



THE RISE OF THE ALT-RIGHT IN CANADA

A FEMINIST ANALYSIS

KEY FACTS

- Canada's alt-right ideology is fueled by anti-immigration, anti-Muslim, anti-Jewish, anti-multiculturalism, and anti-government sentiments.
- The 2019 Global Terrorism Index identified that acts of terrorism committed by far-right groups have increased around the globe by 320%.
- There are 6,660 right-wing extremist channels, pages, groups, and accounts across 7 social media platforms operating in Canada.
- The alt-right can generally be categorized into five ideological sub-groups: White Supremacists, Manosphere; Ethnonationalists; Anti-Muslim; and Sovereignist & Militia groups.
- Alt-right groups such as 'Incels' target women specifically.
- Anti-choice champions such as "#50ForLife", "Pro-Life", "March for Life", and "Pre-Born" are part of the alt-right's agenda in Canada.
- Alt-right ideology incorporates homophobia, heterosexism, genderism, misogyny, sexism, and racism. Racialized women, LGBTQ2SIA people, Indigenous women, and Black women are at disproportionate risk from this racist misogynist movement.
- The COVID-19 pandemic has exacerbated the spread of alt-right ideologies against Asian people.
- Concern over a rise of the alt-right is not an overreaction and CRIAW-ICREF urges the government to treat misogyny, sexism, and racism as a serious threat to public safety.
- Collective actions of all individuals, governments, political parties, labour unions, schools, universities, communities, civil society organizations, media, and related groups have a role to play to combat alt-right extremism.

Introduction

Racism and misogyny are not new in Canada and have very deep roots. Our colonial foundation as a white settler state is built upon the genocide, dehumanization, and oppression of Indigenous peoples and Black people, and discrimination against Jewish people and immigrants. Examples include extremely high rates of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls; forced sterilization of Indigenous women and girls; treaty violations and land disposition; the residential school system; scientific experiments on First Nations Peoples; the Chinese Head Tax (1885);¹ and the Continuous Journey regulation (1908)². It is abundantly clear how deep Canada's misogynistic racist history is and how it forms the foundation and cornerstone of Canada today. This is also the background to remember when we look at the rise of the alt-right in Canada.

The alt-right is not about some individuals. Alt-right ideology permeates and shapes the structures of our society, such as the government, schools, colleges, and universities, the labour market, the justice system, the police system, the immigration system, the political system, and so on.

It is urgent to dig deeper to expose the insidious and overt ways the alt-right pervades our society and to explore how, as feminists, we can and should stand against this hateful misogynistic and racist movement.

Many feminists have written about the interconnections between multiple systems of oppression and discrimination. bell hooks (1984), for example, suggests we cannot eradicate misogyny unless we eradicate the “white supremacist capitalist patriarchy”. **Misogyny and racism are not individual problems; instead, they are the outcomes of a deliberately designed patriarchal system.** The alt-right is no exception. The alt-right is white male power and domination; it incorporates misogyny, violence, fascism, racism, patriarchy, hierarchy, and anti-democracy as part of its ideology. While the alt-right ideology is based on white male power and dominance, it is important to acknowledge that there are also non-feminist women who support and uphold this ideology and its agenda. Some women can gain influence and power by upholding

¹ This act was intended to limit the entrance of Chinese immigrants to Canada by charging each immigrant with a head tax of \$50.

² Prohibiting the landing of immigrants who did not come to Canada by continuous journey from the country of which they were natives or citizens. This regulation primarily affected immigrants from countries such as India and Japan as they did not have a direct route to Canada.

dominant power structures,³ and the alt-right is no exception. **An intersectional analysis is necessary to challenge the alt-right and understand the complexity of power relations and structures.**

In this paper CRIA W-ICREF explores the rise of the alt-right ideology using an intersectional feminist analysis. **Alt-right ideology is a threat to equality, and it is imperative that there be a united call to action to counter the rise of the alt-right and ensure social justice and equality.** We hope that this paper will serve as a resource for people and organizations working on women's rights and feminist issues to work collectively and deliberately to counter the rise of the alt-right.

What is the alt-right?

The term alternative-right was first coined in 2010 by Richard Spencer to refer to “people on the right who distinguished themselves from traditional conservatives by opposing, among other things, egalitarianism, multiculturalism and open immigration” (ADL-Fighting Hate For Good, 2021). The “alternative right” or “alt-right” is “a set of far-right ideologies, groups, and individuals whose core belief is that ‘white identity’ is under attack by multicultural forces using ‘political correctness’ and ‘social justice’ to undermine white people and ‘their’ civilization” (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2021). The alt-right draws upon the foundation of violent misogyny, masculinity, whiteness, and patriarchal norms (ADL-Fighting Hate For Good, 2021). The alt-right is categorized into five ideological sub-groups: White Supremacists, Manosphere; Ethnonationalists; Anti-Muslim; and Sovereignist & Militia groups (see Table 1). Such belief systems come from a loose, heterogeneous collection of a wide range of grievances and positions, including racism; fascism; white supremacy/white nationalism; anti-Semitism; nativism/anti-immigration; anti-globalization/anti-free trade; anti-choice; homophobia; anti-taxation; and pro-militia/pro-gun rights stances (Parent & Ellis III, 2014; Simi, Bubloz & Hardman, 2013). As this list makes clear, **the alt-right’s ideology spans multiple issues, but the central feature is power and white male domination.** For the purposes of this paper, we will be referring to this movement as alt-right, except in cases where we are specifically referring to a sub-set of the movement.

³ See Srilatha Battiwala (2020). Women’s Rights, Economy, and Power. CRIA W-ICREF. <https://www.criaw-icref.ca/publications/womens-rights-economy-and-power/>

Over the past 50 years, important (yet incomplete) gains have been made on human rights, women's rights, anti-racism, LGBTQ2SIA rights, and Indigenous peoples' rights, to name a few. **The danger is that alt-right movements aim to derail such achievements. They point to the progress on human rights, equality, diversity, and inclusion as damaging to 'white man's identity' and they deploy fear and violence to counter it.** For example, on January 29th, 2017, a man motivated by Islamophobia killed 6 and injured 19 people at a mosque in Quebec City. Similarly, women were attacked across social media platforms during and after the Women's March of 2017 with anti-women slogans such as: #MyBorderMyChoice, a deliberate perversion of the reproductive-rights slogan "my body my choice", #NoMeansNo, and #Deplorables.

The alt-right's activities and ideologies are often grounded in patriotic and nationalistic slogans, normalized in several right-wing and conservative political parties' campaigns at the federal and provincial levels, and tied into grievances around employment and the economy. The insidious nature of alt-right movements coupled with the mainstreaming of many aspects of the ideology can make it hard for the public to apply sexist, fascist, and racist labels to it. For instance, the former federal Conservative Party leader Andrew Scheer shared a stage with white supremacist Faith Goldy at a United We Roll Rally in 2019. This rally was associated with Yellow Vests Canada, a group whose Facebook page is rife with racist and xenophobic views. Three members of Alberta Premier Jason Kenney's United Conservative Party were pictured with members of the Soldiers of Odin. The People's Party of Canada's leader Maxime Bernier was seen with members of the violent anti-immigrant group the Northern Guard at the Calgary Stampede (Wright-CBC News, 2019). **The alt-right is now more visible and better connected than we have seen in previous decades.**

Table 1

1. **White Supremacist:** Belief in whites' superiority over everyone who is not white and advocates that white people should be politically and socially dominant over non-white people. This can extend to a belief in the need for violence against, or even the genocide of non-white people.
2. **Ethnonationalism:** It is a form of nationalism where the nation is defined in terms of ethnicity. Central to ethnonationalism is the belief that nations are tied together by a shared heritage and culture based on ethnicity. Ethnonationalists are often marked by implicit rather than explicit racism, and rarely promote overt supremacy.
3. **Anti-Muslim:** The anti-Muslim movement is a loose network of groups and individuals who share the fear that an 'Islamic takeover' threatens western cultures. Anti-Muslim groups are marked by their opposition to Islam as an ideology and Muslims as a people.
4. **Manosphere:** The manosphere is a loose collection of movements marked by their overt and extreme misogyny. Groups include 'involuntary celibates' or 'Incels'—an online brotherhood of men who are unsuccessful in finding a romantic partner despite attempts with women. They harbour extreme feelings of misogyny and hatred for women.
5. **Sovereignists and Militia groups:** Sovereignists are marked by their rejection of court and state authority. Joining these groups together is the rejection of the authority of the federal state, and commonly adherence to a range of conspiracy theories. In some instances, sovereignists may mobilize as militia.

Extracted from interim report: An Online Environmental Scan of Right-wing Extremism in Canada, by the Institute for Strategic Dialogue (Davey, Guerin & Hart, 2020, pg. 11).

Rise of the Alt-Right: past and present

Alt-right politics are grounded in Canada's history, a look at the past 100 years makes this very obvious. The 1920s marked the era in which the Ku Klux Klan (KKK)⁴ established its roots in Canada and held strongholds in Ontario, British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan (Perry & Scrivens, 2016). The country's foreign policy throughout the twentieth century is also a constant reminder of this racist history. For example, Canada refused to allow the St. Louis steamliner – filled with more than 900 passengers, most of them Jews – to land in June 1939. Canada's *Immigration Act 1910* sought to stop Black people from immigrating to Canada. In 1955, the *West Indian Domestic Scheme* required single women aged 18 to 35 and in good health to work in Canada as domestic workers for one year before being granted immigrant status. These examples clearly illustrate Canada's discriminatory and racist immigration policies, which prohibited mainly Jewish, Asian, and Black immigrants and refugees from emigrating to Canada. Some policies targeted racialized women specifically.

The alt-right moves across time and borders. The anti-government, pro-gun movement linked to the January 6, 2021 violent attack at Capitol Hill in Washington D.C. has supporters in Canada. The alt-right movement in Canada has surged since Donald Trump's election in 2016. Trump's election motto "Make America Great Again" was associated with defaming immigrants and asylum seekers and banning Muslims from entering the United States (Selfa, 2017). Activities on both the internet and in the streets show that existing alt-right groups have added new chapters across Canada, and new groups have emerged (Davey, Guerin & Hart, 2020). While people in Canada may think this extremism is isolated in the United States, it is not and it has far-reaching impacts here in Canada.

The alt-right raises security concerns both nationally and internationally. Recently, Canada's federal government added 13 new extremist groups to the

- A recent survey by the 2019 Global Terrorism Index identified that acts of terrorism committed by alt-right groups have increased around the globe by 320% (Institute for Economics & Peace, 2019).
- Research found that in 2015 there were between 80 and 100 groups, growing to 6,660 right-wing extremist channels, pages, groups, and accounts across seven social media platforms in 5 years (Davey, Guerin & Hart, 2020).

⁴ For more see Christine Sismondo (2017). The KKK has a history in Canada. And it can return. Maclean's: <https://www.macleans.ca/news/canada/the-kkk-has-a-history-in-canada-and-it-can-return/>

Recent attacks in Canada motivated by alt-right ideologies

June 6, 2021, a 20-year-old man hit a Muslim family with his pickup truck in London, Ontario, killing four and injuring one. It is believed that he targeted the family because they were Muslim.

April 18, 2020, in Nova Scotia, a 51-year-old man disguised as a policeman killed 22 people before he was shot. This man was motivated by alt-right ideology.

February 24, 2020, a 17-year-old boy motivated by the 'Incel' movement fatally stabbed and murdered a woman and injured two more people in North York, Toronto.

June 3, 2019, a 25-year-old man motivated by the 'Incel' movement stabbed and injured a woman and her 9-month-old child in Sudbury, Ontario.

April 23, 2018, a 25-year-old man inspired by the 'Incel' movement drove a van into a busy Toronto commercial street killing 10 people and wounding 16.

January 29, 2017, a 27-year-old man motivated by Islamophobia killed 6 and injured 19 people at a mosque in Quebec City.

Criminal Code's list of terrorist entities, freezing their assets and opening affiliated members to criminal sanctions.

Experts interviewed by *The Fifth Estate* (CBC television) have identified 120 instances of extreme violence in Canada by right-wing groups, including Incels, in the past 30 years. When compared to the seven attacks by Islamist-inspired extremists (The Fifth Estate, 2019), this shows the Canadian government's failure to tackle the most violent elements in our society, which continue to function.

Anti-lockdown, anti-masks, and anti-COVID-19 vaccine rallies across Canada are organized by alt-right groups. **It is not surprising that with the COVID-19 crisis, the alt-right activities have further increased—using the pandemic as an opportunity to spread alt-right ideologies.**

Anti-Asian racism has further intensified. Right-wing leaders blame China for the COVID-19 pandemic and use of the terms "Chinese virus" and "Kung flu" (Kestler-D'Amours, 2021). According to Statistics Canada's 2020 Survey, more than 30% of those who identify as Chinese said they had experienced an increase in harassment or attacks based on race, ethnicity, or skin colour in their neighbourhoods since the start of the pandemic. These hateful and intimidating events amidst the pandemic include verbal harassment, assaults like being coughed and spat at, violent attacks, and vandalism (Janes, 2020).

Experts say that the alt-right in Canada centres around immigration and multiculturalism (Perry & Scrivens, 2016). Its activities are fueled by anti-sexual and reproductive rights for women, anti-Muslim, anti-Jewish, anti-Asian, anti-feminist, and anti-Trudeau sentiments, followed by hatred for Indigenous people and other racialized groups (Perry & Scrivens, 2016).

We know that white supremacist misogynists have been operating for decades. **The alt-right is insidious and is infiltrating structures in society and becoming mainstream. The boundaries are becoming less clear for defining what is the alt-right.**

- A survey shows that in 2018, 44% of all police-reported hate crimes were motivated by race/ethnicity (Indigenous, Asian, Black, and other diverse racialized groups) and 33% were motivated by religion (Judaism, Islam, and other religions) (Moreau, 2020, Statistics Canada).
- Vancouver police also reported that anti-Asian hate crime incidents increased by 878% during the pandemic (Kotyk, 2020).

The alt-right targets women

The alt-right has misogynistic roots. The Montreal massacre was one of the deadliest right-wing attacks in Canadian history. On December 6, 1989, a gunman at the École Polytechnique in Montreal killed 14 female engineering students. The gunman held a hatred for feminists, and he targeted the women specifically for studying in a gender non-traditional field and supposedly taking opportunities away from men (Blais & Dupuis-Déri, 2019). Even after 32 years, anti-feminist sentiments continue to be fueled by alt-right ideology; women and girls continue to face violence and hate crimes.

The violent extremist right-wing groups called “involuntary celibate” or ‘incel’ target and terrorize mainly women (Tomkinson et al., 2020). These groups lead a growing number of violent attacks against women in Canada. Such groups often use online platforms to spread hate messages against women and support violence to attain their ideological goals and mobilize their agenda.

The alt-right movement is not limited to a particular issue or space. It opposes women's reproductive rights and female sexuality and hosts anti-choice rallies across Canada. “#50ForLife”, “Pro-Life”, “March for Life,” “Pre-Born” are core agendas of their movement (Kingston, 2018). The alt-right deploys (non-feminist) women speakers to claim that abortion harms women and uses a wide range of subtle framing and narrative rhetorical tactics to present the anti-abortion position as more feminist than pro-choice feminism (Saurette and Gordon, 2016). They also reject interracial marriages and interracial children and believe that such developments could put the white population in danger (Yancey, 2007).

The alt-right is growing and mobilizing. Misogyny, sexism, and racism are intertwined in alt-right activities because they are supported by a deep-rooted set of beliefs that women are inferior and must be subordinate. There is an increasing number of cases where racialized women in particular were the targets. For instance, two Black Muslim women (a mother and daughter) were assaulted; the attacker ripped off the mother's hijab outside the Southgate Centre, in Edmonton (Omstead, 2021). In Vancouver, a Muslim teen in a hijab was repeatedly punched on transit (Weichel, 2020). On September 12, 2020 the caretaker of an Etobicoke mosque was stabbed to death in Toronto; the suspect was linked to neo-Nazi social media accounts (CBC News, 2020). In the fatal killing of eight people in Atlanta-area spas on March 16, 2021, six of the victims were Asian women.

The danger is that alt-right ideology exists strongly in formal political spaces too. Quebec's controversial Bill 21 banning public employees in the province from wearing religious symbols (Muslim headscarves (hijabs), Jewish skullcaps, Sikh turbans, and other symbols of faith) at the workplace, all indicate the promotion of alt-right values in the government system. This bill is a concerted effort to create divisions and foster suspicion and fear of marginalized populations, and the primary targets were Muslim women. History provides enough evidence that targeting minority groups (religious, ethnic, etc.) can lead to systemic persecution, discrimination, and violence.

What this indicates is that misogyny, sexism, and racism are intensified via the intersection of social identities such as race, sex, gender, class, religion, nationality, and sexuality (Bunjun et al.-CRIA W-ICREF, 2006). **This is a long-standing problem and can no longer be ignored. The government must treat misogyny, sexism, and racism as serious threats to public safety and national security.**

Proliferating and mainstreaming of the alt-right online

The internet is generally a good tool for mobilizing, organizing, and connecting people to others worldwide. Not surprisingly though, the internet has also become a hotbed for the alt-right as it provides limitless information, opportunities to broaden and diversify its membership across borders, and to mobilize. The internet facilitates the rapid exchange of dialogue and ideas for alt-right groups. The exchange of cultural objects and memes to signal membership to the ideology are widely disseminated among their members online.

Sexist and misogynistic ideologies proliferated in an online forum do not stay there but enter mainstream political discourse (Khoo, 2021). For instance, in March 2017, Maxime Bernier, a federal Conservative Party leader contender, posted a meme on Twitter, referring to “taking the red pill.” The Red Pill⁵ ideology is a part of the ‘manosphere’ and revolves around the sentiment that men are oppressed, feminism is toxic, and sexism is fake (Tait, 2017). Such anti-women sentiments derail feminist work. Further, web forums like 4chan, Reddit, and many others provide anonymity for such users and allow for content creation and proliferation across platforms in multiple modalities (text, video, audio, etc.) (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2017). Media corporations such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, TikTok, and Rebel Media all massively profit from this online proliferation.

- Cision, a media marketing company, found a 600 percent increase in hate speech in social media postings in Canada between November 2015 and November 2016. Hashtags such as #BanMuslims, #SiegHeil, #WhiteGenocide, and #WhitePower were widely used on popular social media platforms such as Twitter (Naffi, 2017).
- A 2018 Statistics Canada survey on gender-based violence and unwanted sexual behaviour found that almost one in five (18%) women experienced online harassment in the preceding 12 months. This is compared to 14% of men.

⁵ The term Red Pill is said to have originated from the movie The Matrix. The main character in the movie has a choice between taking a red pill, and opening his mind to unsettling truths, or taking a blue pill, and remaining ignorant.

Online abuse takes many different forms, including gender-based slurs and harassment, non-consensual photography, defamation, death or rape threats, mob attacks, hate speech, stalking, unsolicited pornography, online impersonation, spying, and sexual surveillance (Vickery & Everbach, 2018). In addition to widespread misogyny, we also see many alt-right postings with a wide range of abhorrent content that intersects along sex, race, sexual orientation, and religion. One example highlighted by the Canadian Anti-Hate Network involved an employee at a high school in Ontario who used “his social media to post vile racist, anti-Muslim, anti-Semitic, anti-LGBTQ+, misogynistic content alongside calls to start ‘targeting’ journalists” (Woodrow, 2021).

The term ‘troll’ is used to describe people who antagonize and harass others by deliberately posting inflammatory, violent or offensive comments or other disruptive content online.

Although men also experience trolls and harassment online, women are subjected to more severe and sexualized attacks for being a woman on the internet. Karla Mantilla (2013) researched online harassment against women and girls and is credited with creating the term ‘gendertrolling’ to describe the specific ways women are targeted online. Mantilla (2013) enumerates six patterns of online attacks against women: “1) The participation, often coordinated by numerous people 2) Gender-based-insults 3) Vicious language 4) Credible threats 5) Unusual intensity, scope, and longevity of attacks 6) Reaction to women speaking out.” **More work is required to better understand the scope and impacts of ‘gendertrolling’ and how it limits, shapes and affects how women and girls participate on the internet.**

Conclusion

What is becoming more evident is that extremist alt-right entities mobilize and grow their members by appealing to those who feel disfranchised (whether in reality or not) to carry out extremist acts. The rise of the alt-right is growing, and it is dangerous; the ideology fuels and justifies its violent acts, from online harassment to violence against women in public spaces. We provide four actions to address the rise of the alt-right in Canada.

Actions to fight the rise of alt-right extremism

Stopping alt-right extremism is challenging because it is rapidly growing and mobilizing. There is no one-size-fits-all solution to address this crisis. Collective actions from all actors are needed. Governments, individuals, political parties, unions, schools, universities, communities, civil society organizations, media outlets, and the private sector all have a role to play.

1. Build a stronger progressive movement.

- **Strengthen our feminist movements.** We must develop concrete action plans to fight racism, sexism, and misogyny using intersectional feminist approaches in all our initiatives and organizing. Our focus must be on bringing meaningful progressive change that can provide a foundation to confront the growing threat of the alt-right.⁶
- Movement building has to be an active and deliberate part of our work as activists and advocates, in our organizations, schools and workplaces. **Building progressive movements is necessary to counter the growth and mobilization of alt-right extremism.**
- Support and join with grassroots individuals, organizations, local clubs, unions, and religious organizations fighting for women's rights. **Building bridges and relationships and working collaboratively and in solidarity strengthens the impact of our progressive movements.**
- **Make sure our movements are intergenerational.** Youth can be agents of change. Given youth's familiarity with social media, mobilizing youth to use their voice, knowledge, and skills to stop hate crimes is necessary. Many older feminists have fought against past resurgences of the right-wing movements. **Together we can pool our collective resources to push back against the alt-right's agenda.**

⁶ Please see CRIA W-ICREF's tools on feminist intersectionality: <https://www.criaw-icref.ca/publications/?project=building-capacity>.

2. Change the public discourse. Advocate for investments in public services and infrastructure.

- We know that there is a growing sense by many that they are being left behind and disparities in wealth continue to widen. Examples like the Yellow Vests show us that economic concerns can be the entry point in which the alt-right organizes. The state has a role to play in ensuring people are not disadvantaged and can meaningfully contribute and be supported by ensuring there are strong social safety nets and public services, like health care, social assistance, childcare, housing, and employment insurance. There should also be **more government funding to public health with particular attention to mental health programs meant to assess and de-radicalize “at-risk” individuals.**
- Make the links between ideologies and discourses that fuel the alt-right, like those centred around power, competition, and individualism. **Actively recognize and disentangle those ideologies from progressive ideologies.**

3. Training

- Education and training programs at schools and colleges are fertile grounds where youth are being recruited and brainwashed by alt-right groups. Training and education programs can help youth to make wise decisions and fight against the alt-right radicalization process themselves.
- **Training health, education, and social workers to spot at-risk behaviors in individual men and boys.** Learning from other countries, such as Germany and Norway’s response of targeting “at-risk” individuals at earlier stages of potential radicalization. They have been quite successful in combating right-wing extremism.⁷
- Governments at all levels should ensure that the first responders such as police and investigators are well-trained on the intersection of misogyny and racism and have the necessary procedures and resources to identify, investigate, and register hate crimes.

⁷ For more, please see Hardy, K. (2019). Countering right-wing extremism: lessons from Germany and Norway. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/18335330.2019.1662076?af=R&journalCode=rpcic2>
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- **Governments should also co-create culturally appropriate and responsive complaint procedures** to encourage more significant reporting of hate crimes and address the barriers leading to the underreporting of hate crimes, especially by women from diverse communities.
- **Mandate feminist diversity, equity, and inclusion training in schools and ensure programs explicitly condemn hate activity and provide training and practical ways to address it as individuals.**

4. Data collection

- Intersectional data collection on hate crimes that are formally reported but also self-reported through surveys and other instruments is very important to understand and address the pervasiveness and rise of these crimes. **Data should be collected based on gender, race, ethnicity, immigration status, sexuality, ability, age, and location.**

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Resources

- Women's experience of racism: How race and gender interact (CRIAW-ICREF): <https://www.criaw-icref.ca/publications/womens-experience-of-racism-how-race-and-gender-interact/>
- Learning Across Indigenous and Western Knowledge Systems and Intersectionality: Reconciling Social Science Research Approaches (CRIAW-ICREF): <https://www.criaw-icref.ca/publications/learning-across-indigenous-and-western-knowledge-systems-and-intersectionality/>
- Intersectional Feminist Frameworks: An Emerging Vision (CRIAW-ICREF): <https://www.criaw-icref.ca/publications/intersectional-feminist-frameworks-an-emerging-vision/>
- Deplatforming Misogyny Report (Women's Legal Education & Action Fund (LEAF)): <https://www.leaf.ca/publication/deplatforming-misogyny/>
- Labour Movement and Women's Equality (Rise Up! A digital archive of feminist activism): <https://riseupfeministarchive.ca/activism/issues-actions/labour-movement-and-womens-equality/>
- Feminist Solidarity and Collective Action – Key Resources (Oxfam): <https://www.genderanddevelopment.org/issues/21-2-feminist-solidarity-and-collective-action/resources-feminist-solidarity-collective-action/>

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