THE GENDERED DISCOURSE OF WAR:
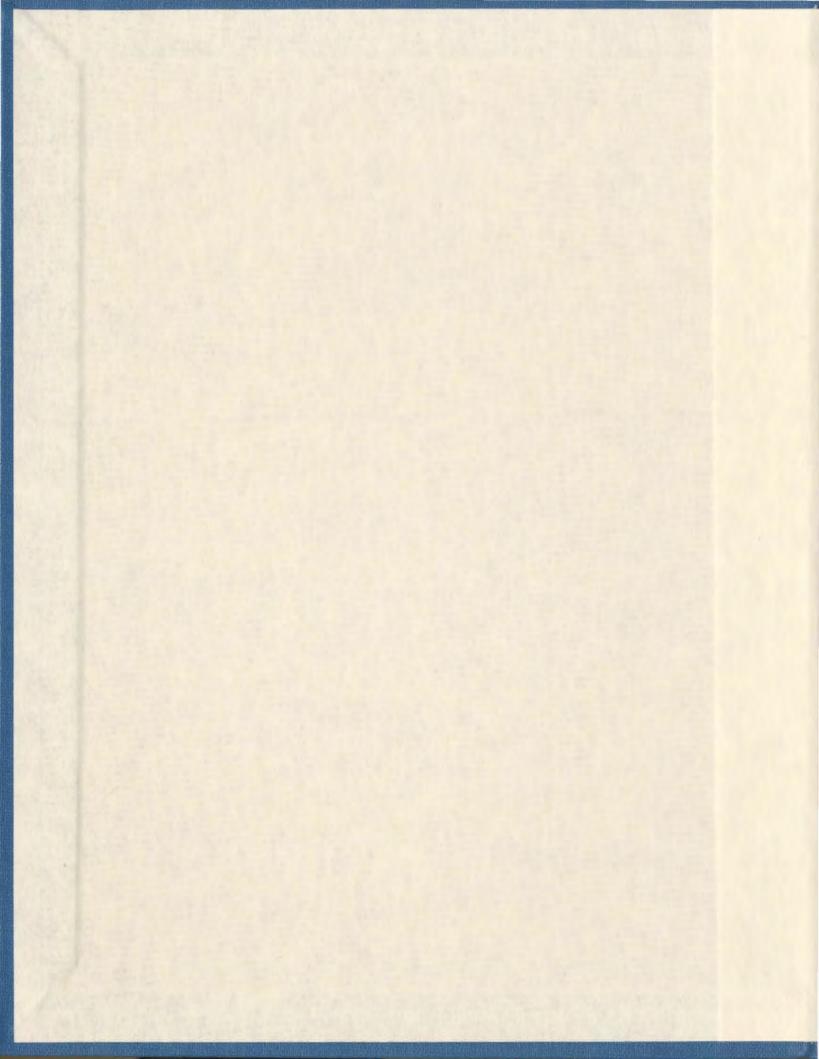## CANADA POST 9/11

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THE GENDERED DISCOURSE OF WAR:

Canada post 9/11

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis considers whether Canada engaged in a gendered discourse on the "War on Terror". Gender refers to the social meanings attributed to perceived sex differences and not the biological differences between males and females. Gender norms are produced and reproduced by dualisms such as aggressive/passive, and rational/emotional, where the first term is associated with masculinity while the second with femininity. The higher value is associated to the first term, or masculine one, perpetuating unequal relations between genders. The aforementioned question is answered by undertaking a critical discourse analysis of the official debates of the House of Commons (Hansard) in the week following the attacks of September 11th, 2001. It is found that Canada's rhetoric on security, its consideration of political responses, and construction of its national identity in contrast to the enemy makes use of gendered discourses.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work is dedicated to my Granny, Shirley Kane, whose character, wisdom and poise guide my understanding of femininity.

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N.B. *The appendices included here are summarised versions of the findings, and will not correspond to the quantitative references made to certain words or phrases. The examiners may see the full lists, if they wish.*

CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

*"The 'War on Terror' is not a war in any conventional sense,
armies clashing in combat, cities falling, refugees on the road. It
is really about the mining of a rich mythos in order to
manufacture public opinion. The war is not about defending
civilization, it is about engineering attitudes and manufacturing
consent. Even more, it is about manufacturing discourse,
manufacturing the permissible ways of speaking about the
situation."*

(Gallagher 2007, 127)

The terrorist attacks on the USA on September 11th 2001, by the Islamist militant group

al-Qaeda, have reinvigorated the study of international politics by critical theorists

especially where gender is concerned (Parpart & Zalewski 2008, 5). The ensuing "War

on Terror", and concerns about national security, are defining what counts as political

priorities. The attacks of 9/11 encouraged the embrace of "no-nonsense attitudes to

eliminating evil" (Vestlesen 2005, 295) where a violent response of retaliation (read

masculine) was immediately embraced as if it were the only possible type of response

(Pettman 2003, 88). Not only did George Bush dismiss a peaceful reaction to the attacks

dismissed as irrational and weak, but it was this increasingly passive approach undertaken

by the West that was thought to be the reason for the attacks in the first place. Prior to

9/11 Western states' international policy choices had become increasingly pacifist, with a

preference towards cooperation and "soft power" (Sjoberg, 2010). The revival of

dualisms, ridden with gendered undertones such as us/them, good/evil,

protector/protected, was embraced to soothe the wounded pride of America's "heroic

manhood" (Parpart & Zalewski 2008, 5). In war, gendered distinctions have been used to

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reinforce the power of the dominant groups by casting minorities and outsiders as lacking hegemonic masculine, or Western male, characteristics (Tickner 2002, 336). As such, enemies were condemned for not being like "us"; rather they were "othered" for lacking ideal masculine characteristics. This is evident during engagement in war by the embrace of violent retaliation as if there was no alternative; and the construction of the state as being ideally masculine compared to the feminine enemy. These are the foci of this study. Keeping them in mind, this study poses the question: did Canada engage in gendered discourse post 9/11? It is found that Canada did engage in gendered discourse with respect to security, violence and the enemy. New security strategies, which this new threat required, would be tied to masculinity through reason, autonomy, power and strength. Furthermore, war was almost immediately embraced as a response, as evident by use of the term 348 times. This is in contrast to the use of the term "peace", which took place 138 times. Finally, an "Other" was created in the terrorist by reliance on us versus them and good versus bad dichotomies and quasi-colonial discourse.

Mainstream theories of International Relations (IR), such as realism and neo-liberalism, miss the importance of gender. Critical feminist theorists have pointed to the partial nature of the dominant approaches to the discipline because they privilege a masculine way of knowing, a male experience, and a masculine conception of human nature (Hutchings 2008b; Lee-Koo 2008; Tickner 1992). Critical IR feminists are particularly disproving of realism, which they see as being the predominant theory in IR scholarship and practice (Sjoberg 2010; Steans 2006; Tickner 1992; Pettman 2003). Feminists have also pointed to the positivist nature of the discipline, at the expense of other ways of knowing. This thesis is motivated by a desire to use gender as a concept of

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analysis as it relates to IR, in a post-positivist way. Mainstream IR avoids asking critical questions about the complex ways power is constructed and, consequently, the status quo remains uncontested. Power dynamics and the status quo are produced and reproduced through the strategic use of language. Discourse is a social act which is not neutral, but rather a political tool which influences individuals' assumptions and modes of thinking and so perpetuates relationships of power and sustains hierarchies (Fairclough 2001, 64; Hodges & Nilep 2007, 2; Nabers 2009, 192). Gender distinctions are instrumental in reinforcing the power of dominant groups by creating minorities and "outsider", for their failure to possess hegemonic masculine characteristics (Tickner 2002, 336). Appeals to gender are also used in order to legitimise certain policy options. Gender becomes polarised in times of war, where masculinity prevails and femininity is exploited (Bhattacharyya 2008, 6; Hunt & Rygiel 2006, 2; Ferguson & Marso, 4). Thus if international relations[1] is to become a genuine, wholly representative and equitable pursuit, the gendered nature of war needs to be critically assessed. Doing so begins with analysing a state's reaction to conflict, followed by its construction of identity in relation to an "Other". Feminist IR scholarship has addressed the aforementioned issues following the attacks of 9/11. In doing so, it has challenged the discipline to rethink its understanding of global politics and the theories it uses to understand International Relations. It is only by considering gender, in conjunction with other variables, that one can obtain a holistic understanding of the system. This study contributes to feminist IR scholarship by uncovering the masculine predominance in international relations,

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[1] International relations in the lower case refers to the practice of international relations, whereas International Relations capitalized refers to the theory of International Relations

especially in times of conflict. Furthermore, it points to the way gender is used to reinforce power dynamics and in the creation of insiders and outsiders. To date, most of the research in this respect has focused on the United States as a subject of study. Considering Canada as the focal point of the study offers new insights, because it has largely been ignored in feminist International Relations literature. Furthermore, Canada has most often been characterised as a "peace" loving country; one whose relationship with the United States is traditionally seen as a dependent one. Such characterisations can be best understood as a feminine identity, yet one that takes place within a masculine discourse. If such a country engages in gendered language in the construction of its identity and in national security discourses, it gives additional support to the literature which contends that international relations are a primarily masculine endeavor.

Gender is understood in this work to be the "constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes and a primary way of signifying relationships of power" (Tickner 1992, 7). Here "sex" refers to the anatomical compositions of the biological male and female whereas "gender" refers to the roles and behaviours ascribed to sexual beings. The social value credited to these roles and behaviours result in a hierarchical relationship between genders. Yet gender is not rigidly tied to biological sex, such that a man can be feminine and a woman can be masculine. Gender is about the power relationship between the feminine and masculine, regardless of the sexed body with which it is associated. Critical feminists argue that these relationships and behaviours are produced and reproduced by normative concepts in the form of dichotomies, which assert the meaning of masculinity and femininity (Sjoberg 2010, 3). A dichotomy is the splitting of a whole into parts, and these parts are

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exhaustive and mutually exclusive. In other words, to be associated with one part of the whole negates one's ability to be associated with the other. In the West, gender is the socially constructed relational characteristics where power, autonomy, rationality, activity, and public are stereotypically associated with masculinity; their opposites, weakness, dependence, emotionality, passivity, and private associated with femininity" (Delehanty & Steele 2009; Hutchings 2008; Parpart & Zalewski 2008; Tickner 2002, 336). Assumptions produced by discourse come to be understood as common-sense or natural and as such perpetuate power dynamics (Fairclough 2001, 64). Thus, the use of gendered dichotomies reinforces hierarchies based on the aforementioned norms.

Yet norms associated with masculinity and femininity are not monolithic or static entities. Gender is a practice that is constantly being reproduced in the context of, and in response to, various times, spaces and situations. As a result, various forms of gender dynamics have existed throughout history and among cultures. More importantly for this study, is that various expressions of gender can exist within an organisation at the same time:

> Thinking of the military, it is even possible to say that some organisations work by means of relations between different forms of masculinity. The General requires a capacity for sober means-end calculation and willingness to send other people to die; the front-line soldier requires a certain ability not to calculate rationally, and solidarity with fellow-grunts. The army requires both (Connell 2008, 242).

Thus specific expressions of gender are preferred at certain times, and in certain contexts. Sometimes these norms are at odds with one another, such as masculinity's association with reason and aggression. This tension is particularly relevant for the study at hand. In Western culture a reasoned masculinity holds more value than aggression, such that when

aggression must be performed in accordance with reason. As a result, hierarchical relationships within each gender exist such that there is an optimal way to be masculine or feminine in various settings.

This work is especially concerned with dominant forms of masculinity, as it relates to Canada's discourse in the House of Commons post 9/11. R.W. Connell's use of hegemonic masculinity is especially informative in this regard. The work employs an understanding of "masculinity" as "the pattern or configuration of social practices linked to the position of men in the gender order, as socially distinguished from practices linked to the position of women" such that dominance of the masculine may continue (Connell 2002b). Similarly, a dominant form of masculinity exists in relation to subordinate masculinities. The norms of masculinity are ever-changing and enforce not only hierarchical distinctions between men and women, but also between different men (Hutchings 2008, 391). So, men who do not exhibit sufficiently masculine tendencies are feminised for their failure to exhibit the idealised masculinity. The form of masculinity that is accredited the highest value at any given time, in any given space, is what Connell refers to as hegemonic masculinity. It is, as she says, the most honoured way of being a man (Connell 2002, 835). It is not necessarily the dominant form of masculinity in number, such that most may not embody the hegemonic masculinity, but rather it is an ideological and normative model that reinforces the subordination of certain men and women in relation to said model.

This work employs an understanding of gender where the masculine/subject is associated with "knower/self/autonomy/agency; objective/rational/fact/logical/hard; order/certainty/predictability; mind/abstract; culture/civilised/production/public" and the

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feminine/object as "known/other/dependence/passivity;

subjective/emotional/value/illogical/soft; anarchy/uncertainty/unpredictability;

body/concrete; nature/primitive/reproduction/private (Goldstein 2001, 49). And yet, it

does so with the understanding that the aforementioned norms are always changing and

are contextually dependent. Furthermore, within each gender (masculinity and

femininity) there are contradictions of norms and a hierarchy of said norms. Because

masculinities and femininities are always changing, there are opportunities to challenging

dominant gender narratives. For example, in their study on police forces, Bevan &

MacKenzie find that:

> Discourses can serve to reframe what practices are considered 'masculine'
> 'if soldiers involved in peacekeeping portray civilians in target states with
> agency and worth, or valorise skills and practices associated with conflict
> resolution, skills and practices that are traditionally linked to femininity,
> they disrupt traditional discourses'" (2012, 511).

Therefore, while gender is said to become polarised during times of war, it can also be

said to be reproduced and redefined.

This research undertakes critical discourse analysis of Canada's political response

to the attacks of 9/11. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an orientation to the study of

language, rather than a theory or set of specific methods, where language is understood to

be embedded in a social context and reflective of social practices (Hodges & Nilep 2007,

4). Hodges & Nilep argue, as do others (Fairclough 2001; Nabers 2009), that language is

motivated by the struggles among different groups and is never neutral (2007).

Specifically, this work considers the Debates of the House of Commons, by referencing

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the official Hansard, in the week following the attacks on the United States[2]. This study

finds that Canada has relied on gendered language in order to promote involvement in the

"War on Terror", in the construction of its national identity, and in the construction of the

enemy. Rather than seeking to understand how different political parties have engaged,

or not, in gendered language, this study looks at the House of Commons as a whole.

While analysing the differences between political parties in this respect would offer

interesting insights, this study seeks to understand the predominant message coming out

of the House of Commons, regardless of political party. The work is undertaken from a

post-structuralist feminist approach, whereby the structure of language is understood to be

the power through which knowledge is defined and is not necessarily a reflection of our

"natural world". The post-structuralist theorist posits that culture is a structure that is

modeled on language, and the feminist sees this culture as a patriarchal one. Similarly,

identity, and for the purpose of this study, gendered identities are structured through

language, abstractions and representations.

At a first glance, it might be unclear how such a project is relevant to the field of

political science specifically, as opposed to the field of linguistics, for instance. Yet an

analysis of the discursive practices related to the "War on Terror" tells us about the nature

of politics in several respects. Firstly, it tells us about the politics of identity and

representation. It concerns itself with the way we construct our communities, values, and

expectations of behaviour - often in relation to "Others". Thus, an analysis of the way

gender identity is constructed, through representations of war, offers insight into

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[2] The House of Commons did not sit immediately following the attacks of 9/11. Rather, the House
resumed on September 17th 2001. The Debates analysed here are those from 17-09-01 to 21-09-01.

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hierarchies of being. Secondly, it tells us how policy options are sold and legitimised to the public. At its core, the construction and naturalisation of identities is about the promotion and advertising of certain ideas. As it relates to war, construction of gender identities can offer insight into the way engagements of war are, or are not, sold to the public. Thus, this work reveals something about the relationship between gender and the "War on Terror". It must be noted, however, that this is not a study of the creation of foreign policy, but rather a study about the way political language reflects a preference towards certain dispositions and options and how it can be manipulated as such. Fundamentally, the creation of identities and promotion of certain courses of action/policy choices are exercises of power. Gendered discourses perpetuate relationships of power and reinforce systems of meanings and values (Williams 1994, 596). Fundamentally, this study is about power – arguably the fundamental concept of the discipline of political science.

Answering the aforementioned research question will be achieved by addressing three sub-questions. First, "was Canada's rhetoric of security gendered, insofar as it prioritised masculinity?" In other words, to what degree were power and national security prioritised—coded as masculine—over social concerns—understood as feminine? Is security bound up in a notion of safety that relies on control and power? Is there an understanding of security that requires violence? Canada is found to have relied on notions of duty to engage in the "War on Terror", as a protector of the values and freedoms it, and the entire free world, had previously enjoyed. In doing so, Canada claimed the role of the saviour, through appeals to masculinity. Furthermore, Canadian discourse demonstrated a desire to tighten up its borders with respect to trade policy and

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immigration policy. The fluidity of the Canada/U.S. border was thought to be one of the reasons for the attacks of 9/11. The embrace of strict border policies can be otherwise understood as a desire to solidify its sovereignty. Feminists are critical of this approach to security, for its inability to talk about the most marginalised people within borders.

The second sub-question that this study will address is: "did Canada's approach to international conflict resolution prioritise violent (read masculine) over peaceful negotiations (read feminine)?" Aggression has traditionally been associated with a male temperament, while cooperation and nurture have been associated with female disposition (Delehanty & Steele 2009; Hunt & Rygiel 2006; Tickner 1988). This is most likely due to man's historical association with the citizen-warrior and women's biological role as child bearers. As a result appeals to masculinity, such as a rejection of emotion, are required in war making in the training of the soldier. Similarly, representations of female political violence employ a discourse couched in appropriate performances of gender, such that these women are understood as aberrations of femininity. The above is elaborated upon in chapter two. As such, this sub-question will analyse whether Canada asserted its national identity in a masculine way. Legitimate engagement in war relies on constructions of masculinity and femininity. This is because the warrior needs a feminised "Other" to fight for. War is associated with masculinity, whereas peace is associated with femininity (Eisenstein 2008; Hunt & Rygiel 2006; Lee-Koo 2008; Tickner, 1999). Justifying engagement in war requires the construction of dichotomous identities with which the state could choose to associate: "powerful versus weak", "rational versus emotional", "aggressive versus cooperative", or "masculine versus feminine" statehood. Just war depends on the devaluation of characteristics associated

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with femininity, and an embrace of masculinity, or rather rationality. It is found that in the week following the attacks of 9/11, Canada's discourse embraced engagement in war over that of cooperation or peace, based on the masculine practices of reason. Indeed there is a way to employ peace in a masculine way, such that reason and strategy serve as the basis. In this way, the tension between war and peace can be seen as two competing forms of masculinity. Moreover, Canada is found to make appeals to gender, in order to gain support for engagement in war.

The third sub-question that will be addressed is "did Canada "other", or feminise, the enemy in order to acquire political support for war?" The "Other" is the contrast against which one defines itself or something. Because the "Other" is different, the "Other" is devalued, for not being the same. Because one defines her/himself in negative terms, or by what one is not, what one is *not* becomes the "Other." The "Other" is devalued for being unlike that who has the power to define. Laura Sjoberg (2007) argues that dominant narratives are used to cast oneself as "good" and the opponent as "evil." It is found in the discourse of the House of Commons that the enemy was "othered" for its failure to possess hegemonic masculine characteristics of democracy, freedom and human rights. In doing so, the terrorists were feminised for their failure to live up a Western understanding of hegemonic masculinity. These moral shortcomings served as a, justification for violent engagement with the enemy. In the week following the attack of 9/11, Canada used gendered language to "other" the terrorist, which served to create distance between itself and the enemy, thus legitimising engagement in war. This is evident by use of the "us versus them" dichotomy, "civilised versus barbaric" and "goodness versus evilness" binaries. Inherent in such a discourse is a quasi-colonial

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relationship, which can also be understood through a gendered lens. It is inherently quasi-colonial, in so far as one group claims superiority over the other, based on reason and enlightenment, inherent in which is the notion that the inferior has yet to find the right way. Often times, war is justified with respect to bringing "civilisation" (democracy and human rights) to backwards states. Jasmine Zine (2006, 29) argues that military violence relies on a colonial discourse, which is rooted in "complex inequalities of race, gender, class and ethnicity".

Asking critical questions about the gendered nature of international relations, particularly where war is concerned is important to generalist and specialist audiences alike. In general, such research challenges the masculine dominance in areas of politics, economics and positions of power. This work does not necessarily address male dominance in numbers, but rather in character. It contributes to existing feminist literature, which questions why traditionally masculine characteristic (reason, aggression, objectivity) are valued over feminine ones (emotion, passiveness, subjectivity). Thus, even though women are involved in political processes as elected officials, soldiers and academics, they are working within a structure that has been set up to value "male" qualities. The valuing of masculine characteristics is equally important to men, who might have more "feminine" qualities and who are condemned for it. This work sheds light on how various policy options are framed as legitimate, along gendered lines. Peace will remain a "soft" issue, utopian and unrealistic so long as it is associated with women (Tickner 1999, 4). Framed this way, the association of women with peace, not only keeps women out of the world of politics, but it is damaging to the concept of peace. Fundamentally these issues are about ways of framing issues, such that masculinity

continues to dominate over femininity. War time offers an opportunity to reframe and redefine gendered dynamics. I hope that my contribution to these ongoing discussions will encourage, as other works in this area have succeeded in doing, a more substantial debate about responses to conflict. If so, in the long run this may result in a greater sense of individual security, because individuals will be less exposed to the harms of war. For the IR theorist this study re-examines the process of inclusion and exclusion in the construction of theory. It questions who has the power to define what constitutes knowledge. A feminine perspective has been left out of positivist IR theory. This study challenges the mainstream way of acquiring knowledge: objective, quantifiable scientific inquiry. Rather knowledge can be found in experiences, historical narratives, human relationships, and language. This study uncovers the way power is embedded in the language of gender dualisms and associated with masculinity.

Discourse analysis is the methodological approach of this study. As discussed above, this approach is motivated by the position that language is, as is gender, socially constructed and thus embedded in a power relationship that can serve to devalue certain people and groups (Connell 1987). Constructions of masculinity and femininity are essential to the state in its attempt to legitimise engagement in war. This is done strategically through the use of language, which is "not an objective tool by which we define our reality" (Howarth 1995, 129). Language is used to reinforce gender differences through the use of dichotomies and is used strategically by states in the construction of their identity. This study analyses Canada's use of gendered language and dichotomies in order to define itself, and gain support for certain responses to the "War on Terror". The aftermath of the attacks of 9/11 offers an interesting perspective.

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According to Delehanty and Steele, the opportunity to contest a state identity comes at the moment of a national crisis, because it is not simply the "physical security of a nation-state that is being challenged, but also its ontology, its sense of being, or its national purpose" (2009, 532). Jean Bethke Elshtain points out the importance of language and narratives with respect to matters of security. She finds that states strategically use an "authoritative discourse that is cool, objective, scientific and overwhelmingly masculine" (Blanchard 2003, 1294). Additionally, expert language is often used in war time when discussions of peacekeeping missiles and village pacification separate ordinary citizens from civic life (Blanchard 2003, 1294). Ann Tickner reminds us that language's claims to objectivity must continually be questioned (1998, 432). Thus, discourse analysis will be the primary methodology used in this study, and will uncover the power embedded in the rhetoric on the "War on Terror".

The study is organised into seven chapters. The following chapter, chapter 2, discusses the theoretical framework upon which this study is founded. It addresses the meanings of sex and gender, and the way this work uses them. It also considers the privileging of masculinity through an evaluation of International Relations theory, by engaging with the foundations of classical realism. Finally, this chapter discusses gendered dichotomy of war and peace as it intersects with norms of masculinity and femininity. The third chapter offers a literature review of the works which have already undertaken a discourse analysis of the "War on Terror". This chapter demonstrates that while a good amount of work on the discourse of the "War on Terror" has taken place, very few consider a gendered analysis of Canada's rhetoric simultaneously. The fourth, fifth and sixth chapters discuss the findings from each of the sub-questions respectively.

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They involve a critical assessment and discussion of the data. The seventh and final chapter of this work provides a discussion of the findings from the previous three chapters. It also addresses the ethical considerations and limitations of this study and its findings. The final chapter highlights the contributions that the study has made to the discipline. It concludes with suggestions for future research.

By highlighting the gendered nature of rhetoric used by Canada surrounding the "War on Terror" this study challenges the foundation of the study and practice of international relations. It does so by demonstrating that language is a social constructed tool, laden with power, which has created our reality. It also attempts to make readers aware of how the power to define the theoretical debate is maintained through the use of gendered language (Ackerly 2008, 696). The mainstream holds the power to exclude criticisms that do not fit into traditional understanding of knowledge. This work contributes to a body of literature that calls for epistemologies that value ambiguity and difference. It is in support of a human or un-gendered theory of international politics which contains elements of both masculine and feminist modes of thought (Tickner 1988, 437). This will contribute to the body of critical work which challenges the notion that knowledge can only be obtained through objective facts and science. After all, in the study of our political world we are both the knower and the subject.

CHAPTER 2:

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

"Representation of the world, like the world itself, is the work of men; they describe it from their own point of view, which they confuse with absolute truth."

\- Simone de Beauvoir

Gendered hierarchies privilege a masculine way of knowing and experiences, and form the basis of most of our knowledge about international politics (Hutchins 2008; Lee-Koo 2008; Tickner 1992, xi). Because foreign policy and military activity have been largely conducted by men, the discipline that analyses these activities is primarily focused on men and masculinity (Tickner 1992, 5). Before attempting to answer the research question at hand, "is Canada's discourse on the "War on Terror" gendered", and therefore was masculinity privileged in the practice of international relations, the concepts and literature that influence this study, require examination. This chapter lays out the theoretical framework of the study. At its heart is the argument that international relations rely on a powerfully patriarchal discourse, and depends on masculinity in the engagement in conflict and war.

This chapter begins with a discussion about the meanings of sex and gender, and establishes what is meant by "gender". Included in this discussion are the symbolic meanings of gender: the dichotomies which assign characteristics to the social categories of "masculine" and "feminine". Here it is argued that a higher value is ascribed to those qualities associated with masculinity. This is followed with a discussion about why

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masculinity is preferred in the exercise of international relations, particularly war, through a discussion of International Theory, namely classical realism. The concepts that found the discipline of IR have been acutely criticised by feminist scholars, and will be discussed in turn. These concepts include assumptions about human nature; the link between security and war; war's gendered dichotomies of the protector/protected; citizenship's association with the sacrifice of going to war; and finally discourses of nationalism. The chapter concludes with a discussion of masculine's association with war and female's association with peace. It concludes with an examination of "othering", which is often used in nationalist discourses to gain support for war. The concepts and arguments discussed here serve as a basis for the upcoming chapters, where Canada's discourse is analysed through a gendered lens.

2.1 Sex & Gender

The first position that underlies this work, which merits a discussion, is what is meant by the term "gender" as opposed to the term "sex". My thesis adheres to a definition of gender as the "constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes and a primary way of signifying relationships of power" (Tickner 1992, 7), where "sex" refers to the anatomical compositions of the biological male and female. Gender refers to the roles and behaviours ascribed to sexual beings. The social value credited to these roles and behaviours result in a hierarchical relationship between genders. A traditional classification of gendered traits is that men are aggressive, rational and logical, whereas women are passive, emotional and sensitive (Delehanty & Steel 2009; Mooney Marini 1990; Steans 2006; Tickner 1992). Gender takes the form of

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various dichotomies, which will be discussed hereafter, that guides Western thought about masculinity and femininity. Yet, most post-structural theorists posit that gender discourses are fluid and subject to change (Bevan & MacKenzie 2012, 511). In other words, masculinities and femininities are in flux based on time and space.

Both men and women tend to place a higher value on the term which is associated with masculinity (Sjoberg 2010, 3). Jill Steans argues that gender differences are so rarely contested that they are perceived as "common sense" and are deeply engrained in our psyche (2006, 7). The degree to which gender differences guide our assumptions of how men and women *should* behave is evident when gender norms are violated. For example, men who are in touch with their emotions are labelled as "soft," whereas masculine women are classified as "butch." However, certain forms of masculinity and femininity are called for at certain times, and in certain contexts. For example, a rational expression of masculinity might be called for in times of political debate and rule, whereas an aggressive masculinity might be called for in times of war and in combat. Thus, within traditional conceptions of gender there is conflict and contradiction. As such, masculinity should not be understood as monolithic: "instead, efforts should be made to understand the multiplicity of masculinities, recognising the plurality and diversity of men's experiences, attitudes, beliefs, situations, practices, and institutions" (Bevan & MacKenzie 2012, 512). It is important to see gender as a social construct in order to challenge the assumptions that men should behave differently from women, as well as to challenge the valuing of male characteristics over female ones (Mooney Marini, 1990). So, in addition to being about socially constructed characteristics that are placed on sexed bodies, gender is a dynamic that dictates a power relationship. It is this

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essentialist understanding of gender difference, based on biological sexual difference, which legitimises hierarchical relations between men and women, and also those who do not fit the "norm" (Steans 2006, 7). Further, gender differences operates to legitimise hierarchical relationships between masculinities and femininities, such that in specific situations there is an optimal expression of the feminine or masculine, in contrast to an inferior expression of the feminine or masculine.

For the purpose of this work, this understanding of gender is fundamental in order to discover whether Canada's discourse in the House of Commons post 9/11 relies on assumptions of gender to guide its foreign policy and create its national identity in contrast to a feminine "Other". Meanings of sex and gender are fundamental to feminist theory because our understanding of these terms dictates our suppositions about behaviour, temperament and as such the roles individuals assume in relation to one another. Quite often sex and gender are understood to be synonymous terms, or, at the very least, to be inherently linked. Conflating these terms contributes to the seemingly "naturalness" of gender traits. When characteristics deemed "feminine" or "masculine" are thought to stem from biology, it suggests that they are naturally occurring, and as such unalterable. On the surface this might not seem problematic, however upon deeper analysis it becomes evident how gender influences who gets what and who can do what. A more critical look at gender also uncovers to what degree gendered power relations leads to the concentration of resources and influence one sex has over the other. Sex and gender are often thought to be inherently linked, both stemming from biology, because of science. Biological studies have observed the male of a species to be more violent, competitive, and concerned with power, whereas the female species have been observed

as being cooperative, peaceful and nurturing (Herschberger, 1948). Social biologists argue that patriarchy is natural, stemming from an organic relationships between male and female. Political scientists, such as Francis Fukuyama (1998), have relied on these findings to suggest that women are not suited for the violent and competitive arena of international politics. Biological "findings" are problematic because they legitimise male dominance in areas of politics, economics, and in sectors of our social world that value male characteristics over female ones.

Yet, feminists, as well as other scholars, have refuted these biological findings, suggesting instead that the "psychological differences between the sexes are due to social conditioning and that there is nothing in the research to allow us to infer any bio-determinism whatsoever" (Delphy 1993, 2; Goldstein 2001; Tickner 1999). Furthermore, feminist scholars such as Emily Martin argue that scientific language itself, specifically as it relates to biology, is inherently gendered (1991). In her work, Martin examines scientific language about fertilisation of an egg during conception, arguing that in science texts the female egg is given a passive role in contrast to the sperm which penetrates it, when in fact the fertilization of the egg involves an embrace of the sperm (1991). Thus, inherent in the language of speaking about sex differences, are gendered assumptions, which serve to reproduce these gendered traits. In the same vein, Ruth Herschberger's satirical piece, which is narrated by a female chimpanzee, points to the gendered language used in socio-biological studies which perpetuates male dominance (1948).

Admittedly there are contradictory studies in this regard, even among feminists, some of which celebrate the supposed temperamental differences between men and women (Gilligan, 1982). Yet what feminists agree upon is that feminine characteristics,

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and thus the socially-ascribed roles women are supposed to assume, are devalued in contrast to masculine characteristics and male roles. The gendered assumption, "supported" by biology, that males are inherently dominant and aggressive whereas females are more cooperative and peaceful legitimises male or masculine dominance in areas which calls for aggression and concern with power, such as politics, security and war. As will be seen in the following chapters, in the wake of the attacks of 9/11 masculinity was preferred by Canada, as evident by the discourse in Debates in the House of Commons.

A significant impediment to acknowledging gender as a social construct is the female biological role of child bearing and rearing. Because women bear children and nurse their offspring, the nurturing quality associated with the aforementioned role is assumed to be a strictly feminine one. To nurture requires compassion and warmth, and is incompatible with aggression and violence. These gendered characteristics have contributed to assigned sex roles. By virtue of the female tendency to nurture, women are typically resigned to care roles in the private sphere of the household. Similarly, the supposition that males are rational, objective and competitive make them better suited to public life of politics, economics, and to the role of "bread-winner". This is problematic for feminists because breadwinning roles are accorded a higher status than the work done in the home (Steans 2006, 9). Assigned sex roles have been institutionalised by the capitalist system's reliance on unpaid labour, where "naturally" the woman is relegated to the household because she is biologically destined to play a reproductive role. More importantly for the purpose of this study is that women's supposed biological tendencies make them unable to deal with "roughness" of politics, particularly international politics

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which, as will be seen later, is concerned with power relations between states, often violent ones (Tickner, 1992). The feminist project aims to uncover why it is that domestic work falls disproportionately on the shoulders of women, why this work is undervalued, and why traditionally feminine characteristics are undervalued in the public sphere. This is particularly important to the study and practice of IR. Women's association with nurturing and caretaking roles suggests they, or their gendered characteristics, are not suited to the high politics of international relations, because international politics, particularly in times of war, calls for the contrary. Moreover, the preoccupation with masculinity in the practice of international relations also serves to de-legitimise actions traditionally associated with femininity, such as cooperation, if it is not superseded by a masculine approach such as rationality and for the greater purpose of strategy. This tendency in international relations is reinforced and can be further understood by discussion of realism, which feminists argue is the dominant theory guiding IR practice and scholarship. This section follows.

2.2 Gender & Classical Realism

Classical realism is recognised by many scholars as the dominant theory of the study of international relations (Beckman 1994, 16). The theory is attributed to Hans Morgenthau and his influential text entitled *Politics Among Nations,* first published in 1948. The outbreak of World War II, and the failings of the League of Nations, is said to have motivated the development of this theory, in opposition to the idealism (Blanchard 2005, 1290; Tickner 1992, 5). According to Morgenthau, the international system consists of autonomous, sovereign states striving for power, in anarchy (1985). Because there is no

overarching, global government, states and state leaders are primarily concerned with the acquisition of power and guarantee of security. These are the primary foci of analysis for the realist scholar.

Realism is based on a conception of human nature where the acquisition of power is a universal tendency. International politics, like all politics, is the struggle for power (Morgenthau 1985, 27), where power is conceived as a man's control over the minds and actions of other men (33). Thus, power is essential for the realisation of interests and so interests in the global politics are defined in terms of power (Lebow 2010, 64). The realist conceives of power as material capabilities, with a focus on military and economic capacities (Lebow 2010, 64). In an anarchical environment, where power is paramount, states must rely only on themselves for protection and survival. This is based on an understanding of human nature that man, and thus states, is self-interested. Because no international government can control the behaviour of states and because one can never be sure of another's intention, states must arm themselves to guarantee their security (Morgenthau 1985, 27). This, in turn, threatens the security of other states, so they arm themselves: the arms race is on. Strategic thinking about national defence has centered on the notion of deterrence (Morgenthau 1985, 33). The relative power, resulting from the arms race, creates a balance of power which can serve to reduce the threat of war and lead to periods of peace. This is because the relative power of another state is very difficult to evaluate accurately, so calculations of foreign policy errs on the side of caution (Beckman 1994: 20). Finally, many realists believe in the principle of self-interest over moral consideration, with regards to foreign policy. Rather, considerations of justice are

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inappropriate, if not dangerous foundations upon which to base foreign policies (Lebow 2010, 64).

The foundations of realism, briefly stated above, are based on certain assumptions about human nature and how the international system functions. Inherent in such assumptions is preferences for certain qualities in statesmen and states over others. The foundations of realism also point to certain analytical limits for the IR scholar. The political man and assumptions of human nature, which are the basis for realism, is the first area of concern for the IR feminist. Morgenthau asserts that the tendency to dominate, or to seek power, exists in all facets of human life – the family, polity and the international system (1985, 34). The feminist argues that this tendency to dominate is based on a male experience, for women have historically assumed submissive roles. Thus, the political man spoken of is representative of human nature that is partial. Furthermore, the political man, abstracted by the realist, must be "instrumentally rational, self-serving behaviours lacking in moral restraints" (Tickner 1994: 31). While it is true that both men and women exhibit the aforementioned qualities, they have been historically assigned to men. What's more, these characteristics have historically been assigned higher value, in contrast to weakness, emotion, and interdependence, which have been historically assigned to women – which are typically rejected in the realm of International Relations (Tickner 1994: 31). Feminist theorists have questioned what is at stake by making such assumptions about human nature and preferring certain qualities over others. The nature of "man" is what informs the realist's understanding of state behaviour, and as such the feminist theorist is simultaneously critical of the masculine nature of the state.

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The state is seen as being male – both in number and in character. Heads of states are almost always men and thus the representative of the state on the international scene. Yet at the most fundamental level, the state is a concept defined by and for men. Post-structural feminist theorists are critical of how the concept of the state arose in the first place, and does not take it as a given or natural object, as the realist does. Rather the state is an institution that becomes possible and exists due to subordination of certain people and groups through the dynamic of patriarchy. Such a dynamic goes back to the earliest Greek city states, where upper class men ruled over women, children and slaves. Masculine dominance has been the central organising principle of the state (Sisson Runyan & Peterson 1991: 87). Moreover, in practice the focus on sovereign states as the primary actor in International Relations dismisses other forms of political organisation, such as local and transnational non-governmental organisations. This combined with an emphasis on the inevitability of the clash of armed states, disregards almost entirely the possibility of politics as a complex form of resolving conflicts among individuals and groups (Sisson Runyan & Peterson 1991: 71).

Furthermore, the state is treated analytically by the realist with no consideration of its internal characteristics. Rather, it is expected that all states will behave similarly as a result of the tendency to maximise power and security in an anarchic system. Such behaviour is model on the self-interested, power seeking man. Traditionally masculine behaviour is inevitable because states operate in anarchy where, according to Hobbes, life is a struggle of every man against every man. The willingness to go war is called for in this game of every state against every state. Yet Hobbes' interpretation of human nature, upon which anarchy and realism is founded, "leaves to room for the question of how

gender relations affect the transition out of the brutish state of nature and into society, while Jean-Jacques Rousseau's famous stag hunt, often invoked as a parable of the problems of security, ignores the familial relations that control the hunter's defection from the hunting circle" (Blanchard 2003, 1293). Fundamentally the realist's conception of the state is an inhumane one (Jones 1996).

The focus on states as the actors in international politics is further problematic insofar as it deemphasises the individual. Elshtain argues the "realist narrative ignores human agency and identity...no children are ever born, and nobody ever dies in this constructed world...there are states and they are what is" (Blanchard 2003: 1293). This is how the state is conceived of by the realist as inhuman: because it does not question how the state itself is internally structured politically and socially (Ruiz 2005: 3). Yet, a state's domestic views translate into foreign policies – a dynamic left unconsidered by the realist. This is problematic for the feminist scholar, because the perspective of the realist ignores the lived experience of individuals as it relates to the effects of foreign policy decisions. It is typically the most vulnerable individuals who are exploited. Such an oversight is perpetuated by the notion of a strict divide between international and domestic politics: "at the outset of his text, *Politics Among Nations*, Morgenthau introduces a sharp distinction between international and domestic politics" (Lebow, 61). The feminist, on the other hand, argues that the "personal is the political – most would reject the validity of constructing an autonomous political sphere around which boundaries of permissible modes of conduct have been drawn" (Tickner 1988: 432). The assumption that there is order within and anarchy beyond the bounds of the community, as the realist would assert, "effects a divide between international and domestic politics

that mirrors the public-private split that feminist theorist argue perpetuates domestic violence" (Blanchard 2003, 1296).

This is perhaps one of the objectives that unite most feminists: embracing the private as political and as such claiming its importance in the analysis of politics. Traditionally the private sphere of the household, where women are relegated to, is thought to be insulated from politics, whereas the public realm dominated by men has been deemed the political. The feminist rejects the aforementioned claim, stating that "the personal is political, and the public/domestic dichotomy is a misleading construct, which obscures the cyclical pattern of inequalities between men and women" (Jones 1996: 412). Thus the realists lack of concern is problematic, because at play in the relationship between the "public" and "private" is exercise and effects of power – a concept of central importance to this theory. While the concept of power, as understood by the realist, has also come under attack from the feminist theorist, as will be seen below, what is important to take away is that the public and the private, or the international and the domestic, are inherently linked through relations of power. It is not possible to separate what is going on domestically from what is going on internationally. Furthermore, it is not possible to separate the international from the "private". For instance, feminist IR theorists point to the domestic and private effects of investing in military power for deterrence sake, which often put strain on social programs and services for the most vulnerable citizens in a state. As we will see, the feminist is also critical of the realist belief that the state, through military, is the primary means for security.

The conceptually separate domestic and international realm is necessary for another idea of which the feminist is critical: the realist's call for restricted morality in the realm

of international politics. This position is elaborated in Morgenthau's 6 principles of political realism, namely principle number 4 which contends that the realist is aware of the moral significance of political action as well as the tension between the moral command and the requirements of successful political action; and principle number 5 which call on the realist to refuses to identify the moral aspirations of a particular nation with the moral laws that govern the universe but rather it is the concept of interest defined in terms of power that saves him from moral excess and political folly (Morgenthau: 1985; Tickner 1988, 437). Realist scholars, such as Kissinger, argue for the conduct of foreign affairs by detached "objective" elites insulated from the dangers of the moralism and legalism (Tickner 1992: 5). Rather reason and strategy should be the primary lens through which international relations is enacted. The feminist is critical of the realist's rejection of morality in the conduct of IR by questioning the adoption of a set of public (and thus international) values "as a basis for security so wildly at odds with the values we espouse at home" (Blanchard 2003, 1296). It is the separation of morality and security that the feminist finds paradoxical, and leads to another focus of critique in realism: security.

How secure is the realist conception of security where security is obtained through acquisition of power through arms races in an anarchic world? And where the guarantor of security is the state via the military? The realist assumption of a dangerous world devoid of an overarching authority to keep the peace necessitates the accumulation of power and military strength to assure state survival and the protection of an orderly domestic space (Tickner 1992, 6). Feminists argue that this conception of security makes vulnerable the most marginalised people in society. The notion that a male military

protects civilians from external threats is a myth. Rather, insecurity is more often experienced within the state, from internal threats. During war time women are particularly vulnerable to rape, and evidence suggests that domestic violence is higher in military families or in families that include men with prior military service (Tickner 1994, 35). In addition, the state is implicated in that which women become "the objects of masculinist (sic) social control not only through direct violence but also through ideological constructs such as women's work and the cult of motherhood, that justify structural violence (inadequate health care, sexual harassment, and sex-segregated wages, rights and resources)" (Peterson 1992b: 46). Feminists argue for the need to recognise how structural violence, to use Galtung's term, perpetuates economic and environment insecurity (Blanchard 2003: 1298). Furthermore, a host of feminist scholars are paying attention to environmental insecurity, which does not have a place in realist discourses, for it goes beyond the sovereign state and military power.

Power is a concept which runs throughout the criticisms discussed above. Power is a central concern for the realist, and a central point of contention for the feminist scholar. As discussed above, Morgenthau defines power as man's control over the minds and actions of other men. It is essential in the realisation of security, also discussed above. Elements of national power include secure geographical boundaries, large territories, capacity for self-sufficiency in natural and industrial resources and a strong technological based – all of which contribute to a strong military capability (Tickner 1992). Feminists are critical of a concept of power which is restricted to the unitary states and elite men operating in the public sphere, because it misses a range of other relations of power. Jones argues that "it has taken power to keep women out of positions of power and to

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keep questions of inequity between local men and women off the agendas of many

nationalist movements in industrialised as well as agrarian societies"(1996, 415). These

forms of power are left out of the realist's conception of power. More importantly, the

realist discounts the plurality of power, which goes beyond a notion of power as coercion,

dominations and a zero-sum game. Rather, to use a Foucauldian phrase, power can be

productive. Many feminists make use of Hanna Arendt's idea of power as the ability to

act in concert and in collaboration to cope with collective problems, rather than power as

control (Keohane 1989, 246). Tickner suggests that a multidimensional understanding of

power may "help us to think constructively about the potential for cooperation as well as

conflict, an aspect of IR generally downplayed by realism" (1988, 434). Moreover, a re-

conceptualisation of power may give way to conceive of peace as a positive rather than

negative state. In other words, peace will not be an imperfect expression of the balance of

power, but rather a cooperative collaboration.

The above section engaged with a feminist critique of a dominant theory guiding

international relations practices and scholarship. It focused on the prioritisation of

masculine values in those endeavors. This section will serve as a guide to assess

Canada's use of gendered rhetoric, particularly in Chapter 5 which considers the

discourse of security. While a reasoned and strategic masculinity, suggested by classical

realism, is shown to be embraced in the House of Commons, this masculinity works

alongside other forms of masculinity that are typically resisted, such as morality. This is

evident in appeals to morality through human rights. The following and final section of

this chapter examines more closely the association of masculinity and war, as well as

peace and femininity.

2.3 War & Masculinity; Peace & Femininity

In times of conflict, and in the pursuit of power, masculinity is called for. More than that however, masculinity becomes associated with war and the protection of the state. This is because of the long-standing glorification of the male warrior, and man's rational ability to lead, in international relations. Historically man's activity in war has been intimately tied to his identity as a citizen, as far back as the earliest Greek city-states. Here the all-male political and warrior community was charged with defending the state. Tickner argues that a contemporary understanding of citizenship still remains bound up with the valorisation of sacrifice in war, and in Machiavelli's exclusive definition of the citizen warrior (1992, 39). Political loyalty has been conceived as the disposition to act and speak in the interest and defence of the state (Steans 2006, 45). The biggest test of loyalty to one's country, or most true act of patriotism, is one's willingness to defend it. Today, this can be performed as a soldier in the army or through political leadership that supports said army. While the aforementioned performances rely on two different expressions of masculinity, aggression and reason, masculinity is required whereas femininity is rejected for its vulnerability (Steans 2006, 35). The two expressions of masculinity, while appearing to be contradictory, work together in the defense of a state and in the acquisition of power in international relations.

There is a literal association with masculinity and war, such that war has been overwhelmingly performed by men as well as a rhetoric and symbolic association of masculinity and war. Yet, the stereotypical association of warriors with masculinity does not fit most men (Connell, 1995). Therefore, cultures must mold males into warriors by attaching manhood and masculinity those qualities that make good warriors: "war does

not come naturally to men (from biology) so warriors require intense socialisation and training in order to fight effectively... gender identity becomes a tool with which societies induce men to fight" (Goldstein 2001, 252). This transformation is done through basic training, and involves significant power in order to strip individuals of their civilian identity (read feminine) and rebuilt their identity of soldier (read masculine). This makeover involves the denial and "obliteration" of the "other" – the feminine, from their appearance down to their psyche, and a fervent embrace of masculinity:

> Myths of manhood into which the new soldier is inculcated throughout basic training are highly specific and privilege courage and endurance; physical and psychological strength; rationality; toughness; obedience; discipline; patriotism; lack of squeamishness; avoidance of certain emotions such as fear, sadness, uncertainty, guilt, remorse and grief; and heterosexual competency (Whitworth 2008, 114).

The aforementioned qualities are further internalised in the psyche of the soldier through repeated insults that play upon soldier's gender anxieties, including labels such as "whore, faggot, sissy, cunt, ladies, abortion, pussy, nigger, Indian and sometimes simply you woman" (Whitworth 2008, 112).

This deeply embedded masculinity, required of soldiers, is at once a cause and effect of the military's reaction to and treatment of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) – or lack thereof. The military avoids compensating soldiers with cases of PTSD, and what's more there is a culture of silence among those who suffer PTSD: "soldiers who experience pain, fear or anxiety in the face of combat learn they have failed to live up to the military ethos of appropriate masculinity" (Whitworth 2008: 110). The culture of masculinity works to reject the femininity associated with PTDS (emotion and weakness) and in doing so reproduces and strengthens this culture. Not only is the feminine

"othered" in character, but also in body: women are subject to physical and emotional trauma by their fellow soldiers, leading to higher rates of PTSD among women. The rape culture of female soldiers within the U.S. military, as documented in the film *The Invisible War* (2012), is indicative of this. The treatment of female soldiers reinforces the notion that they (their embodied femininity) are not fully integrated into the brotherhood of the army and that the army is a male only space. The concept of the army as a brotherhood is another concept that relies on the embrace of masculinity, and rejection of femininity. The notion of a brotherhood, whereby male killers kill the woman in them (Whitworth 2008: 114) supports a culture of silence about PTSD: individual soldiers do not want to be ostracised by and disappoint the larger group of which they are a part. Commitment to a brotherhood is theorised through the concept of fratriarchy, by Paul Higate in "Drinking Vodka from the Buttcrack" (2012). Higate argues that male bonding requires an exclusion of women as its key factor, as evident by homo-social competitive activity through hazing rituals.

Masculine association with war requires the construction of a nurturing feminine "Other" upon which the soldiers' masculinity may be reinforced (Goldstein 2001, 301). The protector/protected model, or warrior/maiden model, is instrumental in this regard (Youngs 2006, 8). The rhetorical device positions men as actual and symbolic national heroes who defend actual and symbolic passive women. In representations of war, men are seen as fighters and women as victims:

> Images of women and children as widows and orphans fleeing war zones
> to become refugees, or media focus on rape as a war tactic in Rwanda and
> the former Yugoslavia, figure women as fragile, vulnerable, and in need of
> defense by men. Rape and forced pregnancies in particular bring forth
> issues of ethnic purity and position women as vehicles for the production

of the next generation of ethnically pure fighters but as defenceless in and of themselves (Naaman 2007: 934).

The manufacturing of the male hero in contrast to women as victims and mothers is essential in legitimising engagement in war (Charlesworth & Chinkin 2002, 600). This is because states need a legitimate cause for which to go to war: a weaker group, in need of protection. Such a discourse legitimises unequal gender relations.

The protected/protector dichotomy reinforces masculinity's association with war, and in doing so, femininity's association with peace. Feminine association with peace is partially due to women's "disarmed condition and glorification of motherhood"; representation that goes back to the Victorian age (Eisenstein 2008, 34; Hunt & Rygiel 2006, 4; Tickner 1992, 59). This has been further reinforced through women's mobilisation around peace activism in international relations. Women have been organising, primarily as mothers, in support of peace since the Bertha von Suttner, the author of Down with Weapons in 1894, persuaded Alfred Nobel to create the Nobel Peace Prize (which von Suttner women in 1905) (Goldstein 2001, 323). Indeed the initial 1870 proposal for Mothers Day was to set the day aside for women's advocacy of peace – although it did not catch on in favour of a more generic and commercial version (Goldstein 2001, 324). Recently, especially since the invocation of United Nations Resolution 1325 urging states to include women at the peace table, women have been used as a systematic for of inclusion in international politics by women's groups. While women as a group and femininity are analytically distinguished in this work, peace activism can operate or reflect a softer side of politics and conflict resolution, as opposed to hard-lined military invasion and deterrence.

This is not to say, however, that peace cannot be pursued or represented in the spirit of masculinity. Indeed, there are ways of speaking about the pursuit of peace such that it operates within a traditionally masculine discourse, such as civilised, rational politicians coming to peace agreements that serve the interests of all sides. A contemporary western hegemonic masculinity arguably idealises a masculinity that uses aggression as a last resort – indicative of that state's civilised nature. This is sometimes known as rational-bureaucratic model of masculinity, which is valorised in the West.

So too are there ways of speaking about female political violence, militancy and soldiering that operate within intelligible gendered discourses, and in doing so reinforce a masculine association with said violence. For example, Swati Parashar (2011) argues that while women have made significant contribution to political and religious movements as militants and suicide bombers (295) a gendered discourse has traditionally looked at these women "as hapless victims of conflicts and militant attacks, or as members of women's groups that stand in opposition to conflict and militarisation" (Parashar 2009, 238). Female violence is at odds with traditional understandings of gender, where women are associated peace and nurture. Paige Eager argues that there are a limited number of instances in which women being violent is socially acceptable: "fending off an attacker, especially a rapist, defending her children, fighting back against a terribly abusive husband, and some sporting activities" (2008, 3). When women engage in violence outside of acceptable circumstances, her femininity is questioned and attacked. Wight and Myers find that "when a woman commits an act of criminal violence, her sex is the lens through which all of her actions are understood" and a "violent woman's womanhood is the primary explanation for mitigating factor offered up in any attempt to

understand her crime" (Sjoberg & Gentry 2011, 29 – 30). Thus extenuating circumstances are used to explain away the possibility that a woman rationally and autonomously chooses to engage in said act of violence. Extenuating circumstances often include references to trauma as a child, loss in love and marriage, or sexual deviance.

Jean Elshtain argues while male aggression and violence is understood as a depersonalised, political act of war, female violence is perceived as over-personalised and vindictive (1995, 169). Terri Toles Patkin (2004) finds that although female suicide bombers' official statements[3] have similar tones to their male counterparts, Western accounts are engaged in finding alternate explanations behind women's violent acts (85). Conversely men's ideological (political) motivations for undertaking suicide missions are implied, women's emotional motivations are presented as the driving factor for carrying out the mission. The female martyr, or *shahida*, whose rage and emotions has irrationally led them to commit this horrific act reinforces the dichotomy in which women are emotional and men are rational subjects (Dunn 2010, 211). In death, women are depoliticised, stripped of their agency and autonomy when their final acts are explained away by uncontainable emotion. Parashar (2011) argues that the silencing female's political violence "is scripted on the basis that "real" combat has been waged exclusively by men" (312). In doing so said discourses contribute to the construction of acceptable performances of gender, where to be feminine is to not be violent. These discourses work to simultaneously re-assert the masculine nature of political violence. Thus the protector/protected dichotomy along gender lines is upheld. While this work does not

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[3] Typically suicide bombers will leave a video statement, to be viewed by the masses

analyse discourse about the military and soldiers, it adheres to an understanding of traditional gender norms where violence and war is associated with masculinity.

Not only is masculinity called for in international relations and war, but gendered language is used to legitimise certain courses of action. As will be seen in upcoming chapters, Canada made use of gendered language in order to gain support for joining the "War on Terror". To guarantee the "security" of the state, there is a necessity of standing up to aggression rather than being pushed around or appearing to be a "sissy" or a "wimp" (Tickner 1992, 47). As discussed previously, qualities of aggression and assertion are associated with masculinity. War is a time when male and female characteristics become polarised. Margaret Higonnet argues that war is a gendering activity when the discourse of militarism and masculinity permeates the whole fabric of society (1989). It can also serve as opportunity to redefine and reproduce masculinities and femininities. The legitimising of wars through gendered narratives is especially evident when they are fought as colonial projects, or in other words to "civilise" backwards nations. In this way, intervening states assert an identity of hegemonic masculinity, or rather the ideal form of masculinity. Claims to superiority are evident when intervening states, usually Western, identify as civilised as opposed to barbaric; democratised as opposed to autocratic; and technologically advanced as opposed to backwards. Dominant narratives such as these are used to cast oneself as "good" and the opponent as "evil", whereby feminising one's enemy for their failure to live up to masculine ideals (Delehanty & Steele, 2009). R.W. Connell argues that those individuals who align themselves most closely to the hegemonic masculinities (in this case civilised and enlightened) are most likely to receive the benefits of the power with which it is

associated, while "characteristics or traits that do not converge with the hegemonic model are less able to be associated with power as they are 'symbolically assimilated to femininity'" (2005: 31). Evidence of "good versus evil" discourse was found in Canada's rhetoric in the "War on Terror", and can be seen especially in Chapter 6. These gendered dichotomies are used to legitimise engagement in war, with countries that "deserve peace" and in the name of human rights. As will be seen, in doing so Canada asserts itself as a saviour or protector, which, as seen above, is another appeal to masculinity.

Gendered discourse, through reliance on gendered dichotomies, is also used with respect to the creation of a national identity. As will be seen, the attacks of 9/11 offered Canada the chance to reconsider its role internationally, or rather redefine its national identity. Nationalism is the dominant discourse of political identity. Such narratives allow citizens to "imagine" themselves as a part of a community, where shared ideologies create collective identities (Steans 2006, 7). While associating with one national identity may be unsuitable because of individuals' increasingly nomadic lives, interracial families, and countries with various ethnic identities, nationalist rhetoric creates boundaries through practices of "othering". The practice of "othering" has received stark criticism from feminist and critical theorists alike. It is a concept central to critical theory. It is the notion that a person or group other than oneself or one's own is different, and so the "Other". A group of people is the "Other" because its members are different from that who is defining. By disassociating from another or a group, through "othering", the disassociated group or person is subordinated for not being the same. "Othering" can be a form of gendering, where it associates higher social value with certain gender characteristics, usually that of the group that has the power to speak.

In the context of a nationalist discourse, internal and external boundaries are created through "othering". Those existing outside of the boundaries of the state are "othered". Such a discourse is essential in legitimising engagements in war, because it creates a unified national identity, while creating an enemy identity outside that is devalued. "Othering", by exercising dominant national discourses, has been especially evident in colonial war projects as well as in the "War on Terror", where the opponent is "othered" for not being civilised, sophisticated, and democratised (Delehanty & Steelle, 2009; Sjoberg 2007a). It is also worth noting that "othering" can be done in order to gain support for certain political decisions *within* a nation. In certain instances, those who oppose the popular view, for example going to war, are condemned and accused for being unpatriotic. Playing on the notion of the enemy, Bush attempted to gain support for the "War on Terror" by claiming that you were either "with us or with the terrorists" (Pettman 2004, 90). From a Canadian perspective, and for the purpose of this work, an "Other" was created in the terrorists, in contrast to itself. Finally, nationalist discourse is gendered in its practice of "othering", but is also gendered in its association with the feminine. One's country is often referred to as the "Motherland". An association of the state with the female is instrumental in justifying engagement in war, because when the state is perceived as feminine it is her citizens' duty to defend "her" (Steans 2006, 40). The "inside versus outside" dichotomy that results in nationalist discourses suggests that the state is something sacred, to which invaders' entrance must be prevented. Some feminists have argued that a state's reference to the Motherland creates imagery of the female body, whose violation of foreigners requires "citizens to rush to her defence" (Steans 2006, 40).

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2.4 Conclusion

This chapter laid the theoretical foundation for this thesis. It began with a discussion of the meaning between sex and gender, where the former is about biological traits and the latter refers to the socially constructed expectations that are placed on a sexed body. I argued that rather than seeing these terms as inherently related or synonymous, we must recognise their differences. Only then can we start to uncover the unequal relationship that exists between the masculine and feminine. Subsequently, masculinity was shown to be preferred to femininity in international relations and war, through a discussion of theoretical issues central to the discipline from a classical realist perspective. Masculinity's association with war and violence followed. How gendered language was used to legitimise engagement in war and to create an "Other" in the enemy was also discussed. These concepts and theoretical positions seen here are what directs this work, and what will be relied upon in the analytical chapters that follow. The next chapter, however, discusses the methodology used to answer the research question that guides this work: "did Canada engage in a gendered discourse in the 'War on Terror'?" It also provides an account of the work that has been done that analyses discourse on the "War on Terror".

CHAPTER 3:

LITERATURE REVIEW

This study examines whether Canada's engagement in the "War on Terror" relied on gendered discourses, in order to gain support for war and to "other" its enemy. The theoretical foundation of this work was established in the previous chapter, with a discussion of feminists' engagement in IR and regarding various concepts that relate to this study. The following chapter begins with a brief description of the methodology used in this study. The bulk of this chapter, however, is a literature review of the works that have undertaken a discourse analysis of the "War on Terror". It is found that the existing literature does not adequately address the research question of this thesis. Rather, the studies which have undertaken an analysis of the discourse of the "War on Terror" focus on other themes. These themes include the influence of globalisation and the "New World Order" on the discourse of the war; evidence of orientalist and imperialist sentiments; how religion is represented and discussed vis-à-vis the "War on Terror"; and how the media portrays the war and terrorists. Comparative studies will also be discussed. It must be noted, however, that many of these themes intersect with one another. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the works that have considered Canada's discourse on the "War on Terror" from a gendered perspective. It is found that while a host of work has been done on the rhetoric of the "War on Terror", very few engage with the concept of gender and even fewer engage with Canada as their central subject of study.

3.1 Methodology

Discourse analysis is a method of social inquiry, and is the methodology used in this study. Michel Foucault defines discourse as the collection of related statements which produces our reality (1972). Inherent in discourse are assumptions about reality, which have historically gone unquestioned. It is at once how we describe what we know, and a sign of what we assume we know. Language is a constitutive part of social life, supporting the idea that social research can be based on the analysis of language (Nabers 2009, 193). Discourse analysis is an approach that is concerned with understanding the ways we form political communities or coherent social identities, with a particular focus on the "antagonisms" that demarcate the inside and outside of these communities (Moses 2010, 31). Such an approach recognises the way in which language can be strategically used to create and perpetuate power dynamics. This study is approached from a post-structural view, which contends that social reality is discursively created and that power and relationships are created and maintained through discourse. As Norman Fairclough argues, discourse is a social act which is in no way neutral, but is rather political and guides people's understanding of their position in society and certain types of actions they can undertake (2001). Postulations, created from discourse, come to be understood as common-sense or natural and as such perpetuate power dynamics (Fairclough 2001, 64). In this sense discourse seeks to establish and sustain hegemony over particular concepts, subjects, and identities by naturalising certain modes of thinking (Nabers 2009, 192). The discourse analysis of Canada's engagement in the "War on Terror" done in this work pays particular attention to the ways rhetoric assigns value to concepts, identities and subjects associated with masculinity as opposed to femininity. As such, this discourse analysis

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will be concerned with gender and gendered language. In order to assess Canada's engagement with a gendered discourse on the "War on Terror", the Federal Government's Debates will be analysed. Hansard is the official and complete report of proceedings in Canada's House of Commons. Such a source offers access to verbatim statements between Members of Parliament, as well as speeches from Members of Parliament. The first week of sittings, following the attacks of 9/11 will be examined[4].

The analysis considers the discourse of the House of Commons as a whole, and does not consider trends among specific groups based on gender, age, class or political orientation. It is not because these variables are insignificant, or would not offer contribution to the discussion at hand. Admittedly, engaging with this discussion across various groups would offer further insight in the question of gendered discourses as it relates to war. Rather, this study is concerned with the culture of the House of Commons, as a whole. While debates and differences may exist between certain identity groups, it is the dominant message that is the concern of this work. Fundamentally, comparing identity groups draws on another research question than the one at hand. The latter asks who are more likely to engage in gender discourses as it relates to war, whereas the purpose of this work is to assess whether gendered discourse took place at all. It would appear more logical to examine differences between individual uses of gendered discourse based on sex, race, political affiliation as that gendered discourse has been proven to exist in the first place.

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[4] They can be found in the 137th volume of Hansard, Number 79-083, of the 1st session of the 37th Parliament. The text is found on pages 5115 – 5456

3.2 Literature Review

Considerable literature has been written on the discourse on the "War on Terror" and will be discussed in this section. Several approaches and themes emerge from the collection of works that analyse discourse on the "War on Terror". The first group of works that will be discussed is those that analyse discourse of the "War on Terror" in the context of the "New World Order" or globalisation. This will be followed by the group of works that consider the concepts of orientalism and imperialism, as it relates to the "War on Terror". Afterwards, works that engage in media analysis of the war will be considered. This will be followed by those works that discuss how religion intersects with the "War on Terror". Finally, those works that undertake a comparative study of discourses will be discussed. While there is a wide range of approaches and foci, what is evident is that little discourse analysis has been undertaken on Canada's involvement in the "War on Terror", especially from a gendered perspective. Rather, and understandably, a majority of the focus is on the United States.

3.2.1. On globalisation and the "New World Order"

Some scholarship which examines the discourse of the "War on Terror" argues that such studies must be done by taking into account the world order in which it takes place: the globalised world. Scholars such as Mikkel Vedby Rasmussen (2002), Jeremy Moses (2010) Anita Lazar and Michelle M. Lazar (2004) view the "New World Order", or post-Cold War world, as defined by globalisation. Globalisation, according to Ulrich Beck, refers to the process that produces a "world horizon and breaks down the categories of the national state that used to define the political economic and social world" (2000, 1). This

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"New World Order" is at once the result of the end of the Cold-War, whereby the United States can no longer define itself in contrast to the Soviet "Other"; the desire of the United States to maintain its super-power status in the face of economic competition; and finally, the emergence of new-threats such as terrorism (Lazar & Lazar 2004, 225). Thus, the "War on Terror" presented Americans with the opportunity to reassert their position of power, both militarily and economically. A particular component of this "New World Order", which is evident in discourse on the "War on Terror", is the re-conceptualisation of borders, where nations were urged to come together to fight a threat that permeated borders. While terrorism is in certain cases state-sponsored, discourse about terrorism showed a shift about threats being now non-state actors, as opposed to state actors (Lazar & Lazar 2004, 226). Terrorists can be difficult to track and locate: some live underground, operating with sub-groups in multiple states, and engage in plots via the virtual world, among other ways. This meant too that counter-terrorism had to take into account the lack of geographic locality. Because globalisation was the only way to explain why Westerners were vulnerable to terrorism, Western security policy, following the events of 9/11 was conceived in terms of globalisation (Rasmussen, 2002). This re-conception of security studies was because of the reflexive nature of security policy. While the dark side of globalisation, terrorism, came to light prior to the attacks of 9/11, that attacks on the United States prompted a re-evaluation of security strategies across the Western world.

Lazar & Lazar find that this "New World Order of Globalization" is founded upon a moral order, which is defined and led by the United States. The claim to moral superiority is dependent on the construction of the deviant "Other", which Foucault

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argues justifies the removal of that threat (Foucault, 1972). It is that deviant "Other", or rather the enemy, who in the "New World Order" discourse is guilty of violating one of globalisations most prized values: freedom. Lazar & Lazar suggest that the discursive meaning of freedom, in the context of the "War on Terror", is a very particular "politico-economic ideology of Western capitalist liberal democracy" (2004, 228). Central in discussions about freedom is the claim that this notion of freedom is the most virtuous and dignified, resulting in the universalisation and normalisation of these values. Thus, the American-defined "freedom", which is supposed to be globally embraced, has been contrasted to the values, or lack thereof, of the enemy. The attack on one of the core values of the "New World Order" and the enemy's "expulsion from the established moral order" legitimises violent engagement as being urgent (Lazar & Lazar 2004, 299). Rasmussen argues that creating a dichotomy between the bright side of globalisation, associated with West, versus the dark side of the forces with the terrorists was also instrumental in this regard (2002, 334). These differentiations also served to encourage a global fight against terrorism, perpetuating the notion that you are with the righteous or with the terrorists.

Rasmussen takes a more concrete approach to the analysis of "War on Terror" discourse, as it relates to globalisation. He suggests that perhaps the attacks of 9/11 on the World Trade Centre's Twin Towers were in fact an attack on globalisation itself, because the towers represented global economic interdependence and perhaps an uneven distribution of wealth (2002). Thus, violating the monuments representative of the globalised world highlighted the vulnerability of the very essence of the "New World Order". In Moses' comparison of liberal discourse between Bush and Blair, he found that

both leaders routinely opposed those who rejected the "New World Order", the "inevitability of global change", and the "necessity to participate in global markets (2010, 32-33).

Globalisation also transformed the meaning of security and threats, and the way they were talked about. In the globalised world, the threat of terrorism is the unknown, particularly where weapons are concerned. This is in contrast to the more predictable threat of the Cold-War era. The unknown nature of terrorism and its weapons is evident by modern security rhetoric which focuses on proliferation of technology, know-how and the personnel of the West's enemies (Rasmussen 2002, 332). Proliferation of technology and know-how are thought by some scholars to be the reason states are losing control of their sovereignty, and thus security (Sassen1996). Yet Rasmussen reminds us that it is precisely the proliferation and networks that propels the function of economic and social globalisation. In critiquing contrast to the common rhetoric that capitalist propaganda accompanies the "War on Terror" Graham and Luke (2005) argue that political language about the war on Iraq reflects neo-feudal corporatism. Corporatism, especially where propaganda and training are concerned, is a means of elite control designed to "remove the need for personal responsibility, entrepreneurship and civic choice and to replace it with loyalty, secrecy and bondage" (Graham & Luke 2005, 35).

As has been seen thus far, considerable work has been done with respect to the discourse of the "War on Terror" in the context of the "New World Order" and globalisation. Yet none of the works discussed here concentrate primarily on Canada, as a focus of study. Of greater importance however, gender is not factored into these studies. Nevertheless, the aforementioned papers' discussion of the "New World Order"

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and globalisation possess similar findings to those of this work. As will be seen in subsequent chapters, particularly in chapter 4, there is much concern expressed about the newness of terrorists' threats and strategies as they relate to security, although terrorism did not begin with 9/11. This is especially true with respect to terrorism's resources and networks. Additionally, the theme of globalisation is found through the House of Common's concern that terrorism knows no nationality or borders. Finally, values of freedom and rights will be seen to be used strategically by Canadian Members of Parliament, in order to "Other" the terrorists. The use of these values in contrast to those of the terrorists was also found in other works, which considered orientalism and "othering" in the discourse in the "War on Terror".

3.2.2 On Orientalism

Much academic literature which examines discourse on the "War on Terror" references Edward Said's concept of orientalism or orientalisation. The concept of orientalism suggests that Arabs, or the Eastern world, have historically been defined as backward, uncivilised and inferior in contrast to the civilised, advanced and superior Western world (Said, 1978). Lazar & Lazar's discussion of the United States' strategy for maintaining moral supremacy in the "New World Order" argues that the construction of the "Other" was under-taken by relying on the stereotypes about non-Westerners, in contrast to the West, in order to claim superiority and gain the legitimacy to engage in violence (2004, 234). In the historical location of Bush's call to arms, Graham, Keenan and Dowd find too that there is a construction of a thoroughly evil "Other" (2004). Silberstein (2002), Jackson (2007), Brassett (2008) and Kassimeris & Jackson (2011) also note the

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construction of dichotomous identities, compatible with the orientalist concept, whereby "freedom" is associated with the goodness of the West in contrast to "oppression", which is used to characterise the evilness of Arabs. Joanne Esch (2010) defines this as one of the two political myths that lie at the heart of America's political culture: *Civilization vs. Barbarism* where American national identity exists in contrast to an evil "Other".

The "Other" is perhaps one of the most common themes that link together the literature on discourse with the literature on the "War on Terror". The "Other" is a "constitutive outsider" upon which political power and hegemony is built, whereby "discursive formations establish limits by means of excluding a radical "Otherness" that has no common measure with the differential system from which it is excluded, and therefore poses a constant threat to a very system" (Moses 2010; Laclau 1995). When the "outside" or "Other" is constructed as antagonistic it secures the nation's identity by building on its anxieties and fears (Nabers 2009, 210). The Bush Administration engaged in antagonistic portrayals of the "outsiders" by using dichotomous language (Nabers, 2009). Linguists and anthropologists have noted that language has a binary structure, where almost every noun, adjective, and verb has a direct opposite and one term has a positive connotation while the other does not (Esch 2010, 370). Esch argues that by utilising words with clear opposites, the United States has created its identity as a civilized nation, in contrast to the barbaric "Other": the terrorist. This serves to support Samuel Huntington's Clash of Civilizations (1998), where the Western world is defined in opposition to a violent barbaric east, and the latter concept of Orientalism, as defined by Edward Said (1978). While the works reviewed here find significant instances of orientalist "othering", they fail to consider the gendered implications of this practice.

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Inherent in "othering", orientalism, and the "Clash of Civilizations" thesis are hierarchical relationships which rely on the superiority of one and the simultaneous demeaning of another. This can be otherwise understood as a gendered relationship, where the superior party is associated with masculinity and the inferior party is associated with femininity. This thesis, in its analysis of Canada's rhetoric post 9/11, finds significant use of gendered language in the "othering" of terrorists à -la "Clash of Civilizations". The act of demeaning the "Other", through orientalist discourse, lays the foundation for the next theme found in the literature on the "War on Terror" rhetoric: imperialism.

3.2.3 On Imperialism

Eurocentrism is the concept which Kassimeris and Jackson, use to describe the media discourse of the "War on Terror". Eurocentrism is a mode of thinking that privileges the European or Western experience above all others, and relies on two assumptions: universality and superiority (Kassimeris & Jackson 2011, 19). A Eurocentric discourse positions the West as a "teaching civilisation vis-à-vis other cultures and is deeply connected with colonialist thinking and the 'White Man's Burden'" (Kassimeris & Jackson 2011, 19). The "White Man's Burden", the title of a poem by Rudyard Kipling, was the idea that it was the West's duty, by virtue of its superiority, to rule developing nations. This duty was thought to be to the benefit of those developing nations, and was represented as a sacrifice on the part of Western nations. Sayyid's *Fundamental Fear* (2008) suggests that the West is insecure about its position as the "model of human progress in the globalised world", and as such engages in Eurocentric discourses in order to reassert its position. Islam is considered to be the most significant threat to the West's

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project, because it does not embrace Western universalism. In their analysis of media representations of the "War on Terror", Kassimeris and Jackson find that Muslim's are often depicted as "provocative" and "dangerous", however "good" Muslims do exist and are recognised as important resources to be "won over", aided and guided by the West (2011, 27). In other words, certain Muslims, the "good ones", can be taught to embrace the universal principles of morality, as defined by the West. They are the Muslims who are not fundamentalist or extreme, but rather those Muslims who believe in a separation of church and state.

Rasmussen's discussion of globalisation and terror suggests that the vulnerability of the globalised world, as evident by terrorism, is a call for the "Leviathan to restore security and belief in the world and in their (the American) ontology" (2002, 337). He argues that the United States took on the Hobbesian script in its unquestioned commitment to combat terrorism, on behalf of "civilisation". And while the United States' discourse in the context of globalisation stressed a united West, Bush was sure to assert his leadership role in the mission to counter terrorism, even if other states opposed it. Thus, the US' discourse declared that it had a "special responsibility because of its capabilities, but it was also especially vulnerable because it was the centre of civilisation, and because it had the power to hold the centre" (Rasmussen 2002, 339). Moses' comparative text on Bush's and Blair's international discourse on the use of force suggests that the British Prime Minister also engaged in imperialist rhetoric when he noted his nation's capacity to take a leadership role in the spread of "our values", meaning Western ones. Blair's position, which was grounded in just war theory, Moses argues, was always "concerned with producing moral exceptions to the moral or legal

prohibition on aggressive war" (2010, 37). Thus the colonial project of spreading values

was used to justify war, which was ironically and supposedly contrary to the West's

values. Joanne Esch, who discusses the myths of American political culture, calls this

"American exceptionalism", which consists of three ideas: that America is a chosen

nation, that America has a calling or mission and in answering that calling, and that

America represents the forces of good against evil (2010, 366). Evidence of imperialism

in the literature on the discourse on the "War on Terror" offers interesting insights. Yet

similar to the works that consider orientalist sentiments in the "War on Terror" discourse,

the works that analyse the imperial nature of rhetoric on this war do not engage in a

discussion of gender as it relates to their primary theme. Fundamental to the practice of

colonialism is the presumption of superiority and the exercise of dominance over a

subordinate, suggesting a gendered dynamic.

3.2.4 On Religion

Superiority was also declared with respect to the proper expression of religion. Appeals

to legitimate power often involve claims to higher sources of power. This is typically the

ultimate moral force within a society and is represented in discourse (Graham et al. 2004,

204). With respect to discourses on the "War on Terror", scholarship reveals that appeals

to God have often been made in an attempt to legitimise counter-terrorism missions.

Graham et al argues that Bush's call to arms speech, in response to the attacks on 9/11,

made claims to nationalistic sentiments by relying on the *faith* of and in the nation (2004,

208). Conversely, American discourse on Islam tends to condemn Muslim's commitment

to their faith for being extreme. This sentiment echoes the one found in imperialist

rhetoric, as seen above. The "good" Muslim/"bad" Muslim binary is reinforced by discourse that associates the "bad" Muslim with those who express their faith, whereas the "good" Muslim is silent and accepts whatever the West imposes on him/her (Kassimeris & Jackson 2011, 28). In other words, the ideal expression of religion is one that is moderate, not extreme. Furthermore, in the same study finds that the essentialist Muslim society is defined as being anti-Christian, or intolerant, which becomes an explanation for violence (Kassimeris & Jackson 2011, 28).

3.2.5 On Media

Much of the academic literature which concentrates on the "War on Terror" discourse focuses on media portrayals. Lilie Chouliaraki's work examines how television mediates the events of 9/11, arguing that articulations of different space-times (here/there, before/after) provide insights into the ways the mediation of the event moralises the spectator, or rather shapes the ethical relationship between the spectator and spectacle thus promoting certain dispositions to political reaction (2004, 186). This is because proximity in time and space affects the level of responsibility for the spectator. In other words, the closer in time and space the spectator is to the spectacle, the more likely the spectator will feel obliged to take part in that spectacle. American media is found in the academic literature to position itself at the centre of the events, in order to highlight its position of the sufferer, thus provoking sympathy from spectators (Chouliaraki 2004). Work, such as Chouliaraki's, undertakes a dual analytical perspective, whereby both visual and verbal meanings of television media are examined. Television is instrumental in increasing the proximity between the spectator and the suffering. Kassimeris &

Jackson on the other hand undertake an analysis of print media of *The Weekly Standard*, an online, American, neo-conservative magazine. Chris Paterson (2005) also examines print media through an analysis of US based media, post 9/11, which shows strategies of silencing media messages that are anti-US in sentiment (2005). For instance, offices such as the Office of Global Communication in the White House, the Office of Strategic Influence in the Pentagon were created to manage and plant propaganda, if necessary (Paterson 2005, 54). *The New York Times* was reported to have encouraged its journalist to hype the threat of Iraqi weapons, and some journalists for foreign presses reported harassment by US officials and were subsequently deported from the US (Paterson 2005, 54). The aforementioned study offers a concrete examination of rhetoric and messaging as a propaganda tool. This argument is given further weight by Falcous & Silk's piece which uses Herman and Chomsky's "propaganda model" to show that news media was at the forefront of support for the Bush Administration and its political allies (2005, 60).

Analysis of the US' media continues with J. Hogan's study which analyses letters to the editors in the 12 months following the attacks of 9/11, published in *The New York Times, The Times of London* and the *Australian*. The purpose was to examine the extent to which the anti-terrorist policies embraced by each state were supported by their respective citizens, as indicated in the letters to the editor. Letters to the editor offered Hogan unique insights because they are at once controlled by the editor and as such have the potential for powerful groups to "co-opt, neutralise or refashion popular perceptions in ways that serve their own interests", yet they are written by private citizens who are not agents of the state or other elite institutions (2006, 65). While support for their respective states' anti-terrorist policies are more or less the same, US & UK letters to the editors

demonstrated more state support, in contrast to those in Australia (Hogan 2006, 79). Lockett John, Domke, Coe and Graham's piece (2007) also focuses on the United States' press. They argue that the press is used as a political tool, and in the US' case the press was used to garner support for Homeland Security and counter-terrorism policies. This was done by relying on three themes, which were found both in the President's communication and in the media: emphasis on the events of September 11th, exaggeration of external threats to America's safety, and a stressing of the threats against evil (Locket John et. al, 2007).

As seen above, while there were quite a few studies that examined media coverage of the "War on Terror", if considered at all, Canada was never the sole or primary focus of the study. However, examination of Canada's print media is found in Yasmin Jiwani's (2005) work, where she undertakes an analysis of *The Gazette*, a Montreal English daily, and *The Globe and Mail,* one of Canada's national newspapers. These choices offer at once a national perspective as well as a regional one, which reflects the English speaking minority in Quebec. Jiwani finds that Canada was in a tricky situation because it had to reconcile the values of multiculturalism, benevolence and tolerance with the fact that Muslims were being subjected to hate crimes due to perceived affiliation with terrorism (Jiwani 2005, 16). While Jiwani's study does place Canada at centre stage, the focus is not on the presence of a gendered discourse.

3.2.6 Comparative Studies

While most of the academic literature on the discourse of the "War on Terror" focuses on the United States, there is a collection of work that studies other countries, either in

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comparison to the US or on their own. Jeremy Moses' work analyses the shared values and liberal discourses that drew Tony Blair, then Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and President of the United States George W. Bush's foreign policies together (2010). Drawing on Michael C. Desch's position that liberal discourse is always, and necessarily, accompanied by an aggressive and expansionist foreign policy, Moses argues that the justification and promotion of violence followed a similar and familiar pattern in the foreign policy doctrines of both leaders (2010, 27). In other words, Moses argues that the justification for military involvement was found in liberal values, such as globalisation, humanitarianism, and democracy. Such an approach, as discussed by other scholars (Kassimeris & Jackson 2011; Silberstein 2002; Jackson 2007), served to create dichotomies of "good versus evil", at the same time this approach universalised conceptions of human rights, freedom and democracy (Esch 2010). What is interesting here, and has been noted by other scholars as well as by Esch, is the way rights are manipulated to legitimise the US's engagement in violent retaliation (Kassimeris & Jackson 2011). These arguments are echoed by Johnson (2002) in his comparative discourse analysis of Bush and Blair's rhetoric post 9/11. Johnson argues that both leaders interpreted the attacks as a threat to their ways of life and freedoms, which legitimised retaliation and positioned the West as morally superior. And, Ghayda Al Ali (2011) compares Arab and Western media coverage of the "War on Terror". Al Ali argues that the tendency to stereotype Arabic culture, which is often found in Western media, results in a failure to see the different ideological divisions that exist within the Arab world.

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Additional studies consider states other than the United States as the foci of their study. The study on the framing of African migration in the context of a hegemonic global security discourse is the approach Cyril I. Obi (2010) takes in his study of discourses on the "War on Terror". Here he analyses the effects of post-9/11 security calculations, related to African migration in the globalised world, where threats are perceived by "illegal" or "irregular" human mobility (Obi 2010). He talks critically about globalisation, and how it has affected securitisation discourses, especially towards "third world" regions. To him the "borderless" globalised world is not equally accessible, due largely to rhetoric and discourse that aims to keep stable, prosperous regions unchanged. This too has links to those works that suggest some form of orientalism is at work in the discourse of the "War on Terror". Similarly Lilie Chouliaraki's (2004) examination of television's impact on the relationship between the viewer and the sufferers takes Danish television as the focus of her study. Neil Renwick's (2007) piece critiques the discourse on the "War on Terror" in Southeast Asia, arguing that depictions of Islam have been stereotyped. Certain works have compared state-to-state relationships as they relate to the "War on Terror". Chris Paterson's (2005) analysis of global media compares American news media with non-US based ones, finding that US media is compliant to Bush's policy choices post 9/11, whereas non-US media is more critical. Dirk Nabers (2006) compares the relationships between the United States and Japan with the relationship between the United States and Germany. Nabers questions how collective action was or was not possible in the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Discourse analysis is used to unearth the underlying ideas, norms and identities that link the culture of the international system and degree of collective international action.

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3.2.7 On Gender

Of the discourse analyses of the "War on Terror" which are approached using a gendered perspective, most of them focus on the United States as the subject of study. These studies contribute to the discussion of scholars that debate feminist security theory, masculinity and war, and feminist engagement in IR theory (Basch 2004; Blanchard 2003; Cohn & Enloe 2003; Delehanty & Steele 2009; Detraz 2009; Fukuda-Parr 2004; Hutchings 2008; Tickner 2004). Jan Jindy Pettman (2003) offers a more theoretical critique of IR by using the events of 9/11 to suggest that gender has been a crucial component of the reactions and relations of the "War on Terror". She argues that gender plays a crucial part in the making and reproduction of identities and war, particularly where foreign policy options are concerned (Pettman 2003). This is supported by Julie Drew's (2004) work whose analyses of American public discourse shows a gendered national identity, which is associated with physical strength and a violent punitive response to conflict – qualities that are associated with masculinity (2004). On the other hand, feminine qualities such as peace and cooperation are discouraged, as evident in the responses to the attacks of 9/11 (Pettman 2003; Drew 2004; Charlesworth & Chinkin 2002). Ann Tickner offers a more concrete critique of the gendered discourse post 9/11, arguing that the rhetoric that reinforces men's association with war and national security reinforces male dominance in world politics, while creating a barrier to women (2002). Tickner is critical of women's perpetual association with victimhood, which serves to enforce women's exclusion from international politics, and suggests that gender oppression should be challenged. Hilary Charlesworth and Christine Chinkin (2002) are also critical of women's association with victimhood in their piece which examines the

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representation of women and manipulations of gender in the media post 9/11. They find that women are invisible in the accounts of 9/11, except as victims alongside men (Charlesworth & Chinkin 2002, 600).

A significant amount of gendered discourse analysis of the "War on Terror" focuses on the representations of female soldiers in the media, namely that of Jessica Lynch (Holland 2006; Howard & Prividera 2004; Sjoberg 2007; Takacs 2005). Private Lynch was captured by the Iraqis and then recaptured by the American military, for which she served. What is found in these studies is that women soldiers have their military identity and feminine identity separated from each other in order to reproduce traditional patriarchal roles for females and males, upon which the military is founded. In order to legitimise military presence, the army needs someone to protect, and this is typically found in the construction of the feminine victim (Holland 2006; Howard & Prividera 2004; Sjoberg 2007; Takacs 2005). Thus, women who are a part of the military must still be presented as though they need saving and as though they are civilians. These scholars argue that Jessica Lynch was given disproportionate attention because she fits an ideal type of femininity, against which her military identity could be separated. A significant amount of the media coverage on the Jessica Lynch case focused on her petite stature, blond hair, and nurturing ability (Holland 2006; Howard & Prividera 2004; Sjoberg 2007; Takacs 2005). Representations of Jessica Lynch have been contrasted to the coverage of the human rights abuses at Abu Ghraib by the American Army. Three women were involved in the abuses at Abu Ghraib, but significantly less media coverage focused on the lives of these women (Enloe 2007; Sjoberg 2007). Some coverage even went so far as to say that these women's involvement in the human rights abuses were because of the

violent masculine influences of the army, and in doing so removed agency from these female soldiers. What comes out of these studies is that an ideal female solider is created in the media in order to uphold the masculine, patriarchal structure of the army.

While Kassimeris & Jackson's analysis of print media does not focus on gendered constructions or discourse explicitly there is a small section is their work entitled "Macho Muslims and feminised Americans" (2004, 26-27). The discussion, which lasts for about a page, argues that the neo-conservative magazine they analyse, which is said to influence American policy, creates a binary of "active, macho Muslims versus the passive, feminised West, which serves to paint a terrifying picture of what could be lost should an aggressive policy not be pursued following the attacks" (Kassimeris & Jackson). In other words, it is the feminine policies of the U.S. prior to the attacks of 9/11 that opened the way for its sovereignty to be violated. The proper response, as prescribed by this neo-conservative magazine, is one that matches the masculinity of the Muslim opposition. Maryam Khalid's work on the other hand offers a critique of both the orientalist and gendered representations that have been central to the "War on Terror" where the aforementioned concepts are combined to be known as "gendered orientalism" (2011). Khalid builds on a range of binaries, as previously discussed, which serve to create an "Other" in the enemies in the East which have perpetuated and normalised assumptions about gender and race. The nature of gendered orientalism is that "Others" are constructed hierarchically according to gender: "Other" women are constructed as being in need of salvation and "Other" men are demonised, feminised and dehumanised (Khalid 2011, 27). Khalid is especially critical of the appeals made to women's rights in Western discourses, as being a motivation for retaliation. While both the aforementioned studies

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offer insightful contributions to the literature, they both focus on the United States as the subject of study.

3.2.8 On Canada

The majority of discourse analysis studies on the "War on Terror" considers the United States as the primary focal point for analysis. However, there are studies that take Canada as the primary subject of inquiry. Colleen Bell investigates how Canada's national security policy is mobilised through discourses and administrative practices that "take elusive risks to the freedom, health and safety of the population as an opportunity for action, and is made possible through a generalised expansion of surveillance" (2006, 149). Bell uses the Foucauldian understanding that modern society is marked by a bio-power, a mechanism of power that is concerned with the management of biological life which blurs the line between the state as a military power and the state as a manager of citizenship (2006, 147). Bell argues that the post 9/11 security, through surveillance rhetoric, undermines freedoms, equality and democracy when faced with imminent dangers. Jean-Christophe Boucher (2009) examines how Canadian governments have sold Canada's presence in Afghanistan between 2001 and 2008. By examining the quality and content of the three leaders during that time (Jean Chrétien, Paul Martin and Stephen Harper), Boucher finds that there are inconsistencies in the messages of successive governments on Afghanistan. Three rationales have been put forth to justify Canada's presence in Afghanistan: to protect national interests and ideals, altruism, and that it ties Canada to the international community. The inconsistency in the messages

about Canada's presence in Afghanistan has contributed to a confused sense of national identity (Boucher, 2009).

Of the works that study Canada's discourse of the "War on Terror", Yasmin Jiwani's piece entitled "'War Talk' Engendering Terror: race, gender and representation in Canadian Print Media" examines its rhetoric from a gendered perspective. In her examination of two Canadian dailies: *The Globe and Mail* and *The Gazette*, she finds that much of the media in the days following the attacks of 9/11 stresses the connections between New York City and Canada (2005). More importantly however, Jiwani finds that media accounts of the "War on Terror" associates George Bush as "the Crusader incarnate against the evil infidel Osama bin Laden" where Bush was portrayed as the masculine hero of the "New World Order", while bin Laden was feminised (2005, 17). This gendered dichotomy justified bin Laden's conquest. Gender was also found to be manipulated whereby Afghan women were portrayed as victims, oppressed by the barbarians and in need of saving from the civilised West. Perhaps one of Jiwani's most poignant points is that while Afghan women were portrayed as victims to Islamic practices and savage Muslim men, they were also urged by the West to "stay indoors and not appear in their hijabs (headscarves)" (2005, 18). What this served to do, Jiwani argues, was to relegate Muslim women to the private sphere of the home, an isolation mechanism that Muslim men were condemned for enforcing on their women (2005). What happens is a "gendering of terror", whereby the threat of violence and retaliation forces women and men "to refrain from being seen and from occupying space as legitimate citizens" (Jawani 2005, 18). Evidence of imperial feminism, or colonial feminism, that serves the interests of white women at the expense of minorities, was also

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found by Jiwani in the Canadian press. She finds that this is especially evident when female reporters wrote about the hijab as a symbol of oppression, without having interviewed Muslim women to see how they felt about the garment (Jawani 2005, 19). It does become clear that there is a lack of studies dealing with Canada's discourse on the "War on Terror" from a gendered perspective.

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter has examined academic literature which undertook a discourse analysis of the "War on Terror". It was found that while a host of work is being done in this area, and from a variety of approaches and perspectives, very few have engaged with Canada and gender simultaneously. The themes that have been focused on, with respect to discourse on the "War on Terror", range from the influence of globalisation and the "New World Order", to orientalism and imperialism. Additional studies considered how religion was represented in the discourse, while others analysed media portrayals of the "War on Terror". Finally certain works undertook comparative studies, particularly comparisons of different states' rhetoric. The chapter concluded with a discussion of the pieces that do analyse the discourse of the "War on Terror" from a gendered perspective. While these critical feminist IR theorists have made significant contributions to the discipline, as have all of the scholars discussed here, very little work has considered Canada's use of gendered language where the "War on Terror" is concerned. The review of the literature on discourse on the "War on Terror" demonstrates a gap, which this thesis aims to fill. The subsequent chapters will deal with the three sub-questions, which will answer the main research question, in turn. The following chapter, chapter four, will

deal with the first sub-question: "did Canada's rhetoric of security employ and rely on

constructions of masculinity?

CHAPTER 4:

CANADA ON SECURITY

"The place to start is with one stark and simple fact. Our world changed profoundly Tuesday morning. People and places that once felt secure, now feel exposed. Systems of protection and prevention, which on Monday night seemed adequate, were proven Tuesday to be brutally inadequate. We must rebuild that sense of security."

(Clark 2001, 5124)

On September 11th, 2001 the world's greatest power and investor in military might was attacked on its own soil. The event provoked an immediate re-evaluation of national security and safety among countries around the world. The study at hand attempts to answer the question: "was Canada's discourse on the "War on Terror", post 9/11, gendered?" As outlined in the introduction, the aforementioned question will be answered by addressing three sub questions: "did Canada's rhetoric of security rely on masculinities; did Canada's approach to international conflict resolution prioritise violence over peaceful negotiations by relying on gendered constructions of these policy options; and did Canada "other" or feminise the enemy, in order to acquire political support for war?" While these sub-questions often overlap, they will be dealt with in separate chapters. The chapter at hand considers the first sub-question which relates to Canada's rhetoric on security. This works analyses the discourse in the House of

Commons Debates in the week following the attacks of 9/11[5]. The following chapter is divided into three sections. The first deals with Canada's discourse surrounding its relationship with the United States, and consequent obligation to fight with their allies against terrorism. The second section considers discourse suggesting that the events of 9/11 had changed the world forever, and as a result security strategies needed to be re-conceptualised. The final section discusses Canada's rhetoric on security policies and resources, much of which speaks to the inadequacies in these departments. Use of gendered language is found through appeals to an obligation and duty to protect the values and freedoms of Canada and the rest of the "free world". This obligation would be met by engaging in the "War on Terror", yet it would be characterised by hegemonic masculinity. These discourses perpetuated the superiority of masculine behaviours and approaches in the face of conflict.

As discussed in previous chapters, gender refers not to biological differences between male and female, but rather the psychological and emotional dispositions *thought* to be essentially male and female. Thus, gendered expectations define socially acceptable behaviour and relationships of power. Critical feminists argue that these relationships and behaviours are produced and reproduced by normative concepts in the form of dichotomies, which assert the meaning of masculinity and femininity. A Western understanding of gender binaries includes but is not limited to: "public versus private"; "objective versus subjective"; "reason versus emotion"; "autonomy versus relatedness" (Delehanty & Steele 2009; Howard & Prividera 2004, 90; Parpart & Zalewski 2008;

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[5] While the terrorist attacks on the United States took place on September 11th, 2001, the House of Commons resumed sitting on the 17th of September, 2001. The study at hand analyses the first week of sittings, from September 17th to September 21st, 2001.

Tickner 1992, 8). These gendered symbols credit higher value to the term associated with masculinity, by both men and women (Sjoberg 2010, 3). Gendered symbols, or binaries, offer insight into the social value ascribed to masculinity versus femininity. It follows that having control over one's political and social environment and the ability to pursue one's interest requires the rationality, autonomy, power, agency and strength associated with masculinity (Peterson and Sisson Runyan 1993: 22–23; Tickner 1995, 56–57; Delehanty & Steele 2009, 529) and the rejection of the a-political qualities associated with femininity such as weakness, passivity, naiveté, irrationality, and gentleness (Peterson & Sisson Runyan 1991,22; Delehanty & Steele 2009, 529). While a majority of feminists argue that these essentialist qualities are not an accurate reflection of the personalities of male and female, this hierarchy of "being" serves to reinforce the notion that the state must protect the weaker and more dependent group. Canada's discourse post 9/11 embraces an identity that is best associated with masculinity, central to which is its responsibility to protect the vulnerable and dependent.

4.1 Canada to the Rescue

Central to Canada's discourse in the week following the attacks of 9/11 on the United States was that Canada had a responsibility, duty and obligation to act. This action-oriented response was gendered such that it would be strong and assertive: Canada would not back down, but would instead face the "insidious fear" alongside the United States. Such rhetoric depicts an image of a country that will assertively stand up for their allies, as opposed to one that remains passively on the sidelines or succumbs to fear. More than that was the overwhelming message that the United States and the world was depending

on Canada to fight terrorism. In doing so, Canada positioned itself as a saviour or protector along gendered lines. The saviour or protector can be otherwise understood through "the position of male head of household as protector of the family and by extension, masculine leaders and risk takers as protectors of a population" (Gutterman & Regan 2007, 118). Specific to this context, Canada's discourse surrounding the responsibility to come to the aid of the United States is founded on the notion that Canada needed to come to the rescue of the weakened, vulnerable, superpower. The attacks of 9/11 had threatened the strength, power and autonomy of the United States. The responsibility to protect and to support in this context relied on appeals to Canada's hegemonic masculinity: authority and power and simultaneous vulnerability of the United States, such that Canada's neighbour's needed help to defend themselves. The way the protector/protected distinction can be understood as Canada making claims to masculinity in contrast to the weakened masculinity of the United States. While the above dynamic can be understood as gendered in another, such as the feminine task of mothering, the responsibility and duty to protect was coupled with notions of friendship that resembled a brotherhood.

Canada was depended on because of the "special relationship" it had with the United States. This was the first theme identified in Canada's discourse in the House of Commons in the week following the attacks of 9/11. The United States was identified time and time again as Canada's "greatest ally" and "best friend" (Appendix A). Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's first speech in the House indicated the commitment that Canada would stand alongside the American's in its "War against Terrorism", because of this special relationship: "we will stand with the Americans as neighbours, as friends, as

family...we will stand with our allies...we will do what we must to defeat terrorism"

(Chrétien 2001, 5117). This was further supported by Stockwell Day, then leader of the

opposition, who echoed the Prime Minister's stance:

> Our hearts go out to all our brave neighbours in the United States, that
> great beacon of hope and freedom to the world, our greatest ally and our
> closest friend. When Canada has needed it in the past the United States has
> been there for us (Day 2001, 5118).

This sentiment was supported by numerous Members of Parliament, regardless of

political affiliation, as noted by the 115 references to the special friendship Canada had

with the United States. In doing so, Canada set the stage to garner support for engaging

in the "War on Terror". This is because, as a friend, one has a responsibility to lend a

hand:

> When our house is in flames we want our neighbours to come running
> with a bucket today, not a card of condolence tomorrow. When the roles
> are reversed and our friends yearn for our assistance, we must not be
> hallmark allies offering pity but little else (Pallister 2001, 5131).

Because of Canada's special friendship with the United States meant that Canada was

duty-bound to support the United States. This support needed to be more than a symbolic

one, it needed to be concrete support through *action*. Here rhetoric indicated an

obligation to act, and to take a strong, determined stand which relies primarily on a

masculine image of a country that does not sit back passively and let their friend deal with

its own mess. The commitment to support its neighbour with tangible resources, as seen

above, is in contrast to an emotional support more commonly associated with the

feminine disposition to nurture. Furthermore, the notion of showing friendship through

sending back-up and assistance, as opposed to softer notions of empathy (such as cards of

condolences) imply that this friendship resembles a brotherhood.

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Canada's obligation to act in support of its friend was further endorsed by references to their interdependence. Mention of this interdependence included that of economy and trade, travel, and security (Appendix A). The economic reliance Canada has on the United States was perhaps the most compelling argument to support the notion that Canada had an obligation to respond to the terrorist attacks was that "40 % of Canada's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was based on trade with the United States" (Fitzpatrick 2001, 5455). The economic prosperity Canada enjoyed was due to the trading relationship with the United States and was inextricably linked to the openness of the border that separates the two countries. The attacks of 9/11 put into question the openness of the Canada-US border, because 9/11 had demonstrated that the notion of security felt by the West was an illusion. Thus, Canada had a responsibility to remedy the conflict between free flow of trade and the security of its border:

> Our ties to our American friends and neighbours reflect the many shared
> values which we hold dear: freedom, democracy, respect for life and for
> the rule of law, to name but a few. We share with them a common border
> and the world's most important trading relationship. We are inextricably
> linked to the United States and we will continue to demonstrate our
> solidarity with our neighbours (Carroll 2001, 5401).

The inseparable links between Canada and the US' economy and security necessitated Canada's re-evaluation of its security policies. Mentions of interdependence were also used, as will be seen shortly, to suggest that Canada needed to show the United States that they would take a strong stance against terrorism and defend their perimeters. Indeed cooperation, which is required for and follows interdependence, is traditionally associated with femininity. And yet, this cooperative interdependence that necessitates Canada's support of the United States finds legitimacy in strategy and reason. Canada would stand

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alongside its allies because it's very security (economic, physical and ideological) required it. In this way, the gendered dynamics of interdependence are strategically located, such that masculinity triumphs. . Additionally, claims to Canada's security being tied to the security of the U.S. is found in the discourse, perhaps to incite fear in the Canadian people and to support the notion that greater resources need to be put into Canada's national defence program, as will be discussed later.

Canada's obligation to respond to the attacks of 9/11, and to reaffirm a sense of security for Canadians as well as North American's, was further encouraged through references to personal stories (Appendix A). In the week following the attacks of 9/11, Members of Parliament made frequent mention to family members who were lost, or who were supposed to be at the World Trade Centers that day:

> I still get goose bumps as I think of the long minutes I lived through when I thought my youngest son was a prisoner of that tower of death, the World Trade Center. He was to work there on the morning of September 11 (Lalonde 2001b, 5151).

> My youngest daughter works in the financial district of the city of New York. For almost an hour after the first terrorist attack, our family waited frantically for that phone call to say that she was safe. Mercifully for us that call came, but we can only imagine the pain and heartache of those families, those moms and dads, sons and daughters and grandparents for whom the calls never came (Manning 2001, 5183).

Appeals to personal stories serve to remind Canadians that this tragedy and breach of security could have just as easily happened to them and that victims of this attack could have been anyone. These references also appeal to one's humanity. Empathy is the result when one hears an account that is real, and can imagine experiencing that account themselves. Personal narratives also included references to Canadians that lost their lives in the attacks:

> The terrorist attacks on New York City particularly hit home for us with the death of 34 year old David Michael Barkway, formerly of Cornwall and a managing director at BMO Nesbitt Burns. David was a wonderful person, devoted to his family, friends and work. He was also partial to a good cigar, a cold Guinness and a round of golf. He will be missed by everyone who knew him (Kilger 2001, 5341).

Canada was tied to the United States because of trade and the border, but also because they shared loss of life on 9/11. As such, Canada was obliged to be a part of the response to terrorism. Moreover, Canada owed it to the victims and families of the victims to respond to the attacks. Again, Canada was needed. However, while standing alongside was supported for reasons of friendship, and strategic interest in maintaining an economic relationship, the above statement are appeals to morality. The human tendency for empathy is traditionally a feminine trait. Yet, perhaps in this context it refers to a different form of masculinity, one that is tied to a tender and civilised masculinity. It is a masculinity that will engage in the War on Terror in the name of the victims (Canadian and American), much like Enloe's Just Warrior selflessly engages in war in the name of innocents.

The special friendship Canada shared with the United States, their interdependent economies and safety, and the shared loss of life required that Canada respond to the attacks of 9/11. These arguments gave way to a fourth theme found in the discourse in the House of Commons: that the terrorist attacks were not just an attack on the US, but on Canada as well (Appendix A). The "War on Terror" would not be fought solely by Americans, because it was a Canadian concern as well:

> This is not just an American struggle, for the terrorist war is aimed not only at America nor is it being fought only in America. It is being fought throughout the world, including here in Canada. The suicide bombing of the World Trade Center is an attack on Canada as well. Terrorists have

declared war on the entire free world and the entire free world must
declare war on terrorism (Day 2001, 5118).

Assertions, such as these, indicating that the terrorists had attacked Canada as well, created further support for the notion that Canada would respond in solidarity with the United States. It also served to place Canadians on the defensive and to take ownership of a response. Thus, to sit back and passively accept an attack directed towards them was not appropriate. Rather, Canada would respond with action which was strong and resolute.

The claims that this was an attack on Canada as well as on the United States, was gendered by the frequent assertions that the attacks were an attack on the values of the entire free world (Appendix A). The attacks of 9/11 were directed towards all of humanity, and the principles it held dear:

> What is most troubling to me is that these were not simply acts of terrorism carried out against an individual nation. The attacks on the United States last week were an open declaration of war on all democracies worldwide. I would like to take a moment in the House, a symbol of Canadian freedom and democracy, to add my support to the government in taking resolute action against terrorism (Cadman 2001, 5265).

References to the values of democracy and freedom was perhaps the most prevalent theme in Canada's discourse on the "War on Terror", and arguably the most strategic use of discourse to secure support for joining the fight. Values and principles of justice, freedom and democracy are the foundation upon which the West defines itself, both in the discourse following 9/11 and otherwise. They are principles associated a hegemonic masculinity founded in "civilisation" and "enlightenment". Furthermore, a large part of the identity of the "free world" is the freedom and power enjoyed by women in these

regions. While references to these values will be further discussed in Chapter 5, it is worth noting here that the attacks of 9/11 were an extreme violation because they were directed at the core of the West's identity, the heart of its society. Discourses such as these were strategic in provoking a feeling of defence among Canadians, because their "essence" was no longer secure. This called for someone to defend that essence, and Canada would be a part of that. . Canada would be the saviour of the values its citizens held dearest. Furthermore, by staking claims to these values as being Canadian values, or values of the "free/civilised world", Canada was also claiming higher moral and cultural ground. Inherent in the messages that the attacks were affronts to democracy and freedom was the notion that the attackers saw no value in those concepts or ways of life. In doing so, the attacker was positioned as insufficiently male, or feminised, for not seeing value in, or living up, to said form of hegemonic masculinity.

Assertions that the attacks of 9/11 were really an attack on humanity as a whole or on "civilisation" serve to create a distinction between "us versus them", which is itself a gendered distinction based on masculine qualities such as reason and being civilised. That which is unlike the narrator is degraded for being different, creating hierarchies of identities. Although identity construction of the enemy, by way of gendered "othering", will be discussed in Chapter 6, this distinction functions to create a sense of belonging to a mission for the "greater good of all". Belonging to this mission for the greater good is a powerful recruiting tool for the "War on Terror" because it is based in claims to moral superiority. Not only would the mission benefit the West, but it would benefit those in the East:

> It is an attack on all peoples of the world who aspire to justice, freedom
> and democracy and especially those living under the yoke of tyrants and
> cranks, such as the people of Afghanistan, who face the totalitarian terror
> of the Taliban city (Duceppe 2001, 5121).

Intrinsic in statements such as these is the idea that those with virtuous values must defend them ferociously but also that they must spread them to those "less fortunate". This is a quasi-colonial approach, which has with it gendered implications. It is gendered because it is an inherently unequal relationship, whereby the party claiming superiority has ownership and control over the inferior part based on gendered concepts. Here superiority on the part of Canadians lies in the strength and maturity of their values, in contrast to the weakness and immaturity of the terrorist's way of life. This can be otherwise read as a criticism of the lack of reason and enlightenment of the terrorist.

The above section considered Canada's rhetoric on security, post 9/11, as it concerned itself with the United States. Copious references to Canada's unique friendship with the United States resulted in Canada's obligation to support the U.S. by engaging in the "War on Terror". Canada was being depended on by the United States, and the world, thus requiring it to come to the rescue. Yet, Canada's "unique" and extremely interdependent relationship with the United States has to some been perceived as a weakness, or perhaps feminine quality because of the dependence, particularly in the area of trade Canada has on the United States. In that light, some Members of Parliament were concerned that this special relationship would result in Canada feeling obligated to do whatever the United States wanted it to. Consequently, many of the messages from Canada's MPs called for a re-conceptualisation of Canada's dependence on the United

States. Rather, the declarations of friendship with the United States were often combined with claims to independence:

> This is a defining moment for Canada and for the world in which we live. The response to this unprecedented tragedy will require a sound judgement, strong conviction and extraordinary courage (Manley 2001, 5127).

Thus, the attacks of 9/11 were presented to Canadians as the opportunity to distinguish itself and demonstrate its autonomy. It was an opportunity to redefine its identity. Canada was needed to defend the values and principles of itself, the United States, and the entire free world. That very responsibility is one routed in masculine images of the hero, and one that calls for traditionally male characteristics. Thus, its rhetoric post 9/11 supported that identity.

4.2 Hierarchy of Responses

Canada's opportunity to redefine itself came because the world was a different place after the terrorist attacks on the United States. A recurring topic in the rhetoric post 9/11 is that the world was now a changed place (Appendix A). Because the world had changed, states' outlook and strategies for international relations needed to be reassessed. Thus began discussions about the most appropriate way to move forward in the area of security and in response to the attacks of 9/11. In doing so, the political responses of rationality, autonomy, power, agency and strength associated with masculinity were called for. The seemingly impenetrable and indestructible U.S. was weakened, so how could any state feel safe?

> Six days ago the most devastating attack ever against the free world
> rendered our world far less free. No longer are we free to fly without a
> credible fear of hijacking, no longer are we free to travel anywhere any
> time without extended delays at the border or security check-ins…our
> security was an illusion (Guarnieri 2001, 5184).

The world had changed because the safety once enjoyed by the West had been eroded:

"people and places that once felt secure, now feel exposed…systems of protection and

prevention, which on Monday night seemed adequate, were proven Tuesday to be brutally

inadequate" (Clark 2001, 5124). Furthermore, confidence in the West's sense of self had

been shaken:

> Mr. Speaker, one week ago today the world as we knew it changed
> dramatically. The unthinkable shattered thousands of innocent lives,
> including Canadian lives. Without warning, the safety and security we
> value so much as a mature democracy became much less certain
> (Ablonczy 2001, 5245).

Clearly the ways of the past could be no longer. The United States, which had at once

been perceived as being one of the most secure nations, had been attacked. Security

concerns had changed because of new threats. They required new strategies.

The current approach to security was not sufficient, if the world's largest spender on

national defence was attacked so severely. A persistent theme in the discourse in the

House of Commons in the week following the attacks of 9/11 was that national security

was facing new threats (Appendix A). These terrorist attacks and security threats were

new ones – unlike anything that had been seen before. Perhaps references to the newness

of the threats were used to explain why the West had not been able to foresee or prevent

the attacks of 9/11. In doing so, failure of the responsibility to protect and defend was not

seen as such, since the attacks were unforeseeable. Instead, these new threats where

devalued, and the strategies of the terrorists demeaned: "however this is a new kind of

war where civilians are not only attacked, but also used in a cowardly, inhuman and insane fashion" (Duceppe 2001, 5122). Curiously, comments such as these take responsibility away from the West for not having the proper security measures in place to prevent the attacks. More importantly however, by putting down the terrorists' tactics, a gendered dynamic is created where the West holds superiority based on the terrorists inability to excerpt attacks in a sufficiently masculine way: through strategy, predictability, precision, technology and intelligence. While the West has most certainly cause the death of civilians, these are often presented as collateral damage based on just war discourse that distinguishes between the inhumane intentional killing of civilians by terrorists, and unintentional killing of civilians by Western armies that fight in the name of humanitarianism (Asad 2010). Inherent in said discourse are appeals to strategy, calculation, all the while navigating the division between tough and tender masculinity since a Western war is typically for humane reasons. Although the terrorists "succeeded" in their attack, and pointed out the weakness in the West's security measures, these new threats were belittled for not using "proper" strategies. It also diverts attention away from the weak security measures of the West.

Although not new, mention of this "new threat of terrorism" appeared frequently in the Debates. This was strategic in inciting fear in Canadians. The nature of security concerns had changed because this security breach was unlike any other, and therefore required new safety strategies (Appendix A). The call for new security strategies was another theme found in the discourse in the House of Commons post 9/11:

> What changed was the audacity of the terrorists. They have warned us that
> the threat runs wider than it did before. That means that our response must

change, must be broader, tougher, itself more audacious (Clark 2001, 5126).

Appeals to fear were followed up with claims that Canada would take a resolute stance against terrorism, would not let fear get the better of it, or let fear dictate its response and actions. Instead, principles would prevail: "our foreign policy and practices will remain rooted in principle, but we cannot for one moment deceive ourselves that life can go on as it was before" (Clark 2001, 5126). The requirement for new security schemes offered Canada a chance to redefine its security policies. Yet this re-assessment of security policy would be guided by the goodness of principle. This is another claim to superiority and high moral standing, based on a civilised form masculinity. Such a claim is in contrast to the un-principled terrorist. More importantly however, Canada's new approach to security would be tougher, stronger, and more determined.

Rebuilding a sense of security in this changed world would be an endeavour in which Canada would not stray from its sense of self. Canada would stay true to its values in its obligatory contribution to defeating terrorism:

> Now more than ever we must resolve to express through our future decisions and actions the values which we share of a deep and abiding belief in human rights, in the integrity and immeasurable worth of human life and the dignity of the individual (Lincoln 2001, 5259).

Discourse on new security strategies was inextricably linked to upholding Canada's values, particularly that of freedom. Again, in doing so Canada positioned itself in an ethically and culturally superior light, in contrast the terrorists, who had attacked those very values and freedoms. Thus, increased security could not be at the expense of individual liberty because it was precisely that freedom which was the perceived target of attack: "there are groups with arsenals of weaponry who would do us harm solely because

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we value freedom, liberty and human rights above all else" (Wayne 2001, 5309). Rather,

rhetoric about Canada's approach to security in this new reality stressed that a proper

balance between security and freedom was required (Appendix A):

> Terrorists have attacked our democratic values. If we radically change the
> way we live, then we are playing right into their hands. We must find the
> right balance between security measures designed to protect people,
> obviously, and the central role of freedom in our society. The choices that
> we need to make are about security, yes, but first and foremost, they are
> societal choices (Duceppe 2001, 5121).

This balance between security and freedom can otherwise be understood as a balance

between competing forms of masculinities: strategic preoccupation with defending a

sovereign state and a softer, more trusting masculinity that values human rights.

Furthermore, this balancing act between masculinities was presented in an assertive way.

Canada so as not to let the terrorist win was another way of saying that they would not be

told what to do, or bullied. Rather, Canada had the resolve to continue to live the way it

had and simultaneously eradicate this new threat.

Superiority was declared by the disposition Canada promised to take in the

consideration of possible responses. Another frequent message was that Canada would

not respond emotionally or in the spirit of revenge (Appendix A). Rather, Canada would

seek justice:

> May we be delivered from the evils of false religion and indiscriminate
> revenge, inspired to new heights and depths of compassion for all those
> who suffer, while relentlessly pursuing justice for those who practice
> terror. So help us God (Manning 2001, 5183).

By contrasting the terrorist's actions couched in revenge and emotion to Canada's

ensuing rational and level headed response is instrumental in distinguishing performance

based on gender. Doing so positioned Canada as superiorly masculine based on a

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response that was well thought out and rational, rather than emotional and spontaneous. Furthermore, seeking justice is another appeal to ethical supremacy and reason, because inherent in appeals to justice are notions of fairness or deservedness rather than an arbitrary attack on innocents. In other words, by seeking punishment through justice for those who committed the atrocities is legitimate because it is fair and deserved. Yet one must question how punishment in the name of justice and retaliation differs. Intrinsic in the claims that Canada would not exercise revenge was that revenge was a poor way to deal with conflict, as the terrorists had done. In contrast, Canada would seek justice by analysing the situation calmly, realistically, clearly and determinedly.

In the spirit of acting in the name of justice, in a calm and clear manner, an additional theme emerged in the discourse in the House of Commons, post 9/11. In its response to terrorism, Canada would focus on what would work in the long term, not the short term (Appendix A):

> Let us not deceive ourselves as to the nature of the threat that faces us and that this can be defeated easily or simply with one swift strike. We must be guided by a commitment to do what works in the long run, not by what makes us feel better in the short run (Chrétien 2001, 5116).

The need for a strategic and calculated plan that served long term goals was based on reason. Conversely, a swift response based on emotion was warned against. Again a hierarchical relationship between those who act rashly versus those who act strategically is created. A traditional understanding of feminine behaviour is that they rash, instinctive and based on emotion, whereas a masculine approach is unemotional, strategic and planned. Perhaps the aforementioned traits have their root in the association of female with nature and male with civilisation. Gendered language has been shown to be strategic

in the creation of a pecking order, with respect to appropriate responses and strategies for security in the changed world.

4.3 Innocence Lost, Guards Back Up

Although the new threats associated with terrorism were presented as failed examples of masculinity, given their cowardly and inhumane nature thus diverting attention away from the weak security measures Canada had in place, discussions about the latter did take place. The final section of this chapter examines discussions surrounding the lack of strength in Canada's security and national defence capabilities. It is found that Canada's femininity was partially to blame for the attacks of 9/11, provoking a re-embracing of masculinity. The events of 9/11 invigorated Canada's review of its national security approach, and sparked intensified criticism from the opposition in the House of Commons that Canada was not doing enough in the area of national security and defence. This gave way to another theme found in Canada's discourse on security: a sense of guilt or responsibility for the events because of its innocence (Appendix A). Discourse in the House of Commons placed blamed on itself for being naïve about the freedom and security Canadians *thought* they had:

> The world watched history's most despicable terrorist act unfold before their eyes and, in a sad and perhaps inevitable way, another generation has seen an end to innocence. How were we innocent? Some of us were simply gullible. We have seen a lot of terrorism. We have seen it in Israel, in Ireland and around the world but it was always over there, over there being some thousands of miles away, an ocean way. It has always been somewhere else. Surely that innocence is gone. Even for kids as young as five or six years old who have been watching this stuff on television are seized with it. They are afraid and so terrorism has worked its ugly magic. It is in everybody's mind and in everybody's heart. It is also an innocence in that we have been complacent. We have seen terrorism and have known

of terrorism activity in Canada. They have raised funds here or have set up headquarters here. We have been complacent (Strahl 2001, 5172).

The innocence Canada once enjoyed was gone. More than that, perhaps Canada was guilty for having been so innocent about the likelihood that a terrorist attack could happen virtually at home. In this way innocence and naivety were used to suggest Canada had wrongly embraced immaturity and childlike trust in humanity and in the security of its borders. This naivety was at the expense of the experienced, skeptical and careful way it should have been practicing security policy. The negative usages of the terms innocence and naivety map onto the gendered binary of rational versus irrational. At the very least it is indicative of the masculine failure to protect and be vigilant. Furthermore, innocence about a safe international arena supports an understanding of human nature that feminists would argue is partial. The Hobbesian assumption of man being inherently self-interested and competitive and living naturally in a state of anarchy, which classical realist draw on, is one that fails to consider the binaries of altruism and cooperation as real possibilities of human nature. Thus, claims to innocence and naivety meant that Canada had been unrealistic in its trust in humanity, and had a misguided understanding of human nature. Indeed these comments are in contradiction to the aforementioned themes of strength and resolve. In this way appeals to exemplary masculinity and failed masculinity are working together to legitimise engagement in the War on Terror. It is at once an identity that must be upheld, but also one that must be reasserted.

Similarly, there were claims about the naive innocence the West felt as far as globalisation was concerned. Globalisation had been perceived by the West as being a completely "good" thing. In light of the advantages of free trade, technology, and

blending of cultures Canada and the West failed to consider the "downside" of globalisation:

> I think we had an innocence about globalisation. We wanted to believe all the good things about globalization. We wanted to believe the advantages of free trade, in which I believe. We wanted the opportunity to share wealth with the poorer nations. We wanted the technological advances to be shared around the world. We saw great opportunities. What a great number of pluses in that whole potpourri of globalisation issues. However there is a downside. The downside is that we have to be careful because there is ease of access to easy targets. Terrorism does not know borders any more. There is ease of travel and ease of using technology against innocent people. Even the simple use of cell phones and the Internet to co-ordinate that stuff is a downside with which we have to deal. We need to realise that something else has happened that we need to work into lives and into government policy (Strahl 2001, 5172).

Canada's innocence and naivety had made it vulnerable, indicative of a failed masculinity. Vulnerability is not a quality which is synonymous with being protected, safe and secure but is rather the opposite. Canada needed to recognise the potential of terrorist activity taking place within its borders. No longer could it be complacent. One Member of Parliament went so far as to suggest that Canada's complacency towards security made it complicit in the attacks of 9/11 (Forseth 2001, 5160). No longer could Canadians be innocent and trusting:

> These devastating events have awakened us in many ways…the anaesthetic of complacency has worn off and a painful awareness grips all of us as we acknowledge the piercing sense of guilt that we all must feel. We ask ourselves the question: Could I have done more to prevent this? The unavoidable answer is yes (Pallister 2001, 5130).

Canada had been awoken to reality and the need to re-evaluate its approach to security and the defence of its border. Interestingly Canada condemned itself for having qualities associated with femininity, or a failed masculinity, as seen above. Yet this was used as motivation and justification for the way forward.

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Canada's innocence, which was in some cases cited as the reason for the attacks, was evident by its open borders. The openness of the Canadian border was another theme found in the discourse in the House of Commons post 9/11 (Appendix A). It was precisely that openness which Canadians and Westerners enjoyed that allowed the attacks to happen in the first place. In many instances the vulnerability of the Canada/U.S. border was cited as an issue of concern. The Canadian border was vulnerable, and thus needed the security and protection, perhaps in the form of a saviour. Canada was also criticised for being a safe-haven for terrorists:

> Bringing to light the inadequacies of Canada's national security is a wake-up call in the midst of a nightmare unfolding on the east coast of the United States. Canadians may not be aware of our porous borders; however every terrorist organisation, drug cartel and organised crime operation in the world is fully aware of these deficiencies and have been exploiting them for years. Canada's porous border is by no means a reflection of the men and women who serve as customs officers. It is the reality of naive and irresponsible government policy. A philosophical shift in Liberal policy is required (Jaffer 2001b, 5181).

What comes out in Canada's discourse is that the softness in security and defence, specifically as it relates to borders, was not being governed properly by the liberal party. Implicit in comments such as the one above, was stricter attention should be paid to security of the border. Perhaps Canada's failure to guard and defend the North American border had contributed to the ease at which these attacks on humanity took place. It must be noted however that while the openness of Canada's border was criticised for potentially provoking the attacks of 9/11, there was opposition to restricting movement between the Canada/United States border because of trade: "those who argue that the adoption of stricter perimeter entry policies will sacrifice Canadian sovereignty are either arguing for decreased security or increased unemployment...neither of these is a laudable

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goal" (Pallister 2001, 5130). Such a debate resembles that of security and freedom, discussed above. Perhaps this too can be read as an example of competing masculinities.

In addition to the openness of Canada's borders, the shortcomings of Canada's security and defence policies and resources were found to be repeated messages in the House of Commons (Appendix A). The events of 9/11 opened the gateway to talk about the dwindling resources of Canada's military and security programs:

> Mr. Speaker, nine years ago Canada had 90,000 people serving in our armed forces. We are now down to 55,000 and still falling. Our single largest national security force is almost half what it was 10 years ago, and now we are in a war against terrorism and it will involve NATO military strikes...(forces) already overcommitted. Could the Minister of National Defence tell us from where we will get the soldiers to meet both our current NATO commitments and for this new war against terrorism? (Benoit 2001, 5142).

That Canada's security and defence resources were weak was an appeal to femininity, or of a failed masculinity. Rather, a more dominant masculinity was needed to bulk up and strengthened these areas. These appeals to re-masculinise security policy work in concert with the aforementioned identification with a masculine national identity. The references to reason, strategy and power served as the foundation upon which re-strengthening security rested. More directly, the bulking up of military resources is an indication of a desire to directly invest in the enlargement of an organisation that is deeply masculine. The world had changed: the previously secure and now exposed nature of the West's borders showed the inadequacy of protection and prevention. The sense of security had to be rebuilt. Vital to rebuilding this sense of security was that more money was needed in the area of defence, because at present Canada was not sufficiently prepared to deal with these new security concerns. So, even though a multinational approach was found as

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a theme in the discourse, as seen in the following chapter, Canada's sense of security was very much tied to military might and security resources is

A final theme which was extracted from the discourse in the House of Commons in the week following 9/11, where security is concerned, was the shortcomings of Canada's immigration policies and procedures (Appendix A). Canada's discourse on security called for greater vigilance of "high risk" individuals:

> Tougher screening on people who pose security risks…although we are known as a country which welcomes with open arms refugees who are seeking freedom and democracy we are also known to be somewhat to be soft in not identifying and dealing rapidly with those who are a risk (Day 2001, 5020).

Canada's immigration policies were condemned for taking an "admit first and ask questions later" approach, which no longer suited the security concerns of the day (Pallister 2001, 5130) and for "being the biggest security hole in the country" (Forseth 2001b, 5294). It would be unfair to suggest that all Members of Parliament shared this view; rather many felt strongly that Canada must continue to be a country that welcomed all nationalities and cultures. Yet while many MPs cited multiculturalism as an inherently Canadian value, they were often coupled with a sense that more had to be done to ensure that the "right people" were getting into Canada. Again this shows a condemnation of qualities such as being soft, trusting, and open and a plea to re-embrace of more rigid and rational approaches. There are also racial messages in the warning above. Indeed race has thought to intersect with gender. There was also criticism of Canada's lack of strong anti-terrorism legislation, as compared to the U.S. and Great Britain. The failure to implement strong anti-terrorist laws was tied to Canada's perception as a strong player in the international community: "our allies and security agencies are concerned that Canada

continues to be a safe haven for terrorists, why has the minister failed to take these essential steps to protect the security of Canadians?" (Toews 2001, 5145). Again appeals to strength, or lack thereof, are made in order to support the argument that Canada needs to be able to flex its muscles on the international scene with strong military and security resources.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter considered whether Canada's security discourse, post 9/11, was gendered. It analysed the rhetoric of the House of Commons Debates over the course of the first week the House sat, following the attacks of 9/11. The piece began with a discussion of Canada's tendency to reference its unique relationship with the United States, in support of the notion that it was its duty and obligation to join the fight against terrorism. Here rhetoric on its obligation to act, and to take a strong, determined stand relies primarily on a masculine image of a country which does not sit back passively and let its friend deal with its own mess. The message in the House of Commons, that Canada had an obligation to act, relied heavily on the notion that the attacks of 9/11 were really an attack on civilised humanity and the values the West holds dearest. This painted a picture that Canada was being called to defend and protect what was at the core of its identity. Here there are two gendered implications: first is the notion Canada would be a savior – an image we typically associated with men and one which depends on an inferior "Other" based on failed forms of masculinity founding in enlightenment and civilisation. Second is the notion that the West was morally superior to the terrorists, by virtue of its principles

of freedom, democracy and liberty. Such a claim devalues those who do not share the same "high principles" as "us".

This was followed by a discussion about claims that the world would never be the same, in support of the notion that new approaches to security needed to be taken. Here appeals to reason and rationality (masculinity) as opposed to emotion and hastiness (femininity) were made to prescribe the courses of action Canada must take in engaging in the "War on Terror". Gendered language was shown to be strategic in creating a hierarchy of potential responses to the attacks of 9/11. The final section discussed Canada's rhetoric on national security and defence strategies. Criticism of Canada's "weak" military and security resources, as well as soft and open policies for immigration, were found to be condemned and in some cases blamed for the attacks. Strategic use of gendered language was shown to exist in Canada's discourse of security post 9/11. These findings will contribute to answering the overall question at hand: "was Canada's rhetoric on the "War on Terror" gendered?" With respect to security, gendered language was strategically used in the discourse about security. Two more sub-questions towards answering the aforementioned question remain. The following chapter will deal with the second sub-question: "did Canada's approach to International Conflict Resolution prioritise violence over peaceful negotiations?"

CHAPTER 5:

CANADA ON WAR

"Canada has cashed in its so-called peace dividend."

(Pallister 2001, 5131)

In the days following the attacks of 9/11, Members of Parliament debated and discussed what Canada's response should be[6]. By examining the Debates of the House of Commons in the week following the attacks of 9/11[7], the following chapter examines whether Canada's approach prioritised violence over peaceful negotiations. Violence or aggression is most often associated with masculinity, whereas peace is most often associated with femininity (Alison 2009; Eisenstein 2008; Hunt & Rygiel 2006; Tickner 1992; Steans 2006). As discussed in chapter 2, while women engage in political violence they are often represented against appropriate behaviours of femininity, such that they become an oddity of feminine. In doing so, this re-associates violence with men. Similarly, there are appropriate engagements in violence in accordance with masculinity, such that various forms of masculinities are subordinate to others in relation to violence. A rational-bureaucratic approach to engagements to war is superior to the perceived emotional and rash nature of terrorism, according to hegemonic masculinity in the West. Indeed peace may be embraced through claims to reason and strategy, resulting in peace's

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[6] The final decision on foreign policy issues is the Prime Minister.
[7] The first week of sittings following September 11 2001 was September 17-21, 2001.

association with masculinity. Thus context is essential in establishing gendered use of language.

This chapter also assesses whether gendered language was used in order to support certain courses of action. It begins with a discussion of the findings of the use of the term war versus that of peace. Following this, adjectives that were used to describe what Canada's reaction should be are examined. It is found that Canadian rhetoric relied on terms traditionally associated with masculinity to prescribe its response. Then the logistical discussions of how Canada would engage in the "War on Terror" are examined. It is found that Canada's commitment to multilateralism and its allies offered justification for increasing resources in security and the military. Finally, the counter-arguments of engaging in war are examined, particularly that of the loss of more innocent lives. While debate did take place about the shortcomings and costs of war, it was often countered with claims to notions of duty and sacrifice. Although it would be unfair to suggest that Canadian rhetoric did not include warnings about engaging in war, what becomes clear in this chapter is that the war against terror required a fight, and in a way that can be most associated with a western conception of hegemonic masculinity.

5.1 War & Peace

Immediately and in abundance, the word "war" was used to describe Canada's response to the attacks of 9/11, and in doing so using the term war tied Canada's foreign policy to masculine strategies. The terrorist attacks on America provoked a resurgence of the need to fight terrorism, or rather to join the "War on Terror". In his first speech in the House of Commons after the attacks on the United States, Prime Minister Chrétien indicated that

the world and Canada needed to respond in the form of war: "we are at war against terrorism and Canada, a nation founded on a belief in freedom, justice and tolerance, will be part of that response" (Chrétien 2001, 5116). And while the specific expression of Canada's participation in the "War against Terror" was not explicitly stated here by Chrétien, using the term war evokes sentiments of violence not that of peace or cooperation.

War and masculinity have long been tied to one another. Not only does war call for the qualities associated with manliness, such as aggression, courage and power, the act of defending and securing the state as soldiers and diplomats have been undertaken "almost exclusively" by men (Tickner 1992). The association between masculinity and war is deeply rooted in history and the first definitions of citizenship from ancient Greek city-states, whereby the highest form of citizenry was the male warrior (Tickner 1992; Steans 2006). In modern times, the army requires various forms of masculinity, such as the toughness and courage in the soldier and the simultaneous rejection of the feminine within, as evident by basic training and hazing rituals. In a different way masculinity is required of leaders in the military and political representatives that command the military, such as reason and strategy. While these are at odds with each other, they work together to reinforce a culture of masculinities related to war.

Echoing the preference for a "masculine" response of violence was unambiguously expressed by then leader of the Canadian Alliance, Stockwell Day, who took the floor immediately after Chrétien:

> President Bush has rightly called this struggle the first war of the 21st
> century. Make no mistake. The war on terrorism is not merely the moral
> equivalent of war, like a war on drugs or a war on poverty. This is a

> genuine war, which can only be won, as Sir Winston Churchill said, of
> another long struggle, with blood, toil, tears and sweat (2001, 5117).

Amongst the text analysed in this study, the term "war" was used 348 times (Appendix

B). Out of the 348 usages of the term "war" several themes emerged. Affirmations that

Canada was at war with terrorism was perhaps the most frequent expression of the term.

There was also mention that the attacks of 9/11 were themselves acts of war, and thus

required the response to be one of war. Additionally, there were significant expressions

of the obligation to assist the United States in this war. The notion that this was a

different kind of war, one that had never been seen before, was also advanced.

This is not to say that all Members of Parliament immediately embraced an

engagement of war. Rather, there were concerns about the possibility of war expressed in

the week following the attacks of 9/11, particularly with respect to not acting emotionally

or in the name of vengeance: "we probably need less rhetoric about war and more rhetoric

about long term solutions and more reflective rhetoric" (Blaikie 2001, 5167). This can be

understood as a debate between masculinities: the tendency to jump right into defence

mode through war versus a more reasoned, planned response that allowed for foresight.

In doing so, a hierarchy of masculinities is created, such that the traditionally masculine

activity going to war must be coupled with the sensibility of rational-bureaucratic

masculinity. Of the 348 times war was mentioned, explicit concern about war as a

solution was expensed a mere 23 times. This excludes concerns about the war becoming

a "clash of civilisations" or that there were other ways to wage war in addition to

militarily, which will be discussed at a later point. These concerns were omitted in the

count because those statements were not fundamentally opposed to war in the traditional

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sense, but rather were questions about how war would be approached and undertaken. These can be read as a debate about the appropriate performance of masculinity related to war.

The negative mentions of the term war, although few in numbers, demonstrates Canada's embrace of nonviolent responses to the attacks of 9/11, or at the very least hesitancy towards violent response. However, a more accurate picture of Canada's preference towards nonviolence is best understood through the examination of references to "peace". Peace, the counterpoint of war, was found in the analysed text 138 times (Appendix B). Echoing that sentiment the adjective "peaceful" was used 21 times (Appendix B). Peace has been associated with femininity, due to its naive idealism and lack of appropriateness in the "real world" (Tickner 2002, 337-338). It can also be associated with rational masculinity. In this case, it appeared that not going war was an unreasonable option, given the severe threat to Canada's national. Rather engaging in war was the most rational and strategic option. As a result, a pacifist approach was rejected on the basis of irrationality. Most of the "reasons" cited in support of going to war, as discussed throughout this work, suggest that going to war was a last resort. Nevertheless, it's worth noting that in contrast to mentions of war, references to peace amount to less than half of the references to war. Furthermore, when the term "peace" was used, it was often found to be a justification for engagement in violence. In other words, war would be fought in the name of peace: "peace has been broken...I believe it is our responsibility to fight to get that peace back for those children and for their children" (Bagnell 2001, 5162).

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The notion that war would be fought in the name of peace suggests that in order to have peace aggression is needed. This argument was reached without questioning the degree to which that logic might be a contradictory one. It is flawed logic because of the loss of civilian life and destruction that inevitably results from war. In fact, feminists are critical of this logic because war time makes more vulnerable the most at risk individuals. Displacement, domestic violence, forced prostitution, wartime rape, and restriction to education and food disproportionally affect women and girls in times of conflict (Enloe 2010). Peace is what is lost in times of war. Yet while the discourse in the House of Commons following 9/11 relied heavily on the notion that Canada was a peaceful place, (Appendix B), it was precisely that association that resulted in Canada's responsibility to fight:

> Canadians do not dwell often on thoughts of war… (we have) enjoyed a long season of peace. Some in this country have already begun to say that talk of war is overblown and irresponsible and that we must instead address the root causes of terrorism…true….It is not a matter of shades of grey when it comes to these barbarous acts of evil. It is set in black and white. This is not a time for moral ambiguity. It is a moment of moral clarity. As Canadians, as subjects of this peaceable land, we did not seek this conflict, but however much we might tell ourselves that we are not targets, that we really are not involved and that this is not our war, the reality is that we cannot avoid it. As I said last week, there is no rearguard on the front lines. Canada is on the front lines whether we want to be there or not (Day 2001, 5118).

Canada's self association with peace is strategic because it served as a platform upon which the argument that Canada's engagement in war was unavoidable. It served to uphold a notion of masculinity bound up in the Just Warrior that goes to war only as a last resort. In doing so, Canada positioned itself as the defender and protector of peace. The duty to protect, particularly in times of war, is the responsibility of the male warrior.

Peace was cautioned against through appeals to reason: "we must also avoid falling into blind pacifism and reacting to effects rather than to causes...the pacifists of 1939 were wrong and we ended up with Hitler" (Duceppe 2001, 5122). Simultaneously statements such as these represent appeals to fear were used in order to support the notion that war was the best option. Peace was at once what was being fought for and simultaneously, the option that was feared, based on reason and calculations of past conflicts/wars. The manipulation of the usages of term peace demonstrates how gendered relationships can be produced and reproduced. Peace was used to justify certain courses of action, which are fundamentally opposed to the concept of peace, and was devalued as a strategy.

After accounting for the references that peace had been attacked; that Canada valued peace; that Canada needed to fight in the name of peace; that the Muslim faith was one rooted in peace; that those lost on 9/11 rest in peace or to peace officers, peace as a qualifier to the way Canada should react to the attacks of 9/11 took place only 24 times (Appendix B). Instead, "those who planned, perpetrated and carried out the acts (would have to) be found and punished" (Sgro 2001, 5163). It would be a different kind of war: "not a war between nation states or against religion...it (would be) a matter of hunting those responsible and bringing to justice all those who participated in the despicable and horrific crime against humanity" (Harb 2001, 5136). Canada would "stand together with the United States to vanquish terrorism and summon the resources and resolve necessary to rid the world of this unspeakable evil" (Pratt 2001, 5137). Canada's answer would be "sober and well judged but resounding and resolute" (Manley 2001, 5126). Canada would be on the frontlines of this war (Eggleton 2001, 5154) by employing various forms

of masculinity: the explicit reference to hunter yet in employing the systemic legitimacy of the rule of law.

As has been seen thus far, from the examination of Canada's discourse in the House of Commons in the week following the attacks of 9/11, there was an immediate embrace of war as opposed to peace. As discussed in chapter 2, and earlier in this chapter, "war" is an activity and engagement most typically associated with masculinity. Traditional classification of gendered traits, where gender is understood to be socially-constructed perceptions of sex difference, are that men are aggressive, rational and logical, whereas women are passive emotional and sensitive (Steans 2006, 9). It follows that an activity which requires aggression, competitiveness, and the concern for power, and reason, such as war, calls for masculinity in various forms. Cultures use gender to motivate participation in combat, which is a cultural practice that dates back to ancient Greece (Tickner 2002, 336). Soldiers must assume a masculine role. They must show courage, strength, responsibility while repressing feelings of fear, vulnerability and compassion (Hunt & Rygiel 2006; Hutchings 2008; Tickner 1992, 40). In war, femininity and subordinate masculinities are seen as liabilities. Thus in prescribing possible reactions to the "War on Terror" the ease at which Canadian discourse shows a preference towards war can be also understood as a preference towards a specific masculine response that ignores other masculinities. The difference between masculine and feminine, and between masculinities, as socially-constructed gender norms must distinguishable from biological sex traits. It is not the position of this study that one sex is more likely to exhibit aggression, but rather that normative understanding of masculinity and femininity traits can associate masculinity with aggression. Canada's preference towards masculine

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form of masculinity that combined the aggressive tendency with war, with a rational-bureaucratic one in response to the attacks of 9/11 is evident by the rhetoric in the House of Commons, as seen in the following section.

5.2 The Conceptual Way Forward

When the term war was not used, alternative adjectives were used to describe the appropriate type of response. In most cases the descriptions used to prescribe the appropriate response can be associated with masculinity. The first theme evident in the discourse in the House of Commons post 9/11 was reference to "action versus inaction". The aggressiveness of masculinity as compared to the passiveness of femininity can be otherwise understood as the tendency to act and take initiative versus the complacency of doing nothing. There were fervent declarations that Canada *must* and *would* do something (Appendix B). This was partially explained, as it was in the previous chapter, by the fact that the attacks of 9/11 were an attack on Canada as well as the United States:

> The World Trade Center towers came to represent the values and beliefs
> of the West, even from a Canadian perspective. It was "not just an attack
> on the United States". These cold-blooded killers struck a blow at the
> values and beliefs of free and civilised people wherever. The world has
> been attacked. The world must respond. Because we are at war against
> terrorism and Canada, a nation founded on a belief in freedom, justice and
> tolerance will be part of that response (Chrétien 2001, 5116).

Because Canada's essence and sense of self had been threatened Canada was obliged to respond. So would be a submission to the aggression of the attackers, or rather a submission of Canada's own masculinity. Furthermore, the notion that 9/11 was also an attack on Canada served to promote and support the view that war or violent reactions were the best response. Tickner reminds us that the rationales for fighting wars are

frequently presented in "gendered terms such as the necessity of standing up to aggression rather than being pushed around or appearing to be a sissy or a wimp" (1992, 47). As a result, not standing up to aggression is a failure of masculinity. Men are doers, says conventional wisdom, and will *react* and *respond*. Femininity on the other hand is more often associated with passivity or compliance. Indeed, peace can be framed as an active response, which can be understood as another form of masculinity. In the House of Commons, the message was that the active response would be an aggressive one, but always rational, well thought out and well intentioned.

Another appeal to masculinity which was used to justify engagement in the "War on Terror" was Canada's international reputation as a strong and reliable state. From the association of femininity with nature and the primitive and masculinity with culture and civilisation flows an understanding of the feminine as erratic and unpredictable while the masculine is stable and ordered. Canada's duty to "act" was presented in such a way that the chosen response would dictate or at the very least influence its reputation on the international scene. It is clear from the discourse in the House of Commons surrounding the attacks of 9/11 that many Canadian politicians were concerned with how the country's response would be perceived. Appeals to Canada's international reputation or perception took place 28 times (Appendix B). While concern with perception can be a feminine trait, the discourse analysed in this study suggests that Canada wanted to be perceived as having characteristics associated with masculinity: strong, firm, resolute as opposed to femininity: weak, malleable and wavering (Appendix B). Thus perhaps this is an indication of a reformulation of gender dynamics, such that a feminine preoccupation is coupled with masculine traits. Canada should "take the strongest possible stand against

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the terrorists" (MacAulay 2001, 5128). Furthermore, Canada's promise to act included a desire to be seen as a key player: "inaction on our part increases the speculation among our allies that our word will not be kept...we must show them that Canada is not on the sidelines in the battle against terrorism but where it belongs on the frontlines" (Pallister 2001, 5131). Claims that Canada should play a leadership role in responding to 9/11 were frequently cited in the discourse (Appendix B). Leadership is a quality most typically associated with masculinity, and is in fact the guiding principle of patriarchy. Yet is also a valued attribute among feminists. In there were explicit references to gender given the way said leadership would be embraced:

> It is normal for people to have a rush of emotion and want to do something quickly. It is the anger, hurt and pain that makes thinking less clear than it should be. We communicate with our leadership (Szabo 2001, 5187).

Emotions would not cloud the rational leadership of Canada in the War on Terror.

One of the most common gendered dualisms is that of "reason versus emotion". Canada relied heavily on this dualism post 9/11, and vowed that its response would be guided by the former. Claims to reason, rationality and clarity were often cited in the discussion about the proper response to the engagement in the "War on Terror" (Appendix B). Canada's response needed to be: "controlled...with a clear, level head" (Chamberlain 2001, 5239). Although the response would be rational, it could at once be aggressive: "we believe strongly that we must hit them and hit them hard, but for God's sake let us hit them intelligently" (Graham 2001, 5207). Assertions such as these tie Canada to masculine qualities by virtue of being both logical and aggressive. In this context, it would appear that logical and aggressive masculinities working together was the hegemonic masculinity. So while engagement in war was proposed, it would be done

in accordance with masculine qualities: reason and rationally. Essential in exercising a rational engagement in the "War on Terror" meant being patient: "as the Prime Minister said in the House yesterday, we have the patience and resolve to deal effectively with the threat of terrorism through a measured and sustained response...let us make no mistake, we will prevail" (Myers 2001, 5222). Patience, while also applying to femininity, goes hand-in-hand with reason in these cases because it is the self-control to resist acting because of emotions. Petitions to being patient were another rhetorical theme found in the Debates of the House of Commons (Appendix B). While discussions of "othering" will take place in the following chapter, it must be noted that Canada's claims to reason and rationality are in contrast to the emotionally driven depiction of the terrorist. In that, way Canada, as did other Western countries, assumed superiority over the terrorists based on said gendered dispositions. Even though the terrorists exhibited masculine traits by violently attacking the West, they did so in an insufficiently masculine way given that they did not employ reason and strategy. The terrorist attacks were motivated by hate, and emotion which clouds reason.

While a prevailing theme was that control and patience would be exercised in engagement in the "War on Terror", there were at the same time comments about the urgency of the "War on Terror". It must be noted that some Members of Parliament relied more heavily on one approach as opposed to the other. Seemingly contradictory or incompatible terms, what this suggests is that Canada needed to walk a fine line between the "duty to act" right away while maintaining control and rationality:

> I keep hearing the point about being patient. Yes, we must act rationally
> and not emotionally. We must be deliberate and not chaotic in our
> response, but let there be no mistake about the urgency of this fight. That

is the next step of these merchants of violence. It is the unthinkable. It is the unimaginable use of weapons of mass destruction. This is not something where the West can slowly, ponderously, in our typical Canadian way, wait and delay and procrastinate. There is urgency in this matter. We do not know how far these evil people are from getting their hands on weapons of mass destruction. It could be weeks, months or years but we must act as though it were a matter of great urgency (Kenney 2001b, 5238).

The fine line between aggressive "action versus inaction" and the patient ability to "reason versus an emotional" reaction suggests that there is an optimal form of masculinity. Declarations of the urgency of this fight took was a frequent theme among Members of Parliaments' discourse (Appendix B).

Essential in realising the perfect expression of masculinity, Canada made claims to its civilised nature with reference to rule of law. Commitments to acting in accordance with the rule of law were mentioned 30 times (Appendix B). Following a set of previously agreed upon rules demonstrates restraint, control and reason, as well as morals – qualities which the terrorists lacked. Relying on the justness of the rule of law was also essential in muting debate about whether engagement in "war" was the proper approach and in fact legitimising engagement in the war. "Blind vengeance", which as discussed above was a concern, could be avoided as long as the participation in the war was compatible or in compliance with the rule of law:

We need to practice what you preach. We need Canada to know the work of Tommy Douglas who said "the means we use largely determine the ends we achieve and that resorting to violence destroys the goals that we seek before we even reach them... Let me be clear. I am not advocating pacifism or appeasement in the face of aggression. The international community must spare no effort in bringing to justice all those responsible for these atrocities and rid the world of the scourge of terrorism. However this response must be carried out in accordance with the principle of the rule of law (McDonough 2001, 5123).

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The rule of law represents the apex of justice. Consequently, so long as the "War on Terror" was fought in adherence with the rule of law, those engaging in the war can still be described as being honourable. Thus the punishment that would be inflicted on the terrorists would be one that was "just" because of the rule of law. By relying on the moral supremacy of the rule of law Canada was able to walk the fine line between not engaging in blind vengeance and at once not engaging in blind pacificism. In other words, Canada would walk the fine line between a barbaric masculinity and a civilised one. As seen above, even when the term war was not used to describe the response Canada would take to the attacks of 9/11, the description of the response that would be taken associates Canada with masculine characteristics, not feminine ones.

5.3 Let's Talk Logistics

The rhetoric concerning the conceptual reaction to the attacks of 9/11 made use of gendered language, as evident from above. The logistical discussions, however, were strategic because in most cases they presumed that war was the way forward, or at the very least muted debate about whether that should be the case. In other words, much of the logistical discussions presumed that masculine policies of war would be adopted. Commitment to responding multilaterally was the first instance in which this can be seen. As discussed in the previous chapter, the importance of acting in "solidarity with our closest friend and partner in the world" was referenced numerous times (Boudria 2001, 5390). Working together, in collaboration with the United States and other members of the international community, legitimised engagement in the war because if several actors saw the need for war it must have meant it was the best response. Mention of multilateral

responses, which included commitment to multilateralism and its allies, and preference towards coalitions, were found over 200 times (Appendix B). Drawing on the theme of multilateralism, commitments to NATO were cited 145 times (Appendix B), in order to remind Canadians of its duty to its allies:

> NATO's decisions on military action are made with both care and deliberation. We are obliged to be part of that. Now more than ever Canada's voice and vote of commitment needs to be heard in the clearest of terms, both in the camps of our friends and the hidden dens of our enemies (Day 2001, 5120).

Collaboration with Canada's neighbour to the south and the rest of the West was presented as a duty. Thus, if the United States and the international community, specifically members of NATO, were to start war then Canada had an obligation to be a part of that. And while from a gendered perspective complying with the demands or actions of others can be perceived as being submissive, or feminine, references to multilateralism were also coupled with the notion of duty (20 times), and obligation (32 times) (Appendix B) which with respect to security and military involvement is typically associated with masculinity. Comfort in multilateral efforts also rested on the notion that the international community would be working together under the auspices of rule of law, as discussed above. Finally, a multilateral response to the "War on Terror" was also presented in such a way that in doing so would protect the values of the West which Canada held so dear: "the solutions lie in the strengthening of international and multilateral institutions that can promote health, education, human rights, democracy, the environment and international co-operation" (Charbonneau 2001, 5177). Reliance on the concepts of multilateralism served to mute debate about whether war was the appropriate response, because in doing so war was presented as the only viable option.

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Discourse surrounding the importance of responding multilaterally presented an opportunity for members of the House to reference the military contributions Canada had made in the past (Appendix B). On the one hand they were used to remind Canadian's of their military successes. NATO was described as being "the greatest alliance in military history" (Benoit 2001b, 5398). It also served to reinforce that the attacks of 9/11 were not "just an attack on the American people" but on Canadians, too, by virtue of being a part of NATO. Perhaps references to past military involvement were also made in order to place faith in the Canadian people that Canada was up to the task:

> When the Second World War ended Canada had the third largest navy in the world. The Royal Canadian Air Force was regarded as perhaps the most respected military air force in the world. Our ground troops had punched far beyond their weight in the ground war in Europe and in military actions in the Pacific theatre in that war. We finished that terrible five year conflict proud as a nation of the tremendous contribution we had made, marshalling our national resources, tragically sacrificing so much Canadian blood but for a noble objective (Kenney 2001c, 5312).

Conceivably these references were also done in order to warm Canadians up to the fact that they might have to sacrifice a great deal in order to win this war. But while successes were mentioned in order to put the Canadian people at ease, Canada's lack of resources and shrinking military power was also cited quite frequently: "since the end of the Cold War, Canada's diminished military capability has had an erosive effect on our world reputation" (Pallister 2001, 5131). Declarations of Canada's weak military capabilities, and the need to invest more into security were a very present theme in the Debates post 9/11 (Appendix B). Thus, the focus in the House of Commons in the week following the attacks of 9/11 became not whether the Canadian military should be involved, but rather to what degree military resources should be increased.

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The need to increase military resources was legitimised by claims that this war, in which Canada was now engaged, was "unlike any other wars" (Day 2001, 5120). As discussed in the previous chapter, because the West was now dealing with new threats, because globalisation made sovereign borders more vulnerable, and because they were dealing with evil unlike any other, supported the notion that Canada required better and stronger resources:

> We are now at war against terrorism, but it is unlike any war we have fought before. We must be precise, even clinical, in our actions. We must be prepared to use all the tools, diplomatic, legal, and financial as well as military resources, at our disposal to combat this evil (Clark 2001, 5126).

Fighting this new type of war required a host of resources, military and otherwise:

> I do not expect this campaign to be run by the conventional method of war. There may be aspects of conventional military operations involved, but ultimately it will take a different kind of effort in terms of weeding out the perpetrators of this violence and in terms of attacking their institutions, infrastructures, organisations, networks and cells which exist in many different countries of the world. This will not be a conflict against nations as it is a conflict against terrorism (Eggleton 2001, 5153).

The position that Canada should use all of its resources rested on an assumption that it would be the most reasonable, rational thing to do. But yet, Canada's weak capabilities in the area of security prevented it from taking part in that endeavour:

> Canada must, as President Bush has promised Americans, launch a massive and sustained campaign against international terrorism in general however Canada does not have the capacity to fight and sustain that type of war (Sorenson 2001, 5216).

In the face of this new war, with new priorities and requirements, a prevailing message in the House of Commons was that Canada had a duty to support its neighbour:

> The form of war and the enemy may change, but evil does not change and the response of democratic nations to that evil can never change…it must

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be firm, it must be resolute, and we need to stand with our allies (Toews 2001b, 5204).

The Minister of Defence promised that Canada would do all it could: "at the end of the day we will provide the kind of resources that will be necessary so that Canada can take a very clear and frontline role in helping in this intensive campaign against terrorism" (Eggleton 5154). That the "War on Terror" was a new kind of war, with new threats, coupled with the duty of acting multilaterally and in support of its best friend legitimised the argument for war and shifted the debate away from the legitimacy of the argument towards one of logistics of war.

5.4 The Counter-Arguments

This is not to say that there were not Members of Parliament who expressed concern about war. The most compelling and often cited argument in opposition to engaging in war was the potential loss of "innocent human lives" (Appendix). If Canada were to go to war, naturally it would involve sacrifice at the most fundamental level:

> No one can guarantee to anyone that there will be no civilians who unfortunately might lose their lives in any operation. It would be naïve to think so. We are in a war we have to make sure that those who are guilty face the consequences of their acts. We cannot promise that not a single life will be lost. Some soldiers and some civilians might be affected, but sometimes that is the price we pay to have peace and destroy the evil of terrorism (Chrétien 2001b, 5144).

The above quote is interesting, because the use of the term "naïve", which is often associated with femininity or failed masculinity, is used to stifle debate about whether the loss of human lives was *worth* the sacrifice. As seen above, by Canada's Prime Minister, the loss of innocent lives was countered by a sentiment that the loss of lives would be

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unavoidable. Again, the debate as to whether or not war was the best approach was silenced. Loss of Canadian lives was presented as being a means to an end. Alternatively, this concern and subsequent can be seen as indicative of a form of masculinity that does not go to war with enthusiasm, but rather reluctantly sacrifices itself in war for a higher purpose.

Sacrifice was the means to the end of achieving a greater level of security and in protecting the values Canadians hold dear. The theme of sacrifice was a notion that was relied upon greatly (Appendix B): "we cannot promise that not a single life will be lost...some soldiers and some civilians might be affected, but sometimes that is the price we pay to have peace and destroy the evil of terrorism" (Chrétien 2001b, 5144). Sacrifice in the name of freedom and democracy suggested that the aforementioned values were of higher importance than human lives. Whether or not that is a fair claim, it was presented in such as a way that the sacrifice of human lives would be worth it: "whatever response by the world will undoubtedly cost lives of Canadians and other freedom loving peoples of the world who participate...the price of peace is lives lost in war and the price can be very high" (Goldring 2001, 5205). The theme of sacrifice for a "higher purpose", especially where military efforts and loss of lives are concerned, is founded in understandings of masculinity. Jean Bethke Elshtain argues that the ideal Western warrior is one who places highest value "not on killing but on dying: dying for others, to protect them, sacrificing himself so that others may live" (1995, 206). If read in this way, sacrificial masculinity can be understood as a form of masculinity that differs from aggression. And while sacrifice can be a feminine quality, in this context the sacrifice of

a soldier in the name of the nation is bound up in a sense of loyalty and compassion to the brotherhood of the army (1995, 208-209).

Yet, the suggestion that Canada needed to sacrifice for a higher purpose rests on the assumption that death or violence is essential to peace which as we have seen previously is a contradictory statement. If the circular reasoning that war brings peace was not convincing enough, Members of Parliament who were in favour of using violence had an argumentative weapon of their own: claims to courage (Appendix B). Courage and sacrifice rely on each other, because the will to sacrifice requires a great deal of bravery. Courage was required because the risk of inaction was far too great. Thus appeals to fear were presented:

> This will be a difficult and courageous decision for Canadians because courage has a cost. In retaliation it could be the cost of Canadian blood at home and aboard. It is an excruciating decision for Canadians, because they are making it not only for themselves but for their children. Give thousand people died this time. How many people will die next time if we do nothing? (Bagnell 2001, 5162).

If courage and sacrifice were not exercised, there was a chance that even more atrocities would take place. In fact, these messages suggest that perhaps it was the lack of courage that led to the attacks in the first place. So, prevention in the form of military courage and sacrifice of lives was the presented as the way to avoid future crimes against humanity, as well as to reclaim what the civilised countries had lost. Declarations of the need for courage and sacrifice are claims to masculinity, which go as far back as the male citizen warrior. These statements also serve to demean those who express concern about the loss of human lives for not exhibiting enough courage in the protection of Canada's most fundamental values.

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Finally, the duty to participate in the "War on Terror" and to demonstrate courage was further supported by the concept that Canadians owed it to the victims of the attacks to do so. Reference to the "innocent victims" was perhaps one of the most recurring themes in the discourse of the House of Commons, in the week following the attacks of 9/11. In doing so a sentiment of compassion and outrage was simultaneously invoked, which served to promote a sense of responsibility in Canadians. In this way Canada can appear to be making claims to both a warrior masculinity and a tender civilised one, simultaneously, by walking a fine line between the two forms. The terms "innocent" and "victims" were cited 121 and 164 respectively (Appendix B). These victims included both those of the attacks, as well as civilian victims of rogue regimes. The humanitarian and morally sound reference to victims on both sides of the conflict helped to legitimise engagement in war: "we owe it to those who died in NY and those who are dying in that region today to take the risk and to do something" (Graham 2001, 5208). It also fits in the Just Warrior narrative, whereby sacrificial masculinity is paramount.

Furthermore, by expressing concern for the victims in the regions occupied by the terrorists served to place Canada and the West as morally superior, by virtue of their concern for victims who might seemingly be associated with the enemy. What follows is the expression of concern and outrage for the pain and suffering of the families and friends of the victims is that the victims would be what Canada was fighting for. In this way Canada could assume a heroic role:

> In conclusion I can only reiterate the sentiment that has been expressed
> over and over: that speaking as one who understands the violent loss of a
> loved one, my thoughts and prayers are first and foremost with the victims
> and the families of these horrendous acts; that our resolve to wipe out
> terrorism has never been stronger; and finally, that as a strong nation

> united with our allies that uphold the cherished principles of freedom,
> democracy and justice, we can and will prevail against any evil that may
> try to take away from us our way of life (Cadman 2001, 5266).

The courageous and sacrificing role Canada wanted to assume by way of participating in the "War on Terror" required a wounded for which Canada could fight *for*. Enter victims. While this can be a legitimate concern, this relies on a gendered relationship of the masculine hero and the feminised victim, which is essential in legitimising engagement in war (Charlesworth & Chinkin 2002, 600). This is because states need a legitimate cause for which to fight the war: a weaker group, in need of protection. These representations uphold the myth of "Just Warriors" and "Beautiful Souls".

5.5 Conclusion

By examining the official Hansards of the Debate of the House of Commons, the above chapter examined whether Canada embraced violent reactions to the attacks of 9/11 over peaceful negotiations. Usage of gendered language was also assessed. Mentions of war took place more than twice as many times as mentions of peace. Moreover, when peace was mentioned it was rarely in such a way that prescribed how Canada should respond. From a gendered perspective, war has been traditionally associated with masculinity, by virtue of images of the warrior and hero, and attempts to masculinise military culture. Furthermore, Canada's engagement in the "War on Terror" would in a masculine way: firm, resolute, rational, and in adherence to rules. Commitment to multilateral action and to its allies offered Canada justification for increasing its budget on security on in the military. Thus, a sense of duty and obligation to its allies shifted the focus towards increasing security and military budgets, not whether the military should be involved in

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the first place. Finally, while there were concerns about the possible loss of innocent lives with the embrace of war, they were countered by notions of sacrifice and courage. These concerns were countered by statements that the cost of peace, freedom and democracy is high. The evidence shown in the above chapter asks the question: why is it that traditionally masculine responses and actions are preferred in times of conflict over feminine ones?

CHAPTER 6:

CANADA ON ITS ENEMY

"Terrible occasions when the dark side of human nature escapes
civilised restraint and shows its ugly face to a stunned world."

(Jean Chrétien 2001, 5115)

In the days following the attacks of 9/11 a considerable amount of rhetoric was used by

Canada's Members of Parliament to demean and criticise the "barbaric" and "uncivilised"

perpetrators of the attacks. One of the primary reasons the enemy is demeaned is to make

justifications for war more acceptable. When the opponent is presented or perceived as

being "less" than oneself, the prospect of retaliation against that lesser person or group

becomes more legitimate. Seen in the previous chapter was the tendency of Members of

Parliament to suggest war as being the optimal response to the attacks of 9/11, which is

relied on gendered discourses. The chapter at hand builds on the former by examining

whether Canada feminised the enemy in order to gain support for war. This chapter is

organised into four parts. The first part examines the "us versus them" dichotomy used

by Canada's MPs. In this respect a gendered dichotomy is observed through Canada's

use of self identification with the "civilised" in contrast to depictions of the terrorists as

being barbaric and backwards. The second section discusses a second reliance on

dichotomous language through the use of "good versus evil". While this dichotomy does

not have to be gendered, when it is linked to specific gender dispositions, such as

civilised and barbaric, said claims can be suggest differentiation based on a hierarchy of

masculinities. Like the first section, Canada's self association with superiority makes use of gendered language, but it also serves to promote violence as the ideal course of action. As has been seen in previous chapters, violence and retaliation can be a form of masculinity, especially when coupled with reason and strategy. The third section considers whether Canadian discourse was successful in creating an "Other" in the terrorists by relying on the notion that we do not understand them and their extremism. This distinction and creation of space between "us versus them" is instrumental in gaining support for violence. The final part of the chapter highlights the use of gendered discourse in discussions about the proper expression of the Islamic faith, whereby a superior or masculine expression of the faith is created in contrast to a feminised, or failed masculine, one.

The chapter at hand relies primarily on understandings of gendered dichotomies and the concept of "othering". While these concepts have been outlined in previous chapters, they will be briefly reviewed. The structure of language relies on dualisms, or rather terms and words in twos that are in opposition to one another. Ann Tickner argues that our Western understanding of gender is based on "a set of culturally determined binary distinctions, such as "public versus private", "objective versus subjective", "self versus other", "reason versus emotion", "autonomy versus relatedness" and "culture versus nature"; the first of each pair of characteristics is typically associated with masculinity, the second with femininity" (Tickner 1992, 8). The nature of dualisms, or binaries, is that the second term is always devalued by the first and difference usually means unequal. Dualisms are often used in the process of "othering", which is also a way saying unequal. "Othering" refers to the practice of defining oneself in contrast to that

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which is different. A group of people or person, in this case of this study the terrorists, is the "Other" because they are unlike those who are speaking, in this case Canadian politicians on behalf of Canadians. Because the "Other" is different, they are subordinated for not being the same. It can be a form of gendering when it associates higher value to certain identities over others on the basis of gendered norms. Dichotomous language is instrumental in this pursuit because in identifying with the superior term consigns the "Other" to the inferior term. Gender distinctions can be used to reinforce the power of dominant groups where minorities and "outsiders", are frequently characterised by dominant groups as lacking "hegemonic masculine" characteristics (Hutchings 2008, 28; Steans 2006, 11; Tickner 2002, 336). Hegemonic masculinity is, according to Connell, the culturally dominant form of masculinity (1987). It is the ideal expression of masculinity. Yet, Connell argues that the dominant form of masculinity does not fit most men, but rather sustains patriarchal power. Thus gendered "othering" also involves a hierarchy of men, as well as hierarchies between masculinity and femininity. This destabilisation between the dynamics of masculinity and femininity can serve as an opportunity to contest traditional gender norms. This process of "othering" is discussed in the first section of this chapter with perhaps one of the most common dichotomies which serve to "other": "us versus them".

6.1 Us vs. Them

In an effort to feminise the enemy, Canada's discourse on the "War on Terror" relied heavily on distinctions between "us versus them". There were several themes that emerged in an effort to create an "Other" in the enemy. The first idea that will be

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explored here was perhaps one of the most frequent declarations in Canada's rhetoric about its rival. It is the notion that the terrorist attacks on the United States were an attack on the entire civilised world. Canada's Members of Parliament frequently made reference to the fact that this was an attack on civilisation and the civilised world itself (Appendix C): "terrorist war is aimed not only at America but throughout the world war on the entire free world and the entire free world must declare war on terrorism" (Day 2001, 5118). MPs claimed that Canada was a member of that civilised world and that "Canada (needed to) play (a role) in defending it" (Chrétien 2001, 5116). While such references have implications for security, as previously seen in Chapter 4, what is important about these claims as it relates to depictions of the enemy is that by staking membership to "the civilised nations of the world" Canada was defining itself in *contrast* to the "uncivilised" "Other". The uncivilised "Other" was the enemy: the terrorists. It was precisely their uncivilised nature that was a threat to civilisation:

> The World Trade Center towers came to represent the values and beliefs
> of the West, even from a Canadian perspective. It was 'not just an attack
> on the United States'. These cold-blooded killers struck a blow at the
> values and beliefs of free and civilised people wherever. The world has
> been attacked. The world must respond. Because we are at war against
> terrorism and Canada, a nation founded on a belief in freedom, justice and
> tolerance will be part of that response (Chrétien 2001, 5116).

The opposite of the term "civilised", or the gendered dichotomy of that expression, is "barbaric". This dualism is gendered on the basis that the civilised individual is inherently rational, and has become enlightened, in contrast to the irrational, primitive barbarian. A primary indication of Western hegemonic masculinity based on reason and civilisation is state founded on democracy and a commitment human rights. Terrorist organisations and the states that bread terrorism are failures in this regard.

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Barbaric was a term often used to describe the enemy or the actions of the enemy, in contrast to Canada's civilised self:

> "I also call for reflection and restraint in our response...today I want to reinforce that plea, the plea that the same values that cause us to be outraged and repulsed by these acts of barbarity must guide us all and particularly world leaders in their response" (McDonough 2001, 5122).

The term barbaric was used in reference to terrorist groups a total of 19 times (Appendix C). The distinction between the civilised nature of Canadians and the barbaric nature of one's enemy serves on the one hand to claim superiority, making any subsequent action against them justifiable. This is because the cultural and moral sophistication associated with being "civilised" suggests that the "civilised" is always rights. That the attacks of 9/11 were so "barbaric" in nature implies that Canada would never stoop to such savagery to begin with, let alone in their response to the attacks: "as Canadians, neighbours and members of the global community of peace, we must stand firmly side by side and fight this barbaric cowardly act, an act which has struck at the heart of our freedom and our democratic principles" (Cannis 2001, 5340). Statements such as these are subtle references to the legitimacy of violence, along gendered lines, insofar as the West engages in aggression that's rational, disciplined and sacrificial, while the terrorist has failed in this regard. As will be seen further on the chapter, Canada's MPs vowed to uphold this standard of civility in the response the nation would take.

The dichotomous distinction of "civilised versus barbaric" has roots in colonialism, a political practice that has been criticised as being intrinsically gendered. Colonialism is the practice of control over a state and its people. While a distinction between the civilised and the barbarian does not refer to colonialism in the actual sense of the word, it

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does refer to the unequal relationship between the coloniser (civilised) and the colonised (barbarians). By claiming superiority by virtue of being cultured, educated and refined demeans those who have not found the "civilised" way of being. These claims to superiority based on hegemonic masculine ways of being do not always coincide with colonialism; they have been used to justify it. More importantly however, this distinction suggests that the barbarians who have not yet been enlightened are in need guidance to reach that enlightened stated of civilisation. Colonisation in this sense is the duty to guide those "less fortunate": "we must commit to improving the caring, education and justice that will immunise the world against the collective weakness that allows terrorism to flourish…we must begin with our children, the children in Northern Ireland, in the Middle East, in Bosnia" (Bennett 2001, 5241). Canada suggested that it could play an active role in preventing future terrorist attacks by spreading its culture and values abroad.

While a colonised relationship can be understood to be gendered, due to the subordination of a group by another in accordance with hegemonic masculinity, another gendered dynamic emerges. When the "civilised versus barbaric" gendered dichotomy is used in discourse, the self-proclaimed coloniser, in this case the civilised Canadian government, becomes the saviour. The Canadian government will rescue those peoples who are barbaric in nature by showing them the "right way to be". The rescuer requires a rescued. In other words, the rescuer requires a subordinate in order to exercise its position of power and superiority (Gutterman & Regan 2007, 199). While the above dynamic does not have to be gendered, there are sentiments of hegemonic masculinity in "civilisation":

> Any reasonable student of history or of freedom, and any reasonable
> analyst of how the world truly works would come to only one conclusion:
> that the free world has an obligation to our children and all the children of
> the world to insist on civilisation, to purge the world of its murderers and
> to restore stability so that they may all in the end live in peace (Moore
> 2001, 5189).

It should be noted however, as is evident in the aforementioned quote, that claims to

saving the savages do not refer to the perpetrators themselves, but rather the people that

the terrorists have mistreated and misguided. In this instance Canadian discourse is at

once exercising gendered discourse by way of claiming moral and cultural superiority

over its opponent on the basis of hegemonic masculinity, but also by way of offering

rescuing services in the form of colonisation. In doing so suggests that states that harbour

terrorism have failed to be sufficiently masculine, such that they are not civilised and

have not been able to protect its citizens, such that they require guidance.

While rhetoric of "us versus them" was found to be a common theme in the House

of Commons in the week following the attacks of 9/11, it must be noted, as will be seen

below, that several Members of Parliament cautioned association of terrorism with certain

religious and ethnic groups which may be more likely to fund or engage in terrorist

activities:

> The reports of Muslim Canadians being harassed and made the targets of
> hate makes me sick...it is hard to believe that anyone could attribute the
> acts of barbarism carried out in the United States to any one particular
> faith. The perpetrators of these crimes are simply evil people who hide
> behind their religion as an excuse to perpetuate their evil (Cadman 2001,
> 5265).

There was also concern expressed about the tendency to "other": "we find ourselves in a

touchy situation and we should be very cautious so that the war against terrorism does not

turn into a clash of civilisations" (Lalonde 2001, 5142). These appeals are demonstrative of a commitment of civility, through tolerance, inclusion and reason.

6.2 Good vs. Evil

In addition to the gendered dichotomy of "civilised versus barbaric", Members of Parliament in the House of Commons frequently used a second dualism to create an "Other" in the terrorists: "good versus evil". References to the terrorists and the attacks of the terrorists on the United States as being "evil" were counted at 127 (Appendix C). The terrorists were: "the evil perpetrators of the horror represented no community or religion (who stood) for evil, nothing less" (Karygiannis 2001, 5266). By labelling the terrorists as being so wicked in nature, the Members of Parliament succeeded in dehumanising them, thus rendering their punishment somewhat justified. Because of the terrorists' lack of humanity, by virtue of their evil, such statements suggest that they did not deserve to be treated as human:

> We are not talking about nice people. We are talking about terrorists. We are talking about the type of people who would do what was done last week in the US. We are saying that it is time we dealt very harshly with these people (Epp 2001, 5229).

By de-humanising the enemy, through appeals to evil, creates distance between Canada and the terrorist. Thus, prospective punishments become more legitimate or palatable. More importantly however, in suggesting that the terrorists stand for nothing but pure evil devalues the political and cultural motivations of their attacks. By chalking the attacks up to mere malevolence on behalf of the terrorists, Canada and the West relieved themselves from having any role in the attacks.

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Echoing concern about the "War on Terror" becoming one of a clash of

civilisations, there were also concerns about use of the term "evil": "we must not fall into

the trap of the empire of the good against the empire of evil, of the good guys against the

bad guys...this only serves the bin Ladens of this world...it is a fundamental mistake"

(Duceppe 2001b, 5393). And while comments like these seem to discount the argument

that claims of "us versus them" or "good versus evil" were relied upon, these warnings

took place 12 versus 127 times (Appendix C). In doing so, these appeals to reason and

controlled responses further distinguish Canada from the terrorists. Yet debate about how

to compromise these discourses of masculinity (reason and caution versus a polarisation

of good versus evil) did exist. Indeed concerns of good versus evil discourse did take

place; they were few and far between and even criticised by colleagues in the House of

Commons:

> Mr. Speaker, I am befuddled and shocked to hear this kind of speech today
> in the present context. The member said this moment does not represent a
> polarisation between good and evil. If deliberately killing what was an
> intended target of tens of thousands of people is not evil, if we cannot call
> evil by its name, then what is evil? If this is not a moment of moral clarity
> that should guide our actions then what would be? (Kenney 2001, 5178).

> Last night in this place one of my colleagues from the Liberal side
> mentioned that we should not be talking about this as a battle of good and
> evil, that we just need to address the root causes and concerns of this issue.
> The real issue is about those who would do things that are evil. It is about
> a battle between good and evil. Though there may be just a few engaged in
> that, those few can wreak havoc among the many, as we sorely found out.
> For us to put our head in the sand and continue on as though nothing has
> changed is simply wrong (McNally 2001, 5444).

When concerns about "good versus evil" did take place, they were accompanied by the

notion that Canada must not become like the terrorists in its response to the attacks or in

the temptation of falling into feelings of hate:

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> We also lose this war if we become like them. If we start to do what they do, not following the rule of law, not acting in accordance with our values and not looking for a way to solve whatever it is that is driving this, then we are in danger of becoming little better. We cannot adopt their techniques or tactic to solve this problem (Alcock 2001, 5155).

The suggestion is that the terrorists have failed to engage in conflict in accordance with hegemonic masculinity: reason, strategy and justly. It is from this failure Canada wishes to distinguish itself. So while there was warning against a war of "good versus evil" or the likelihood of inciting a clash of civilisations, there were simultaneous if not more frequent warnings against becoming like the terrorist.

In the days following the attacks of 9/11 there were several Members of Parliaments that stated the importance of discovering the root causes of terrorism and this evil. The reasons that were cited are in line with the gendered dualism already seen: the failure of being civilised. The undertones of many of the explanations about why the terrorist attacks happened in the first place had colonial sentiments:

> Fanaticism develops in a fertile ground, just like mushrooms thrive on rot. If we want to eliminate not only Bin Laden but others who may manifest themselves, we must tackle the rotten situations that allow fanaticism to develop, including poverty, the absence of democracy and dictatorship. Such is the challenge we must meet (Duceppe 2001, 5122).

It was the failure of development and advancement that had resulted in the "fanaticism", a term that will be later discussed, of the terrorists and was the root cause of terrorism. The quasi-colonial sentiment here is that political advancement, in the form of democracy, is what should be striven for in the quest to reduce extremism. Terrorism develops because people in the regions prone to it do not have the benefits of enlightened civilisation. They have failed to live up to an ideal masculinity. This was democracy's "darkest hour" (Hill 2001, 5233).

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Labelling the terrorist as "evil" also served to create distinction and distance between the terrorist and the speaker. In contrast to labelling the terrorists as evil, Canadian MPs referred numerous times to the "goodness" of Canadians, in one way or another:

> We must continue to assert our humanity even in the midst of barbarous acts, and as the Prime Minister has said, by reaffirming the fundamental values of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. We do this because as Canadians we understand that all people of the world are interconnected and because we value our common humanity (Kraft Sloan 2001, 5397).

Canada's unwavering values and commitment to human rights and freedoms were cited over one hundred and fifty times (Appendix C). Similarly, references to Canada's "compassion" were used 36 times. Canadians are "compassionate and righteous people" (Chrétien 2001, 5116). These values of "goodness" served to remind the Canadian public that they had a duty to act in the name of that "goodness": "we are responding and we will respond with resolve because justice and liberty were attacked and those fundamental values for all democracies, including Canada, need and will be defended" (Jordan 2001, 5415). Furthermore, drawing the distinction and distance between "good versus evil" makes easier the task of promoting a war against that evil group. At the same time, drawing on Canada's "righteousness" was instrumental in endorsing the notion that Canada could do no wrong, even if/when engaged in war. Rather it suggests that Canada would not engage in war unless it was the "right thing to do", because doing otherwise would be against its nature. "Othering" through use of "good versus evil" relied on claims to hegemonic masculinity in the House of Common's discourse in the week following the attacks of 9/11.

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6.3 That which we do not understand

Perhaps one of the most successful ways Canadian MPs in the House of Commons managed to create an "Other" in those responsible for the attacks of 9/11 was through claims that these perpetrators were incomprehensible, misunderstood and senseless (Appendix C): "words cannot convey, and it is difficult to comprehend, the evil that launched the cowardly attacks on thousands of innocent people" (Wilfert 2001, 5246). In doing so, Canada's discourse again managed to make distinction between itself and its opponents and sustain their hierarchical relationship. In response to the question: who causes these terrorist events, Myron Thompson indicated that terrorists were "crazy people with absolutely evil minds" (Thompson 2001, 5168). This was is in contrast to the level headed, rational and righteous individuals who act in accordance with rule of law, as seen above. In other words, the terrorists were feminised for being so irrational that they were thus incomprehensible. So while hierarchical relationships are not necessarily gendered, there aforementioned distinction between reason and insanity play on failed masculinity, or femininity.

Appeals to the "senseless" nature of the terrorists muted discussion about whether or not Canada (or the West) incited the attacks in any way: "it is not because we advocate those things (pluralism, democracy, respect, and freedom) that people attack us; it is because people are just purely evil" (Moore 2001, 5189). Because there was no reason or rationality behind the attacks made them all the more evil:

> This is terrorism, make no mistake. This is a monster so evil that no one
> can comprehend the depth and limits that this can reach in any community
> in any country in the world. It just happened to be the United States, but it
> could be anywhere. Make no mistake about that. If it is not the U.S., is it
> Canada? Is it Finland? Is it China? Where? (Chamberlain 2001, 5239).

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As evident in the quote above, claims to "miscomprehension" were used in order to instil fear in Canadians. Because the terrorists were so difficult to understand, predicting their next move or the level of evil they could potentially reach was unlikely. These assertions in turn supported the notion that anything should be done to stop these "evil monsters". Or rather, engagement in war or violence was legitimised because of the unpredictability of the terrorists, and subsequent risk to Canada's national security.

Another way Canadian discourse highlighted the incomprehensibility of the terrorists, thus congealing them as the "Other", were through references to the terrorists' willingness to die for their cause. From a Western perspective, the notion of committing suicide for a political or cultural cause is foreign because, as a result of democracy, there are other avenues to pursue advocacy for certain issues. Dying for such causes, in such a crude way, from a Western perspective, is not often considered an option:

> Terrorists…make use of the freedom and openness of the victims on whom they prey, the very freedom and openness that we cherish and will protect. They are willing, indeed anxious, to die in the commission of their crimes and to use innocent civilians as shields and as tools (Chrétien 2001, 5116).

This is a very different narrative than the ideal Western warrior's willingness to sacrifice his life for the purpose of the safety of the nation, discussed earlier. The distinction is found in the humanitarian concerns of the western warrior who sacrifices *for* civilians and the terrorist who inhumanly uses civilians as sacrifice for his/her cause.

Furthermore, presenting the willingness to die for a political or cultural cause helps to support the notion previously seen, that the terrorists were barbaric. Because of the lack of avenues to pursue their cause, they had to resort to extreme measures:

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> We all share in the shock, the horror, the revulsion and the sadness as a
> result of the events that took place in the United States on September 11.
> This was indeed a senseless and cowardly act committed by a very few
> fanatics willing to give up their lives for a cause that is difficult to piece
> together and comprehend. They have really turned the whole world upside
> down (Cullen 2001, 5267).

In addition to having a lack of avenues to pursue political causes, which made the

terrorists misunderstood, martyrdom as heroism is culturally foreign to the West making

terrorists even more incomprehensible.

It is absolutely unfathomable that someone would sacrifice his or her life so

willingly and in such a violent way: "they become the kind of individuals whom we saw

hijack planes and sacrifice their own lives in a suicidal way" (Eggleton 2001, 5153).

These kinds of individuals who commit suicide, which is still a fairly misunderstood and

condemned act, do so because they have nothing else to live for: "given that these

terrorist attacks were committed by people who, if they lack a reason to live, have a

number of reasons to die for their cause" (Sauvageau 2001, 5154). The willingness to

die, partially because it is misunderstood, makes terrorists even scarier. In the week

following the attack of 9/11, Mr. Alcock speaks to the senselessness of the terrorists by

telling a story about a young Palestinian who exploded a bomb, killing himself and some

innocent people:

> In the aftermath of the bombing his father was interviewed in Palestine.
> The father talked about how proud he was of his son. I thought about how
> twisted up a person has to be inside to be proud of one's child killing
> himself and innocent people. We need to understand that and what is
> behind and underneath it (Alcock 2001, 5155).

In doing so, this Member of Parliament managed to highlight the terrorist's senselessness,

in order to stress the complexities the "War on Terror" would entail. The inability to

comprehend how a father could be proud of a son who killed himself, along with innocent victims, helped to create further distance between Canadian and the terrorists, thus creating an "Other". Instead of being an act that garners pride, taking one's life in the West is a very private and perhaps shameful act. Rather, suicide in the West is associated with mental illness and often condemned for being an act of selfishness and weakness. While progress has been made towards understanding the complexities of mental health and suicide, to commit suicide is considered in the West to be the opposite of heroism and reason. Thus the cultural differences of sacrificing one's life are used to create a distinction between Canada and the terrorists. Curiously, there are parallels between taking one's life as a martyr, and defending one's country through membership to the armed forces, which in the West is very much associated with heroism. This is a clear double standard, where the use of gendered language is instrumental in upholding this contradiction. Strategic use of rhetoric allows Western soldiers to sacrifice their lives as heroic soldiers, however removes this ability from the terrorists through acts of martyrdom.

Stressing the notion that the terrorists were so barbaric and extreme that they would willingly take their own lives exacerbates the distinction between "us versus them". The purpose of this is that in separating oneself from his or her opponent renders that relationship less personal. Thus, when violence via war is pursued, there is less a feeling of guilt and compassion because there is little relatedness between oneself and the opponent. What must be noted is that while the suicidal actions of the terrorists were referenced in order to create an "Other" in the enemy, and to stress the idea that the terrorists were incomprehensible, Westerners too have been known to put up their life for

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a cause. Those who are members of the Armed Forces often lose their lives in the defence of their country and in defence of values they hold dear. Interestingly enough while those actions are presented as brave and in the name of humanitarian reason, whereas the extreme sacrifice of the terrorists are presented as evil, cowardly, and insane. So, a gendered discourse was used to create hierarchy about sacrifices of life. Canadian discourse assured that distinctions were drawn between themselves and the terrorists, and the willingness to die was one of them.

6.4 Good Muslim, Bad Muslim

The final theme in the discourse of the House of Commons which will be discussed, that served to "other" the terrorist, was rhetoric about good Muslims versus bad Muslims. Distinguishing between us (Canadians) versus them (terrorists) was essential in the propaganda for war because it helped to define the enemy. In doing so, Canadian politicians had to deal with the fact that Canada was a multicultural country:

> Canadian Muslims have come far and wide to make Canada their home because they share the values of peace, freedom and democracy. These values are cherished and this country loved due to the opportunity it has given all Canadians, all races and creeds. Most are willing to fight and die for Canada (Jaffer 2001, 5137).

Because of Canada's multicultural environment and the coincident ambiguity of the identity of terrorist, a sensitive political landscape emerged. There were strong sentiments towards standing up for those Muslims and Arabs that had been, or might be, wrongfully condemned for the attacks by virtue of their cultural and political identifications (Appendix C):

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> I have been saddened by the fact that the terror of last Tuesday has provoked demonstrations against Muslim Canadians and other minority groups in Canada. This is completely unacceptable. The terrorists win when they export their hatred. The evil perpetrators of this horror represent no community or religion. They stand for evil, nothing else. As I said, this is a struggle against terrorism not against any one community or faith. Today more than ever we must reaffirm the fundamental values of our charter of rights and freedoms: the equality of every race, every colour, every religion and every ethnic origin. We are all Canadians. We are a compassionate and righteous people (Chrétien 2001, 5116).

In doing so, Canada again made claims to its civility with respect to its values of diversity and tolerance. These assertions are in contrast to the terrorists' lack of tolerance and respect for diversity. Reminding Canadians that not all Muslims and Arabs supported the terrorists actions was also useful in creating a strong front against the terrorists, especially by embracing those of the same faith and culture that were not "extremists": "we all know that the vast majority of Christians, Muslims, Jews, and those of all faiths, believe in reaching their higher goals through peaceful means...it is only the extremists, the few in all societies sadly, who wish to impose their self-centered, selfish and greedy views on others" (St. Denis 2001, 5404). The privileging of peace here can suggest that a civilised masculinity is one that uses war as a last resort, after reasoned and strategic consideration. The importance of distinguishing "firmly and clearly the Islamic world and culture from terrorist phenomenon" (Caccia 2001, 5192) was also referenced numerous times (Appendix C).

In defining the enemy, which proved difficult because "terrorism knows no nationality, no creed, no colour" (Duceppe 2001b, 5121), what emerged was a discourse surrounding what Islam was about *really* and what constituted the proper expression of the faith. As a result, a distinction between "good Muslims" and "bad Muslims" came to

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the fore. In doing so, Canadian Members of Parliament engaged with a discussion about

the ideal or hegemonic Muslim identity. While there is a significant Muslim population

in Canada, it must be noted that only one of Member of Parliament, Rahim Jaffer, at the

time of these Debates practiced Islam. Thus a colonial relationship emerges, whereby

non-Muslim Canadians began to prescribe appropriate behaviour of Muslims. The

discussions between good Muslims and bad Muslims were quite often coupled with the

notion that Islam was not to blame, but rather it was the failure of a few extremists who

misunderstood and misrepresented the religion who were to blame. There had to be a

distinction between terrorists and those who shared the same faith as the terrorists:

> The true teachings of Islam's are diametrically opposed to the terrorists'
> interpretations of them…Let us not allow the barbarism of a few
> extremists to taint an entire community or religion. There must be justice,
> but only for those who are guilty (Day 2001, 5118).

Creating a distinction between "good Muslims" and "bad Muslims" rested on the idea

that those who were "extreme" and "fanatical" were the improper type of Muslim. These

distinctions also rest on appeals to be civilised, such as a rational and educated reading of

the Quran.

The terms "extremist" or "fanatical" were used 44 times (Appendix C). In doing

so, a g hierarchy of expressions of religion was created:

> The people who committed this atrocity are extremists. That is who they
> are. We must be very careful that in responding to this crisis that we do
> not create new victims or blame whole communities for the acts of people
> who in any society would be judged extremists. No one is more offended
> than the Arab and Muslim Canadian communities (Clark 2001, 5124).

Thus, the "extreme" and "fanatical" expression of Islam was identified as the

unacceptable expression of that faith. In doing so those over-enthusiastic Muslims or

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those who were too passionate about their faith were feminised, or deemed insufficiently masculine, for being so. It must also be noted that fervent expressions of emotion are often associated with femininity. We recall from the discussions of gendered dichotomies, "reason versus emotion" is one that symbolises masculinity and femininity. To be emotionally aware and expressive has been a traditionally feminine quality, where feminine individuals are "talkers". Masculinity on the other hand values stoicism and detachment from emotional stresses. This has its roots in history, as evident by hysteria's association with female madness. Also, inherent in references to "fanaticism" or "extremism" are colonial sentiments, whereby the terrorists are perceived as being uncivilised, by virtue of their "extremism". This is particularly true where religion is concerned. Much of what it means to be civilised in the West is a separation of church and state. Thus, the terrorists were again feminised for lacking political "maturity".

The "extreme" and "fanatical" expression of the Islamic faith resulted in violence from the terrorists. References to this violence being a violation of the Quran or that Islam was a peaceful religion were recurring themes (Appendix C). As the only elected Muslim MP, Rahim Jaffer informed Canadians that the term Islam means peace:

> Muslims around the world believe that peace and tolerance are the very essence of faith. The terrorists who attacked the Pentagon and the World Trade Center have violated the Holy Koran and Islamic values (Jaffer 2001b, 5180).

While the meanings of the Quran, with respect to "holy war" and "martyrdom", will not be analysed here, what is important with respect to "othering" is that the terrorists were condemned for not correctly understanding and exhibiting the expressions of the faith:

> If the terrorist have lost sight of the fact that the word "Islam" comes from the word "salam", which means pace, we must not forget it. There is too

frequently confusion between Islam, a religion of peace, and Islamic
fundamentalism, a political dogma to which the Muslims themselves are
the first to fall victim" (Saada 2001, 5139).

In fact, in the above quote there is a sense of pity for the extremist, as evident by the use

of the term "victim". The tendency for Muslims to "fall victim" to Islamic

fundamentalism is in fact a weakness. In this way the terrorists are "othered" by more

moderate Muslims. Rhetoric about Islam and Muslims from Canada's Members of

Parliament demonstrate an effort to define the appropriate expression of the faith, and to

feminising the terrorist for not properly understanding the tenants of their faith, letting

fervent emotions dictate their actions, and from a failure to separate church and state.

Extremists have failed to live up to a hegemonic masculinity that values reason,

democracy, and aggression only as a last resort.

6.5 Conclusion

The above chapter examined whether Canada "othered" the enemy, through use of

dichotomous and gendered language, in order to gain support for war. Instances of this

were found in several rhetorical themes in the Debates of the House of Commons in the

week following the attacks of 9/11. The first theme examined was discourse founded in

"us versus them". Canadian MPs relied heavily on the notion that it represented a nation

that was civilised in accordance with masculine hegemonic characteristics, whereas the

terrorists were backwards and evil. Such definitions support the notion that the terrorists

were deserving of any punishment the superior saw fit. Similarly, the rhetoric of "good

versus evil", as seen in the second part of this chapter, was shown to have similar

implications of the first section. Most importantly however is that by staking claims to

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goodness, Canada's rhetoric was useful in promoting the notion that it could do no wrong, even if it meant engagement in war. Rather, war would be embraced in the name of goodness. The third component of the chapter found evidence of "othering" through notions of misunderstanding, particularly with respect to the irrationality and extreme nature of the terrorists. In doing so, fear was instilled in Canadian people through messages that due to this mystification of the terrorists' motivations Canada should do anything it could do to stop them. The final segment of this chapter considered the instances where the nature of Islam was discussed. It was found that an ideal type of Muslim was defined in contrast to the extremist expression of the terrorists. As such, the hyper-emotional and "fanatical" displays of Islam were examples of failed masculinities, in contrast to a more moderate one. Canada's effort to "other" and feminise the enemy was perhaps the most influential use of discourse in the promotion of war.

CHAPTER 7:

CONCLUSION

"As for those that carried out these attacks there are no adequate words of condemnation. Their barbarism will stand as their shame for all eternity."

- Tony Blair

The events of September 11th 2001 were a violation of security and of the values that defined the West. While the attacks of 9/11 were directed at the United States of America specifically, they were seen as an assault on the "entire free world" (Day 2001, 5118). This prompted states of the "free world" to re-assess their political priorities, especially where national security is concerned. To re-affirm the physical and ontological security of states required eliminating evil through violent retaliation (Pettman 2003, 88; Vestlesen 2005, 295). In guaranteeing security, there is a necessity of standing up to aggression rather than being pushed around or appearing to be a "sissy" or a "wimp" (Tickner 1992, 47). Such an approach ties a nation's identity to a particular form of masculinity, which is commonly understood to be defined by power, aggression and reason. Femininity and subordinate forms of masculinity on the other hand are rejected. . The attacks of 9/11 encouraged an embrace of gendered dualisms such as us/them, good/evil, reason/emotion in the West (Parpart & Zalewski 2008, 5). War is a time when masculinities and femininities characteristics can become polarised. Margaret Higonnet argues that war is a gendering activity, when the discourse of militarism and masculinity

permeates the whole fabric of society (1989). It is also an opportunity to redefine and reproduce a gendered discourse. Furthermore, war often involves representations of the enemy through practices of "othering". In war, gendered distinctions have been used to reinforce the power of the dominant groups, by casting minorities and outsiders as lacking hegemonic masculine, or Western masculine, characteristics (Tickner 2002, 336). From a gendered lens, one becomes aware of how engagements in war and constructions of power rely on the perpetuation of gendered distinctions.

The attacks of 9/11, and the subsequent "War on Terror", revitalised the study of international politics for critical theorists, especially those who consider gender (Parpart & Zalewski 2008). IR feminists have argued that mainstream theories, such as realism and neo-liberalism, in the field fail to consider the importance of gender and prioritise a masculine experience of statesmen and warriors, and positivist way of knowing (Steans 2006; Tickner 1992; Pettman 2003). This is especially relevant during times of conflict and war, as discussed above. The way power is embedded in language and is used as a political means to reinforce hierarchies offers insight into the field of international relations, and politics in general, but is excluded from positivist inquiries. These gendered symbols are given higher value to the term associated with masculinity, by both men and women (Sjoberg 2010, 3). While much of the West considered the terrorist assault to be one on the free world as a whole, a significant amount of the academic literature has focused on the United States' engagement in the "War on Terror". As discussed in chapter three of this thesis, while considerable work has been done on the discourse of the "War on Terror", very few consider Canada's role and even fewer consider Canada's role from a gendered perspective. In response to the gap in the

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literature, this thesis has considered whether Canada's discourse on the "War on Terror" was gendered. This was done by undertaking a discourse analysis of the Debates in the House of Commons. It was found that Canada did engage in a gendered discourse of war, with respect to security, foreign policy debates, and the creation of its national identity in contrast to an inferior "Other".

7.1 Summary of Findings

The aforementioned research question was answered by considering three sub-questions. The first sub-question was addressed in chapter 4, and considered whether Canada's rhetoric on security was gendered. Considerable discussion in the week following the attacks of 9/11 referenced Canada's special relationship with the United States. Inherent in these claims was that Canada had an obligation to participate in the war in which the United States was now engaged. Demonstrations of friendship would not be feminine, such that Canada would send cards of condolences, but rather would be through real resources, such as the military. The obligation to "stand alongside the United States to defeat terrorism" (Chrétien 2001, 5117) was due to the interdependence in areas of trade and security that the two nations shared. While interdependence is a feminine disposition, the discourse surrounding this stressed strategy and reason at it relates to this feminine quality. Canada's economic, security and ideological interdependence necessitated that Canada stand alongside the United States in the War on Terror. These messages came alongside appeals to morality, and in doing so balanced an aggressive masculinity with a just warrior masculinity. The necessity of Canada's engagement in the "War on Terror" was tied to demonstrating respect for those who had lost their lives and

in defence of the values and freedoms the defined Canada and the West. There was a sentiment that Canada needed to show compassion, through the willingness to fight, much like the Just Warrior.

With respect to discourse on security, appeals to gender were used in order to create a hierarchy of responses. The response would be tied to masculinity through reason, autonomy, power and strength. Because of the new threats of terrorism, new security strategies were required. The threats were new because terrorists were now more aggressive and used different tools. While this fact required new, stronger security strategies, these new threats were condemned: "however this is a new kind of war where civilians are not only attacked, but also used in a cowardly, inhuman and insane fashion" (Duceppe 2001, 5122). In doing so, comments such as these took responsibility or attention away from the shortcomings of the West's security, such as porous borders and naïve openness. They also served to devalue the success of the terrorists' attack, for their failure to adhere to masculine hegemonic qualities thereby feminising them. Yet, in light of these new threats, Canada would not be guided by fear, but would rather create new strategies in ways that were compatible with its values and freedoms. In doing so, Canada positioned itself as morally superior to its opponent. The cowardly nature of these new threats would be contrasted by strategies that upheld liberty and democracy. In other words, an "Other" was created in the terrorists by condemning them for not having ideal characteristics, particularly where values of freedom and democracy were concerned. The final section of this chapter discussed the guilt Canada felt, for having been innocent and naive about security issues. This innocence and naivety had resulted in the vulnerability which led to the attacks. The aforementioned qualities are ones

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associated most commonly with femininity because of the idealist tendency to trust. So too was the weakness of Canada's security measures, and the mistake of having open borders. As such, Canadian rhetoric about security post 9/11 involved discussions about the need to bulk up security in the areas of trade and immigration. In many ways the discourse about security in the House of Commons made use of gendered dichotomies and symbols. Fundamentally the discourse on security signified the desire to find a balance between a warrior masculinity and rational bureaucratic one. These can work together, and indeed can be understood as the hegemonic masculinity coming out of the House of Commons in the week following the attacks of 9/11.

The second sub-question which was considered in this work was whether Canada embraced a violent reaction to the attacks of 9/11, as opposed to peaceful or cooperative ones such as non-retaliation. Chapter five showed that war was almost immediately embraced, as is evident by the use of the term 348 times, as opposed to peace which was used only 138 times. A closer inspection of the uses of the terms indicates that war was used negatively, or that concern about war, took place 23 times. Similarly, when peace was used, it was a qualifier of the way Canada should respond a mere 24 times. Canada's preference towards a violent response via war, as opposed to a peaceful one, was shown to exist. Yet this position was taken on the basis of a masculine rationality, and with a message that there was no other option. Canada's international reputation was shown to be a consideration in this regard. Its reputation, according to the discourse, was tied to its duty to engage in the "War on Terror", where it would take a leadership role. So while concern with appearances is traditionally associated with femininity, they were presented as a concern over masculine values. Furthermore, Canada's response would be guided by

reason, not emotion. These characteristics were in contrast to the enemy, which was demeaned for having been guided by emotions and passions. As a result, the West's performance of hegemonic masculinity made their engagement with aggression legitimate. In the same spirit, a focus of the discourse in the House of Commons was Canada's weak military and security capabilities, and the need to invest more resources in these areas. This served to re-direct attention from whether war would be embraced to how it would be embraced. In this way, claims to masculinity were used to support said way forward: at once on the basis of Canada's essence that must be upheld, and on the basis that their failed masculinity (weak security) required a re-masculinisation in this regard. This is not to say that concern about engaging in war did not take place in the House of Commons. The main concern was about the loss of more human life. However, appeals to masculinity were again used in response to many of these concerns, in the form of sacrifice and courage. Interestingly, peace was used as a motivation for war, although peace is suspended in times of war. Several MPs relied on the argument that peace needed to be fought for, and the price of peace was a big one. This narrative is consistent with a Just Warrior form of masculinity, outlined by Jean Bethke Elshtain, whereby the warrior is not eager to go war but sacrifices himself in the name of security for the state.

The third and final sub-question in consideration of the research question was the focus of chapter 6. Here whether Canada made used of gendered language to "other" the terrorist was considered. "Othering" is another way of saying unequal. An "Other" is created by defining oneself in contrast to that which is different, where the different becomes the "Other". A group of people or person, in this case of this study the terrorists,

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is the "Other" because they are unlike those who are speaking, in this case Canadian politicians on behalf of Canada. Because the "Other" is different, his or she is subordinated for not being the same. It can be a form of gendering when it associates higher value to certain identities over others, on the basis of gender norms. Dichotomous language is instrumental in this pursuit because by identifying with the superior term consigns the "Other" to the inferior term. The "us versus them" dichotomy is a common form of gendered "othering", and was found to exist in the discourse in the House of Commons, post 9/11. This was done through claims that the terrorists had attacked the civilised world, to which they were not a part, because of their barbarism. In the same vein, there were appeals to the dichotomy of "good versus evil". The above rested on notions of western hegemonic masculinity that is rational and strategic, and only engages in war/violence in a just manner. And while there were Members of Parliament who cautioned against the "War on Terror" becoming one of a "Clash of Civilisations", the more frequent message was that Canada and the West had to combat evil. In doing so, Canada asserted moral and ethical supremacy over the terrorist, because of its unwavering commitment to human rights and freedoms. By distancing itself from the terrorist, and through rhetoric about the evilness of the terrorists, Canada made engagement in war more legitimate. Finally there were several mentions that the terrorists were incomprehensible, senseless and unpredictable. This was another way Canadian politicians managed to "other" the terrorists. It also served to incite fear in Canadians: because the terrorists were so volatile and misunderstood they posed a severe threat. Fear helped to legitimise engagement in war, because the threat was so great this was deemed

to be the only option. Not only did discourses of "us versus them" and "good versus evil" rely on gendered distinctions, they also served to justify engagement in war.

7.2 Discussion of Findings & Contributions

Gendered discourse was proven to be present in the debate of the House of Commons with respect to Canada's rhetoric on security, embrace of violent responses, and in "othering" the terrorist. These findings contribute to the body of literature by critical IR feminists, which point to the masculine predominance in international politics. In doing so, this work adds to the discussion about why it is that masculinity is called for in times of conflict, and in the defence of the state. It also shows how gender is used and reworked strategically in debates. As seen in this work "manliness has also been associated with violence and the use of force, a type of behaviour that, when conducted in the international arena has been valorised and applauded in the name of defending one's country" (Tickner 1992, 6). In the case of the House of Commons, this manly aggression was tied to rational and strategic masculinity as the ultimate forms of masculinity. The "perceptions" of human nature, which guide our expectations of how states will act, can encourage an embrace of war as the best way to guarantee security. Because of humanity's natural disposition towards self-interest and competitiveness, it follows that one must aggressively pursue his self-interest, or violently defend it. War is the ultimate instrument in the pursuit of national security (Tickner 1992, 51). Security, therefore, is acquired through the power of domination. In other words, justice, peace and security can only be established through violence and domination (Peterson 1992, 48). Such an argument was shown to be relied upon in the discourse of the House of Commons, in

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certain respects. Yet there were several instances whereby various forms of masculinity were at odds with each other; namely the aggressive masculinity and the rational masculinity. Indeed these can be balanced such that they work together.

Yet, from a feminist perspective when security is acquired through domination, security becomes a negative concept. It becomes a negative concept because in the attempt to ensure security through war, the security of individuals within a state is the most vulnerable. While men account for the greatest number of casualties in war, because of their higher proportion in combat roles, civilians are also victims of war atrocities (Tickner 2002, 338; Pettman 2004, 89). Consequently, in pursuit of peace and security through war, it is often peace and security which are sacrificed. Thus, this thesis questions the validity of security strategies which rely on aggressive policies and the use of military force in the acquisition of security and peace. It also questions how the dismissals of peace are framed. Interestingly, peace as a response to the attacks of 9/11 was dismissed; even though peace was the ultimate goal. This was reached based on masculine appeals to reason. The findings unearthed in this thesis suggest that engagement in gendered language made Canada's engagement in war more likely. In the week following the attacks of 9/11, gender was used strategically to gain support for war, and in order to present peace as a non-option. It also served to mute debate about whether war was the best option. Perhaps less reliance on gendered language, and the devaluation of femininity would have resulted in a more critical debate about the proper response to the attacks of 9/11. Perhaps Canada's response would have been one that actually served peace.

Furthermore, the findings of this work demonstrate that masculine qualities were preferred by Canada post 9/11. This prompts discussion about why it is that characteristics traditionally associated with masculinity have been accorded higher social value, particularly in the realm of international relations and particularly in times of conflict. Moreover, this work contributes to literature which attempts to deconstruct the symbols and understandings of gender. It is the position of this work that gender is not what men and women are biologically, but is the ideological or discursive and material relations that exist between groups of people called men and women (Steans 2006, 7). Masculinity and femininity are socially-ascribed emotional and psychological characteristics, and are reinforced by discourses. These discourses are multiples and always changing based on time and place. Therefore, this work provokes a critical analysis of the social meanings attributed to perceived sex differences in the context of Canada's federal political debates. Thus, this work highlights how discourses, which perpetuate hegemonic Western masculinity, legitimise patriarchal structures and orders. If these are socially constructed identities, it becomes clear that gendered distinctions reinforce hierarchies and legitimise certain ways about thinking of others. It also becomes clear that gender is essential in creating insiders and outsiders. The discursive practices that produce gender and reproduce gender identities must constantly be questioned. Being aware that they are taking place uncovers the way dynamics of power are reinforced. While this study analysed gendered discourses at the political level, perhaps it will provoke readers to adopt a more critical eye towards discourse in other realms, both public and private.

This study also points to the dichotomous nature of our language. Being aware of how this gendered language can be further employed to reinforce dominance and hierarchies offers insights into our social world and dynamics. Language, as well as gender, is socially constructed and thus embedded in a power relationship that can serve to devalue certain people and groups (Cohn 1987, 708). The unequal power relationship between the West and the East (terrorist) was congealed through gendered language, and was instrumental in creating an "Other". This was done strategically through the use of rhetoric, which is not an objective tool by which we define our reality, but rather is a compilation of subjective concepts laden with cultural meaning (Howarth 1995, 129). Ann Tickner reminds us that language's claims to objectivity must continually be questioned (1998, 432). The creation of the "Other", through gendered language, reduced the likelihood of coming to a "peaceful" solution with the terrorists. Furthermore, by claims to superiority through "othering", Canada muted discussion about whether it or the West had provoked the terrorist attacks in some way. Also, by considering Canada as the focus of this study points to the fact that it is not just the world's superpower which engages in gendered rhetoric in order to reinforce its power and dominance over subordinate groups. Rather, soft-powers also engage in gendered rhetoric in order to assert their power and autonomy in the international realm. This demonstrates how deeply embedded gendered language is in politics, even for those traditionally "peaceful" and cooperative states. Lastly, while this work is concerned with masculinity and femininity, as opposed to men and women, in international relations, the findings of this work have consequences for the liberal feminist project. Liberal feminists attempt to make politics, as well as other discipline, more equitable by increasing women's

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participation in said discipline and activity. This work can serve as a foundation to suggest why it is that so few women occupy positions related to defence and national security. Perhaps the rejection of femininity in international relations can be attributed to the lack of females in positions related to the field. This too shows how gender assumptions of behaviour and temperament are engrained in one's psyche.

Finally, this work benefits the study of political science, as well as other disciplines in the social sciences, by demonstrating the value of using an undervalued form of knowledge inquiry. That language is instrumental in reinforcing hierarchies and sustaining power is often overlooked in the normative inquiries. By seeking alternative ways of knowing, this discipline, as well as others, has the potential to become more integral and equitable. This has been one of the motivations of this study. This work also speaks to the theoretical debate about the merits of science, at the exclusion of other approaches. Science, as the predominant means of producing knowledge in International Relations, is challenged by feminist perspectives because objectivity, the foundation of science's legitimacy, privileges the separation of us as the researcher to the other as the subject. Social science is the study of human interaction – something from which we can never truly separate. There is always a relationship between the knower and the known, and so knowledge should be contextual, and contingent (Steans 2006, 17). It is widely argued by critical feminists that the purported objectivity of IR is not in fact objective, but rather IR's knowledge comes out of men's experiences, while ignoring alternative experiences (Steans 2006; Tickner 2002). The claim that knowledge should be objective really means that knowledge is the subjectivity of privileged voices. In other words, knowledge, through science, is the subjective experiences of privileged individuals who

are allowed to make claims to knowledge. The privileged voices are disguised as neutral by assumed objectivity "where the privileged are licensed to think for everyone, so long as they do so 'objectively'" (Sjoberg 2009, 192). It follows that an unequal or gendered relationship develops between the knower and the known. There also becomes a gendered relationship between different types of knowledge.

Critical feminist theorists argue that science equates objectivity with masculinity: "the separation of subject and the other is based on a need for control, so objectivity becomes associated with power and domination" (Ticker 1988, 432). Objectivity is also a set of cultural values that simultaneously evaluates what is masculine. In other words, when science is used as the predominant vehicle for knowledge, we are only able to see what is countable, and what is deemed important is only what is countable. This ignores important intangible components of human interaction in conflict studies and in security. It also limits the questions that can be asked in relation to these issues. In this way, the method becomes an end in itself: it has the ability to define and thus create what is real. As such it is "designed as a stimulus, not for knowledge and cognition or the production of a question, but for the acknowledgement and re-cognition of the reproduction of a foreknown answer" (Peterson & Sisson Runyan, 1991). Production of knowledge is deeply embedded in the gendered power structures of society and has excluded large segments of society from participating in the art of experiences as knowledge (Krosnell 2006, 121). Knowledge is recognised from a feminist perspective as power, the power to define the theoretical debate, the power to exclude critiques that fail to fit into traditional understanding of what is knowledge and the power to silence critiques that challenge the status quo (Ackerly 2008, 696). This genders what is knowable, but it also excludes

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discussion about elements of our political life that are not countable such as a sense of security, inclusion and equality. This is not to say that science, or positivist inquiries serve no purpose. But rather that using a plurality of approaches in the acquisition of knowledge, particularly knowledge of our social world, is beneficial. While this study engages in positivist methods, insofar as it quantified the language used in the House of Commons, it also embraces an alternative way of knowing through discourse analysis. Such an approach uncovers the nature of power – an element of our social world that cannot be counted or measured by traditional scientific pursuits because of the subjectivity of language. This study also speaks to feminist contributions have called for "a language in and through which to express the sentiments of civic life as well as the dangers and possibilities of the present moment, to break the deadlock of war's mobilised languages that looks to peace but only through the most terrible and extreme imagery of war" (Elshtain 1998, 458).

7.3 Limitations of Research & Findings

Given the position of power I, as the researcher, hold in this study it is worth discussing the limits of the findings. It must be stated at the outset, the presumptions I had prior to engaging in this study. Admittedly my position about the discourses of war, and the nature of war itself, has been influenced by scholars who feel very strongly about the masculine predominance in study and practice of IR. These scholars began to influence my perspective of the discipline prior to commencing this work. While in many cases, my discourse analysis involved counting the occurrences of certain words, a majority of the analysis was a contextual one. Therefore I, as the analyser, approached the process

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with my own presumptions about gendered language as it relates to war and security, thus my findings can said to be a subjective reflection of the content. To this I attempted to be mindful of my position of power, and subjective preconceptions. I have also created annexes which include quotations from the Debates analysed, as a reference for the reader, and in support of the arguments made in the respective chapters and towards respective themes. Furthermore, this work relies on an understanding of gender that is socially constructed, and that associates certain characteristics with masculinity and femininity. The differences between male and female temperaments have been challenged, even by certain types of feminists, arguing that there are intrinsic differences between male and female which result from biology. Thus, it is believed by some that gender is not a social construct, but is intimately tied to biology. I believe this argument to be indicative of the degree to which gendered assumptions are engrained as common sense, and the power of gendered discourses to perpetuate this common sense view. Finally, the presumptions that all masculine characteristics are valued above feminine ones can be disputed. While I see the merits of such an argument, I maintain that masculinity is valued to the exclusion of femininity in times of conflict and war.

From a logistical perspective, the short-time frame which provided the content for analysis can be understood to be a limitation of the research. In the week following the attacks of 9/11, emotions were high, so discourse could have reflected that intensity of feelings: sorrow, fear, anger. Perhaps analysis over a longer period of time would generate different findings. However, this intensity of emotion can be seen to generate a more organic response, as opposed to a political one which has been strategized. While the discussions in the House of Commons are usually extremely strategic, given the

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surprise nature of the attacks and global shock could point to some reaction based on emotion. Nevertheless, an analysis over a longer period of time could provide additional insight into the degree of gendered discourse Canada used in relation to the "War on Terror." It merits mention that the House of Commons is composed of Members of Parliaments with a range of political views. This work offers a general view of the predominant messages in the House of Commons related to security and conflict in the week post 9/11. And so, when there was significant debate about the cost of war, or the injury of engaging in a clash of civilisations, this was included in the respective chapters. How discourse about war and security differs depending on political affiliation, and position on the political ideological spectrum was not covered in this work, but could offer interesting contributions to the discussion which has been started here. Yet, this study was concerned with the dominant message of the House of Commons as a whole – as a reflection of the culture of that political institution. The focus was on the content of the dominant message, not who was saying it. Additionally, the Debates which were analysed in this study take place *before* Canada sent troops in support of the "War on Terror". Not only could the Canadian Armed Forces' presence in Afghanistan change MPs position about war, in either direction, but missing from this discussion is whether gendered language is used in reference to the military. Finally, over the course of Canada's military engagement in the "War on Terror" Canada was run by three different Prime Ministers, from different political parties. Thus a comparative analysis of each Prime Minister's gendered engagement of the "War on Terror" could shed light into each individual's perceptions of power as it relates to gender.

7.4 Conclusion

This study examined whether Canada's discourse on the "War on Terror" was gendered. It was motivated by a critical feminist position which asserts that international relations privileges masculinity. A further motivation of this study is the degree to which gender is socially constructed, and used discursively in the perpetuation of power dynamics. Answering the aforementioned question involved undertaking a discourse analysis of Hansard, the official Debates in the House of Commons, in the week following the attacks of 9/11. It was found in its rhetoric on security, in the discussion of potential responses, and in the creation of its national identity in contrast to the terrorist, Canada made use of gendered language. It is my hope that this work served to bring awareness to the unequal social meanings ascribed to gender characteristics, and the discursive ways this inequality is perpetuated. The dichotomous nature of language serves to reinforce and reproduce dynamics consistent with patriarchy. Yet upon more critical reflection, perhaps we can be more aware of how we legitimise its use as such.

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APPENDIX A

Quotations Corresponding to Chapter 4

Theme	Quote	Member of Parliament, Hansard Page Number[i]
The US: Canada's Ally and Best Friend	*"Above all, it was a sea of solidarity with our closest friend and partner in the world, the United States of America."*	Jean Chrétien, 5117
	"Our hearts go out to all our brave neighbours in the United States, that great beacon of hope and freedom to the world, our greatest ally and our closest friend. When Canada has needed it in the past the United States has been there for us."	Stockwell Day, 5117
	"As America's closest neighbour and friend, we owe it to them to listen and to support but we must also give them the benefit of our understanding of the events. A true friend lends a guiding hand when someone is blinded by grief and rage."	Alexa McDonough, 5122
	"Canada and the United States share a very special relationship. We are bound not only by geography and history but by the democratic values that form the bedrock of our societies. Canada has no better friend than our neighbour to the south. No two countries work closer together."	Lawrence MacAulay, 5128
	"We must make it a special priority to work together with our great neighbour and dearest friend, the United States of America, to counter this scourge. We must be certain the Americans can absolutely depend upon us not to be a conduit for terrorists or for any individual or group bent on illegal or criminal activity."	Judy Sgro, 5163
	"I am very encouraged that the Prime Minister has affirmed that Canada will stand together with the United States, our neighbour, our friend and our ally at this time of crisis, and that we will support and assist the American people in every possible way."	Vic Toews, 5203
	"It clearly was an attack that envisaged the World Trade Center because these terrorists wished to strike terror at the heart of the United States of America which is, and I agree with others who have spoken in this debate, the bulwark of democracy and our greatest friend and ally."	Bill Graham, 5207
	"The outpouring of emotion has been enormous. We have experienced literally hundreds of expressions of sympathy and equally as important, offers of support...our hearts and prayers have been with our American friends. We have no closer neighbour than the United States. Quite simply, our American neighbours are family, and it is in this regard I am confident in	Paul Bonwick, 5246

	offering our support to our Prime Minister when he stated "together we will defy and defeat the threat that terrorism poses to all civilized nations". On behalf of the residents of Simcoe-Grey, we will stand with the Americans in their hour of need. God bless Canada and God bless the United States of America."	
Interdependence	*"The fact that our two countries share the world's largest undefended border is not a right but a privilege."*	Stockwell Day, 5119
	"The reality of our nation is that our inseparable links, especially on the issues of trade, are a tremendous strength to us. However we face an obligation in terms of responding properly as a nation to the threats posed to security in the United States. Many Canadian families were directly impacted by the horrible actions of last week, but we have an obligation to all people of the world in terms of standing up against terrorism. It was never more apparent than it is now."	Brian Pallister, 5131
	"There are ties that bind us with the United States: family ties, business ties, historical ties, the fact that we have aided each other in times of war and in times of adversity. Given all of that, friendship has to be earned. I can certainly call America our best friend because it has earned and deserves that title. Right now Americans are questioning whether we deserve that title."	John Duncan, 5448
	"Canadians and Americans share a long friendship based on the values of democracy and freedom. We share the northern end of the continent. We are allies in NATO, in North America and in our geography. Our alliances have been tested time and again, in times of war and through the long cold war confrontation. They have been tested continuously because we have lived near an undefended border all this time. Both sides have done particularly well in living up to the challenges two nations face when they live side by side."	Don Boudria, 5390
	"Our ties to our American friends and neighbours reflect the many shared values which we hold dear: freedom, democracy, respect for life and for the rule of law, to name but a few. We share with them a common border and the world's most important trading relationship. We are inextricably linked to the United States and we will continue to demonstrate our solidarity with our neighbours."	Claude Bachand, 5401
	"We need to figure out what we can do to ensure that we have the free flow of goods and services back and forth across that border because it is a huge part of Canada's GDP. Our exports to the U.S. alone are something like 34% of GDP and total trade with the U.S. is something like 43% of GDP. Those are huge figures."	Monte Solberg, 5335
	"The Canada-United States accord on our shared border was signed in 1995. Its goal had four key points: to promote international trade, to streamline processes for legitimate travellers and commercial goods, to provide enhanced protection against drug smuggling and	Rahim Jaffer, 5181

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	the illegal entrance of people, and to reduce costs for both governments. "	
Appeals to personal stories	*"Mr. Speaker, clearly all of us need a moment to cry, a catharsis, and a release. In my riding I have a mother who does not know the whereabouts of her son who happened to be at ground zero in Manhattan. These criminal acts have touched all of us...but the direct perpetrators of this crime are dead. We cannot exact a greater penalty on them. "*	Paul Harold Macklin, 5189
	"Indeed I spoke to someone tonight who knows of at least seven co-workers who died and five more who are unaccounted..."	James Lunney, 5412
	I still get goose bumps as I think of the long minutes I lived through when I thought my youngest son was a prisoner of that tower of death, the World Trade Center. He was to work there on the morning of September 11.	Francine Lalonde, 5151
	We acknowledge the profound sense of tragedy and numbness that all of us felt as we witnessed the horror of what took place on September 11. I know many of us have personal stories. I listened with sadness to the comments of the member for Mercier, who spoke of her son. We all have our personal stories of close friends and family members whose whereabouts we did not know and the fear, the anguish and the uncertainty that all of us faced. In some cases we know that they died in that terrible tragedy.	Svend Robinson, 5164
	The events of a week ago today hit all Canadians in various personal and emotional ways. My brother was in the World Trade Center the day before the attack. He was to stay in a hotel across the street from it that was destroyed. It brings to mind the role of fate and the randomness of this ferocious violence which has left at least 5,000 families with a great loss from which they will never fully recover.	Jason Kenny, 5236
	The terrorist attacks on New York City particularly hit home for us with the death of 34 year old David Michael Barkway, formerly of Cornwall and a managing director at BMO Nesbitt Burns. David was a wonderful person, devoted to his family, friends and work. He was also partial to a good cigar, a cold Guinness and a round of golf. He will be missed by everyone...	Bob Kilger, 5341
	My youngest daughter works in the financial district of the city of New York. For almost an hour after the first terrorist attack, our family waited frantically for that phone call to say that she was safe. Mercifully for us that call came, but we can only imagine the pain and heartache of those families... for whom the calls never came.	Preston Manning, 5183
	In many ways the victims of this attack could have been any one of us. Many of our colleagues and many of my friends were in that building. My friend from Wild Rose told us that he came from the United States. He or his children might have been there. My mother was	Bill Graham, 5207

	American. I might have been there in other circumstances. Any one of us in the House tonight might have been there.	
The attack was on Canada, too	*"The House must also address the threat that terrorism poses to all civilized peoples and the role that Canada must play in defeating it."*	Jean Chrétien, 5116
	"This is not just an American struggle, for the terrorist war is aimed not only at America nor is it being fought only in America. It is being fought throughout the world, including here in Canada. The suicide bombing of the World Trade Center is an attack on Canada as well. Terrorists have declared war on the entire free world and the entire free world must declare war on terrorism."	Stockwell Day, 5118
	"This was a calculated attack upon the kind of open and safe society in which Canadians believe so profoundly. It was a direct attack on us, on all of us, and we must be prepared to respond directly."	Joe Clark, 5126
	"In that context we stand with our NATO allies who have indicated a willingness to invoke article 5, that an attack on one is an attack on all. We have to all stand together. We need to be consulted and be a part of the development of the plan that the United States...that we are all working on."	Francine Lalonde, 5154
	"I am pleased to represent are strongly supportive of the government stand that we must stand shoulder to shoulder with the Americans because these attacks have been launched on all of us, against the free world, as it were."	Jay Hill, 5232
	"We are part of that world. We must respond. This was an attack on our freedoms, on the ability to live peacefully, on the ability to live with everyone, all races, all nationalities, all religions. It was an attack on our freedom to speak, our freedom to voice our opinions, our freedom to gather with the likeminded and to gather here today, which is enshrined in our Canadian constitution."	Brenda Chamberlain, 5239
	"It was not an attack on the U.S.A.; it was an attack on the entire free world because in those buildings were people from many religions, many cultures and over 40 countries."	Larry Bagnell, 5161
	"As a first step I agree with the position the Canadian government and NATO have taken. They have responded with a declaration that an attack on one represents an attack on all. That attack must be dealt with and dealt with aggressively. However we must go further."	Wayne Easter, 5201
	"What is most troubling to me is that these were not simply acts of terrorism carried out against an individual nation. The attacks on the United States last week were an open declaration of war on all democracies worldwide. I would like to take a moment in the House, a symbol of Canadian freedom and democracy, to add my support to the government in taking resolute action against terrorism."	Chuck Cadman, 5265

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	"The attack was not just an attack on the United States. It was an attack on Canada and other civilized countries throughout the world."	Rose-Marie Ur, 5340
The world will never be the same	"Mr. Speaker, we are only six days from the morning of September 11, 2001, a new date which we all know will live on in infamy. On that day, in a few harrowing hours, the world was changed forever."	Stockwell Day, 5117
	"Six days and a few hours ago the world we knew changed brutally and forever when hijacked planes were flown deliberately into crowded buildings with the explicit purpose of killing innocent people and breaking the confidence of societies built upon freedom and order."	Joe Clarke, 5124
	"As others have observed, last Tuesday the world changed for Canada, for everyone. Our friend and close ally was viciously attacked. Thousands of innocents were murdered and all of humanity grievously wounded."	John Manley, 5126
	"Mr. Speaker, indeed the world has changed. Nobody will forget where they were on Tuesday, September 11, 2001, when these vicious attacks took place. We witnessed and suffered a tragedy that changed our landscape forever. Our hearts go out to the victims, the families and the whole nation."	Lawrence MacAulay, 5128
	"I certainly want to add my voice to that of my colleague's and other members of the House today who have expressed their sense of loss about this tragedy and the fact that our world has now changed."	Libby Davis, 5169
	"The events have caused great interest and angst...it would seem the conclusion is that the world will never be the same. There is a great sense of just how defining these events will be for all of us."	Andy Scott, 5170
	"Alternatively, we can accept that our world has changed and our open and almost casual concept of national security is now a threat to our freedom and no longer its hallmark."	Albina Guarnieri, 5184
	"Make no mistake, this is not a simple thing. It is complex. It is a new world for all of us and it is a world that is changing so fast and so dramatically that it is difficult to keep up. It is difficult to know where we should go."	Brenda Chamberlain, 5239
	"Mr. Speaker, one week ago today the world as we knew it changed dramatically. The unthinkable shattered thousands of innocent lives, including Canadian lives. Without warning, the safety and security we value so much as a mature democracy became much less certain."	Diane Ablonczy, 5245
	"The world we live in today is far different from the one we lived in only seven short days ago. The world changed on September 11, 2001, and it will never be the same again."	Jim Karygiannis, 5260
	"As I said in my remarks on the motion before the House regarding the tragedy that struck the United States last week, the whole world has changed dramatically,	Jason Kenney, 5312

	particularly the world in terms of strategic considerations for free countries such as Canada, for NATO countries in particular."	
	"Over the last seven to ten days many of us have been taken with the events that have happened and how they have changed our world forever."	Grant McNally, 5445
New Threats	*"Now it is no different. The war on terrorism will require real sacrifices and new priorities. Now we must face the difficult question of whether Canada is ready to face this new struggle."*	Stockwell Day 5118
	"However this is a new kind of war where civilians are not only attacked, but also used in a cowardly, inhuman and insane fashion."	Gilles Duceppe, 5122
	"This nation, our people, our traditions, our parliament and government can play leading roles in shaping the world's response to this new terror."	Joe Clark, 5124
	"The investigation also showed us that no system is immune. Canada, like many countries, has to continually adapt to deal with new and emerging terrorist threats and new methods of operation."	Lawrence MacAulay, 5129
	"In this new millennium the world community is witnessing great turmoil including the increasing use of violence for political and ideological purposes. As a government and a nation we understand that our domestic safety and well-being are very much tied to global security."	Lynn Myers, 5222
	"Make no mistake, this is not a simple thing. It is complex. It is a new world for all of us and it is a world that is changing so fast and so dramatically that it is difficult to keep up. It is difficult to know where we should go. As elected leaders we must lead and, as the Prime Minister of Canada said yesterday, we must stand with our neighbours. We must."	Brenda Chamberlain, 5239
	"This evil knows no bounds. The modernity of evil has taken a new course but I think we all recognize that from evil also comes the power of good."	Dan McTeague, 5260
New Strategies	*"What changed was the audacity of the terrorists. They have warned us that the threat runs wider than it did before. That means that our response must change, must be broader, tougher, itself more audacious."*	Joe Clark, 5126
	"What happened last week changed the whole nature of air travel, the kind of threat and the fact that commercial airliners were in effect used as missiles on civilian structures. That requires much more concerted and deliberate measures."	David Collenette, 5136
	"The investigation also showed us that no system is immune. Canada, like many countries, has to continually adapt to deal with new and emerging terrorist threats and new methods of operation."	Lawrence McAulay, 5129
	Our new approach to border management is outlined in Bill S-23. It provides the logistical framework for the customs action plan which would give us the tools to protect Canadians by focusing on high risks.	Martin Cauchon, 5148

	"That is what the new faceless enemy is, one that knows no boundaries. A new kind of reprisal is required for a new kind of enemy, an enemy that is not a state but a state of mind."	Benoit Savageau, 5154
	"We have to look at a new organization that would provide us with new capabilities to battle this terrible evil."	David Pratt, 5211
Balance Security & Freedoms	*"Terrorists have attacked our democratic values. If we radically change the way we live, then we are playing right into their hands. We must find the right balance between security measures designed to protect people, obviously, and the central role of freedom in our society. The choices that we need to make are about security, yes, but first and foremost, they are societal choices."*	Gilles Duceppe, 5121
	"For our democracy, the most pressing issue is to know how to achieve, under the new circumstances, a balance between individual freedom, which is a pillar of our democratic society, and our duty to protect citizens."	John Manley, 5127
	"Of course, I invite all parliamentarians to make comments and constructive proposals so that together we can continue to build a good and even an excellent customs system that will protect all Canadians, while taking into consideration a balanced approach regarding trade, tourism and the various types of travellers."	Martin Cauchon, 5148
	"Transforming a state into a bunker is to decide to turn in on oneself, to suffocate. Canada's reputation when it comes to respect for human rights and acceptance of others is exemplary on more than one count. In this difficult balance required between stepped-up border security and respect for freedom, human rights, refugee and humanitarian rights, we must listen to the voices of our fellow citizens, who believe in enriching our society through the contribution of new traditions, new ways of doing things and seeing the world."	Madeleine Dalphond-Guiral, 5197
	"We began the examination yesterday and it continues today on perhaps one of the most important debates that we will ever have. In waging a war against terrorism, we cannot forget that this is not a battle against community or faith. We must balance our needs for security with our belief in freedom, justice and tolerance."	Bryon Wilfert, 5246
	"In the coming weeks and months, and indeed years, we will be called upon in this place to make many difficult decisions. Perhaps the most difficult task facing us will be that of balancing the new concern for our collective safety with the longstanding Canadian values of acceptance and compassion."	Joe Fontana, 5286
	"In terms of immigration, those who argue deceptively that strength in screening approaches are anti-immigrant are mistaken. Our immigration policies must be generous. However they must be rigorous. We can no longer have a policy of admit first, ask questions later. Our policies and laws must protect the lives and	Rahim Jaffer, 5422

	livelihoods of Canadians. We must weigh the concerns about the safety of our citizens and the preservation of an open trade relationship with the United States against our humanitarian responsibility to receive genuine refugees."	
Not Revenge	"I do, however, hope that reflection and wisdom will be used in the reprisals. What is involved is not simple revenge against a people or a religion, but rather against terrorism."	Benoit Savageau, 5154
	"I would hope that in our response we will seek justice and not revenge."	Myron Thompson, 5170
	"I would like to ask the member if he would care to comment, because I think it is important that we make the distinction between having not revenge but justice."	Joe Jordan, 5175
	"May we be delivered from the evils of false religion and indiscriminate revenge, inspired to new heights and depths of compassion for all those who suffer, while relentlessly pursuing justice for those who practice terror. So help us God."	Preston Manning, 5183
	"We have to ask ourselves how we are going to uproot and remove the sources that lead to violence and hatred, vendetta and revenge rather than just believing that by killing the terrorists involved that we have resolved the problem. We have to bring them to justice."	Charles Caccia, 5193
	"I have another letter from a gentleman in my riding, who said in part: We are committed to justice not revenge. Revenge will only continue the cycle of violence."	John Harvard, 5200
	"Let us not allow this evil to overtake us either becoming like the terrorists themselves and seeking only revenge, but let us resolve to seek the will of the Creator...May God help all of us by his wisdom to make the right decisions in the days that lie ahead."	Reed Elley, 5245
Long term, not short term	"Let us not deceive ourselves as to the nature of the threat that faces us and that this can be defeated easily or simply with one swift strike. We must be guided by a commitment to do what works in the long run, not by what makes us feel better in the short run."	Jean Chrétien, 5116
	"Unless and until we base our policies and our allegiances on long term values, as the Prime Minister said this morning, and not on short term strategies, we will continue to create the monsters that come back to haunt us."	Alexa McDonough, 5123
	"For these reasons it is important for parliament not to act in a way that is precipitous and serves the short term needs of those who want revenge. Goodness knows, even President Bush has not acted that immediately."	Dan McTeague, 5261
	"We must have measured action in the short term but, more important, in the medium and long term. New approaches to intelligence gathering and infiltration will be part of the longer term solution in my view."	Roy Cullen, 5267
	" Minister of Finance has indicated quite clearly that we are going to do what is right for the long term to fight	Lawrence MacAulay, 5434

	terrorism and make sure the country remains one of the safest countries in the world in which to live."	
Guilt & Innocence	*"September 11, 2001 was supposed to be known as the 20th anniversary of the UN day of peace. Early that day the UN secretary general issued a press release calling for an end to hostilities around the world. Instead the world watched history's most despicable terrorist act unfold before their eyes and, in a sad and perhaps inevitable way, another generation has seen an end to innocence. How were we innocent? Some of us were simply gullible. We have seen a lot of terrorism. We have seen it in Israel, in Ireland and around the world but it was always over there, over there being some thousands of miles away, an ocean way. It has always been somewhere else. Surely that innocence is gone...It is also an innocence in that we have been complacent. We have seen terrorism and have known of terrorism activity in Canada. They have raised funds here or have set up headquarters here."*	Chuck Strahl, 5172
	"The evidence is clear. Canadians are not interested in finger pointing. They know...that the clock cannot be turned back. Neither will they accept continued inaction. Canada must not be a bed and breakfast for terrorists."	Brian Pallister, 5130
	"Canada cannot remain complacent."	Kevin Sorenson, 5132
	"Terrorism is a hideous thing. We Canadians have been very fortunate to have escaped this terrible reality in the main, but we are no longer innocents."	Reed Elley, 5244
	"As Canadians we will pay a high price for that. We already have in the sense that at least 100 Canadians and maybe more have lost their lives in New York. However every one of us has certainly lost a sense of innocence. We do not take our freedoms and the luxuries that we have had as a free and open society as lightly as we did a week ago."	Greg Thompson, 5271
Openness	*"He shared his concerns with me about the laxity of Canadian national security measures and how unsettling it is for his American friends and colleagues."*	John Duncan, 5402
	"This is an incredible story of successful hijackings. Four out of four hijackings were successful. It really brings it home and emphasizes and focuses on the terrible shortcoming in our security systems. Although it happened in the U.S., I am sure that it could have happened in Canada. If there was ever a clear message about security this is it. We must completely revamp all our systems."	Bill Casey, 5175
	"Canadians have cause to be angry over the culpability of the Liberal government for the historically poor administration of national security. Problems with Canada's immigration system policies are well known. There is an historical pattern of reports from our loyal public employees about Canada being either a haven for terrorist operations, a place where they raise funds or a	Paul Forseth, 5159

	place to be used as a gateway to the United States."	
Weak Military & Security	*"We are known as a country which welcomes with open arms refugees who are seeking freedom and democracy. Unfortunately we are also known somewhat to be soft in not identifying and dealing rapidly with those who are a risk. Refugee claimants who break the law or people who enter this country illegally, especially where there are concerns about security risks, should be immediately detained or deported, not simply asked to check in at an Immigration Canada office once or twice or month."*	Stockwell Day, 5120
	"Even before Tuesday's tragedy the government was warned of weaknesses in our security arrangements. The Leader of the Opposition has mentioned several actions which Canada could have taken,"	Joe Clark, 5125
	"In January 1999 a special Senate committee on security and intelligence stated very clearly that Canada is a venue of opportunity for terrorist groups...former CSIS chief of strategic planning David Harris referred to Canada as a "big jihad aircraft carrier for launching strikes against the United States."	Brian Pallister, 5130
	"I am referring to the mandate of CSIS to collect and analyze all information and to report and advise our government on threats to the security of our nation. I am also referring to the RCMP that has the responsibility to take direct action to counter any terrorist threat. The operating budgets for these agencies fell from $464 million in fiscal year 1989-90 to $333 million in 1997-98, or a $131 million reduction. Funding for CSIS fell from $179.4 million in 1991 to $167 million in 1997-98...between 1992 and 1998 personnel was reduced by 760 people, or a slash of 28%."	Kevin Sorenson, 5132
	"Mr. Speaker, nine years ago Canada had 90,000 people serving in our armed forces. We are now down to 55,000 and still falling. Our single largest national security force is almost half what it was 10 years ago, and now we are in a war against terrorism and it will involve NATO military strikes...(forces) already overcommitted. Could the Minister of National Defence tell us from where we will get the soldiers to meet both our current NATO commitments and for this new war against terrorism?"	Leon Benoit, 5142
	"Today our economic, social and national security are at peril. Why is this so? Our military is weak, the product of a decade of decline and neglect by the government. We have serious problems with terrorist groups in this country. Some people are in denial in regard to that, but the experts are not. This is a product of a decade of decline and neglect by our national government in terms of immigration and refugee policy. Loose, naive, and I will use this term, politically correct policies have made Canada a safe and comfortable haven for dangerous individuals."	Brian Fitzpatrick, 5453
Lax Immigration Policies	*"Most countries that accept refugees accept about 10%*	Paul Forseth, 5159

	to 15% of claims but we are so inadequate in our background checks that we accept about 50% or even more. It is no surprise then that CSIS says that most of the world's terrorist groups have established themselves in Canada for operations. The Canadian Security Intelligence Service has a mandate to monitor threats to Canada. On June 12, it said: Terrorism in the years ahead is expected to become more violent, indiscriminate and unpredictable...There will likely be terrorist attacks whose sole aim would be to incite terror itself...Canada a potential venue, for terrorists attacks."	
	"We are known as a country which welcomes with open arms refugees who are seeking freedom and democracy. Unfortunately we are also known somewhat to be soft in not identifying and dealing rapidly with those who are a risk. Refugee claimants who break the law or people who enter this country illegally, especially where there are concerns about security risks, should be immediately detained or deported, not simply asked to check in at an Immigration Canada office once or twice or month."	Stockwell Day, 5120
	"Immigration...those who arguesvthat the strengthening of screening approaches is anti-immigrant are profoundly mistaken. Our immigration policies must be generous but they can be rigorous as well and they must be. We can no longer have a policy of admit first and ask questions later."	Brian Pallister, 5130
	"To prevent this hardship, Canada must demonstrate to the United States that it would be as hard or harder for a terrorist to get into Canada than to go directly to the United States. This inevitably requires changes to our immigration, refugee and visitor visa policies."	Preston Manning, 5185
	"Canada's immigration policy must be effective and efficient. We should not be seen by organized criminals and terrorists as an easy haven. The charter of rights should not be able to be used as a crowbar by the world's terrorists and criminals. This undermines the quality of citizenship for which immigrants have fought so hard."	Gurmant Grewal, 5235
	"Canada is a land of immigrants where diversity is our strength. Let us not allow these criminals to break our strength... I urge the government to act to ensure that the weak links in our immigration laws are tightened."	Deepak Obhrai, 5270
	"Mr. Speaker, the solicitor general has repeatedly denied that there was a Canadian connection to the terrible events of September 11. Yesterday however, the FBI apprehended Nabil Al-Marabh, a man who lived in and was wanted in Canada. U.S. authorities handed him over to Canadian immigration officials but they let him loose. How can the government continue to deny a Canadian connection?"	Grant Hill, 5429

APPENDIX B

Quotations Corresponding to Chapter 5

Theme	Quote	Member of Parliament, Hansard Page Number
War	*"We are at war against terrorism"*	Jean Chrétien, 5116
	"The war on terrorism is not merely the moral equivalent of war, like a war on drugs or a war on poverty. This is a genuine war, which can only be won, as Sir Winston Churchill said of another long struggle, with blood, toil, tears and sweat."	Stockwell Day, 5117
	"However this is a new kind of war where civilians are not only attacked, but also used in a cowardly, inhuman and insane fashion."	Gilles Duceppe, 5122
	"Terrorism declared war upon our good neighbour on September 11, and so declared war upon us."	Kevin Sorenson, 5133
	"Our single largest national security force is almost half what it was 10 years ago, and now we are in a war against terrorism and it will involve NATO military strikes".	Leon Benoit, 5142
	"We are at war, but if we are at war it is not like any war we here have known before. It is not a war that we will watch on television like we did with the gulf war. It is not a war that is fought thousands of miles away, like the ones my parents experienced. It is a war where we are on the front lines. It is a war that will be fought in our airports, our schools, our communities and our shopping centres."	Reg Alcock, 5155
	"As Winston Churchill said: 'We do not have a week, we do not have a day, we do not have an hour to waste in engaging in a war on terrorism and the root causes of terrorism'."	Larry Bagnell, 5162
	"The fight against terrorism has been going on for a long time and it will go on from this day forward for a long time as well. It is never an easy fight because the war, which everyone will willingly engage in on terrorism, is not an old fashioned war. It is a different type of war. The war that we fought in World War I, then changed to a more technological war in World War II, and then when we got to the Stealth bombers in the Iraq war it changed again, but this war is different again. It will not be easily won but obviously win it we must."	Chuck Strahl, 5171
	"This attack has been described as war. It is war when it is of this magnitude and this widespread around the world, as terrorism is. It is war against the security and sovereignty of nations."	Stephen Owen, 5179
	"Terrorists have declared war on the free world and the entire free world must in turn declare war on terrorism. The response from the coalition of free nations must be,	James Moore, 5187

	out of self-defence, a systemic and comprehensive war against all forms of international terrorism."	
	"I expect that it will be a war waged on many fronts."	David Pratt, 5211
Peace/Peaceful	*"Let us join them in that spirit to do what must be done to stop the forces of terror and tyranny and to keep open the doors of freedom and peace."*	Stockwell Day, 5117
	"We need to use our special relationship with the United States to represent all progressive and peace loving countries that want to build lasting solutions to the conditions that breed such horrendous violence."	Gilles Duceppe, 5124
	"Much more than its allies, Canada has cashed in its so-called peace dividend."	Brian Pallister, 5131
	"Canadian Muslims have come far and wide to make Canada their home because they share the values of peace, freedom and democracy."	Rahim Jaffer, 5137
	"Do we enter this war on terrorism when it is said that Canada loves peace? That peace has been shattered by this act of carnage. What about the notes from the children at the American embassy that is fearful but want peace? That peace has been broken. I believe it is our responsibility to fight to get that peace back for those children and for their children."	Larry Bagnell, 5162
	"I believe that the true solutions to these problems of terrorism and international security must be sought through the building of peace rather than the constantly increasing, and often blind, use of brute force."	Yvon Charbonneau, 5177
	"Any reasonable student of history or of freedom, and any reasonable analyst of how the world truly works would come to only one conclusion: that the free world has an obligation to our children and all the children of the world to insist on civilization, to purge the world of its murderers and to restore stability so that they may all in the end live in peace."	James Moore, 5189
	"The price of peace is lives lost in war and the price can be very high."	Peter Goldring, 5205
	"It was not by chance that the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon took place on September 11, International Day of Peace. The terrorists' message is clear: peace is an illusion."	Madeleine Dalphond-Guiral, 5197
	"Canada is...an actor with potential on the military level, but this is not where is main strength lies...we have had examples of this in the past, particularly Lester B. Pearson, who earned a Nobel peace prize for proposing actions that led to concrete results."	Paul Crete, 5214
	"Protecting sovereignty, peace and order are our first responsibilities. We must think deeply about changing our priorities so that we can do our share and fulfill our moral obligations in this fight against evil."	Jason Kenney, 5237
	"May these families who are experiencing such great sorrow, a sorrow that will remain forever in their lives, find the strength and courage to continue their lives with acceptance and peace."	Clifford Lincoln, 5259
	"In these extremely dangerous times it is essential that	Alexa McDonough,

	we reaffirm our commitment to pursuing peaceful solutions to the tensions and hostilities that breed such mindless violence in our world."	5122
Canada is a peaceful place	*"Canadians do not dwell often on thoughts of war. We are thankful for having enjoyed a long season of peace. When we consider our role in the world, we are more likely to think of Canadians keeping peace than waging war."*	Stockwell Day 5118
	"Canadian Muslims have come far and wide to make Canada their home because they share the values of peace, freedom and democracy."	Rahim Jaffer, 5137
	"Rather, let this be the moment in history when we reaffirm the strength in our bedrock values of peace, human dignity for every individual and reason."	Clifford Lincoln, 5259
	"We must do this to send a signal around the world that Canadians are protectors of peace, freedom and democracy and that we will join the free world to help in relentlessly hunting down those who so viciously and in a cowardly way attack those foundations of the free world."	Chuck Cadman, 5265
	"Canada is a country that stands for tolerance and for freedom, but also for civilized discussion of differing points of view, for peoples of all lands and all beliefs have been welcomed to a country of unparalleled peace, liberty and prosperity. We are a nation of immigrants."	Aileen Carroll, 5401
	"Canada has and will continue to be a beacon of light in the world, a beacon of peace but one prepared as a nation to act."	Brent St. Denis, 5404
	"... Most notable things about Canada and Quebec is the warm welcome we give those looking for a safer and more peaceful place in which to live."	Madeleine Dalphond-Guiral, 5198
Canada must & would do something	*"The House must also address the threat that terrorism poses to all civilized peoples and the role that Canada must play in defeating it."*	Jean Chrétien, 5116
	"We must now take steps to show our American neighbours that we are every bit as concerned as they are about maintaining security and preventing terrorism and organized crime."	Stockwell Day, 5119
	"A response is required. Terrorists must answer for their acts, as must those who sponsor them. They must be brought to justice, as the motion states, and I support the motion for this part, among others, of the resolution at hand. This must be done within a framework of the largest possible coalition of countries that live by democratic values..."	Gilles Duceppe, 5121
	"We must deny the terrorists the psychological victory they seek. We must organize ourselves to protect and assert the civilized values that were so deliberately attacked. No nation has a greater stake in that response than Canada, and we must play our full part."	Joe Clark, 5126
	"(We) will assure Canadians of our commitment to combat terrorism. Inaction on our part increases the speculation among our allies that our word will not be	Brian Pallister, 5131

	kept. We must show them that Canada is not on the sidelines in the battle against terrorism but where it belongs on the frontlines."	
Reputation	*"Since the end of the cold war, Canada's diminished military capability has had an erosive effect on our world reputation...The restoration of our defence capabilities is an important component of restoring Canada's reputation in the world."*	Brian Pallister, 5131
	"However, Canada should be a fortress in the world, a nation known by our friends and allies to be strong and reliable. That is the challenge for Canada in the months to come."	Joe Clark, 5124
	"People are concerned about Canada's image internationally. It is a good image but it is also an image that we harbour criminals and criminals know that and tell everyone that. They advertise from other countries saying "Come into Canada if you are a criminal". It does not give confidence south of the border I am sure."	Randy White, 5191
	"This is a defining moment for Canada and for the world in which we live. The response to this unprecedented tragedy will require a sound judgment, strong conviction and extraordinary courage."	John Manley, 5127
	"We have wonderful men and women serving in our forces. They want to be recognized as playing an extremely important role. We have among the best in the world. We truly do. All they want is to be recognized as carrying out an important function."	Leon Benoit, 5315
	"Canadians know that we have a very special relationship with the United States of America and that we value that relationship with our neighbour to the south, but we also have a very special role internationally. If there was ever a time that both our neighbours to the south and the world needed to hear the voice of Canada, it is now."	Pat Martin, 5396
Strong, Firm, Resolute	*"If we in this parliament seek to be fair, so must we be forceful. Our response must be effective, focused and strong. This is a challenge in which Canada must play a leading role."*	Joe Clark, 5124
	"This is a defining moment for Canada and for the world in which we live. The response to this unprecedented tragedy will require a sound judgment, strong conviction and extraordinary courage."	Lawrence McAulay, 5128
	"We should treat these attacks as acts of war that require strong and resolute measures of self-defence. Canada must be strong, resolute and wholly united behind our American and NATO allies..."	James Moore, 5187-8
	"The form of war and the enemy may change, but evil does not change and the response of democratic nations to that evil can never change. It must be firm, it must be resolute, and we need to stand with our allies."	Vic Toews, 5204
	"This outrage must and will be answered. Our answer must be sober and well judged but resounding and resolute."	John Manley, 5126

	"As the Prime Minister said earlier today, this parliament has a role in shaping a firm and just global response to an unprecedented global threat."	David Pratt, 5210
Leadership	*"Canada must be a leader in searching out these solutions."*	Alexa McDonough, 5123
	"We have an opportunity to shape this new world if we are prepared to look at these issues, open to new realities, determined to play a role of leadership. The world needs Canada's leadership and strength now and this parliament...would be prepared to support a government that showed that kind of leadership."	Joe Clark, 5126
	"Is the government ready to play its own role, to be true to itself, even more so than the Americans...and to take a leadership role on the world stage to ensure that this fight will be waged on all fronts, instead of simply dealing with the tragic events that took place last week?"	Paul Crete, 5129
	"Canada is committed to taking a leadership role in strengthening international co-operation aimed at preventing terrorist acts."	Lynn Myers, 5223
	"As the Prime Minister has already pointed out, we are a leader in the fight against world terrorism. We have signed, ratified and implemented 10 of the UN conventions that lead the fight...in relation to terrorism."	Anne McLellan, 5249
	"In this regard, Canada has been at the forefront of international action on terrorism. From strengthening these legal measures at our disposal at the UN to chairing the negotiations on the two most recent counterterrorism conventions, Canadian leadership and Canadian ideas are evident throughout the legal framework that has been developed internationally."	Aileen Carroll, 5401
	"...There are no rearguard positions in the struggle against terrorism, only front lines. Canada is on the front line whether we want to be there or not."	Stockwell Day, 5118
Reason	*"I believe that all of this in the broader context has to be on the table if we are to look at this in the most intelligent and most reasonable fashion."*	Peter MacKay, 5230
	"Even if we are a minor military actor we can play a major role on the moral front in influencing our allies toward a reasoned and judicious course of action backed by a large multi-national consensus."	Clifford Lincoln, 5259
	"We have a duty to support our neighbours and to react in a decisive and reasoned way, in conjunction with the rest of the world community."	Eugène Bellemare, 5286
	"I hope the Prime Minister is able to deliver to the American president a message of the crucial need for calm, reasoned thinking."	Karen Kraft Sloan, 5397
	"Human beings, as rational as they are, can be over-affected by emotion. It can cloud their objectivity. Another strength that Canada can offer to...keep ...America on track as we chase the perpetrators so that there is as little threat as possible to innocent people or any other collateral damage."	Larry Bagnell, 5161

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	"With regards to this, I think that we must approach the problem in a rational manner even though emotions run high, to try to find longterm sustainable political solutions despite the fact that using force may prove tempting."	Yvon Charbonneau, 5177
Patience	*"Canadian support...should encourage action characterized by wisdom and patience, as the Prime Minister suggested today."*	Yvon Charbonneau, 5177
	"It will take time and a lot of clever strategy and clever tactics. It will also take patience. That is just the way it is in the modern world."	John Harvard, 5201
	"The fifty thousand or seventy-five thousand people who came to Ottawa to demonstrate their sympathy and their compassion toward the American people also came to tell parliament, to tell the Government of Canada that they must have a considered attitude, one that is patient yet determined to get through this type of ordeal, and one that does not accept such actions."	Paul Crete, 5124
	"We must prepare ourselves, and Canadians, for the fact that this will be a long struggle with no easy solutions, one in which patience and wisdom are essential."	Jean Chrétien, 5116
	"As the President of the United States said, it is something that will take a long period of time. He has asked people to have patience. I know it is difficult to have patience when people are looking for quick action. We must with cool heads look at the appropriate action that needs to be taken to carry out this intensive campaign against terrorism."	Art Eggleton, 5153
	"This response will call for immense wisdom, patience and perseverance, both by the leaders of the United States and those of their friends and allies including Canada."	Clifford Lincoln, 5259
Urgency	*We must also take middle and long term measures...We must do this while being very aware of the urgency of the situation, but also in the calm and serenity needed to achieve the anticipated results.*	Paul Crete, 5214
	"Under these urgent circumstances, Canadians will be pleased to see that (MPs) have come together in the spirit of unity and resolve to make this debate our first order of business...on the role that Canada should play in shaping a firm and just global response to an unprecedented global threat."	Jean Chrétien, 5115
	"Those attacks also demonstrate how much the world has changed. How wrong it would be for us to pretend that old ways work and how urgent it is to deal with the real threats of Tuesday, of today and of tomorrow."	Joe Clark, 5124
	"No issue is of greater urgency than North American perimeter security."	Brian Pallister, 5130
	"I keep hearing the point about being patient. Yes, we must act rationally and not emotionally. We must be deliberate and not chaotic in our response, but let there	Jason Kenney, 5238

	be no mistake about the urgency of this fight... This is not something where the west can slowly, ponderously, in our typical Canadian way, wait and delay and procrastinate. There is urgency in this matter."	
	"It is now the time for all like-minded nations to work together to make a safe planet for all of us. We must urgently move forward to effect worldwide the presence of justice, a true peace."	Carolyn Bennett, 5241
Rule of Law	*"However this response must be carried out in accordance with the principle of the rule of law."*	Alexa McDonough, 5123
	"It is critical that members of the international community act as one. Words alone in support of a world in which the rule of law prevails will not be enough. There must be consequences for those who violate the most basic standards of human behaviour."	John Manley, 5127
	"We also lose this war if we become like them. If we start to do what they do, not following the rule of law, not acting in accordance with our values...then we are in danger of becoming little better. We cannot adopt their techniques or tactics to solve this problem."	Reg Alcock, 5155
	"Let us therefore renew our commitment to respect others, our commitment to peace, order and the rule of law. Anything less diminishes all of us."	Judy Sgro, 5163
	"When we examine what it is that defines our civility, it is a respect for the rule of law and fundamental rights and freedoms...we have evolved to a place where we hold life and freedom of the utmost importance...crossing over geographic boundaries, religious or political affiliation and values like love and tolerance. These are values with which (we) are very familiar."	Andy Scott, 5170
	"In our response to terrorism we must be immensely cautious not to respond indiscriminately. We in a democracy pride ourselves in and benefit daily from the rule of law. It is the essence and fundamental notion of democracy"	Stephen Owen, 5179
Multilateral	*"The United Nations would seem to be the ideal institution to launch a concerted action so as to ensure the anti-terrorism is conducted globally or multilaterally to use another term."*	Charles Caccia, 5192
	"However, as freedom loving citizens have grasped the complexity and magnitude of what has happened, the imperative of a more measured response, more multilateral response and more informed response must form the basis of our actions."	Alexa McDonough, 5122
	"Any response that Canada makes must be in the context of a multilateral response respecting international law and not simply within the framework of NATO."	Svend Robinson, 5165
	"...I totally agree that we have to work collectively in a multilateral approach to deal with these issues...this is precisely what the American administration, as well as its allies around the globe and friends in the free world are doing as we speak. That is to build a coalition so they can collectively take action to weed out terrorism,	Mac Harb, 5169

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	wherever it exists."	
	"Canada's response must be multilateral and within international law."	Libby Davies, 5247
	"President Bush made it clear that he is building an international coalition to combat not only terrorist cells but their state sponsors. We must work with and be part of that coalition."	Stockwell Day, 5120
Alliance/Allies	*"We will stand with our allies. We will do what we must to defeat terrorism."*	Jean Chrétien, 5117
	"Canada, in invoking article 5 of the NATO charter, has joined with our allies in declaring that this attack on the United States is an attack on ourselves, the first such declaration in the 50 year history of NATO."	Stockwell Day, 5117
	"We have, together with our closest allies, moved to invoke article 5 of the NATO charter for the first time in the 52 year history of the alliance."	John Manley, 5127
	Together with our allies we must summon the resources and the resolve to do what is necessary to rid the world of this unspeakable evil.	David Pratt, 5137
	We voted at NATO with our allies to say that if one member is attacked we are all attacked and we will stand by what we said.	Jean Chrétien, 5140
	"Our commitments to our allies through NATO are known. We have made a very solid commitment. We are strongly supportive of an effort to combat terrorism. We will develop with our allies the necessary plan and will participate in that plan to carry out the campaign against terrorism."	Art Eggleton, 5143
	We expect the military to defend against attack, whether it is a terrorist attack or some type of military attack. We depend on our allies to help us. We know we will help our allies should the attack be on them. We expect our forces to meet commitments to our allies through NATO, probably the greatest alliance in military history, and through NORAD, the North American alliance.	Leon Benoit, 5398
	We can sit around and psychoanalyze all we want but our allies need us today. We have to be there for them.	Vic Toews, 5205
NATO	*The fact that NATO took the unprecedented action of invoking article 5 of the Washington treaty, that an attack against one is an attack against all, is an indication both of the gravity of the situation and the resolve among the NATO allies to defeat terrorism.*	David Pratt, 5209
	We must support our armed forces and send that message to our NATO partners around the world. Last week NATO invoked article 5 for the first time in its history. President Bush made it clear that he is building an international coalition to combat not only terrorist cells but their state sponsors.	Stockwell Day, 5120
	"This nation, our people, our traditions, our parliament and government can play leading roles in shaping the world's response to this new terror. That is what Canada does in this difficult world. We put our values to work. We did that when NATO was formed, when peacekeeping	Joe Clark, 5124

	was established, when new treaties of trade were framed and when apartheid was fought. We must do that now with our closest friends next door and with our allies against terror around the world."	
Duty	*"It has been clear that the civilized nations of the world have a solemn duty to speak as one against the scourge of terrorism."*	Jean Chrétien, 5115
	"We have a duty to make freedom and democracy prevail, as well as their underlying values, so that the death of these people will not have been in vain."	Stockwell Day, 5122
	"It is our duty as Canadians to base our solidarity with the Americans on such a vision, which I believe corresponds to the deepest Canadian values vis-à-vis fairness and international co-operation."	Yvon Charbonneau, 5177
	"Our duty as modern and open democratic societies is to continue to help those fleeing dictatorial regimes and life-threatening situations."	Madeleine Dalphond-Guiral, 5197
	"We also believe that we have a duty of solidarity toward the United States, because what happened there could have happened in any of the world's major cities."	Réal Ménard, 5211
	"We have a duty to support our neighbours and to react in a decisive and reasoned way, in conjunction with the rest of the world community."	Eugène Bellemare, 5286
	"It also means that as a free country, as one of the most blessed and wealthiest nations in the world, we have a profound moral obligation to do our duty, to do our share as Canadians have done before."	Jason Kenney, 5237
	"...We have a duty to act to ensure that the values we hold so dear, the values that characterize us, prevail."	Joe Clark, 5126
Obligation	*"NATO is perhaps the most successful military and political alliance in history. Its decisions on military action are made with both care and deliberation. We are obliged to be part of that."*	Stockwell day, 5120
	"However we face an obligation in terms of responding properly as a nation to the threats posed to security in the United States. Many Canadian families were directly impacted by the horrible actions of last week, but we have an obligation to all people of the world in terms of standing up against terrorism. It was never more apparent than it is now."	Brian Pallister, 5131
	"Sadly it is most likely that there will be a traditional attack and that we will be asked for military personnel and equipment to meet our obligations."	Leon Benoit, 5157
	"Any reasonable student of history or of freedom, and any reasonable analyst of how the world truly works would come to only one conclusion: that the free world has an obligation to our children and all the children of the world to insist on civilization, to purge the world of its murderers and to restore stability so that they may all in the end live in peace."	James Moore, 5189
	"On this side of the House, we think Canada has a moral obligation to send military support if requested. By invoking article 5 of the NATO charter, Canada has	John Reynolds, 5392

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	agreed that the cowardly terrorist attack on the United States was an attack on Canada as well and we are obliged to assist with military forces if requested."	
Past military Involvement	*"Along with Canadians, the brave men and women of the United States crossed the Atlantic and Pacific in the Second World War and stopped tyranny."*	Stockwell Day, 5117
	"In discussions with my brother, a veteran of the United States army, he recounted his story of being caught in a foxhole during World War II. He was under fire in a pool of water that turned to ice very slowly and as the hours passed he had no hope until over the hill came Canadian troops who saved his life for which he will be forever eternally grateful."	Myron Thompson, 5138
	"The war that we fought in World War I, then changed to a more technological war in World War II, and then when we got to the Stealth bombers in the Iraq war it changed again, but this war is different again. It will not be easily won but obviously win it we must."	Gurbax Malhi, 5171
	I have said on numerous occasions that this will not be a conventional war. I think the president of the United States said words to that effect this evening. It will not be like World War II or Kosovo or the gulf war. This will be dealing with an enemy who is illusive, who operates in the shadows and who operates in many different countries of the world.	Art Eggleton, 5407
	I have read a lot of 20th century military history. In our war against terrorism what we need is co-operation, solidarity, commitment and trust of the kind and nature demonstrated in the deep relations established between the administrations of Churchill and Roosevelt and their emissaries, that great Canadian William Stephenson, who worked with that great American, Bill Donovan, architect of the OSS, the forerunner of the CIA. It was World War II and the stakes were high. The stakes are high now too.	John Duncan, 5402
Resources	*Fighting the multi-headed monster of terrorism means attacking all its operations and doing it simultaneously. We will address in detail the area and concerns of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service which has lost 28% of its personnel in the last decade...the areas of the RCMP and its situations related to lost resources...the largest infusion of resources will have to go to the beleaguered Canadian armed forces. Over the last year the Canadian forces has declined from 90,000 to 55,000 personnel and is on track for further declines. This is a dereliction of our duty. We must support our armed forces and send that message to our NATO partner....*	Stockwell Day, 5120
	"That leads me to this question. With the second lowest defence commitment in NATO, a defence commitment which is less than half of the average expenditure in NATO, 2% of GDP, how can Canada pretend to expect to meet the kinds of commitments we may be upon by our allies to make?"	Jason Kenney, 5154

	"We know that the American forces have called up 50,000 reservists, ironically almost the total number of those in our armed forces."	Peter MacKay, 5156
Loss of Life	"Will the Prime Minister assure the House and assure Canadians, who are deeply concerned that he may be giving carte blanche to the United States in this incident, that any response Canada supports will fully respect international law and will avoid the loss of innocent civilian lives?"	Svend Robinson, 5144
	"We should not allow our immediate repulsion and emotions to lead us into decisions and actions which may in their process cause the loss of more innocent lives and destabilize the already delicate equilibrium of world peace, frail and inconsistent as it may be."	Clifford Lincoln, 5259
	"We also owe it to our friends in the United States to speak the truth about the implications of the course upon which they are now embarking. I believe from the bottom of my heart that the United States is embarking upon a course which is profoundly dangerous, which will cause the loss of many more innocent lives and which will take this planet into territory that is dangerous and destructive."	Svend Robinson, 5404
	"Does the member who just spoke have some concerns about overreaction and indiscriminate bombing, and the loss of many more civilian lives in places like Afghanistan if we are not careful?"	Lorne Nystrom, 5185
Sacrifice	"We cannot promise that not a single life will be lost. Some soldiers and some civilians might be affected, but sometimes that is the price we pay to have peace and destroy the evil of terrorism."	Jean Chrétien, 5144
	"In World War II we again made a huge effort, especially in relation to the size of our population. As well, in Korea and in the gulf, Canada proved itself ready. We joined with our allies and did our share, sometimes at great cost. Now it is no different. The war on terrorism will require real sacrifices and new priorities."	Stockwell Day, 5118
	"It is one thing for people at my age to discuss it. It is a whole different dynamic for the young people who would be called upon to fight the war and potentially make the ultimate sacrifice for our country".	Jay Hill, 5162
	"This will be a difficult and courageous decision for Canadians, because courage has a cost. In retaliation it could be the cost of Canadian blood at home and abroad. It is an excruciating decision for Canadians, because they are making it not only for themselves but for their children. Five thousand people died this time. How many people will die next time if we do nothing?"	Larry Bagnell, 5162
	"Perhaps the most important thing of all is that it is finally our generations' moment to pick up the torch of freedom and liberty handed to us by our forefathers at such tremendous personal cost."	Chuck Strahl, 5172

	"Whatever response by the world will undoubtedly cost lives of Canadians and other freedom loving peoples of the world who participate. The price of peace is lives lost in war and the price can be very high."	Peter Goldring, 5205
Courage	"The response to this unprecedented tragedy will require a sound judgment, strong conviction and extraordinary courage."	John Manley, 5218
	"The Canadian military reputation throughout history may have been small in number but enormous in courage and tenacity. We cannot waiver or procrastinate this unity. It is time for action, not contemplation. If ever there was a time for Canadians to strike a blow for freedom, that time is now."	Myron Thompson, 5138
	"America, a beacon of freedom and hope to the world, was built by the courage and determination of all those who sought democracy and opportunity on her shores. Canadians share those values and are prepared to stand side by side with our friends to defend our way of life."	Susan Whelan, 5138
	"The courage to act requires a much better allocation of human and financial resources and the best available information systems for protection and enforcement."	Paul Forseth, 5160
	"Mark Twain in defining courage and decisiveness said, 'In the beginning of change, the patriot is a scared man, brave, hated and scorned. When the cause succeeds, the timid join him, for then it costs nothing to be a patriot'."	John Reynolds, 5393
	"As the nations of the world prepare for a battle between the forces of good and evil let us remind them why we are known for our courage. We will be there to assist."	Elsie Wayne, 5309
Innocent & Victims	"The hatred that moves them to massacre the innocent can never be negotiated with or reasoned with."	Stockwell Day, 5119
	"Thousands of innocents were murdered and all of humanity grievously wounded."	John Manley, 5126
	"Today we pause, above all, to remember the thousands of innocent human beings who paid the terrible price of hate and violence with their own lives."	Clifford Lincoln, 5138
	"To direct our anger at innocent people, particularly based on their religion or ethnicity, would be the worst possible response."	Geoff Regan, 5139
	"Innocent people were the victims of these monstrous attacks. Canadians are at once saddened and incensed by this indescribable violence."	Martin Cauchon, 5147
	"These attacks were senseless and misdirected acts of brutality against innocent men and women."	Gurbax Malhi, 5171
	"There are still between 40 and 70 missing and innocent Canadians who just happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time. That is going to affect hundreds of people directly and thousands of people indirectly in the country. We may never know what happened to some of those people."	Bill Casey, 5174
	"The victims are from all races and creeds. They were all innocently going about their daily lives."	Rahim Jaffer, 5180
	"The hatred that moves them to massacre the innocent can never be negotiated with or reasoned with."	Jason Kenney, 5237

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APPENDIX C

Quotations Correspond with Chapter 6

Theme	Quote	Member of Parliament, Hansard Page Number
Civilization	*"So, let us be clear: this was not just an attack on the United States. These cold-blooded killers struck a blow at the values and beliefs of free and civilized people everywhere. The world has been attacked."*	Jean Chrétien, 5116
	"We must organize ourselves to protect and assert the civilized values that were so deliberately attacked."	Joe Clark, 5126
	"With over 40 nationalities listed in the ranks of the dead and missing, this was truly an attack upon the civilized world."	David Pratt, 5137
	"Mr. Speaker, we find ourselves in a touchy situation and we should be very cautious so that the war against terrorism does not turn into a clash of civilizations."	Francine Lalonde, 5142
	"Wanton killing, the murder of innocent people, destruction of property and terrorism have no place in the civilized society we all cherish in our country."	Judy Sgro, 5163
	"The assault last week was targeted at the Americans, but it was also an assault on civilized humanity of all faiths. When we examine what it is that defines our civility, it is a respect for the rule of law and fundamental rights and freedoms. I believe we have evolved to a place where we hold life and freedom of the utmost importance above all else, crossing over geographic boundaries, religious or political affiliation and values like love and tolerance. These are values with which Canadians are very familiar."	Andy Scott, 5170
Barbaric	*"Last week's horrific attacks in New York, Washington and Pennsylvania have shocked everyone in the civilized world. These mass hijackings and suicide attacks were more than a crime; they were barbaric acts of war."*	Stockwell Day, 5117
	"The enormity of the death and devastation, the horror and the barbarity of the last week, are almost beyond the capability of the human mind to absorb and understand."	David Pratt, 5209
	"As Canadians, neighbours and members of the global community of peace, we must stand firmly side by side and fight this barbaric cowardly act, an act which has struck at the heart of our freedom and our democratic principles."	John Cannis, 5340
	"While terrorism is a disease, a pox on the face of humanity, terrorism must not make the Canadian people fearful. We must continue to assert our humanity even in the midst of barbarous acts, and as the Prime Minister has said, by reaffirming the fundamental values of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms."	Karen Kraft Sloan, 5397

	"The United States were attacked in an exceptionally underhanded and barbaric manner."	Francine Lalonde, 5414
	"The Bloc Quebecois considers that this barbaric act is directed not just against the United States, but against all nations."	Madeleine Dalphond-Guiral,5226
Evil	*"The evil perpetrators of this horror represent no community or religion. They stand for evil, nothing else."*	Jean Chrétien, 5116
	"Last week the world saw the face of evil. However good may yet be able to arise out of the evil if the citizens of the free countries of the world rise as one, say that this evil shall not stand, and work together to eliminate it from the earth."	Stockwell Day, 5121
	"Together with our allies we must summon the resources and the resolve to do what is necessary to rid the world of this unspeakable evil."	David Pratt, 5137
	"Terrorists, crazy people with absolutely evil minds."	Myron Thompson, 5169
	"Terrorism is evil. It is a crime that should not have any place in Canadian society. We need to send that message around the world."	Chuck Strahl, 5172
	"May we be delivered from the evils of false religion and indiscriminate revenge, inspired to new heights and depths of compassion for all those who suffer, while relentlessly pursuing justice for those who practice terror."	Preston Manning, 5183
	"There are evil people and they must be hunted down the way criminals are, in the way we are trying to find drug dealers, the essence of drugs and the sale of drugs."	Bill Graham, 5209
	"It came from deliberate, evil-minded, malicious killers who were motivated by hate..."	Jason Kenney, 5237
	"This is a monster so evil that no one can comprehend the depth and limits that this can reach in any community in any country in the world."	Brenda Chamberlain, 5239
Clash of Civilizations	*"This is not a war between good and evil. We must avoid this reasoning, which only serves the bin Ladens of this world...too often, we resort to evil to justify the empire of the good. But empires can never serve the good."*	Gilles Duceppe, 5121
	"I would like to distance myself especially from the remarks made by the members of the Canadian Alliance. This is not a debate of good and evil. This is not the reality. Of course we do not support terrorism, I repeat, we do not agree with the very specific way chosen to put ideas across, but it is not a question of good and evil. There are terrorists on American soil."	Réal Ménard, 5211
	"We are talking about good versus evil. There is such a thing. We need to be unbelievably aware of that and sensitive to it as well."	Deborah Grey, 5199
	"I would disagree with him on another issue that he mentioned, which is that this is not a battle of good and evil."	Grant McNally, 5213
	"Mr. Speaker, we find ourselves in a touchy situation	Francine Lalonde,

	and we should be very cautious so that the war against terrorism does not turn into a clash of civilizations."	5142
	"So the reason I said that it is not a matter of good or evil is that on the international level there are geopolitical interests, which may differ according to one's standpoint."	Réal Ménard, 5213
Human Rights & Freedoms	*"Today more than ever we must reaffirm the fundamental values of our charter of rights and freedoms: the equality of every race, every colour, every religion and every ethnic origin."*	Jean Chrétien, 5116
	"Our grief and anger must not in any way lead us to a diminution of the most fundamental and most important civil liberties and human rights."	Svend Robinson, 5165
	"Unfortunately, it would seem there also exist on the planet those who lack this level of civility, who do not share our values and who feel that it is acceptable to take away these basic fundamental human rights. They hold their views above the sanctity of life itself."	Andy Scott, 5170
	"Terrorism is with us. It is linked to poverty, sickness, human rights abuses and autocratic governments that abuse their citizens."	Stephen Owen, 5179
	Now more than ever we must resolve to express through our future decisions and actions the values which we share of a deep and abiding belief in human rights, in the integrity and immeasurable worth of human life and the dignity of the individual.	Clifford Lincoln, 5259
	"As terrorism has neither nationality, border nor respect for human rights, the measures that nations such as ours may take must consider needs and the major intnl agreements aimed at protecting individual and human rights."	Madeleine Dalphond-Guiral, 5226
	"There are many in the world today who hate Canada simply because we are a democracy and friends of the U.S. There are groups with arsenals of weaponry who would do us harm solely because we value freedom, liberty and human rights above all else."	Elsie Wayne, 5309
Compassion	*"We are all Canadians. We are a compassionate and righteous people."*	Jean Chrétien, 5116
	"It will be our deeds which will reveal the genuine depth of our true compassion."	Brian Pallister, 5130
	"We will do what Canadians have done best for a long time, which is to show our compassionate side knowing full well, as the president has said about the Americans, we are a great and generous people. We can be fierce when angered as well and right now my constituents are damned angry"	Chuck Strahl, 5173
	"Mr. Speaker, this awful event has shown the world the quality of Canadians, our compassion and how much we care."	Bill Casey, 5176
	"My compassion and my prayers go first of all to those who have been directly affected by these acts of terrorism."	Anne McLellan, 5220
	"The most difficult task facing us will be that of	Joe Fontana, 5286

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	"balancing...our collective safety with the longstanding Canadian values of acceptance and compassion."	
	"We cannot allow Canada to become a safe haven for those who would rely on the humanitarian compassion of Canadian laws to avoid justice in their own countries or in countries where they commit their crimes."	James Lunney, 5411
Incomprehensible/Misunderstood	*"There is an incredible numbness that comes out of the horror of an act like this is that is so huge and incomprehensible."*	Reg Alcock, 5155
	"What happened to thousands of people in New York city, including Canadians, had no comprehensible reason. It was a simple act of slaughter of innocent people driven by hatred and a love of destruction. That is something completely incomprehensible to us, to the families, to the loved ones and friends of the people who are not with us today but who were alive just a week ago."	Diane Ablonczy, 5242
	"This was indeed a senseless and cowardly act committed by a very few fanatics willing to give up their lives for a cause that is difficult to piece together and comprehend. They have really turned the whole world upside down."	Roy Cullen, 5267
	"As Canadians watched in horror and tried to understand the incomprehensible, I find it difficult not to think of the possible Canadian connection."	Paul Forseth, 5159
	"Words like random and senseless have been used to describe the attacks which are believed by many to have been provoked by simple hatred."	John Manley, 5126
	"These attacks were senseless and misdirected acts of brutality against innocent men and women."	Gurbax Malhi, 5171
Canadian Muslims	*"However, while bin Laden's al-Qaeda movement or other radical groups from the Middle East may be guilty of these infamous acts, we know that the overwhelming majority of Arabs and Muslims here in Canada and around the world deplore and abhor these attacks as strongly as we do."*	Stockwell Day, 5118
	"I have been saddened by the fact that the terror of last Tuesday has provoked demonstrations against Muslim Canadians and other minority groups in Canada. This is completely unacceptable. The terrorists win when they export their hatred."	Jean Chrétien, 5116
	"The people who committed this atrocity are extremists. That is who they are. We must be very careful that in responding to this crisis that we do not create new victims or blame whole communities for the acts of people who in any society would be judged extremists. To be clear and for the record; all of us in the House know that no one is more shocked or more offended by this atrocity in the United States than members of the Canadian Arab and Muslim communities. No one is more offended than they are."	Joe Clark, 5124
	"I fear that due to a perverse interpretation of Islam by an extreme few a whole community is at risk of being	Rahim Jaffer, 5137

	painted with the same brush. Canadian Muslims have come far and wide to make Canada their home because they share the values of peace, freedom and democracy. These values are cherished and this country loved due to the opportunity it has given all Canadians, all races and creeds."	
Muslims vs Terrorists	*"The teachings of Islam are diametrically opposed to the terrorists' interpretations of them. I am therefore calling upon the public to reach out to our Arab and Muslim friends here in Canada and to reject all forms of discrimination toward innocent individuals. Let us not allow the barbarism of a few extremists to taint an entire community or religion. There must indeed be justice, but only for those who are guilty."*	Stockwell Day, 5118
	"My colleague is the only member of the Muslim faith in the House. He has called for what I would call for: tolerance and respect for other people's religions. This has nothing to do with the Muslim religion; it has everything to do with the fanatical fringe. We must bear that in mind as we make these deliberations."	Betty Hinton, 5162
	"There is too frequently confusion between Islam, a religion of peace, and Islamic fundamentalism, a political dogma to which the Muslims themselves are the first to fall victim, moreover."	Jacques Sada, 5139
	"The term Islam means peace. Muslims around the world believe that peace and tolerance are the very essence of faith. The terrorists who attacked the Pentagon and theWorld Trade Center have violated the Holy Koran and Islamic values. A common Muslim greeting, as-Salam-u-Alaikum, means may peace be upon you. The word jihad simply means that each individual must strive to be the best he or she can be. For example, Muslims are in an internal struggle to prevent themselves from committing bad deeds. Jihad does not mean a physical holy war against other human beings as has been frequently said in the media. Therefore committing violent acts against the innocent is not part of jihad but rather is a sin against the Holy Koran...no mention in the Holy Koran about committing violent acts against non-Muslims."	Rahim Jaffer, 5180
Extremists/Fanaticism	*"People who committed this atrocity are extremists. That is who they are."*	Joe Clark, 5124
	"The enemy is radical, extreme Islamism. It is not Islam or Muslims, but a radical political movement among a small minority of Muslims in some parts of the world. Let us call it by its name...Let us not be coy about it."	Jason Kenney, 5178
	"On Saturday, Marcus Gee in the Globe and Mail revised that. He said: Terrorism is a deliberate form of political or ideological warfare waged by fanatics with a disposition for unlimited violence. In the case of extreme religious terrorists, whether Islamic or Christian or Sikh, they are engaged in a holy war, a struggle for the fate of the world that justifies any amount of bloodshed."	Carolyn Bennett, 5240

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	"I know that terrorism is horrible, that religious fundamentalism is despicable and that fanaticism generates evil."	Gilles Duceppe, 5121
	"There are fanatical groups in the world who have taken it upon themselves to do whatever is necessary to bring their point of view across."	Betty Hinton, 5162

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[i] Canada. Parliament. 2001. House of Commons Debates, 37th Parl., 1st sess., vol. 137 no. 79.
Canada. Parliament. 2001. House of Commons Debates, 37th Parl., 1st sess., vol. 137 no. 80.
Canada. Parliament. 2001. House of Commons Debates, 37th Parl., 1st sess., vol. 137 no. 81.
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