows that the cumulative impact of racism, discrimination, poverty and other structural and systemic inequalities profoundly impact the physical, emotional and mental health of Black women in Canada<sup>20</sup>.



Indigenous women and girls are subjected to deteriorating socio-economic conditions, which mean Indigenous women are not only twice as likely as non-Indigenous women to report having a disability<sup>21</sup>, but face increased risks of COVID-19 due to infection and the economic impacts of pandemic measures<sup>22</sup>. In remote Indigenous communities, there is a lack of mobility, infrastructure and access to medical care<sup>23</sup>. In Canada, many First Nations communities do not have access to clean water and inadequate funding for on-reserve housing which has led to severe overcrowding, making social distancing difficult<sup>24</sup>.

The Feminist Economic Recovery Plan recommends upgrading and building clean water infrastructure with the goal of zero water advisories by July 2021. The inequality of marginalized communities will not be resolved without fulfilling rights to clean running water, safe affordable housing, education, and health. Governments in Canada must recognize these rights and take action to ensure that they are realized by all people in Canada.





Over time, international human rights law has interpreted the right to adequate housing in a broad way highlighting a series of related rights that strengthen and protect the basic right. A human rights approach to the housing crisis means the right to live somewhere with security, peace and dignity<sup>25</sup>. This is more than just the right to access a home. This includes the right against forced evictions, to be free from arbitrary interference in the privacy of their home, and to be able to choose where one lives. This right also includes access to equal and non-discriminatory housing and to participation in housing-related decision-making at the national and community levels. The right to housing means the right to a safe, adequate, and accessible home<sup>26</sup>.

There is no comprehensive statistical data on homelessness and housing insecurity in Canada but independent research points to the overrepresentation of marginalized people in the homeless population<sup>27</sup>. Housing insecurity is identified as one of the most pressing issues impacting Indigenous women, women with disabilities, newcomers<sup>28</sup>, refugees<sup>29</sup> and gender-diverse people<sup>30</sup> in Canada. During a pandemic, the right to housing is all the more urgent. Despite Canada's economic status, staggering numbers of women are experiencing a housing crisis. Statistics Canada data shows that in 2019, 96.2 percent of residents in shelter were women and children escaping abuse<sup>31</sup>. More than 35,000 Canadians experience homelessness in a year<sup>32</sup>, with 36 percent of the 19,536 people identified experiencing homelessness identifying as women<sup>33</sup>. Of women who have experienced homelessness in Canada, 46 percent have a disability<sup>34</sup>. Indigenous people also comprise 28-34 percent of the shelter population<sup>35</sup>.

COVID-19 has not created, but rather exposed the core housing needs of people in Canada. The National Housing Strategy Act declared the right to adequate housing as a fundamental human right, essential to a person's dignity and well-being. This legislation is an opportunity to renew Canada's commitment to the right to housing<sup>36</sup>. Though historic in many ways, it still leaves an implementation and structural gap. The right to adequate housing is yet to be considered a fully positive right by the governments of Canada. Using the comprehensive body of international human rights law on adequate housing can guide governments to take an approach that responds to the living conditions of women, Two-Spirit, and gender-diverse peoples.





The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to social security, including social insurance-Article 9, ICESCR

Countries that have ratified human rights treaties such as the ICESCR, are obliged to have available, accessible and adequate social security systems in place<sup>37</sup>. Such social security systems should provide benefits coverage in relation to health care; sickness; old age; unemployment; employment injury; family and child support; maternity; disability; and survivors and orphans<sup>38</sup>. The conditions under which individuals can qualify must be reasonable, proportionate and transparent. If benefits are terminated, suspended, or reduced this should be set out in law, based on reasonable grounds, and subject to due process<sup>39</sup>.

In 2016 more than 1.9 million women in Canada lived on a low income<sup>40</sup>. There are high numbers of Indigenous women, women with disabilities and racialized women living in poverty. 44 percent of Indigenous women living on reserve and 47 percent living off reserve live in poverty<sup>41</sup>. Data shows that women with disabilities make up about one third of Canadians living in poverty<sup>42</sup>.

Immigrant, Indigenous, and racialized women, and women with disabilities are most affected by the gender pay gap<sup>43</sup>. Women with disabilities working both full-time and part-time earn approximately 54 cents to the dollar earned by men without a disability<sup>44</sup>, and on average earn less than women without a disability<sup>45</sup>. Racialized women working full-time earn an average of 33 percent less than

non-racialized men, earning 67 cents to the dollar<sup>46</sup>. Despite high levels of education, about 50 percent of trans and non-binary people in Canada earn less than 30,000 per year<sup>47</sup>. These alarming numbers will continue to increase during the pandemic.

Many women in Canada do not qualify for Employment Insurance benefits because of the restrictions regarding minimum hours of work<sup>48</sup>. Women who do meet the hours end up receiving less than men because the coverage is tied to wages, and women earn less than men on average<sup>49</sup>. This is compounded for racialized women, including Indigenous and Black women, and women with disabilities who are disproportionately concentrated in low wage occupations.

Prior to the pandemic, social assistance programs were not adequate for women. Disability advocates point out that key disability supports are below the Canadian Emergency Relief Benefit (CERB) of \$2,000 per month<sup>50</sup>. This was true as well for social assistance benefit levels across Canada. Canada must engage in broad Employment Insurance and social assistance reform.

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Human rights advocates, along with those with lived expertise must be involved in all stages of consultation and implementation.

# Childcare

Childcare is one of the most pressing issues of our time. With the onset of a global health crisis, it has never been more critical to better understand and frame a national dialogue on the role of women in Canada's care economy.

Inadequate and unaffordable childcare is a human rights violation for women. It is often relegated to the status of unenforceable public policy, when in fact it has been identified as a requirement for the protection of international women's human rights<sup>51</sup>. The CEDAW Committee and the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights have expressed concern about the lack of quality childcare in Canada. They recommended that Canada adopt a rights-based national childcare framework to provide sufficient and adequate childcare facilities<sup>52</sup>. The Royal Commission on the Status of Women recommended a national affordable, accessible, inclusive and high-quality childcare system in 1970. This recommendation has not been acted on for over five decades.

Employed women in Canada spend more time on unpaid caregiving and household work than employed men<sup>53</sup>, disproportionately shouldering the burden of unpaid care work and juggling both paid and unpaid work demands. During COVID-19, single mothers with young children saw their employment drop 12 percent between February and June 2020, compared with a seven percent decrease for single fathers<sup>54</sup>. Women are often caught between work and home, with the unaffordability of childcare further impacting women's ability to enter the workforce, or remain employed.



These challenges are even more pronounced for racialized and immigrant women, and women with disabilities. Workers in precarious employment, the majority of whom are women, are more than twice as likely to report that the lack of access to childcare negatively affects their ability to work55. Structural racism in Canada makes accessing childcare and other benefits difficult for racialized women, making them take on less paid work and more household and care work<sup>56</sup>. In a recent survey in response to COVID-19, "Indigenous (49) percent) and Black (55 percent) Canadians reported greater challenges due to increased house and care work caused by COVID-19 than their white peers (34 percent)".57 Women with disabilities also experience increased stress due to their "higher rates of precarious employment and lack of access to affordable childcare services."58 The heavy burden of unpaid care duties as well as the challenge of unemployment result in devastating impacts on already marginalized women.

The Feminist Economic Recovery Plan reiterates the comprehensive childcare recommendations from other women's organizations and groups<sup>59</sup>. Childcare services should be independent from child-protection services, culturally sensitive and responsive to Indigenous women, immigrant women, and women fleeing from violence. Women should not be afraid to seek assistance60. Universally accessible, quality child care services must meet the needs of all women including those women most impacted by a lack of access to childcare, including women living in poverty, women who have experienced violence, Indigenous women, Black women, newcomer women, women with disabilities, and single mothers. Childcare requires both policy change but also an attention to human rights. All women should have the right to live with dignity and have the freedom to participate in society and the workforce with access to quality, publicly funded childcare.



#### CONCLUSION

COVID-19 has illuminated the stark inequalities and structural failures of Canada's social safety net. Women in Canada today are unable to fully exercise their fundamental social and economic rights set out in this chapter. Canada is experiencing a human rights crisis. Black, Indigenous, racialized, and migrant communities along with people living with disabilities in Canada are often regarded as cheap labour required for Canada's economic growth. If these underlying conditions are not transformed, Canada will only build back better for a select few.

To translate Canada's international human rights commitments from aspirational goals to material changes in the lives of people in Canada, the recovery and rebuilding process must include an approach centred on human rights and lived experiences. This requires identifying structural issues that disproportionately affect women, Two-Spirit, and gender-diverse people. Any violations of human rights are not just a failure of service delivery or programs but are also a failure to consider the unique needs of women, Two-Spirit, and gender-diverse people in Canada. By recognizing both the lived experience and expertise of those most marginalized, a human rights centred approach is a tool that can assess the progress

we are making, or not making, towards achieving the full realization of human rights in Canada.

In Canada, we can no longer afford to have governments prioritize one right over another and fail in the domestic implementation of their international human rights commitments. We also cannot work independently without ongoing community designed and led solutions.

Governments should not be opposing legal claims that aim to achieve an adequate standard of living. A recovery process that achieves systemic transformation will require more than incremental steps. This is about transformative systems change. The recommendations outlined in the Feminist Economic Recovery Plan such as a national childcare strategy, effective paid sick leave, El and social assistance reforms, as well as infrastructure investments that deal with Canada's housing crisis and address the water crisis in Indigenous communities, are critical to Canada's recovery.

A recovery model built around short-term

solutions, will leave the same people exposed that were most impacted by the COVID-19 crisis. The only way forward is a human rights approach with the meaningful engagement and effective participation of people with lived experience, civil society, and human rights experts.



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