

## **Sociopolitical Determinants of Canada's FIAP in Post-Conflict Recovery: Jordan, Myanmar, Nigeria**

**Januari Pratama Nurratri Trisnaningtyas<sup>1</sup>, Annisa Diah Pitaloka<sup>2</sup>, Nadhea Khoirun Nabila<sup>3</sup> Azzahra Keyne Nabilla Radliyati<sup>4</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social Politics, Universitas Pembangunan Nasional "Veteran" Jawa Timur, 60294

<sup>2</sup>Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social Politics, Universitas Pembangunan Nasional "Veteran" Jawa Timur, 60294

<sup>3</sup>Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social Politics, Universitas Pembangunan Nasional "Veteran" Jawa Timur, 60294

<sup>4</sup>Department of International Relations, Faculty of Social Politics, Universitas Pembangunan Nasional "Veteran" Jawa Timur, 60294

[annisadihpitaloka.99@gmail.com](mailto:annisadihpitaloka.99@gmail.com)

### **ABSTRACT**

This study examines how sociopolitical factors shape the implementations of Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP) in three partner countries, there are Jordan, Myanmar, and Nigeria in 2020-2024. Using a comparative qualitative approach grounded in the Most Similar Systems Design (MSSD), the research explores how varying political institutions, social structures, and governance conditions influence the translation of Feminist Foreign Policy (FIAP) principles into practice. Findings reveal that while FIAP's three core pillars, Rights, Resources, and Representations (3R), are consistently implemented, their outcomes vary significantly across contexts. In Jordan, implementations has been relatively effective due to institutional stability and state and civil society collaboration. In contrast, Myanmar's political instability following the 2021 military coup has constrained FIAP's reach, forcing a shift toward localized and community-level empowerment initiatives. Meanwhile, Nigeria demonstrates a hybrid outcome, where grassroots engagement and strong civil society networks have driven progress in women's economic participation and local governance, despite enduring structural inequalities. The study concludes that the effectiveness of FIAP depends not only on program design but also on the compatibility between feminist policy frameworks and the sociopolitical realities of recipient countries, highlighting the importance of contextual sensitivity in advancing global gender equality agendas.

**Keywords:** Canada, Comparative Study, FIAP, Feminist Foreign Policy, Gender Equality.

### **INTRODUCTION**

Over the past two decades, global development dynamics have undergone a significant shift that places gender equality at the core of sustainable development. This transformation emerges from the recognition that women, who constitute nearly half of the world's population, continue to face structural barriers in education, economic participation, political representations, and access to legal protection. These inequalities become even more complex in countries experiencing conflict or post-conflict transitions, where women often bear the heaviest burdens while simultaneously playing the most pivotal roles in social recovery. Under these conditions, a new paradigm has taken shape: development cannot be achieved without gender transformation as an integral component of

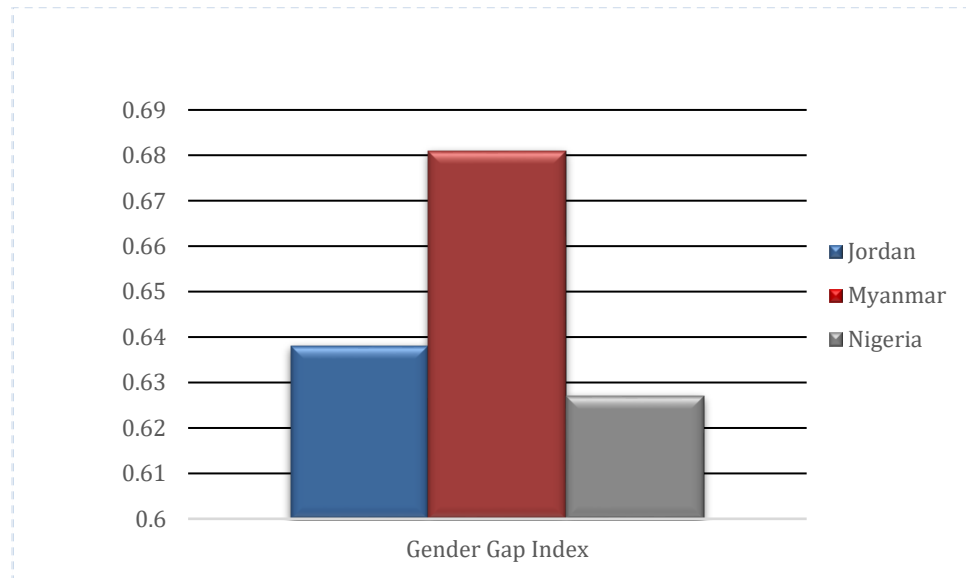
stability, peacebuilding, and inclusive governance.

Canada is among the leading countries driving this paradigm shift through the Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP), launched in 2017 (Government of Canada, 2017). Unlike conventional aid frameworks, FIAP asserts that gender equality is not merely a moral value but a geopolitical strategy and an instrument for social reconstruction. FIAP frames international development as a transformational project centered on the 3R approach: rights, resources, and representations, considering the essential prerequisites for resilient societies and inclusive political structures. In post-conflict contexts, these three pillars function as critical mechanisms for addressing institutional, social, and economic damages left behind by conflict.

In countries facing prolonged conflict or unstable transitions including Jordan, Myanmar, and Nigeria, FIAP serves not only as a development assistance framework but also as an important tool for accelerating post-conflict recovery. Each of these countries confronts distinct challenges: Jordan grapples with socio-economic pressures triggered by the influx of Syrian refugees; Myanmar has experienced severe political disruption following the 2021 military coup; while Nigeria faces multidimensional conflict ranging from the Boko Haram insurgency and ethno-communal violence to widespread gender-based violence. Within these conditions of instability, FIAP offers a strategic framework to rebuild social structures through the fulfillment of women's rights, expanded access to resources, and enhanced representations in decision-making spaces.

Building on this literature, the selection of Jordan, Myanmar, and Nigeria is methodologically justified through a Most Similar Systems Design (MSSD), as all three countries share the structural condition of prolonged and overlapping conflict dynamics, despite differing in geographic region and political systems. Each case exhibits extended exposure to instability, whether through armed conflict, political repression, forced displacement, or chronic insecurity that has systematically undermined state capacity, social cohesion, and gender equality. Jordan continues to experience protracted humanitarian pressures linked to regional conflicts and large-scale refugee inflows, Myanmar has endured long-standing ethnic conflict compounded by authoritarian reversal following the 2021 military coup, and Nigeria faces persistent insecurity driven by insurgency, communal violence, and gender-based violence.

These shared conditions of prolonged conflict create comparable post-conflict recovery challenges, particularly for women, making the three cases analytically suitable for examining how sociopolitical factors shape FIAP implementations. By holding the conflict-affected context constant while observing variation in governance structures, civil society space, and donor–state relations, this MSSD approach allows the study to isolate how differing sociopolitical environments condition the effectiveness of gender-responsive post-conflict recovery under Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy.



Source: (WEF, 2021)

Global data further underscore the urgency of such interventions. The WEF Global Gender Gap Report 2021 shows that Jordan scores 0.638, Myanmar 0.681, and Nigeria 0.627 and indicating persistent gender gaps across these three regions (WEF, 2021). Regionally, the MENA region remains the lowest-performing area in achieving gender parity, while Southeast Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa demonstrate progress yet remain vulnerable to political instability and conflict. These conditions make FIAP interventions increasingly relevant, as entrenched gender inequalities frequently hinder the post-conflict reconstruction process. Through a comparative analysis of these three countries during the period 2020–2024, this study examines how local sociopolitical factors shape the effectiveness of FIAP implementations as a gender-responsive post-conflict recovery tool. The focus lies on how FIAP is translated into concrete programs ranging from legal reforms and strengthened protection services to expanded economic access and increased women’s participation in governance and conflict resolution.

By understanding the interaction between sociopolitical contexts and FIAP principles, this study seeks to assess the extent to which the 3R approach (rights, resources, representations) contributes to advancing sociopolitical recovery, reducing gender inequality, and building sustainable peace in countries with diverse conflict experiences. Thus, FIAP’s implementations can be viewed not merely as a feminist aid policy but as a strategic instrument for accelerating post-conflict recovery through structural empowerment of women. This research argues that FIAP tends to achieve more sustainable and institutionalized outcomes in relatively stable and peaceful political settings. Therefore, from theoretical perspective, this research contributes to feminist foreign policy by showing that

FIAP is best explained through a contextual compatibility framework, in which political stability, institutional accessibility, and civil society interact to shape the best outcomes.

## **STUDY LITERATURE**

Conceptually, the study on Canada's Feminist Foreign Policy (FFP) by Nadia Tri Lestari (2022) offers a broader theoretical framework for understanding how countries like Canada integrate gender equality values into their foreign policy. The study explains that Canada's FFP is a values-based diplomatic instrument that places human rights, social justice, and women's empowerment at the center. Although the research does not directly address FFP implementations in specific partner countries, it is crucial as a foundational understanding of how the broader vision of FFP is translated into technical policies such as the Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP). Therefore, this study connects Canada's normative framework to global development practices targeting vulnerable populations, including women and post-conflict groups (Al Anbiya et al., 2022).

The operational dimension of Canada's feminist approach is illustrated in the research by Amelia Yasmin Maghrifa Ayu Tupan (2024), which examines the implementations of FIAP in Afghanistan. Using the 3R approach (Rights, Resources, Representations), the study demonstrates how FIAP seeks to expand women's rights, increase their access to resources, and strengthen their representations in decision-making processes. Consistent with the previous studies, Tupan finds that although Canada's interventions show positive impacts, structural challenges such as gender inequality, patriarchal norms, and institutional limitations continue to hinder policy effectiveness. This analysis reinforces the understanding that FIAP implementations in post-conflict countries is strongly shaped by local social, political, and cultural dynamics (Tupan, 2024).

Studies on the implementations of gender-based policies in humanitarian and post-conflict contexts show that international actors play a significant role in promoting women's empowerment, particularly in vulnerable settings such as refugee camps and conflict-affected regions. Andrea Celine Nugroho's (2017) research on the cooperation between UN Women and Sweden in empowering Syrian refugee women in Jordan provides an initial picture of how international development approaches can directly enhance women's capacities through training, economic empowerment, and access to safe spaces. These findings emphasize that gender-based interventions not only foster economic independence but also strengthen women's social resilience within displacement contexts (Nugroho, 2017).

This picture is further expanded in Tay's (2019) study, which examines the psychosocial conditions of Rohingya refugees. The research shows that Rohingya women bear multilayered vulnerabilities resulting from experiences of violence, family loss, and forced displacement. In this context, organizations such as UNHCR and IOM have established women's protection centers and community-based psychosocial services as direct responses to gender-specific needs. These findings highlight that in post-conflict situations, women's recovery requires not

only economic support and physical security but also adequate access to mental health services. Thus, both studies provide important empirical context for understanding the urgency of gender-focused approaches in global humanitarian programs (Tay et al., 2019).

Overall, the four studies complement each other in illustrating the relationship between feminist development approaches and post-conflict contexts. Previous research has shown FIAP Canada's contribution to post-conflict conditions in countries with a history of conflict. However, research comparing the implementations of FIAP in post-conflict contributions has not been conducted before. Hence, this study identified a research gap in comparing the contributions of FIAP across Myanmar, Nigeria, and Jordan, accounting for sociocultural and sociopolitical factors.

## **METHODS**

### **TYPE OF RESEARCH**

This research is a comparative study with a qualitative descriptive approach that aims to systematically identify, describe, and compare empirical patterns between cases (Lijphart, 1971). This design allows researchers to explore analytical similarities and differences in various country contexts while considering the socio-political variations that influence policy outcomes. The author uses Most Similar System Design (MSSD), one of the main approaches in comparative studies that influence social and political sciences. MSSD is designed to analyze differences in outcomes in cases that have many contextual similarities, so that distinguishing variables can be identified more clearly (Lijphart, 1971). In this study, MSSD is applied to observe differences in the implementations of Canada's FIAP in Jordan, Myanmar, and Nigeria, which share challenges of development and gender inequality but differ in political structure and institutional capacity. Through this approach, differences in FIAP outcomes are understood as resulting from sociopolitical variations rather than solely from the baseline conditions of the country.

In the other hand, the author also uses Feminist Foreign Policy (FFP) as a conceptual frameworks to analyze the implementation of Canada's FIAP through their three interrelated pillars; Rights, Resources and Representative (the 3R's), as analytical indicators (Thompson et al., 2021). The Rights pillar concerns women's legal protections and access to essential public services; Resources relates to funding distribution, economic empowerment, and access to opportunities; and Representations emphasizes women's participation in decision-making at political and community levels (GWIPS, 2016). By using these indicators, the study systematically assesses how FIAP's feminist principles are translated into practice and how sociopolitical conditions in each country influence the effectiveness and sustainability of its gender equality outcomes.

## RESEARCH SCOPE

This study uses a comparative qualitative approach based on the Most Similar Systems Design (MSSD) framework to analyze how socio-political factors influence the implementations of Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP) in Jordan, Myanmar, and Nigeria from 2020 to 2024. This period was chosen because all three countries faced socio-political tensions that demanded sustainable peacebuilding efforts: Jordan with the impact of the Syrian refugee crisis, Myanmar with the return of military rule since the 2021 coup, and Nigeria with armed conflict in various regions. In this context, FIAP serves not only as a development instrument but also as a diplomatic tool to strengthen gender-responsive governance, support women's role in peace, and foster social resilience in vulnerable countries.

## DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES

Data collection relies entirely on secondary sources, including official reports from Global Affairs Canada, international organizations, and scholarly publications. The MSSD approach enables the study to compare countries with relatively similar developmental challenges, particularly in gender inequality, while differing in their political and institutional dynamics (Lijphart, 1971). This allows for the identification of causal factors that explain the variations in FIAP's outcomes across different sociopolitical contexts

## DATA ANALYSIS TECHNIQUES

The research uses qualitative data analysis techniques, a method that focuses on exploring understanding of the phenomena that occur. Sugiyono argues that qualitative methods usually explore motives and patterns that prioritize descriptive data, which is usually obtained through interviews, surveys, and analysis of previous documents (Sugiyono, 2014). The research also applies the conceptual framework of Feminist Foreign Policy (FFP), focusing on its three interrelated pillars: Rights, Resources, and Representations (the 3Rs), as analytical indicators (Thompson et al., 2021). The Rights pillar concerns women's legal protections and access to essential public services; Resources relates to funding distribution, economic empowerment, and access to opportunities; and Representations emphasizes women's participation in decision-making at political and community levels (GWIPS, 2016). By using these indicators, the study systematically assesses how FIAP's feminist principles are translated into practice and how sociopolitical conditions in each country influence the effectiveness and sustainability of its gender equality outcomes.

## CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

## POST-CONFLICT RECOVERY

Post-conflict recovery is a multidimensional process that aims to rebuild communities after they have experienced armed violence, political instability, or institutional collapse. The literature shows that recovery efforts are not limited to ending violence, but also include transforming social, economic, and political structures to prevent the recurrence of conflict (Call & Cousens, 2008). This approach sees a close interconnection between sectors, ranging from security stabilization and institutional reconstruction to livelihood restoration and social reconciliation efforts. In the early stages, security stabilization is prioritized because it provides a safe space for other recovery processes, including security sector reform, reintegration of former combatants, and protection of civilians in areas emerging from conflict.

However, various studies emphasize that stabilization alone is insufficient without inclusive political reform and the development of transitional justice mechanisms capable of strengthening public legitimacy and establishing the rule of law (Paffenholz, 2016). In contemporary post-conflict studies, socio-economic dimensions are a major focus because war often destroys public services and local livelihoods. Humanitarian aid needs to shift to sustainable development strategies that prioritize livelihood recovery, economic empowerment, and community capacity building to avoid dependence on external assistance (Bjorkdahl & Kappler, 2017). Furthermore, social reconciliation and trauma healing play a crucial role because conflict leaves behind a legacy of collective memory, social divisions, and a loss of trust between groups. Community-based dialogue, healing processes, and grassroots initiatives directly support social cohesion and prevent the recurrence of violence.

In some post-conflict contexts, women emerge not only as the group most affected by violence and displacement, but also as the group most in need of targeted recovery. Armed conflict creates multiple layers of vulnerability for women, including increased sexual violence, loss of livelihoods, limited access to reproductive health, and restrictions on mobility and social participation (OECD, 2020). Therefore, post-conflict recovery places women as recipients of recovery services that include legal protection, trauma recovery, education, and economic empowerment. This focus is not based on normative assumptions, but on empirical evidence that sustainable social recovery can only occur when the most affected groups have equal access to resources, services, and opportunities (Bardasi & Zaidi, 2016). The post-conflict recovery framework considers the fulfillment of women's rights and needs as an integrated prerequisite for long-term stability and community rebuilding.

## FEMINIST FOREIGN POLICY

Feminist Foreign Policy (FFP) is a framework that focuses on gender equality, feminist perspectives, and women's rights in international decision-making. FFP usually focuses on normative and practical constitutions that serve to

provide equality in different societies, communities, or even individuals. Not only that, FFP also plays an important role in the formation of policies that are neutral and do not contain sensitive issues such as discrimination and patriarchy (CHEUNG et al., 2019). FFP wasn't just an ordinary foreign policy, it emphasizes on empowering women and promoting gender equality, this policy aims to increase women's participation and eliminate discrimination. Meanwhile, Foreign Policy focuses only on national interests such as diplomatic relations, national security, military alliances, and international trade.

FFP can be applied by a country as a commitment to foreign policies that runs the women empowerment. In this context, Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP) is the most concrete example of the application of FFP. Marking an important shift in the context of foreign aid, Tiessen said that FIAP has considerable potential for global change because it explicitly includes the word 'feminist' in it (Tiessen, 2019). This important shift also leads to a change in thinking, from viewing women as 'objects' of aid to viewing them as active 'subjects' in the context of aid (Tiessen, 2019). FIAP focuses on aid based on women's rights in development, with FIAP's priorities including climate change, peace and security, inclusive governance, and human dignity (Rao & Tiessen, 2020). Rao and Tiessen, on their writes, says that Canada's FIAP framework is followed by three derivatives that are key components of gender equality indicators. These derivatives are commonly referred to as the 3Rs, namely Rights, Resources and Representations (Rao & Tiessen, 2020).

(1) Rights

The Rights pillar concerns women's legal protections and access to essential public services. The Rights pillar promoting women's rights and aim to protect women from any gender based violence and discriminations (Poblete, 2018).

(2) Resources

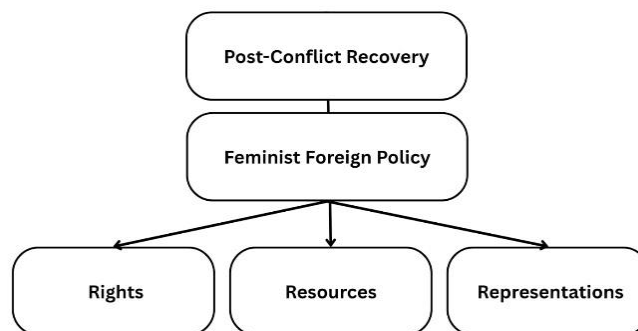
The Resources pillar concern resources justice and equity in terms of natural resources distribution and economic distribution justice as a means to achieve the fair application of natural resources and human rights for all community groups (Poblete, 2018).

(3) Representations

The Representations pillar refers to women's participation in decision-making at all levels in all areas, particularly in the context of peace (Poblete, 2018). This pillar also seeks to increase the number of women participating in international organizations and government positions, empower women as agents of change in domestic society, and ensure equal representations in policy formulation (Mohamed, 2024).



## FRAMEWORKS



The framework above served as a guideline for explaining our research issue. Post-Conflict Recovery is used as the main umbrella in researching post-conflict situations, this time in the context of gender equality. Feminist Foreign Policy is adopted to explain the efforts to improve post-conflict gender equality in Jordan, Myanmar, and Nigeria through the 3R approach: Women's Rights, Women's Resources, Women's Representations.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### CANADA'S FIAP IMPLEMENTATIONS ON JORDAN, MYANMAR, AND NIGERIA

#### ***Enhancing Women's Rights through FIAP***

FIAP Canada focuses on ensuring the fulfillment of women's fundamental rights, particularly health and reproductive rights. This includes access to contraception and comprehensive sex education, freedom of expression, and the right to live free from sexual violence, domestic abuse, genital mutilation, and both verbal and non-verbal harassment. Barriers to women's access to these everyday rights are often rooted in multiple structural and sociocultural factors. For instance, in reproductive rights, Jordan, Myanmar, and Nigeria report comparably high maternal mortality rates, reflecting persistent challenges in providing equitable and safe maternal healthcare services.

Data from the World Bank Group and international organizations reveal significant disparities in maternal health outcomes across Jordan, Myanmar, and Nigeria. Jordan shows remarkable progress, reducing its Maternal Mortality Ratio (MMR) from 165 to 41 deaths per 100,000 live births between 2021 and 2023

(Gender Data Portal , 2023). In contrast, Myanmar's MMR slightly increased from 178 to 179 during the same period, indicating stagnation in maternal healthcare due to systemic challenges, political instability, and limited reproductive health access. Meanwhile, Nigeria faces a severe maternal health crisis, with its MMR escalating from 1,013 to 1,047 deaths per 100,000 live births, highlighting persistent structural inequalities, weak healthcare infrastructure, and entrenched gender disparities in health services (WHO, 2023).

In response to the problem addressed above, FIAP Canada has actively reduced barriers to women's healthcare access through project initiatives and financial support. In Jordan, Canada has invested over CAD \$100 million through partnerships with the Canada Fund for Local Initiatives (CFLI), NGOs, and local institutions to advance gender equality and strengthen Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR). A flagship effort, namely the "Power to Choose" program, targets persistent SRHR gaps among adolescent girls and young women. It is a collaborative project between CFIAP, Oxfam-Québec and six other partner countries, which seek to promote advocacy of SRHR at multiple levels.

Canada's engagement in Myanmar demonstrates a broader and more integrated approach compared to its involvement in Jordan, encompassing education, healthcare, and the advancement of women's rights within a complex, crisis-affected environment. As a major host country for Rohingya refugees, Myanmar has been the focus of Canada's humanitarian efforts to support marginalized and displaced women and girls. Between 2018 and 2021, Canada assisted over 421,000 Rohingya refugees in gaining access to food and essential needs and provided healthcare services, including reproductive and psychosocial support, to more than 541,000 individuals affected by conflict (Government of Canada, 2021). Additionally, Canada has promoted education and sexual and reproductive health awareness among adolescent girls, reaching over 166,000 beneficiaries and empowering them to make informed decisions, challenge harmful cultural norms, and reduce early marriage rates (Government of Canada, 2021). This educational support plays a vital role in challenging cultural taboos, reducing early marriage rates, and building the foundations for gender equality and women's empowerment in the long term.

In contrast to Jordan and Myanmar, its assistance in Nigeria centers on rights advocacy through the Women's Voice and Leadership (WVL) initiative. This focus responds to the persistent barriers Nigerian women face in realizing their rights, despite the presence of progressive legal frameworks such as the Maputo Protocol and the Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Act of 2015, both of which suffer from weak implementations and limited resources (Obaje et al., 2020). The WVL program seeks to strengthen women's organizations in advocating for gender equality, influencing policy and legislation, and challenging discriminatory social norms. With CAD \$5.8 million in funding, the initiative has supported 182 local women's organizations, influenced 47 policies and legal frameworks, and provided assistance to 9,036 survivors of sexual and gender-based violence, while also contributing to increased political representations with 40 women elected to local

positions.

Below is a table summarizing FIAP's interventions in the three countries mentioned, highlighting key efforts to enhance women's rights:

Country	Program	Result
Jordania	Power to Choose (2019-2026)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 72 sexual and reproductive health facilities established;</li> <li>- Training provided to 224 policymakers on SRHR</li> </ul>
Myanmar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Fund for Refugees I (2018-2021)</li> <li>- Fund for Refugees II (2021-2024)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Food assistance, access to healthcare and SRHR to 421,000 Rohingya refugees;</li> <li>- Provided medical aid, psychosocial support, and educational services.</li> </ul>
Nigeria	Women's Voice and Leadership (2023)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Supported 182 local women's organizations;</li> <li>- Influenced 47 policies, laws, and frameworks, including securing 40 seats for women in local parliaments.</li> </ul>

Sources: (Obaje et al., 2020), (Government of Canada, 2021), (ActionAid Nigeria, 2024).

Canada's FIAP sees through each country's conditions before applying its assistance in the gender and humanitarian sector. The application of FIAP in Jordan, Myanmar, and Nigeria proves a contextual approach. Jordan focuses on its intervention on health services and social education; Myanmar focuses on humanitarianism and women's empowerment due to their social domestic crisis; and Nigeria prioritizes women's rights and advocacy to influence local policy and increase women's representations.

### ***Resources Allocation for Women's Empowerment in FIAP***

Through various development initiatives, Canada's FIAP aims to ensure equal access for women and girls to economic opportunities, healthcare, and education, improving their overall quality of life. In Jordan, the Resources pillar focuses on enhancing women's economic empowerment while addressing the challenges

posed by the large refugee population. Notable programs include the Jordan Health Fund for Refugees II, which allocated CAD \$16.5 million to strengthen the public health system for refugee women and children, in collaboration the Jordanian Ministry of Health and UNHCR (Government of Canada, 2023). Additionally, the Launching Economic Achievement Program (LEAP) works to increase women's participation in the formal economy by providing entrepreneurship training and business counseling. Despite these efforts, women's labor market participation has remained stagnated at around 13–14% from 2020–2024 (World Bank Group, 2024). This indicates that structural barriers in the labor market have hindered progress.

Meanwhile, Canada's commitment through the Resources pillar in Myanmar centers on strengthening women's capacity through training programs. In 2021, Canada allocated approximately CAD \$300 million, supporting 11,000 civil society actors and 2,800 political stakeholders on gender and federalism issues (Government of Canada, 2021). In 2024, Canada bolstered 21 women's organizations to promote women's rights and combat gender-based violence (GBV). Education and health also became key areas of focus, with over 268,000 adolescents, including 166,302 girls, receiving sexual and reproductive health education. Furthermore, 9,900 adolescent girls participated in leadership training, and 51 young women, including those from the Rohingya minority, were awarded higher education scholarships (Government of Canada, 2024).

In terms of mental health, around 51% of girls received psychosocial support and 2.36 million women access micro-savings and loans. Additionally, Canada continues to support critical initiatives such as Strengthening Civil in Myanmar, contributing CAD \$24.6 million to support 75 clinics and 147 mobile medical teams across 1,763 villages, and an initiative called “Thanaka: Girls' Power”, with a CAD \$10 million contribution to provide GBV services and reproductive health support to Rohingya refugee girls (Global Affairs Canada, 2025). While the program made significant progress in improving access to social resources and education, the long-term impact on economic empowerment remains limited due to Myanmar's repressive political environment and the constrained space for women's organizations to operate freely.

In Nigeria, the Resources pillar of Canada's FIAP focuses on enhancing women's economic capacity and empowering grassroots women's organizations, addressing inequality driven by an economic structure that limits women's access to the formal sector and productive assets. Canada's Resilient and Inclusive Agri-food Systems Empowering Women and Youth (RISE) project, with CAD \$20 million in funding, targets strengthening agricultural value chains in Bauchi, Kano, and Kaduna, aiming to support 450 women- and youth-owned agribusinesses and create 8,000 jobs (MEDA, 2025). Additionally, Canada provided CAD \$10 million in grants through the Canada Fund for Local Initiatives (CFLI) and emergency support via the First Response Fund to accelerate assistance for local women's organizations.

Below is a table summarizing the FIAP's resources-based initiatives

implemented in the three countries:

<b>Country</b>	<b>Program</b>	<b>Result</b>
Jordania	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Jordan Health Fund For Refugees II</li> <li>- Launching Economic Achievement Program (LEAP) for Women in Jordan (2017–2023)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- CAD \$16.5 million in aid for the distribution of medicines, maternal and child healthcare services, and vaccinations for refugee women;</li> <li>- 1,209 entrepreneurship training programs.</li> </ul>
Myanmar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Strengthening Civil in Myanmar (2022)</li> <li>- Thanaka: Girls' Power in Myanmar (2022)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- CAD \$10 million to Improved basic healthcare for women through support for local clinics and medical personnel;</li> <li>- Enhanced GBV response services through awareness programs on gender equality and reproductive health.</li> </ul>
Nigeria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Resilient and Inclusive Agri-food Systems Empowering Women and Youth (RISE)</li> <li>- First Response Fund</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- CAD \$20 million aid to strengthen agricultural value chains across three states (Bauchi, Kano, and Kaduna);</li> <li>- CAD \$10 million aid to accelerate assistance for local women's organizations</li> </ul>

Sources: (Government of Canada, 2023), (Global Affairs Canada, 2025), (MEDA, 2025)

The three cases show that when the same resources, policy frameworks, and intervention instruments are applied by identical external actors, differences in outcomes do not stem from the policy design itself. Variations instead arise from the domestic structure of the recipient country, particularly institutional capacity and space for local women actors. In contexts with relatively functional civil societies, gender-based interventions are able to move towards structural change, while in environments dominated by humanitarian crises or political repression, the same programs are reduced to basic protection and normative responses. This pattern

indicates that feminist policies work conditionally, where their impact is mediated by local political-economic configurations, not by normative intentions or the amount of aid.

### ***Enhancing Women's Political and Social Representations***

Canada's implementations in enhancing women's representations including funding to local women's rights organizations (WROs), capacity-building for advocacy, and the creation of alternative spaces for participation. In Jordan, Canada's implementations of the Women's Voice and Leadership (WVL) initiative under FIAP centers on strengthening women's rights organizations (WROs) as key agents of change. With a regional allocation of approximately CAD \$1.84 million for Jordan, Lebanon, and Iraq, the program focuses on enhancing organizational governance, risk management, and advocacy capacity to influence policymaking at both local and national levels. In Myanmar, Canada's FIAP programs have been adapted to the country's highly unstable post-coup environment, where the collapse of formal institutions has restricted women's political representations. The Women Leading Durable Solutions (WLDS) project, with funding of up to CAD \$8 million, aims to empower women and girls affected by conflict to assume leadership roles at the community level (Global Affairs Canada, 2022).. The initiative supports advocacy training, community dialogue, and inclusive local decision-making mechanisms in across areas such as Rakhine and other internally displaced communities.

In Nigeria, Canada's FIAP and WVL Nigeria program have made substantial progress in advancing women's representations, particularly at the subnational and traditional levels. Supported by approximately CAD \$9.7 million in funding, the initiative has strengthened 182 women's organizations, empowered over 22,000 women through economic and leadership programs, and influenced 47 local policies and frameworks (ActionAid Nigeria, 2024). These interventions have also enabled women to win local council positions and enter traditional leadership structures, reflecting tangible gains in decision-making participation. Below is a table summarizing the FIAP's initiatives in enhancing women's representations in the three countries.

An examination of Canada's FIAP initiatives across the three countries reveals a consistent pattern, with most of the support directed toward advancing women's development through economic empowerment, improved access to public services, and enhanced health facilities. In implementing resources distribution, Canada employs a combination of top-down and bottom-up strategies, adapted to each country's specific context. For instance, Canada focuses on institutional partnership in Jordan, civil society in Myanmar, and community empowerment in Nigeria. This demonstrates that while FIAP operates under a single framework, its translation into practice depends heavily on the recipient country's political and social environment.

In Jordan, FIAP has achieved relatively stable progress due to a conducive political environment and strong collaboration between the government and civil

society organizations. The country's institutional stability allows Canada's assistance to focus on integrating gender perspectives within public institutions, expanding women's access to education and employment, and reinforcing women's participation in political life. Programs such as Power to Choose and the Women's Voice and Leadership (WVL) initiative illustrate how Jordan's established bureaucratic structures provide a supportive foundation for gender mainstreaming. However, progress in the economic sector remains limited, as women's participation in the labor market has stagnated due to persistent structural and cultural barrier. This suggests that while Jordan's political environment supports institutional reform, sociocultural norms and labor market structures continue to restrict women's full economic inclusion.

Conversely, Myanmar presents a case where political instability and authoritarian repression have critically constrained FIAP's implementations. Following the 2021 military coup, the shrinking civic space and widespread insecurity have disrupted aid delivery and undermined women's organizations' ability to operate. Projects like Women Leading Durable Solutions continue to provide localized support for women in conflict-affected areas, yet their reach and sustainability are limited by state surveillance and humanitarian restrictions. These conditions illustrate how sociopolitical volatility, weak institutions, and restricted freedoms can severely hinder the transformative potential of feminist foreign policy initiatives.

In Nigeria, FIAP operates within a relatively democratic setting but faces deep-rooted economic inequality and patriarchal social norms. Canada's programs, particularly WVL and RISE project, focus on grassroots mobilization and economic empowerment. The strength of Nigeria's civil society networks enables progress in advocacy, policy influence, and women's economic participation. However, persistent structural barriers, such as uneven resources distribution and cultural resistance to gender equality, continue to moderate FIAP's overall effectiveness. This suggests that even within a politically stable system, entrenched social hierarchies and weak local institutions can impede the realization of feminist policy goals.

Overall, the comparative analysis demonstrates that FIAP's success is not solely determined by program design or funding levels, but by the compatibility between feminist policy frameworks and the sociopolitical realities of each partner country. Stable institutions and inclusive governance structures, such as those in Jordan, enable greater policy coherence. On the other hand, instability and authoritarianism, as in Myanmar, sharply constrain implementation. Nigeria's case, meanwhile, highlights how vibrant civil society engagement can compensate for limited state capacity, reinforcing the need for localized, context-sensitive approaches in feminist foreign policy.

<b>Country</b>	<b>Program</b>	<b>Results</b>
Jordania	Women's Voice and	Strengthening capacity of 50

	Leadership (2019–2024)	women organizations
Myanmar	Women Leading Durable Solutions (2018 – 2024)	Training more than 80 women's organizations in conflict areas and empowering 1,500 refugee women to participate in community peace processes.
Nigeria	Women's Voice and Leadership (2019–2024)	Strengthening 182 women's organizations, increasing women's political participation at the local level, and forming 12 advocacy networks on gender equality issues.

Sources: (Government of Canada, 2023), (Government of Canada, 2021), (ActionAid Nigeria, 2024).

A comparative examination of FIAP supported initiatives in Jordan, Myanmar, and Nigeria reveals both the strategic coherence and the uneven depth of gender-responsive implementation across conflict-affected contexts. While the *Women's Voice and Leadership* (WVL) programs in Jordan (2019–2024) and Nigeria (2019–2024) emphasize institutional capacity-building by strengthening 50 and 182 women's organizations respectively, the scale and political reach of these interventions differ significantly, with Nigeria demonstrating a more explicit linkage to political participation and advocacy network formation.

In contrast, Myanmar's *Women Leading Durable Solutions* (2018–2023) adopts a more community-centered and conflict-sensitive approach by combining organizational training with direct empowerment of refugee women to engage in local peace processes, reflecting adaptation to severe political repression and active conflict. Although these programs collectively advance the FIAP pillars of representations and resources, their impact remains conditioned by local sociopolitical constraints, including shrinking civic space, security risks, and state–civil society relations. This variation underscores that FIAP implementation is not uniformly transformative but is instead mediated by context-specific power structures, highlighting the limits of donor-driven feminist interventions in addressing deeply embedded post-conflict gender inequalities.

## CONCLUSION

The comparative examination of FIAP's implementation in Jordan, Myanmar, and Nigeria illustrates that the effectiveness of feminist foreign policy is contingent upon its alignment with the sociopolitical realities of partner countries. Not to mention that the countries that has been discussed on this paper is a conflicted countries that makes each of them has a different sociopolitical realities



situations. Countries with stronger governance structures and established partnerships with civil society, such as Jordan, tend to achieve more visible outcomes in policy integration and institutional reform. Conversely, in fragile contexts like Myanmar, political instability and authoritarian resurgence restrict policy reach, forcing FIAP to rely on localized and non-state actors to sustain gender advocacy. Nigeria demonstrates a middle path, where dynamic civil society engagement compensates for governance gaps, driving progress in community-based empowerment despite persistent structural inequality.

Overall, the study affirms that the implementations of feminist foreign policy in the context of post-conflict recovery is strongly influenced by local socio political determinants: state capacity and security stability, the strength and freedom of civil society organizations, legal and political frameworks related to women's rights, and donor coordination mechanisms. It cannot operate as a uniform model across diverse political systems. Without changes to political and institutional structures including local government commitment, legal protections, and space for local women actors FIAP programs tend to produce partial improvements (e.g., services, training) rather than systemic transformations in gender equality. For FIAP and similar frameworks to advance global gender justice effectively, they must integrate a deeper understanding of local power relations, cultural norms, and the intersection of gender with broader development priorities. In this sense, feminist foreign policy functions most effectively not as a prescriptive agenda, but as an evolving dialogue between global principles and local realities.

## REFERENCES

- ActionAid Nigeria. (2024). *5 years of rewriting she stories: A Women's Voice and Leadership Nigeria project report (2019-2024)*. Action Aid.
- Al Anbiya, S. D., Maliki, M., & Setiawan, M. A. (2022, November 1). *Feminist International Assistance Policy Kanada: Studi Kasus Bantuan CFLI untuk Jakarta Feminist 2017-2021*. From <https://ajis.fisip.unand.ac.id>: <https://ajis.fisip.unand.ac.id/index.php/ajis/article/download/613/197>
- Bardasi, E., & Zaidi, D. (2016, February 16). *Why gender inclusion matters for post-conflict recovery*. From [ieg.worldbankgroup.org](http://ieg.worldbankgroup.org): <https://ieg.worldbankgroup.org/blog/why-gender-inclusion-matters-post-conflict-recovery>
- Bjorkdahl, A., & Kappler, S. (2017). *Peacebuilding and Spatial Transformation*. Routledge.
- Call, C., & Cousens, E. (2008). Ending Wars and Building Peace: International Responses to War-Torn Societies. *International Studies Perspectives*, 9, 1-21.
- CHEUNG, J., DILEK GÜRSEL, MARIE JELENKA KIRCHNER , & VICTORIA SCHEYER. (2019). Practicing Feminist Foreign Policy in the Everyday: A Toolkit. *Heinrich Böll Stiftung*.
- Gender Data Portal . (2023). *31 women die per 100,000 live births due to pregnancy-related causes in Jordan*. From <https://genderdata.worldbank.org>: <https://genderdata.worldbank.org/en/economies/jordan>
- Global Affairs Canada. (2022, March 25). *Project profile — Women Leading Durable Solutions in Myanmar*. From <https://w05.international.gc.ca/projectbrowser-banqueprojets/ProjectProjet/Details/P010703001?wbdisable=true&utm>
- Global Affairs Canada. (2025). *Project profile — Strengthening Civil Society in Myanmar*. From [international.gc.ca: https://w05.international.gc.ca/projectbrowser-banqueprojets/project-projet/details/P009941001](https://w05.international.gc.ca/projectbrowser-banqueprojets/project-projet/details/P009941001)
- Government of Canada. (2024, March 5). *Canada's strategy to respond to the Rohingya and Myanmar crises (2021 to 2024)*. From Government of Canada: [international.gc.ca/world-monde/issues\\_development-enjeux\\_developpement/response\\_conflict-reponse\\_conflits/crisis-crises/myanmar-phase2.aspx?lang=eng](https://international.gc.ca/world-monde/issues_development-enjeux_developpement/response_conflict-reponse_conflits/crisis-crises/myanmar-phase2.aspx?lang=eng)

- Government of Canada. (2017). *Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy*. From [https://www.international.gc.ca/https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/issues\\_development-enjeux\\_developpement/priorities-priorites/policy-politique.aspx?lang=eng&utm\\_source=chatgpt.com](https://www.international.gc.ca/https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/issues_development-enjeux_developpement/priorities-priorites/policy-politique.aspx?lang=eng&utm_source=chatgpt.com)
- Government of Canada. (2021, August 24). *Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy*. From Global Affairs Canada: [https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/issues\\_development-enjeux\\_developpement/priorities-priorites/policy-politique.aspx?lang=eng](https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/issues_development-enjeux_developpement/priorities-priorites/policy-politique.aspx?lang=eng)
- Government of Canada. (2023). *Project profile — Support to Jordan Health Fund for Refugees*. From [international.gc.ca: https://w05.international.gc.ca/projectbrowser-banqueprojets/projet-projet/details/p012304001](https://w05.international.gc.ca/projectbrowser-banqueprojets/projet-projet/details/p012304001)
- GWIPS. (2016). *Feminist Foreign Policy Focusing On Rights, Representations, Resources*. Georgetown.edu.
- Lijphart, A. (1971). *Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method*. *American Political Science Review*,. From <https://www.cambridge.org/https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/american-political-science-review/article/abs/comparative-politics-and-the-comparative-method>
- MEDA. (2025). *Resilient and Inclusive Agri-food Systems Empowering Women and Youth in Nigeria (RISE)*. From [meda.org: https://www.meda.org/projects/rise/](https://www.meda.org/projects/rise/)
- Mohamed, C. A. (2024). Responses to the Abolition of the Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy.
- Nugroho, A. C. (2017). Kerjasama UN Women dan Swedia dalam Pemberdayaan Pengungsi Perempuan Suriah di Yordania.
- Obaje, I. H., Okengwu, G. C., Uwimana, A., & Sebinez, H. K. (2020). Ending Child Marriage in Nigeria: The Maternal and Child Health Country-Wide Policy. *Journal of Science Policy & Governance*.
- OECD. (2020). *POLITICALLY INFORMED APPROACHES TO WORKING ON GENDER EQUALITY IN FRAGILE AND CONFLICT-AFFECTED CONTEXTS*. OECDpublishing.
- Paffenholz, T. (2016). *Civil society and peacebuilding*. daghammarskjold.
- Poblete, S. L. (2018). Swedish Feminist Foreign Policy; How can a feminist approach to foreign policy be understood? *Lund University, Department of Political Science, Peace and Conflict Studies*.

- Rao, S., & Tiessen, R. (2020). Whose feminism(s)? Overseas Partner organizations' perceptions of Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy. *International Journal*.
- Sugiyono. (2014). *Metode penelitian pendidikan : Pendekatan kuantitatif, kualitatif, dan R&D*. Alfabeta.
- Tay, A. K., Riley, A., Islam, R., Welton-Mitchell, C., Duchesne, B., Waters, V., . . . Moussa, B. (2019). The culture, mental health and psychosocial wellbeing of Rohingya refugees: a systematic review. *Epidemiology and Psychiatric Sciences*, 489-494.
- Thompson, L., Ahmed, S., & Khokhar, T. (2021). *Defining Feminist Foreign Policy: A 2021 Update*. ICRW.
- Tiessen, R. (2019). WHAT'S NEW ABOUT CANADA'S FEMINIST INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE POLICY: THE PROBLEM AND POSSIBILITIES OF 'MORE OF THE SAME'. *The School of Public Policy Publications*.
- Tupan, A. Y. (2024, Juni 21). *UPAYA KANADA DALAM KESETARAAN PEREMPUAN DI AFGHANISTAN MELALUI FEMINIST INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE POLICY TAHUN 2020-2023*. From <https://repository.upnjatim.ac.id/>: <https://repository.upnjatim.ac.id/25951/1/20044010026-cover.pdf>
- WEF. (2021). *Global Gender* . From <https://www3.weforum.org/>: [https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF\\_GGGR\\_2021.pdf](https://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2021.pdf)
- WHO. (2023). *Health data overview for the Republic of the Union of Myanmar*. From <https://data.who.int/>: <https://data.who.int/countries/104>
- World Bank Group. (2024). *Department of Statistic Jordan*. From <data.worldbank.org>: <https://data.worldbank.org/country/jordan>