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Whose equality? An analysis of FIAP's implementation in Jamaica/CARICOM nations

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ABSTRACT

Since the mid-2010s, Canada's engagement with the Commonwealth Caribbean has shown some signs of a reset. Not only was the Canada-Caribbean relationship in rebuild mode, but international development assistance, a core feature of this engagement, was guided by Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP). This paper uses a mixed methods design to investigate how FIAP is landing in CARICOM nations, with particular emphasis on Jamaica. Guided by themes from institutional theory, particularly notions of incentives and constraints, this work finds that FIAP is advancing gender conversations in the region, but conceptual and operational challenges constrain its implementation. These lie not only in how gender equality is understood in the Caribbean context, but also in the approach through which FIAP is operationalized in practice, and the need for a deeper appreciation of the region's history and the intersecting realities of race, class, and gender that shape Caribbean security and justice institutions.

RÉSUMÉ

Depuis le milieu des années 2010, l'engagement du Canada dans le Commonwealth de la Caraïbe montre quelques signes de réinitialisation. Non seulement les relations entre le Canada et les Caraïbes étaient en pleine reconstruction, mais l'aide internationale au développement, un élément central de cet engagement, a été guidée par la Politique d'aide internationale féministe (PAIF) du Canada. Cet article utilise une méthodologie mixte pour examiner comment la PAIF est mise en œuvre dans les pays de la CARICOM, avec un focus particulier sur la Jamaïque. S'appuyant sur des thèmes émanant de la théorie institutionnelle, en particulier les notions d'incitations et de contraintes, cette étude conclut que la PAIF fait progresser le débat sur l'égalité des sexes dans la région, mais que les défis conceptuels et opérationnels limitent sa mise en œuvre. Ceux-ci résident non seulement dans la manière dont l'égalité des sexes est comprise dans le contexte caribéen, mais aussi dans l'approche à travers laquelle la PAIF est mise en œuvre dans la pratique, et dans la nécessité d'une meilleure compréhension de l'histoire de la région et des réalités croisées de la race, de la classe sociale et du genre, qui déterminent les institutions de sécurité et de justice dans la Caraïbe.

KEYWORDS

FIAP; Canada-CARICOM relations; gender equality; security; justice; intersectionality

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Introduction and overview

Canada and the Commonwealth Caribbean have long enjoyed what many describe as a "special relationship" characterized by mutually beneficial interactions and cooperation.[1] Yet the closeness of this relationship has shifted over time, fluctuating in response to divergent domestic priorities and interests and the altering of longstanding traditions that facilitated Canada's influence in the region and the region's loyalty to Canada.[2] Besides, some have long questioned the significance and specialness of the Canada-Caribbean relationship, arguing that " … the special component of [the] relationship may have disappeared in all but courteous reverie".[3] Still, Durand points to the enduring value of rebuilding this partnership.[4]

Since the mid-2010s, Canada's engagement with the Commonwealth Caribbean, both bilaterally and multilaterally through the regional organization the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), has shown some signs of a reset.[5] Particularly since the election of former Prime Minister Justin Trudeau in 2015, there have been signals of a rebuild that exceed the over $2.8 billion in bilateral assistance to the region since 2010, including more robust mechanisms for cooperation and higher-level engagement through the Canada-CARICOM Strategic Partnership.[6] Therefore, it is against this backdrop of rebuilding work that Canada launched its Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP) in 2017, refocusing its development assistance to more intentionally aim its support at helping the world's most vulnerable.[7] Framed as the cornerstone of Canada's international assistance, FIAP centers gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls as key to achieving development outcomes as espoused in the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Specifically, FIAP sought to "eradicate poverty and build a more peaceful, more inclusive and more prosperous world" by harnessing the potential of gender equality and positioning the empowerment of women and girls as the engine of that change.[8] As such, not only was the Canada-Caribbean relationship in rebuild mode, but international development assistance, a core feature of this engagement, at least in theory, was to be guided by this key policy. Because, in practical terms, FIAP aimed for at least 95 per cent of Canada's development assistance to target or integrate gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls.[9]

For CARICOM countries, like elsewhere in the Caribbean, despite notable socio-economic gains and most countries classified as middle-income by the World Bank, development remains constrained by high climate vulnerability, limited external financing, connectivity gaps, and persistent poverty and inequality. Closing socio-economic gaps, including nearly one in four people living in poverty, widespread informality, food insecurity, and stark gender disparities, remains an urgent priority.[10] Furthermore, concerns remain about gaps in public security where crime costs the Caribbean region approximately 3.7% of its GDP and lack of trust in essential institutions like the judiciary remains high with one in five residents not trusting the courts for a fair trial.[11] While these issues largely affect the region as a whole, CARICOM countries are not all affected to the same degree. For example, Jamaica boasts some of the highest intentional homicide rates globally, and one in three persons report distrust in the judicial system – this is not the same for other islands such as Barbados.[12] Therefore, CARICOM countries, while similar, are not monolithic in their development needs or priorities.

Beyond development variations, Sanders contends that inequities among CARICOM countries, like preferential trade access that disproportionately benefits larger economies like Jamaica without reciprocal market access for nations with smaller economies, at times have fractured regional solidarity.[13] In addition to internal tensions, the global landscape has changed and is changing, offering opportunities for CARICOM nations beyond traditional partners such as Canada. Already, countries such as China have well-established footprints in the region, in terms of both resources and influence.[14] Moreover, in recent years, interest in and the commitment to promoting human rights and equality as a whole has been declining on a global scale.[15] In fact, even Canada's posture appears to be shifting. In remarks to the press at the 2025 G20 Leaders' Summit, new Prime Minister Mark Carney stated that "I wouldn't describe our foreign policy as feminist foreign policy" and references to FIAP were noticeably absent from the government's 2025 budget.[16] Therefore, the implementation of Canada's FIAP must be understood and situated not only through the lens of a partnership in rebuild mode, but also as a policy that must navigate CARICOM's internal dynamics, varied development priorities, a more competitive landscape of new partnerships vying for the region's attention, and a global landscape where equality and human rights issues are waning in priority, including Canada's shifting position on advancing gender equality abroad. These dynamics raise important questions about how FIAP is being received and to what extent it is achieving its objectives in the Caribbean, a region that is often overlooked and remains understudied regarding these issues.

This paper investigates how FIAP is landing in CARICOM nations with particular emphasis on Jamaica, one of the largest economies in CARICOM and a country facing significant security and justice-related concerns.[17] Jamaica also receives substantial bilateral and multilateral international assistance from Canada, including for justice sector reform and security initiatives geared towards its military and police.[18] The paper largely considers the period since FIAP's adoption in 2017 (with periodic references to the years prior), during a time of rebuilding Canada-CARICOM cooperation . It specifically homes in on justice and security sector initiatives supported by Canada in CARICOM and analyzes the gendered outcomes of Canada's engagement in these sectors. It assesses both the achievements and shortcomings in an effort to offer insights into the realistic possibilities for advancing gender equality in this context and, by extension, development, given FIAP's premise that gender equality drives development outcomes. By so doing, the paper seeks to contribute to the limited empirical work on Canada's relationship with CARICOM and address gaps in the literature on FIAP's implementation in the Global South, particularly in CARICOM countries.

The paper begins with a brief overview of key concepts from institutional theory that guide the analysis, followed by the research questions and the methodology used to address them. Higher level results of Canada-CARICOM cooperation are then presented and discussed, including a description of selected projects at the nexus of justice and security, funded by Canada and implemented in Jamaica/CARICOM. Specifically: the Citizen Security and Justice Project (CSJP), Justice Undertakings for Social Transformation (JUST), Improved Access to Justice in the Caribbean (IMPACT Justice), and the Judicial Reform and Institutional Strengthening project (JURIST). This is followed by the presentation and discussion of project level results before the paper concludes with context-

relevant recommendations for FIAP's implementation in CARICOM countries and for advancing gender equality in the region as a whole.

Theoretical framing, research questions and methodology

Theoretically, this paper draws on ideas from institutional theory, which emphasizes that established rules and norms can become embedded in organizations and societies, making them difficult to change. Institutions can be formal or informal and consist of incentives and constraints that influence behaviour, and, indeed, change.[19] Simply explained, the dynamics of incentive and constraints are akin to a push–pull mechanism, whereby incentives encourage certain behaviours and constraints hinder them.

Overtime, rules and norms can become "taken for granted," unconsciously shaping understandings such as what is appropriate, who participates, whose needs are prioritized and, conversely, whose are disadvantaged.[20] More pointedly, feminist scholars argue that gender and gender relations also influence how individuals and groups interact with each other, shaping power relations and the rules and norms enshrined in institutions.[21] As such, gender dynamics are entwined in how institutions are configured, "unconsciously" determining who makes decisions, whose voice is heard, and who holds power. Collective agency, for example, by insider activists and civil society organisztions, is often positioned as key sources of change within these gendered structures. Therefore, institutions are not gender-neutral – a lens that is vital to this research – as gendered norms are deeply embedded in institutional and societal practices.

Guided by these theoretical insights, this paper answers the following research questions:

1) What are the defining features of Canada's support for justice and security sector reform programing in CARICOM, particularly in Jamaica, in terms of spending priorities and gender integration?
2) What are the gendered outcomes of this support (based on selected projects), and what practical lessons can be drawn for advancing gender equality in CARICOM?
3) How is Canada perceived in CARICOM as a donor, and what are the broader impacts of this perception in terms of reception of FIAP?

Methodologically, Guest et al. argue that in qualitative research, saturation can be reached with approximately twelve interviews of respondents who are largely homogenous.[22] However, there is no clear consensus on the exact sample size to achieve saturation. Given resource constraints and the pool of persons who had relevant experience for the research, the researcher's focus was accessing enough respondents to answer the research questions, while incorporating a variety of perspectives. To complement the interview data, quantitative data was retrieved from Global Affairs Canada's (GAC) historical project dataset, focusing on funding to Jamaica and the Caribbean, and secondary data from reports and other project documents.[23] As a whole, these variety of data sources allow for the research questions to be addressed comprehensively and augment any gaps the use of only one data source may have caused.

Fifteen semi-structured interviews were collected while the author was in Jamaica and later Ottawa in late 2022, using a combination of snowball and purposive sampling

techniques. Interviews were done in-person or remotely, given that geographically, respondents were based in Jamaica, Barbados, Ottawa and the Lesser Antilles. They spanned Canadian Officials (2), Home Government Officials (4), Implementing Agency Representative (7), Community Beneficiary (1) and Independent Analyst (1). Based on the four projects selected (detailed below), the author first approached people in her network who may have contact with potential respondents to ask for an introduction. Once an introduction was made, the normal protocol for informed consent was followed, with individuals having the opportunity to consent or refuse participation. Potential participants were also accessed through the recommendations of some respondents, when they were asked about other individuals who could provide insight relevant to the research.

Each respondent was asked the same questions, slightly reframed for relevance. These include:

(a) Did the project apply a gender lens/include a gender perspective? How was the incorporation of a gender lens/perspective ensured in the project?
(b) On a scale of 1-5, how would you rank the project's alignment with FIAP's goals of supporting gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls to build a more peaceful, inclusive and prosperous world (where "1" means "no alignment achieved at all" and "5" means "full alignment achieved" with FIAP).
    - Reasons/barriers for not achieving the alignment with FIAP goals.
    - Factors that ensured successful alignment.
(c) To what degree were the expected outcomes met/not met and why?
    - What issues did the project implementation encounter on the ground?
(d) What should have been done differently (either by the funder, host country or the executing agency)?
(e) Why in your understanding did Canada fund this project? Do you think Canada should fund similar projects/from the same area addressing the same goals, priorities, etc. in the future, and why?

All responses were handwritten by the author, then transcribed in Microsoft Word and uploaded into NVivo for coding and data analysis. Coding was carried out using descriptive and thematic approaches based on the research questions and theoretical framework.[24] For example, responses were coded with labels such as incentives, constraints, gender integration, gender alignment score, outcomes, and Canada as a donor. Given the sample size, the research prioritized identifying common themes across projects rather than disaggregating by project. As such, the analysis primarily focused on coding frequency (how often respondents referenced a particular code). However, any significant variations were noted and reported by project.

Results and discussion

At a glance: Canada – Jamaica/CARICOM cooperation

Canada has contributed significant international assistance to Jamaica, nationally, and to CARICOM, regionally. Figure 1 provides an overview of Canada's total international assistance to Jamaica and the Caribbean for the period 2014–2024. From 2016 to 2021, Canada

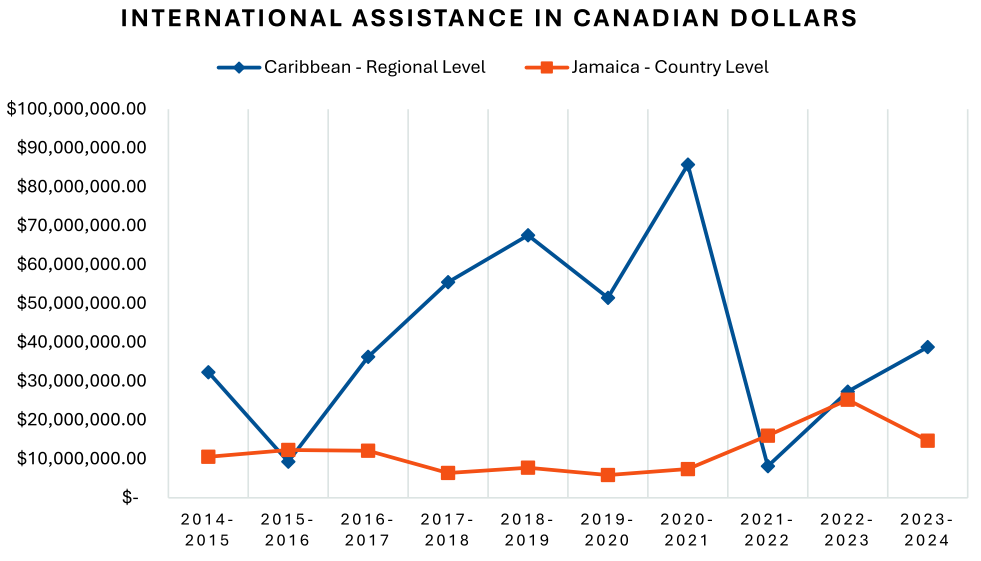


Figure 1. Canadian International Assistance to Jamaica and "Caribbean", 2014–2024. Source: GAC Historical Project Dataset.

prioritized regional engagement as shown in the variation between the regional purse compared to Jamaica's national level purse. However, starting in 2021, the data shows a notable shift toward more national-level engagement, with growing bilateral international assistance at the country level. This pattern resembles earlier periods, for example in 2015 when assistance to Jamaica totalled C$12,301,751 compared to C $9,287,865 for "Caribbean". While the reason for this variation in funding emphasis (i.e. national vs regional) is unclear from Global Affairs Canada's data, reflections shared informally during fieldwork suggest that implementing regional projects across CARICOM is more challenging, given the diverse needs and priorities of member states and the geographical spread of the islands. Moreover, evaluation results suggest that regional programing was limited in meeting the unique needs of each country, recommending instead a mix of regional and national-level programing.[25] As such, Canada appears to be adjusting how it engages with the region by moving more flexibly between regional and national approaches to international assistance and, by extension, cooperation.

Funding to Jamaica and CARICOM covers a broad range of action areas, including peace and security and inclusive governance – the two areas most connected to this analysis of FIAP's implementation in the justice and security sectors. Between 2014–2024, funding to peace and security was relatively low compared to other action areas, accounting for just under 6% and 2% of international assistance from Canada to Jamaica and CARICOM, respectively. This is interesting, as in earlier periods, when liberal peacebuilding and statebuilding approaches were more dominant, security sector reform was driven by Western donors, including Canada, which shaped the significant international assistance directed toward these aims.[26] This agenda has waned over time, perhaps contributing to the lowering of funding for peace and security even in Jamaica, where homicide rates remain high. Although a Canadian official suggests that GAC did not "really work in security," and instead, security sector partnerships are usually handled through cooperation with agencies like the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and the Department of National Defence (DND).[27]

However, this does not mean that such engagements lacked a gender lens or focus, as the Department of National Defence and the Canadian Armed Forces Implementation Plan for Canada's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security underscores embedding gender-responsive approaches into all aspects of security operations, including institutional capacity building, committing the Canadian Armed Forces to "incorporating WPS [Women, Peace and Security] knowledge and principles into international engagements".[28]

Inclusive governance consistently ranks high, accounting for approximately 20% and 22% of international assistance from Canada to Jamaica and CARICOM, respectively. The only exception to this is a few years, such as 2021–2022 for the Caribbean and 2020–2021 for Jamaica, when allocations to inclusive governance were on the lower end. These spending patterns highlight Canada's priorities in Jamaica and CARICOM, which are geared towards rights, equity, and inclusion-based initiatives as recipients of direct funding. Indeed, for GAC, inclusive governance centers on advancing human rights, equitable access to justice, participation in public life, and public services that are beneficial to all.[29] As such, while still relevant, for the period being investigated, security occupies a secondary position and is largely addressed through other forms of cooperation.

Project descriptions

The project management literature has long discussed "projectisation" or the degree to which specific organizations carry out their work through projects.[30] Increasingly, projects have become a sort of default to address complex social challenges, with governments and institutions directly shaping how these initiatives are implemented – FIAP's implementation in CARICOM nations is no exception.[31] Yet, some organizations in partnership with Canada caution that strict project rules and timelines can limit the effectiveness of peacebuilding efforts, particularly in sensitive contexts. This is because projects often assume a linear path that follows established timelines and predefined deliverables, overlooking the fact that the success of peacebuilding is often contingent on strong relationships built on trust and confidence – a process that requires consistent engagement over a long period. [32]

Although project-based approaches have limitations, FIAP's work in CARICOM has largely been implemented through such projects. Accordingly, four projects that targeted the security and/or justice sectors were selected. The basic criterion for selection was that the initiative was implemented in Jamaica, or regionally in CARICOM countries (excluding Haiti), funded by Canada, and had an end date after Canada's adoption of FIAP in 2017. Each project is described below in broad strokes to highlight its budget, partner, focus, and timeframe. These initiatives are massive undertakings, spanning multiple activities and, in some cases, countries. As such, a detailed description of each goes beyond the scope of this paper.

Citizen security and justice project (CSJP): project number CA-3-D000158001

GAC's gender equality: integrated

The Citizen Security and Justice Project (CSJP) began in Jamaica in 2001, aiming "to reduce crime and violence in vulnerable communities through interventions addressing identified individual, family, and community risk factors".[33] The project also sought to

improve justice for people in these communities. Implemented by Jamaica's Ministry of National Security (MNS), the project had three phases, with Canada joining existing funders, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the UK's Department for International Development. Canada provided a budget of C$20,000,000 in assistance between March 2014 and December 2020 during the third phase of the project.[34]

The project encompassed a wide range of activities, including conflict and dispute resolution training, establishing community groups called Community Action Committees, skills and entrepreneurial training, community justice mechanisms, victim support services, among others. Initiatives were implemented across 50 violence-prone communities.[35] While the MNS spearheaded project implementation, it partnered with a range of other government and non-governmental organizations to carry out much of the direct, on-the-ground work in the targeted communities.

Justice undertakings for social transformation (JUST): project numbers: CA-3-A032861002; CA-3-A032861003

GAC's gender equality: none – limited

The Justice Undertakings for Social Transformation (JUST) was a two-pronged project with one part being managed by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) with a budget of C$10,601,619, and the other by Canada's Department of Justice (DOJ) with a budget of C$8,506,000. The project ran between July 2008/April 2009 to June 2021, undergoing several rounds of revisions and restructuring to better align with the evolving needs, interests, and priorities of key stakeholders.[36] Jamaica's Ministry of Justice led the implementation of the UNDP components in partnership with other local entities, while the Department of Justice Canada, along with other Canadian organizations, spearheaded the remaining components.

The project's overarching goal was to improve Jamaica's justice system to enhance justice and security for the people of Jamaica, focusing on two central pillars: institutions as well as communities and civil society.[37] Institutions included capacity building within justice organizations such as the Ministry of Justice and the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions, while communities and civil society specifically targeted volatile communities, aiming to " … strengthen the linkages between communities, and formal mechanisms of justice and good governance".[38] The project included a wide range of activities spanning training, awareness raising, legislation development and passage, and the roll-out of new operating systems like the Case Information Statistical System (CISS), among others.[39]

Improved access to justice in the Caribbean (IMPACT Justice): project number: CA-3-A035470001 and Judicial reform and institutional strengthening (JURIST): project number: CA-3-A035272001

GAC's gender equality: integrated

Unlike CSJP and JUST, which focused exclusively on Jamaica, the Improved Access to Justice in the Caribbean (IMPACT Justice) and its counterpart, the Judicial Reform and Institutional Strengthening project (JURIST), were implemented across all the CARICOM countries examined in this study (except for the Bahamas). Managed by the University

of the West Indies, IMPACT Justice had a budget of C$19,749,000 and was implemented between March 2014 and March 2023. Its primary objective was geared towards improving access to justice for people and businesses in the region through a range of activities, including improving legal education and training, awareness raising and promotion of alternative dispute resolution and restorative justice (such as mediation training), supporting legislation and treaty development, and exploring gender-sensitive court environment models.[40] Described as a complement to IMPACT Justice, JURIST was managed by the Caribbean Court of Justice, had a budget of C$19,767,469, and ran between December 2013 and March 2023.[41] It emphasized capacity building of the judicial systems in the region, including reducing delays and backlogs. Its activities entailed the building of various administrative processes and policies, training key staff, implementing initiatives to reduce case backlogs, and integrating alternative dispute resolution into case management processes.[42]

Specific to gender equality, the Government of Canada's publicly available project browser notes that JURIST and all four projects had gender equality as a significant objective, except for the UNDP component of the JUST project, for which gender equality was not targeted.[43] This is largely supported by GAC's Historical Project Dataset (explained in more detail below), which classified the CSJP, JURIST and IMPACT Justice as projects with an "integrated" gender equality marker, while JUST was categorized as having a "limited" gender equality marker for the Department of Justice component and "none" for the UNDP component. Given that all four projects began prior to the adoption of FIAP, at a basic level, this suggests that gender equality was already incorporated (to some extent) in the programming that Canada supported in Jamaica/CARICOM. Indeed, it is important to note that Canada's inclusion of gender equality in its international assistance programming predates FIAP, as reflected in its 1999 Policy on Gender Equality.[44] As such, FIAP, while enhancing Canada's focus on gender equality, builds on earlier policy foundations rather than operating in isolation or marking Canada's engagement with gender equality. The following section reports on how this more focused policy commitment to gender equality is reflected in the Caribbean context.

FIAP's gendered outcomes in Jamaica/CARICOM

Despite the action area, international assistance allocations aimed to incorporate some degree of gender consideration. As such, FIAP's gender equality emphasis introduced an added dimension in terms of how Canada classified international assistance project funding regarding the degree of gender inclusion. GAC expanded its tracking of gender equality markers beyond the aforementioned OECD-DAC classification to include four categories: targeted (principal objective is gender equality), fully integrated (intermediate level gender equality outcome), partially integrated (immediate level gender equality outcome) and none (no gender equality targets).[45] However, GAC's historical projects dataset, which tracks Canada's international assistance over time and in detail, uses a slightly different set of marker terminology. For the purposes of this analysis, the gender markers used in the dataset are interpreted as follows: "specific" is understood as being equivalent to "targeted", "integrated" as equivalent to "fully integrated", "limited" as equivalent to "partially integrated" and none is used in the same way.

Figure 2 shows the inclusion of gender equality in the international assistance funding provided to Jamaica for the period 2016–2024. Between 2016 and 2019, a significant

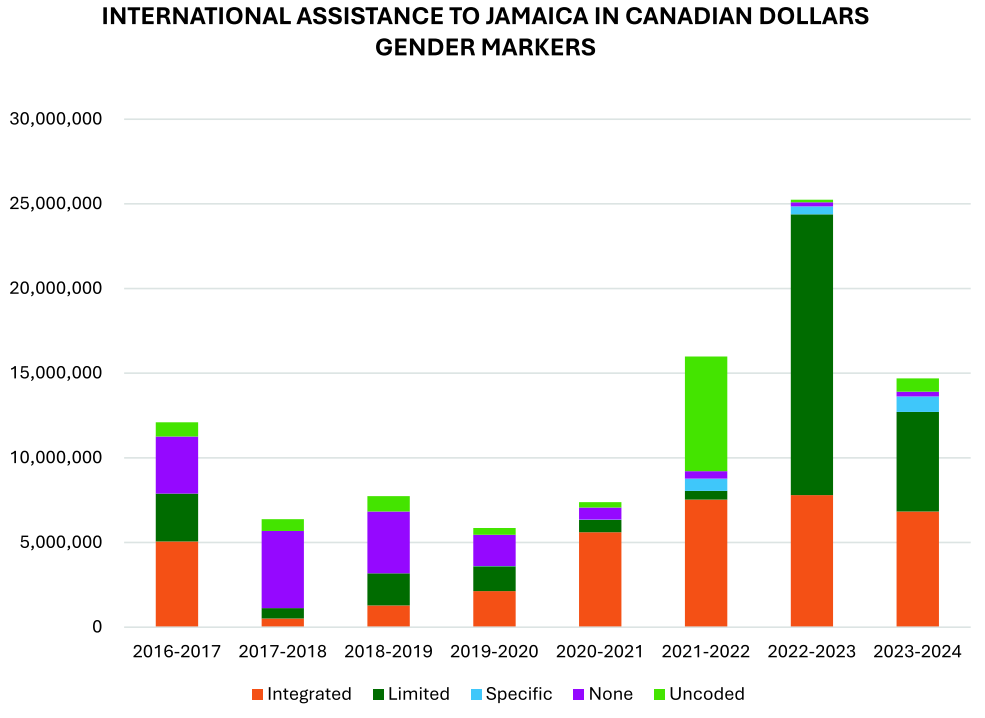


Figure 2. Canadian International Assistance to Jamaica by Gender Markers in CAD. Source: GAC Historical Project Dataset.

portion of Jamaica's international assistance purse did not include gender equality, that is, was not marked as either specific, limited, or integrated – 28% in 2016, 71% in 2017, 47% in 2018, and 31% in 2019. Since 2020, this percentage of funding with no gender consideration has fallen significantly to eventually align with FIAP's goal of being less than 5% by 2021–2022.[46] Indeed, in 2020–2021, 86% of Canada's international assistance to Jamaica included gender equality, as demonstrated by gender equality markers of 76% "integrated" and 10% "limited". In 2021–2022, there was a decline to approximately 55% of international assistance having some gender considerations before again increasing to 99% in 2022–2023 and 93% in 2023–2024. While the percentage of gender equality considerations fluctuated in terms of the degree of inclusion, whether specific, limited, or integrated, it is important to highlight that since 2021–2022, there has been some international assistance specifically supporting or targeting gender equality in Jamaica – approximately 13% between 2021–2024. This is an improvement over the less than 1% reported between 2016–2021.

Changes in regional funding are less definitive between the earlier and later FIAP years, as the percentage of international assistance that includes gender equality considerations was generally high even during some of the earlier FIAP years. Indeed, the purse for 2016–2017 had approximately 83% of international assistance from Canada to the Caribbean including gender considerations, the majority of which was marked as integrated (76%). In 2017–2018, 88% included gender considerations, 50% marked as integrated and 38% as limited. In 2018–2019, the increase continued to 94%, 95% in 2019–2020,

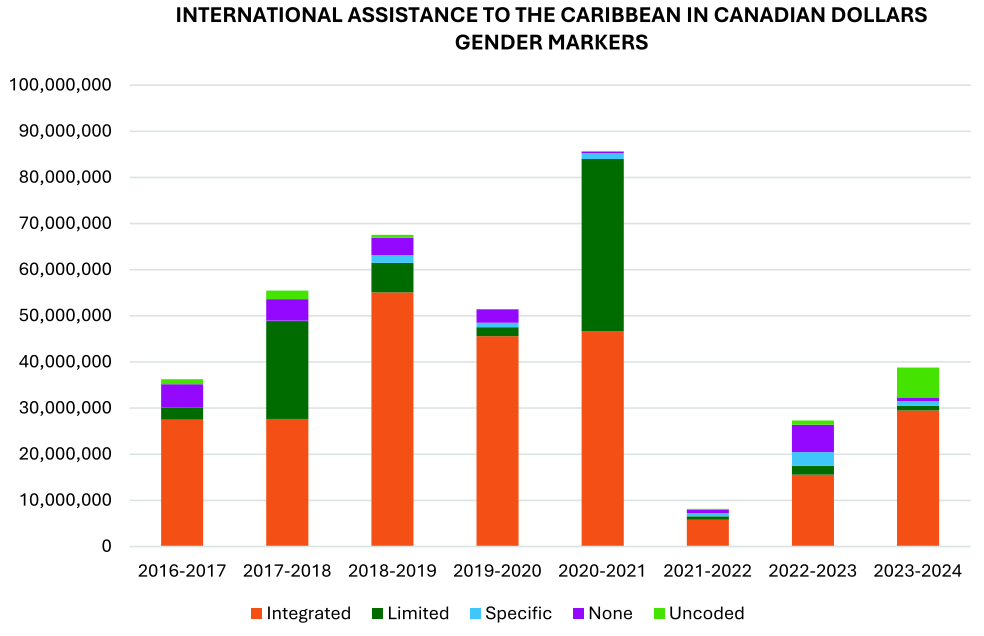


Figure 3. Canadian International Assistance to the "Caribbean" by Gender Markers in CAD. Source: GAC Historical Project Dataset.

and 98% of international assistance including gender considerations in 2020–2021. This percentage dropped slightly in 2021–2022 to approximately 89%, and again in 2022–2023 to75% before increasing to just about 82% in 2023–2024. Gender considerations post-2018 were largely at the level of integrated, except for 2020–2021 that reported 54% integrated, 43% limited and 1% specific (see Figure 3).

At a very elementary level, this data is encouraging in terms of FIAP's targeted percentage of gender equality inclusion in the international programming Canada supports in the region. Particularly, in the more recent years, in Jamaica, FIAP's goal of the majority of Canada's international assistance targeting or integrating some degree of gender equality is being met. Yet, these numbers do not always convey the full picture as some data was left uncoded, which obscures the true distribution of gender equality funding. For example, 2021–2022 had over 40% of the reported international assistance to Jamaica not coded to any gender marker. While the uncoded gender equality data for this period is extreme, each of the years being investigated had some degree of uncategorized data for both national level funding and regional level funding. In fact, in 2023–2024 for the Caribbean, the reported percentage of funding with no gender equality considerations fell well below FIAP's targeted benchmark with only 2% marked as none. However, the data shows approximately 17% of international assistance to the Caribbean for that period was uncoded. Moreover, even where markers are applied, concerns about inconsistency in classifications have been raised,[47] which increases questions about the reliability of GAC's reported figures to truly demonstrate whether or not FIAP is achieving this basic benchmark of its international assistance funding goals. Concerns about data are not unique as the Auditor General of Canada in her 2023 report highlights weaknesses

in FIAP's management of information, which has resulted in gaps in assessing the outcomes and evidence of effectiveness of the initiatives Canada funds.

At the project level, interview respondents, when asked to rank the project's alignment with FIAP with a score ranging from one to five,[48] most rated projects more frequently with either a four or a five. There were 17 responses providing an alignment score as some respondents offered reflections on more than one project, while others did not offer a score. Only one response rated a project as having zero alignment (in reference to the CSJP), one as having an alignment score of one (in reference to the CSJP), and two other responses rated projects with an alignment score of two (both in reference to JUST). What is interesting here is that these lower alignment scores were from respondents classified as Canadian Officials or Home Government Representatives. This pattern may reflect differences in the perspectives of people who engage more closely with institutional requirements and frameworks, which they may in turn apply more strictly when assessing alignment to FIAP's goals. In this sense, officials may be evaluating FIAP's alignment with higher-level objectives, compared to those on the ground who may be evaluating alignment based on activity level achievements. The higher ranking by officials for regional undertakings like IMPACT Justice supports this interpretation, with one official rating IMPACT as a five in its alignment with FIAP because "it met the mark from the initial gender strategy ."[49] The distinction between higher-level objectives and activity-level achievements is important because, as the interview data reveals, the level of analysis can lead to different conclusions about FIAP's alignment and, arguably, its impact. Only focusing on larger objectives or the perspectives of high-level officials risks obscuring smaller, yet meaningful gains that are being achieved at the local level. This paper's inclusion of a variety of perspectives at different levels allows it to capture this key nuance.

Which gender? Why gender? Whose gender?

Perceptions of alignment may also be the result of differences in understanding of gender and gender integration. For over half of respondents, gender was understood (at least partly) as inclusion, although this was often not in regard to being responsive to specific gender needs or challenging gender hierarchies to more equitably share authority and influence in the justice and security sectors. For example, a member of an implementing agency, who viewed the CSJP as fully aligned with FIAP, stated: "It is not like the program restricted people. It is just the females who came out more than males".[50] As such, in this context, inclusion was largely seen as not having barriers to participation due to gender, and in some cases, sexual orientation, without the added recognition of gender equality through a lens of power relations, social norms, or the unique needs of each gender as FIAP purports.[51] Yet, some implementing agency representatives demonstrated more developed understandings of gender when referring to the same project:

> There could be a lot more done in terms of gender. There could be a lot more done to tailor to the needs of single mothers. While parenting was effective, they were trying not to offend the males that were present. They could have focused on the specific needs of female and male parents. They treated everyone the same, although males and females experienced parenting differently. The project was inclusive but not gender focused.[52]

Respondents also diverged in other ways, such as whether gender equality concerned both males and females or only women and girls; they equated gender with issues of

the LGBTQIA2S + community and framed gender equality as largely gender-based violence. While FIAP has a women and girls emphasis, it does recognize the importance of considering men and boys and includes framings beyond gender-based violence.[53] Yet, what is evident from the varying ways in which respondents understood gender and, by extension, FIAP and feminism, is that nuances espoused in FIAP did not always translate into the understandings of what gender equality is and, what might be more important on the ground in the region, what gender equality is not. As one respondent stated:

> It was challenging to get buy-in from institution heads. In the justice system there are more women than men working in key positions, so there is always the question of why do we need to incorporate gender. In Jamaica, gender is often equated with a LGBTQIA2S + agenda. Additionally, all justice entities had a female leader, etc., so there wasn't great buy-in. There was a sense that why are you trying to empower women when men are the issue.[54]

Indeed, FIAP's core premises did not always translate uniformly across projects, partners, or local contexts even within the same region. Instead, how gender is interpreted often remains confined to inclusion in terms of participation or other narrow framings, rather than the questioning of power and authority that lies at the core of FIAP's transformative aspirations – a perspective that aligns with scholars who argue that FIAP is limited in driving structural change and shaping more transformative outcomes.[55] Yet, it also shows that within CARICOM nations, people are grappling with what gender equality means in practice as gender continues to emerge as a legal and social principle of justice in the region.[56] Interestingly, even some respondents implementing projects did not see their country as having a gender issue and others shared experiences of encounters with key decision-makers and powerholders, who despite undergoing numerous trainings, still believe that there was no gender problem. As a member of an implementing agency notes: "Many of the people of influence didn't see the justice system as having a gender problem. This mindset prevented the integration of gender".[57] This tension aligns with early concerns that FIAP did not consider that development partners have their own agendas, visions, and priorities, and would not simply "just fall into line" with Canada's feminist agenda.[58] Yet these dynamics, while challenging, present an opportunity to create spaces for locally led conversations and definitions of gender equality that could potentially be shaped by Caribbean feminist principles and insights from regional activists rather than externally imposed frameworks. Caribbean feminist activists have long actively negotiated and localized the agendas of external actors of influence to ensure that regional realities and needs are centered.[59] As such, these are inbuilt capacities that Canada can capitalize on by supporting processes that deepen regional ownership of what gender equality means in practice and in context. The need for the localization of FIAP and the adoption by Canada of local meanings and visions of feminism is similarly echoed in the literature,[60] recognizing that "ultimately, there is no single way to "do" feminism" and, indeed, define feminism.[61]

On balance, the divergent perspectives also highlight some progress in mainstreaming gender. While this improvement is not quite the transformative driver that FIAP envisions, progress is evident in the following remarks about the CSJP:

> It went beyond the normal focus on gender-based violence that is common in security-related programming (i.e. confining understandings of gender to GBV). Part of the emphasis was helping men and boy see activities normally considered to be feminine differently. They

> also had to deconstruct narratives about respect, like wanting to harm someone who uses derogatory statements that include their mother.[62]

FIAP's gendered outcomes were also evident in the requirement that achievements be tracked and disaggregated by gender, the inclusion of males and females and, in some cases, gender representation. FIAP also contributed to the incorporation of gender in policies, procedures, and guidelines, like the integration of gender considerations in sexual harassment legislations adopted by some CARICOM nations. Furthermore, FIAP has also helped to facilitate conversations about gender, creating an avenue to ensure that gender remains part of the conversation and placed at the forefront of decision making. As a Home Government Representative notes:

> Ten years ago, there was not a gender discussion in the Caribbean and there wasn't consideration for people who are different. The JURIST recognised that the discussion needed to be had. While there was a start of a broader shift in conversations to include gender, JURIST helped to speed up the shift. This was due to the connection between including gender and the possibility of having funding. JURIST played a significant role in propelling the gender conversation.[63]

FIAP's achievements, in the projects that Canada supports at the nexus of security and justice in Jamaica/CARICOM, are far from trivial, as embedding gender principles in legislations and policies, for example, provides some continuity regardless of changes in government.[64] Additionally, some Caribbean feminists view policies as tools that can encourage social and political participation,[65] which suggests that at a basic level these legislations and policies have the potential to expand possibilities for women, girls, and other marginalized groups. These are promising outcomes in CARICOM that are akin to what some activists describe as feminist foreign policy frameworks "creat[ing] strategic openings to push for more transformative interpretations of feminist foreign policy …".[66] As such, the gains that have already been made represent initial steps toward FIAP's broader transformation agenda and the resulting potential of gender equality to enhance security and justice in CARICOM nations. Therefore, rather than rolling back FIAP, one of the next steps should be rethinking FIAP through a truly intersectional lens that seriously engages with the difficult histories of CARICOM nations.

Scholars such as Morton et al. have long argued that FIAP's liberal feminism orientation, grounded in Canadian realities, is limited in its engagement with gender equality using an intersectional lens and others have explicitly described FIAP's engagement with intersectionality as "weak".[67] In CARICOM nations, the history of injustice and inequalities in the Caribbean is defined not only by patriarchy; on the contrary, patriarchy existed as part of a colonial system of oppression that shaped the formation of laws and wider societal structures in the region. Indeed, Robinson argues that the region's governance structures and laws "were premised on exclusions, oppression and violence", which translated into justice in the Caribbean being shaped by "race, class *and* gender".[68] These historical legacies remain embedded in the composition and functioning of the justice and security systems, where access and outcomes tend to be unevenly distributed along these same lines. The persistence of colonial institutional structures in Jamaica's security sector and elsewhere in the region are well documented.[69] Yet, FIAP's veiled reference to "historical discrimination" [70] does not do justice to these historical considerations and, instead, treats gender equality in the justice and security sectors as though it can be

advanced independently of seriously reckoning with the historical exclusions that continue to shape the region. By not explicitly situating gender within the region's historical context, FIAP, as conceptualized and implemented, is arguably addressing symptoms of inequality rather than the deeper system that continues to reserve justice and security for the few. The next iteration of FIAP requires a push towards this deeper level of change.

Incentives and constraints

As the project overviews demonstrate, FIAP was implemented in CARICOM nations through very complex initiatives involving multiple layers of partnerships, including managing partners, implementing partners, and sub-grantees. These partners had varying levels of capacity, as evidenced by the emphasis on capacity building in several projects. Moreover, changes to the justice and security sectors have historically been very challenging. Indeed, the scope of the projects themselves was ambitious, and the prevailing challenges of security and justice sector reform transcend FIAP and point to the difficulties of systemic change. Because despite FIAP's gender framings, social and institutional change lies at the heart of its aspirations. As Giannini articulated, "implementing a feminist foreign policy goes well beyond advancing specific themes. It is also a strategy to promote a complex and multifaceted process that aims to accomplish societal change".[71]

This article is particularly interested in the incentives and constraints that emerged in the research data. Only two respondents referenced an incentive to the inclusion of gender equality in their responses, and this was purely the financial benefits that are derived from including gender in proposed projects. Given FIAP's premise, projects had to incorporate gender considerations to be approved. As such, FIAP's coupling of gender equality with its international assistance funding created an inbuilt incentive – countries in the region, keen on accessing resources, saw it as an advantage to meet gender integration requirements. The constraints to gender integration are more diverse, with the two most referenced limitations connected to project management (referenced by 12 respondents) and intersecting constraints (referenced by 10 respondents).

Interestingly, the majority of respondents referenced some issues related to project management that hinder gender outcomes. These varied from issues of participant and staff recruitment, inadequate follow-up and monitoring of participants and partners, delays in receiving necessary resources, gaps in evaluation and (re)assessment, leadership/management concerns, gaps in information and communication, among other operational challenges previously raised in evaluation reports.[72] These were not all local project management capacity concerns, but what was striking is respondents' references to gaps in Canada's management in its role as funder. One home government representative in reference to IMPACT Justice stated, "who do we contact at GAC when there are deep concerns? Something needs to be put in place, some form of a feedback loop".[73] They go on to talk about Canada's presence being absent from the project's launch and the lack of little things like Canada sending each organization a welcome letter and placing the contact details for the person responsible for Canadian oversight prominently on the project's website. While there may be valid reasons for this approach, this concern should not be taken lightly as the respondent believed that this "sort of

treatment" was an act of marginalization because of the country's size. Overlooking legitimate concerns such as this helps to reinforce the very hierarchy of power and privilege that FIAP seeks to challenge. Even in a larger context, a member of an implementing agency shared,

> There was a lack of oversight from Canada. Canadians are not bullish. They took a stand-offish approach which allowed [implementing partner] to go rogue. The Canadians have been too passive. Canada as a funder needs to be more active and ensure that knowledge management is a priority and not only focus on results-based management. They also need to factor in change management.[74]

These are basic but crucial considerations that offer Canada an opportunity to rebuild trust and demonstrate respect for its partners, regardless of level, location or size of the partnership. Although critical, these reflections are inviting Canada to go back to the fundamentals of partnership, project management, oversight, and managing change in the initiatives it supports in the region. It is not enough to pass responsibility to managing partners or implementing partners, who themselves have their own interests and organizational dynamics, without strong oversight from Canada. Getting these fundamentals right is another important piece of the puzzle.

Respondents also frequently referenced that constraints were not limited to gender and instead were intersecting. As stated earlier, the issues at play in CARICOM nations that impact security and justice extend far beyond gender considerations alone. As one respondent aptly notes, "You need to address bread and butter issues. You have to deal with issues that matter to people".[75] For example, Jamaica and other CARICOM nations' inner-city or "slum" communities remain sites of persistent marginalization from meaningful social, economic, and political inclusion, and are disproportionately home to some of the most vulnerable and marginalized residents. Beyond the volatility of these spaces, people are contending with the everyday realities of meeting basic needs like food, which often places gender concerns low on the list of priorities as residents struggle to provide for themselves and their families. While Canada has contributed significant international assistance to support social inclusion and livelihood generation in the region under other action areas like Human Dignity, the tension between addressing immediate socio-economic needs and advancing transformative gender equality goals is evident in the responses. On one hand, respondents highlight that there needs to be a foundation of basic physical and human security; on the other hand, gender inequality continues to shape whose needs are prioritized and whose marginalization is overlooked. This creates a dilemma in which efforts to address immediate needs must simultaneously address the structures underpinning many of the same exclusions that feed into the socio-economic challenges being addressed. As such, FIAP must seriously contend with and balance the urgency of meeting basic needs with the need to simultaneously contend with the deep structural causes of gender inequality.

In addition to these constraints, respondents also mentioned lack of will and motivation by those in leadership, including what has been called mighty pens – people in authority (both male and female) whose approval can make or break a project or threaten employment tenure if one does not comply with directives even if they are contrary to the project's objectives (5 respondents). Time and consistency were also referenced as a constraint, in terms of initiatives that are started and then fall by the way without any plans or

steps taken to build on gains achieved (4 respondents). There were also limited resources (5 respondents), opposition to terms and language (4 respondents), lack of cohesion (4 respondents) and the COVID-19 pandemic (3 respondents).[76] What should not be missed in the frequency with which constraints are referenced is that respondents point to more than default explanations like local culture or political will as the source of FIAP's challenges. Instead, they highlight a more nuanced set of factors, spanning project management and change management, donor-partner relations (at different levels), and socio-economic realities that constrain progress toward FIAP's aims. By so doing, these insights broaden the space for manoeuvring, offering more entry points around which more meaningful change can be contemplated.

Canada as a donor

Building on earlier references to Canada's role, the data also capture views of how Canada is seen as a donor by the varied respondents in this study. The majority of respondents view Canada as a longstanding partner (8 respondents), albeit at times distant and passive. One home government representative highlighted that "Canada has been a longstanding supporter of [government's] social initiatives. From the time of CUSO, they have been there in terms of grant resources. They have a more hands-off approach compared to the IDB and USAID".[77] Canada was also seen as responsive to issues that are aligned with a nation's priorities, akin to a friend responding to the needs of another (5 respondents). Yet, there were 3 responses that suggested that Canada is also seen as prioritizing its own interests and frameworks like FIAP, and 4 responses that spoke of Canada's reputation as liberal with a LGBTQIA2S + agenda that some view with suspicion. Interestingly, some respondents did not know Canada at all despite involvement with a Canadian funded project.

These perceptions of Canada highlight both opportunities and threats for FIAP's implementation in the region, particularly as Canada and CARICOM nations continue to rebuild their cooperation. Perceptions of Canada as a longstanding, responsive partner that is supportive of its cooperation partners' needs could help to facilitate support for FIAP and gender equality. However, perceptions of Canada being distant, having a hidden agenda, or being completely foreign could feed into scepticisms and foster resistance. These findings suggest that the success of FIAP also hinges on how Canada is perceived and trusted as a donor but also a true partner and "friend" to the region.

Conclusion and recommendations

While the substance and design of FIAP are strong and reflect Canada's commitment to advancing gender equality, its implementation in Jamaica and other CARICOM nations reveals a significant conceptual gap alongside several operational limitations. These challenges lie not only in how gender equality is understood in the Caribbean context, but also the approach through which FIAP is operationalized in practice, ranging from project management and oversight to the management of partnerships, and a need for a deeper appreciation of the region's history. At a moment when Canada's political discourse and posturing appear to be shifting away from an explicit feminist-framed foreign policy, reflecting on these implementation challenges and the policy itself

becomes even more important. What can FIAP learn from the past eight years of implementation to build on its achievements in the Caribbean? The following are some recommendations for Canada to consider as it contemplates the future of FIAP.

(1) *FIAP should be reimagined not abandoned*. Undoubtedly, FIAP has gaps. Yet, despite these limitations, in a global landscape where commitments to protecting human rights and promoting equality are regressing, Canada has the opportunity to fill this significant and growing void. Indeed, a foreign policy such as FIAP provides a clear framework that advocacy groups and the general public can draw on to hold governments accountable to their gender equality commitments.[78] In CARICOM, FIAP has helped to ensure that gender conversations are taking place at different levels of society, from policy and legislative discussions to project implementation in communities. As noted earlier, the existing gains from FIAP are an opportunity for further efforts that contextualize gender understandings and interventions to better reflect regional realities and priorities.

(2) Even if FIAP is no longer explicitly branded as a feminist foreign policy, as Prime Minister Carney's recent articulation suggests (which may carry some benefits, as noted below), Canada should continue to prioritize gender equality and human rights in its regional engagement with the Caribbean, both at the country level and through its cooperation with CARICOM. This remains an important channel through which Canada can leverage its "greatest strengths", primarily its expertize, reputation, and historical presence in the region, as a strong advocate for gender equality, particularly at a time when other countries appear to be retreating and Canada-Caribbean cooperation itself is still in a phase of rebuilding.[79] Notably, CARICOM nations continue to subscribe to the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, and, with respect to gender equality, Dr. Carla Barnett, CARICOM Secretary-General, has acknowledged that "significant challenges persist".[80]

(3) In the Caribbean, while gender can be a sensitive topic that touches on deeply held cultural values and religious beliefs, it is important to recognize that people also identify strongly with other forms of marginalization that often intersect with gender. FIAP should lean more fully into its recognition that inequalities exist along intersectional lines. Terms such as "feminism" as noted earlier, may carry negative connotations in the region, and can trigger opposition. Moreover, even among some Caribbean feminists, there is a move away from identifying with the term as it does not embody or address oppression in all its forms or pay enough attention to the different power structures and intersecting hierarchies.[81] Among the general population, many people are more open to thinking of marginalization more broadly – whether related to race, age, class, disability, or other factors, and not solely based on gender. Therefore, rather than confining its framing narrowly to gender, as is evident in its language and terminology despite touching on other themes, Canada could advance its objectives by highlighting how gender equality is part of a wider effort to reduce systemic inequalities in all their forms. By so doing, Canada, through its foreign policy, may be able to build broader coalitions of support by providing a framework around which others not directly working on gender issues (or identifying as feminists) can align and coordinate to hold their governments and decision-makers accountable and push for more sustainable change.

This approach may strengthen local ownership of initiatives and more directly align with local priorities.

(4) Canada may need to go back to the fundamentals of how it engages with partners at different levels and reimagine its partnership and cooperation strategy. This is particularly important because, as noted above, some decision-makers (especially upper and middle management), and other people with influence, do not believe there is a gender problem in the region and may quietly undermine efforts to integrate gender in practice. This includes both male and female leadership. While getting the buy in and support of governments/leadership is important, there has to be a way of diplomatically balancing this support while circumnavigating the potential constraints to implementation effectiveness that respondents highlighted. As such, a reconsideration of Canada's partnership model may be warranted to more directly flow funding to entities that serve the most vulnerable while still meeting country-level cooperation needs. While initiatives like the Women's Voice and Leadership – Caribbean Region already exist, gaps remain in increasing access to funding for smaller, informal groups and providing more opportunities for local organizations to serve as implementing partners.[82] Local, grassroots organizations may need initial guidance to navigate Canada-specific requirements, but there are far too many capable organizations struggling for funding, particularly since the US funding support has been withdrawn. A more intentional approach to funding and partnerships could help to ensure that FIAP's goals are realized on the ground. Remember the core of Caribbean feminist struggles has been working close to communities, creating pressure from below, while simultaneously creating avenues for pressure from above.

(5) Finally, the importance of language cannot be overstated. The language of and approaches to gender equality must be contextually grounded, be sensitive to local realities, and encourage dialogue. This is not just about awareness raising, but ongoing conversations that draw on insights from regional feminist actors and are connected to issues that are important to the everyday person. By so doing, gender integration can be seen as relevant rather than imposed in order to receive funding. An added dimension of this is that as Canada rebuilds its cooperation with Jamaica/CARICOM governments, it must ensure that its relationship with the region's people is also prioritized, truly embodying the people-to-people component of its strategic partnership.

Notes

1. Momsen, "Canada-Caribbean relations"; and Canadian International Development Agency, "Caribbean community strategic programming framework."
2. Durand, "Who lost the Caribbean?"
3. Guy, "Canada and the Caribbean," 443.
4. Durand, "Who lost the Caribbean?"
5. The Commonwealth Caribbean refers to the sovereign Caribbean islands that were former British colonies. These are: Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Trinidad and Tobago; The Commonwealth, "Member countries." These countries are all member states of CARICOM, along with the British Overseas Territory, Montserrat and

the nations of Suriname and Haiti; Ibid. For the purpose of this research, CARICOM refers to all member states except Haiti, which beyond its differences in history and language, is the subject of forthcoming work on how FIAP is landing in that context; Baranyi and Saint Louis, "La PAIF du Canada."
6. Government of Canada, "Canada-CARICOM strategic partnership."
7. Global Affairs Canada, "Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy."
8. Global Affairs Canada, "Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy", ii; Beyond Canada's FIAP, gender equality is often considered as "an essential component" for the promotion of international peace, security and development; Castro, "Between conquered and contested spaces," 2.
9. Global Affairs Canada, "Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy."
10. OECD/IDB, "Caribbean development dynamics 2025."
11. Jaitman and Torre, "A systematic approach to measuring"; and OECD/IDB, "Caribbean development dynamics 2025."
12. OECD/IDB, "Caribbean development dynamics 2025."
13. Sanders, "Worldview: Is CARICOM failing its smaller counties?."
14. Durand, "Who lost the Caribbean?"
15. Castro, "Between conquered and contested spaces."
16. CPAC, "PM Mark Carney speaks", 24:48; Government of Canada, "Budget 2025: Canada strong."
17. OECD/IDB, "Caribbean development dynamics 2025."
18. Spaulding, "Solid Canada stands with Ja."
19. North, "Institutions, institutional change and economic performance"; and Mahoney and Thelen, "A theory of gradual institutional change."
20. DiMaggio and Powell, "Introduction", 9.
21. Mackay et al, "New institutionalism through a gender lens."
22. Guest, "How many interviews are enough?"
23. GAC's historical project dataset does not list CARICOM as a specific beneficiary but rather uses a broader category of the "Caribbean." As such, data for the recipient "Caribbean" was used as an approximation of funding to regional programming; Global Affairs Canada, "Historical project data set."
24. See Saldana, "The coding manual for qualitative researchers."
25. Global Affairs Canada, "Evaluation of the Caribbean Regional Development Program."
26. See Sedra, "Adapting security sector reform to ground-level realities."
27. Canadian Official, DSA0909.
28. Government of Canada, "DND and CAF implementation plan", 6.
29. Government of Canada, "Action area policy: Inclusive governance."
30. Kuura, "25 years of projectification research."
31. Wagner et al, "The influence of project management."
32. Burke et al, "Lessons from foreign assistance."
33. Inter-American Development Bank, "Citizen security and justice program III", 1.
34. Government of Canada, "Project profile: Citizen security and justice program"; and Inter-American Development Bank, "Citizen security and justice program III."
35. Inter-American Development Bank, "Citizen security and justice program III"; and Government of Canada, "Project profile: Citizen security and justice program."
36. Government of Canada, "Project profile: Justice undertakings for social transformation"; and Ministry of Justice, "JUST programme", n.p. Government of Canada's project profile for JUST has a start date of July 2008; however, Jamaica's Ministry of Justice notes that in April 2009, a memorandum of understanding was signed between Jamaica and Canada "which set the stage for the full implementation of the JUST Programme." Additionally, the Planning Institute of Jamaica in their project matrix of justice projects, shows JUST as running between 2009 and 2020; Planning Institute of Jamaica, "Projects and programmes: Justice." These inconsistencies also appear in some of the budget amounts, where the Government of Canada's project profiles report maximum contributions that do not always align exactly

with the figures presented in project documents. For consistency, the maximum contribution listed in the Government of Canada's project profile was used as the budget for each project.
37. United Nations Development Programme, "Justice undertakings for social transformation."
38. Ibid, 5.
39. United Nations Development Programme, "Annual progress report."
40. Government of Canada, "Project profile: Improved access to justice in the Caribbean"; and Government of Canada, "Summative evaluation of the JURIST and IMPACT justice projects."
41. Government of Canada, "Summative evaluation of the JURIST and IMPACT justice. projects"; and Government of Canada, "Project profile: Judicial reform and institutional strengthening."
42. The Caribbean Court of Justice, "Judicial reform and institutional strengthening (JURIST)."
43. See Government of Canada, "International assistance projects funded by Global Affairs. Canada." GAC's project browser uses the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) – Development Assistance Committee (DAC) policy markers for gender equality that track project objectives. It ranges from gender equality as the main objective (principal), an important objective but not principal (significant), or not targeted. Government of Canada, "Feminist international assistance gender equality toolkit."
44. See Canadian International Development Agency, "CIDA's policy on gender equality."
45. Government of Canada, "Feminist international assistance gender equality toolkit."
46. Global Affairs Canada, "Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy."
47. Novovic, "Reflecting on the future of the Feminist International Assistance Policy."
48. "1" means "no alignment achieved at all" and "5" means "full alignment achieved" with FIAP.
49. Canadian Official, DSA1515.
50. Implementing Agency, DSA0303.
51. Global Affairs Canada, "Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy."
52. Implementing Agency, DSA0707.
53. Global Affairs Canada, "Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy."
54. Home Government Representative, DSA1212.
55. Tiessen, "What's new about Canada's FIAP."
56. Robinson, "Gender, equality, justice and Caribbean realities 2013."
57. Implementing Agency, DSA0808.
58. Sinclair, Canada's new feminist development policy", para 9.
59. Rowley and McFee, "Tool or weapon?"
60. See Rao and Tiessen, "Whose feminism(s)"?.
61. Papworth, "Advancing feminist foreign policy", 1.
62. Implementing Agency, DSA0808.
63. Home Government Representative, DSA1010.
64. Castro, "Between conquered and contested spaces."
65. Rowley and McFee, "Tool or weapon?"
66. Grassroots Global Justice Alliance, "A vision for a feminist peace", 13.
67. Morton et al, "Which feminism(s)"?; Tiessen, "What's new about Canada's FIAP, 6.; Cooperation Canada, GAC and CCIC-ACF Open Dialogue 2017.
68. Robinson, "Gender, equality, justice and Caribbean realities", 5; 8; and McDonald, "What is this t'ing t'en about Caribbean feminisms?"
69. Bierschenk, "Police and state"; and Harriott, "Police and crime control in Jamaica."
70. Global Affairs Canada, Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy, 59.
71. Giannini, Priorities for a feminist foreign policy, 7.
72. See, for example, Global Affairs Canada, "Evaluation of the Caribbean regional development program."
73. Home Government Representative, DSA1111.
74. Implementing Agency, DSA0808. The name of the partner was intentionally omitted.
75. Home Government Representative, DSA0202.

76. There were other constraints that were mentioned by only one respondent. These include gaps in knowledge and change management, constraints to participation and political risk of engagement.
77. Home Government Representative, DSA0202. The name of the government was intentionally omitted to preserve confidentiality and anonymity.
78. UN Women, "Feminist foreign policies."
79. Government of Canada, "GAC's implementation plan", 20.
80. Caribbean Community, "International Women's Day 2025", para 3.
81. McDonald, "What is this t'ing t'en about Caribbean feminisms?".
82. Global Affairs Canada, "Renewal of the Women's Voice".

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