IN SEARCH OF TRANSFORMATIVE HORIZONS: A FEMINIST INSTITUTIONALIST ANALYSIS OF CANADA AND TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE IN COLOMBIA

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Abstract

In 2016 the Colombian Government signed an historic peace deal with the main guerrilla group, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia-People's Army (FARC-EP) after decades of armed conflict. In the same year Canada pledged $57.4M in development funding to help Colombia recover in the post-peace deal era. Since 2016 the Peace and Stabilisation Operations Program (PSOPs) alone has invested $35.3M in the country. With the launch of Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP) in 2017, many of these initiatives unfolded in a new policy context and were characterised by commitments to make gender equality a priority. This study looks at the intersection of Canadian aid, transitional justice, and gender in Colombia through a feminist-institutionalist lens. It aims to assess the impact of Canadian-funded projects from these areas along a spectrum that varies from 'gendered transitional justice' to 'transformative transitional justice'. The thesis concludes that the impact of Canadian assistance is found in the in-between area of 'gendered transitional justice' and 'transformative transitional justice', characterized by some progress away from the status quo of 'gendered transitional justice', but without hitting the transformative mark. Through a feminist institutionalist lens, we argue that it is the complex socio-political landscape of Colombia overlaying the agency of Canada's implementing partners, their Southern counterparts and the agency of the donor, and the sum of these interactions that both enable and limit the full transformative capacity of the intervention and situate its impact somewhere in the middle.

Keywords*:* *Canadian Aid, Canada-Colombia Bilateral Relationship, Transitional Justice, Gender Equality, Feminist International Assistance Policy, Colombia's 2016 Peace Agreement, Feminist Institutionalism*

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This has been quite a journey. There were many bumps on the road, but I am grateful for everyone I have met on the way.

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List of Acronyms

APC	Agencia Presidencial de Cooperación Internacional
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CIDER	Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios sobre Desarrollo
CEV	Commission for the Clarification of Truth, Coexistence and Non-Repetition
CNHM	National Centre for Historical Memory
ELN	National Liberation Army
FARC-EP	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia-People's Army
FCAS	Fragile and conflict-affected societies
FIAP	Feminist International Assistance Policy
GAC	Global Affairs Canada
GE	Gender Equality
GTS	Gender Transformative Strategy
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICTJ	International Center for Transitional Justice
JEP	Special Jurisdiction for Peace
JPL	Justice and Peace Law
LAC	Latin America and the Caribbean
LWBC	Lawyers Without Borders Canada
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OAS-MAPP	Organization of American States' Mission to Support the Peace Process in Colombia
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OHCHR	Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
PSOPs	Peace and Stabilisation Operations Program
RQ	Research Question
SRP	Safe Research Plan

TJ	Transitional Justice
UARIV	Unidad para la Atención y Reparación Integral a las Víctimas
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN-MPTF	United Nations Multi Partner Trust Fund

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

"…it was easier to start a war than to end one."
Gabriel Garcia Marquez,
One Hundred Years of Solitude

Colombia has suffered from one of the longest conflicts in modern times, spanning over five decades, leaving eight million victims affected, 220,000 dead and over six million people displaced (ICTJ, 2022). What started as a social and rural conflict, intertwined with the political violence of the pre-fifties, became with time a multilayered conflict as new actors entered the scene and the interests of guerrillas, paramilitaries, state forces, and drug traffickers clashed. After years of negotiations, a peace accord was signed in 2016 between the Colombian Government and the main guerrilla group, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia-People's Army (FARC-EP or FARC).

In conflict-affected societies, securing a path to justice is paramount as countries recover from conflict and seek to strike a balance between the need to secure long-lasting peace and deliver justice for the crimes and violence at the heart of the conflict. Research shows that increased justice reduces the risk of conflict and every dollar invested in justice is likely to return at least $16 in benefits from reduced conflict risk (Justice for All, 2019). However, whether peace must pass through justice's door, what mechanisms are needed to strike the proper balance between peace and justice, and what forces shape the path toward long-term peace remain highly debated and embedded in complex local contexts (Sriram, 2017; Sriram, García-Godos, Herman & Martin-Ortega, 2012). Colombia's 2016 peace agreement is the outcome of a decades-long peace process reflecting on the country's multi-layered conflict, its socio-economic and political landscape, as well as its unique journey to peacebuilding. Praised as "one of the most complex and multifaceted efforts at building peace and delivering justice the world has ever seen" (Meernik, DeMeritt & Uribe-López, 2019b: 393), Colombia's peace process and other developments post-2016 continue to draw great interest from researchers across disciplines.

While the international community has played a role in peacebuilding in Colombia (UN Mission in Colombia, 2016; UN Verification Mission in Colombia, 2017; Kroc Institute, 2020) we know less about Canada's role in the post-peace accord era, particularly regarding transitional justice (TJ) processes. Likewise, there is little research on how key policy documents, like Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy – FIAP (Global Affairs Canada, 2017), land in the Colombian context and whether the gender-inclusive goals of FIAP are being met. For instance, Canada contributes between $40M and $50M annually in international assistance delivered via different programs (Government of Canada, 2022a). The most recent Evaluation of International Assistance Programming in Colombia covered Canada's initiatives between 2011-12 to 2017-18. The report found that although some of these projects had developed innovative models to promote gender equality (GE) and progress was marked in the area of sexual and gender-based violence, "significant barriers for gender equality remained" (Global Affairs Canada, 2018). The same report further recommends guidance and training for staff and partners on how to align projects with FIAP.

While there is a vast body of literature on both Canadian aid and TJ, this thesis looks at the intersection of Canadian aid, TJ, and gender in Colombia through a feminist-institutionalist lens. This topic is of interest for several reasons. First, because of the relevance of the Colombian case to peace and TJ scholarship. Second, there is an emergent critical feminist scholarship in both the Canadian aid and TJ scholarship, but there are theoretical and empirical gaps with regard to assessing the gender inclusiveness of Canada's support to TJ institutions in general and particularly in Colombia. Third, Colombia is important to Canada's self-interests, including its commercial and geo-political interests. For example, the two countries have a well-established commercial relationship supported by the 2011 bilateral free trade agreement. In 2021, Canadian direct investment in Colombia counted for $4.87 billion, making Colombia the fourth largest investment destination for Canada in South and Central America (Government of Canada, 2022b). Colombia is also Canada's fourth-largest bilateral trading partner in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), excluding Mexico, with the total value of the two-way merchandise trade reaching $2.3 billion in the same year, and Canada's fourth largest export market in South America with merchandise exports valued at $1 billion (Ibid.). Yet there is a need to examine the extent to which those relationships are coherent, from a feminist international policy perspective.

Given the above research gaps and interests, this study raises the following research questions (RQs):

1. *What key factors shape Canadian international assistance in Colombia, generally and with regard to the nexus of gender equality and transitional justice?*
2. *To what extent and how has Canadian assistance contributed to reinforcing positive links between gender equality and TJ in Colombia?*
3. *What does the Colombian case tell us about the collision of interests and (f)actors that influence effective international support to gender-inclusive TJ in peacebuilding contexts?*

The initial premise/hypothesis for this study is that Canada's assistance in Colombia is driven by competing interests and there is not necessarily a single prevailing aid motive or philosophy. While Canada's commitment to support the implementation of Colombia's peace agreement and GE is front and centre at the policy level, in practice there is tension between those policy goals and Canada's material interests in Colombia, particularly those of economic nature in the extractive sector. Tension might also exist among the more humanitarian/altruistic goals, such as those supporting TJ efforts on one hand, and GE on the other. While progress is being made in advancing these goals at the level of policy and program design, efforts to meet these goals simultaneously are challenged by everyday realities in a conflict-affected country. The study concurs with critical feminist thought on the challenges to achieving fully gender-inclusive institutions and anticipates a long way ahead to fully gender-transformative TJ programs on the ground. Yet it also concurs with feminist institutionalism, which views changing gender relations of power as a potential source of institutional change.

In order to answer the above-stated RQs, this study looks more closely at a small sample of three Canadian-funded projects delivered in the post-2016 period in Colombia. It uses mixed methods to examine the impact of the sample, including documentary review and semi-structured interviews with project partners, beneficiaries and key informants in Ottawa and Bogotá. It then maps out the impact of the selected Canadian-funded projects along a spectrum that varies from

'gendered transitional justice' to 'transformative transitional justice'. After finding evidence of both positive change and resistance to change, it locates the impact of the Canadian aid in the in-between area of 'gendered transitional justice' and 'transformative transitional justice', characterized by some progress away from the status quo of gendered transitional justice, but without hitting the transformative mark. Through a feminist institutionalist lens, this thesis argues that the complex socio-political landscape of Colombia overlays the agency of Canada's implementing partners, their Southern counterparts and the agency of the donor, with the sum of these interactions limiting the full transformative capacity of the intervention and situating its impact somewhere in the middle.

This body of work is organised into six chapters. Following this introduction, the next chapter discusses relevant academic debates on Canadian aid and TJ scholarship; it also offers background on Canada's international assistance to Colombia, Colombia's TJ system and the rationale for the proposed feminist-institutionalist theoretical framework. Chapter Three explains the research methods employed, including an introduction to the project sample, field research activities, and the profile of research subjects. Chapter Four presents the project findings and Chapter Five follows with a discussion of key findings, answering the research questions noted earlier. Chapter Six concludes with reflections on contributions to relevant scholarship, the limitations of my research, as well as areas for future investigation.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Canadian aid scholarship

This research draws on several theoretical debates. First, it draws on the debate surrounding the motives of Canadian aid, which range from altruism to self-interest (Brown, Heyer & Black, 2016b: 6). While the origins of said debate reflect the classical theories of International Relations, in the past decades a diversification of theoretical perspectives beyond the classical frames of realism, liberal internationalism and Marxism has been manifested in the aid and foreign policy scholarship (Tiessen & Baranyi, 2017a: 13); as will be explained later, the feminist institutionalist frame guiding this thesis is situated in this new generation of theoretical perspectives.

Well into the 1990s, many scholars and journalists viewed Canada's foreign policy impulses as largely moral, namely as reflecting the beliefs and self-image of Canadians as generous people, who view the obligation to help as the right thing to do on the grounds of ethics, justice, and human solidarity (Cohen, 2003: 82). Paris (2014) suggests that an overall liberal internationalist consensus characterized Canadian foreign policy in the decades from the end of WWII to the Harper era, and that liberal internationalism is deeply rooted in the Canadian public imagination. This holds true even when a top-down approach is applied to align foreign policy with the government's own conception of its national role (Paris, 2014: 305–306). Yet Swiss (2016) suggests that while Canada resembled other relatively altruistic donors during the 1980s and 1990s, since 2000 it has resembled more self-interested donors like the US. Other authors are skeptical about the need for an explicitly ethical foundation for Canadian aid. For example, Chapnick (2016) argues that the self-interest derived from the realist tradition is sufficient and more likely to mobilize the policy and political elites who are key to policy renewal.

After the 2000s, a new body of scholarship emerged, concerned with Canadian aid in the context of fragile and conflict-affected societies (FCAS). Brown (2008) questioned the motives behind the significant funding increases of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) in Afghanistan at the turn of the century and the ends that development aid could realistically achieve in a war-torn country. He argued that budget increases had paradoxically limited the agency's capacity to meet development goals due to increased politicization and risk of aid being used for Canada's own security, diplomatic or commercial interests (92). In the same country context, Swiss (2012) looked at the nexus of gender, security and instrumentalization to come to a similar realisation. According to him, securitisation fell under "the larger trend of instrumentalization" (153), which in the context of gender-based programming meant achieving different development and/or security objectives from the GE ones (135). Drawing, like Brown (2008), from the case of Canada's assistance to Afghanistan after 9/11, Swiss concluded that GE was "marginalized along with more altruistic/humanitarian motives" and became a priority for the Canadian government only when it served "some greater purpose or Canadian interest" (153).

Other scholars looked at the effectiveness and securitization of Canadian aid in the context of the FCAS, using concepts from constructivist or institutionalist theory, rooted in Coxian critical theory (Baranyi & Binette, 2017; Baranyi & Khan, 2016; Baranyi & Paducel, 2012). They found that Canadian aid effectiveness and securitization varied across country cases because of differences reflecting the "interplay between human agency, discourses, and structures shaping history" (Baranyi & Paducel, 2012: 110) and that the same whole-of-government template was not applied equally in all FCAS (Baranyi & Khan, 2016: 241, 248). Those scholars drew attention to (f)actors beyond the donor- and state-centred factors highlighted by realist theories. Instead, their analytical framework enabled them to study diverse outcomes that were 'socially constructed' by varied actors - including civil society - working through varied institutions in different historical contexts (Baranyi & Binette, 2017: 240).

More broadly, institutionalist authors are concerned with formal and informal institutions, institutional creation, continuity and change, structure, agency, and power (Mackay, Kenny, & Chappell, 2010: 573). The strand of normative institutionalism is particularly invested in the role of norms and values vis-à-vis a logic of appropriateness, which constructivist authors extend from international norms to the domestic sphere (Finnemore, 1996; Finnemore & Sikkink, 1998). In his work, Brown (2020b) examines the status of the aid effectiveness norm, applying Finnemore and Sikkink's (1998) constructivist lens of norm 'life cycles'. He argues that the weak internalization of some aid effectiveness norms (notably that of respecting national ownership by Southern societies) and Western donors' unwillingness to substantially change their practices on the ground led to norm decay to the point where it ceased to exist in practice. Brown's findings draw attention to the weak internalization of a norm during its life cycle, and the risks associated with such failure on the ground.

Feminist scholars have added a new dimension to the above theoretical debates by examining the tensions between the promotion of Canada's commercial or security interests, and the promotion of gender equality. In their collected work, Tiessen and Baranyi (2017b) bring together different strands of critical or post-colonial feminist scholarship to analyse inconsistencies and contradictions in Canada's relations with the world. By paying attention to gendered norms, structure, and the interplay of agency and transnational networks of influence (traversing state and

society), those scholars challenge traditional frameworks and point to unstable structures that allow space for creative agency and practical change.

More recent analyses of FIAP extend that literature into the present. While the feminist focus of the policy is laudable and marks a turning point from the more instrumentalist approach manifested during the previous conservative governments, Brown and Swiss (2018) suggest that without a deeper feminist commitment and a significant increase in resources, the policy risks pink-washing Canada's image without fundamentally changing cooperation practices. Tiessen (2019) reinforces that critique, suggesting that a fully gender-inclusive policy should reflect on "cultural norms, discrimination, political processes and institutionalized gender inequality, and examine how and where they intersect" (Ibid.: 1). The lack of deep feminist analysis of intersecting power relations in FIAP suggests that the policy misses "the transformative mark" (Tiessen, 2019).

Recently, the aid scholarship is responding to those compelling critiques by offering evidence of how FIAP is being implemented on the ground in different Southern contexts and sectors, by examining whether it reinforces long-standing gender relations of power or contributes to transformation in Tiessen's sense. Rao and Tiessen (2020) draw attention to the tension that exists between Canada's vision of feminism and how the same is defined by its Southern partners, based on interviews with non-governmental organisation (NGO) staff in three African case studies. Those authors question the ambiguity around how feminism is defined in FIAP and call on Ottawa to adopt a definition "that is more inclusive of social, cultural, political, and regional differences" (352). In a different geopolitical context, Swan (2021) is concerned with the impacts of Canadian assistance to Gaza. She argues that Canadian aid fails to take into consideration the reality of Israel's occupation of Gaza, thus disregarding the impact the (macro) political landscape has on the lives of women and girls those aid projects are targeting (127). In that light, there is little aid can achieve and the author calls for a donor intervention that seeks "to break down unequal power structures" and a feminist policy that embodies transformative power in Tiessen's sense (122).

Finally, Anzueto (2020) and Brown (2020a) bring these policy debates to the western hemisphere as they examine the tension between Canada's more altruistic goals and its self-interest in the extractive sector. In his comparative study of Canada's promotion of human rights in Guatemala and Colombia, Anzueto (2020) points to the contradictory nature of the more altruistic policies in countries where Canada has interests in the extractive sector. Likewise, in his historic analysis of Canadian aid to the Peruvian mining sector, Brown (2020a) argues that the emphasis on extractive industries reflects an increase in commercial self-interest and marks a shift away from the more altruistic goals (15), risking to "reinforce existing power asymmetries" (27). However, unlike Anzueto, who sees Trudeau's government policies very much a continuation of the legacy of the Harper era (Anzueto, 2020: 224), Brown's field research points to "a change in the messages" coming from Ottawa as reconciling FIAP goals with Canadian mining projects in Peru becomes harder (Brown, 2020a: 27).

This thesis builds on this emerging literature by contributing a study of Canada's cooperation with Colombia, notably in the domain of TJ. Similar to Rao and Tiessen's (2020) study, it builds on interviews with partner NGOs but expands the interviewees' profile to include project beneficiaries and Global Affairs Canada (GAC) officials. Unlike Rao and Tiessen's (2020) or Anzuelo's (2020) studies, it focuses the comparative unit of analysis within a sample of projects

from the TJ field and within a single country context. Finally, similar to Swan's (2021) study, it pays attention to the role of macro socio-political factors embedded in the distinct history of Colombia (and Canada's strategic positioning in that context) in affecting the impact of the intervention and its transformative capacity.

2.2 Canada's international assistance to Colombia

From an historical perspective, Canadian assistance in LAC, including in Colombia, was largely influenced by a policy shift in the late sixties - early seventies as a result of Pierre Trudeau's *Third Option*, which placed LAC among top destinations for Canadian foreign policy and trade diversification (Rochlin, 2012: 4). Politicization which started in the 1970s accelerated through the 1980s and Canadian assistance in LAC doubled, reflecting on the increased prioritization of the region (Macdonald, 2019: 282). By the 1990s, Canada's role in the region entered a new phase as a result of growing economic, political, and social linkages, at a time when Canada embraced neoliberal economics, globalization, and free trade (Ibid. and Rochlin, 2012: 7). Around the same time, Canada renewed its alignment with American interests in the hemisphere, thus putting an end to Pierre Trudeau's aspirations for a more independent foreign policy (Macdonald, 2019: 282). During the late 1990s - early 2000s, Canada's relationship to the region was characterized by what McKenna calls "blowing hot and cold by times" due to a shift of interest away from the region (McKenna, 2018: 22).

The "Americas Strategy" released by Harper in 2007 and relaunched in 2012, announced Canada's re-engagement with the region, with the main focus being on foreign trade and investment policy (Ibid.: 23-24). This marks another policy development favoring Canada's commercial and trade interests versus more altruistic ones. In analysing what has fueled Canada's interest in LAC over the years, McKenna (2018) points to various factors from political or military crises to a search for free trade and investment agreements supporting Canadian mining operations, with the sum of Canada's interest being driven more by "external stimuli or regional developments" than domestic politics (Ibid.: 33). Macdonald (2019) suggests that while geopolitical, security, commercial, and political interests have traditionally predominated Canada's relationship to LAC (Ibid.: 274), the 2018 announcement for $79.21M for projects aimed at empowering women and girls signalled a shift away from commercialization (Ibid.: 289).

It is against the backdrop of the above historical developments that Canada's relationship with Colombia has evolved since 1953, when the countries established full diplomatic relations. Many of the observations noted at the regional level hold true in the context of Colombia as well. For example, Tijerina's analysis of Canadian assistance in the early years (1953-1972) suggests that the motive was "almost purely economic" (Tijerina, 2019: 125). Smitmans argues that the relationship between the two countries is more complex than that, reflecting simultaneously on contrasting notions such as that of "human security as an international ideal" on one hand, and "the idea of a classical realpolitik-type security" on the other (Smitmans, 2012: 266). It is for this reason that throughout the history of its bilateral relationship with Colombia, Canada has been seen as stuck in the middle and driven by a multitude of interests that vary from economic, political and security interests to social and human rights concerns stemming from Colombia's internal conflict (Smitmans, 2012).

It must be noted that the Harper era brought some notable developments in the Canada-Colombia bilateral relationship, including the first visit by a Canadian Prime Minister to Colombia in 2007 (followed by a second and a third in 2011 and 2012 respectively), the signing of the Canada-Colombia Free Trade Agreement in 2008 and its entry into force in 2011 (Ibid.). These developments marked a renewed commitment to trade and investment priorities and an increased significance of economic interests relative to more traditional priorities such as political and security ones (Ibid. 276). In the present era, the current liberal government has articulated supporting the implementation of the peace agreement, empowering women and girls and development innovations as the main priorities of Canada's assistance in Colombia (Government of Canada, 2022b). As suggested by Macdonald, FIAP may mark a shift away from Harper's economic focused agenda once again toward a more altruistic outlook of aid; whether that is true in Colombia, is an issue explored in this thesis.

Data from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) show that Canada is among Colombia's five largest donors after the United States (US), Germany, the European Union (EU) and Norway (OECD, 2022). Figure 1 illustrates the trend of Canada's Official Development Assistance (ODA) to Colombia during the last decade. It shows the aid volume fluctuating under the USD 30M threshold in the early 2010s to jump to around USD 40M in 2015. Since then, Canadian aid to Colombia has fluctuated around the same figure during the era since the first Trudeau government was elected and the peace agreement was signed in Colombia. Figure 2 shows Canada's ODA to Colombia vis-à-vis the contributions received from the other four largest donors. It shows Canada consistently sharing the fourth and the fifth place with Norway, a donor of similar sized contribution. Figure 2 illustrates the significant jump in overall ODA right before the 2016 peace deal - with the exception of the US which had provided significantly higher volumes of aid throughout the 2010s - and the sharp fluctuations of German ODA, particularly in the second half of the decade.[1]

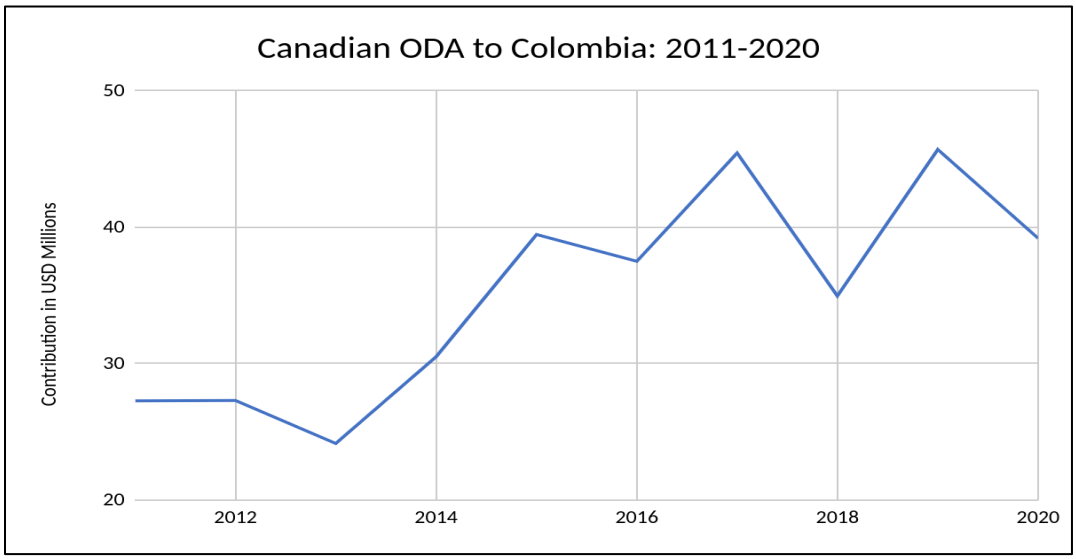

Figure 1: Canadian ODA to Colombia 2011-2020 (OECD, 2022)

[1] In 2020 Germany surpassed the US as the number one donor in Colombia, contributing $637.1M, vs. $558.76M from the US and $39.2M from Canada (OECD, 2022).

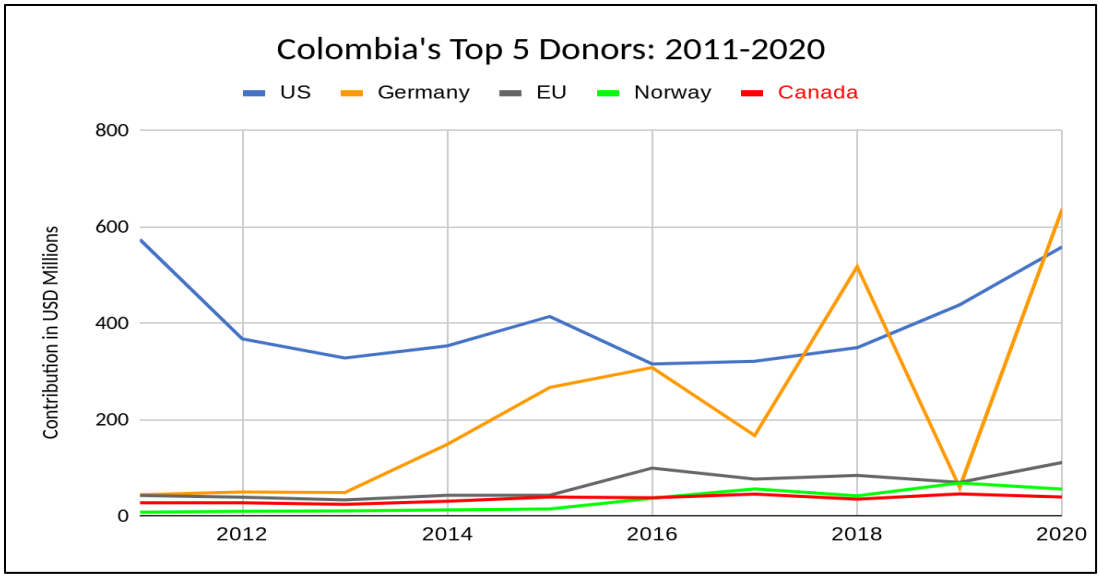

Figure 2: Colombia's Top 5 Donors: 2011-2020 (OECD, 2022)

Keeping up with the priorities of the current government - centering around the implementation of the peace agreement - in 2016 Canada pledged $57.4 million dollars in development funding to help Colombia recover in the post-conflict era (Global Affairs Canada, 2016). Such a commitment materialised through support for five development projects that focused on demining ($12.5M), child protection ($18.9M), credit for farmers in areas affected by the conflict ($4.5M), rural education ($1.5M), and a $20M contribution to United Nations Multi Partner Trust Fund (UN-MPTF) to support peace building (from 2016-2019) (Interview, Embassy of Canada in Colombia, 2022). Outside the above, one should note the contribution of the Peace and Stabilisation Operations Program (PSOPs), one of the main vehicles for supporting peace implementation initiatives in Colombia. Since 2016 this program alone has invested $35.3 million[2] in projects supporting the civil society, TJ, access to justice for the victims of armed conflict, human rights, citizen's security and protection, and Women, Peace and Security agenda, including through an intersectional approach (Government of Canada, 2022a). The same program also supports the Organization of American States' Mission to Support the Peace Process in Colombia (OAS-MAPP) and the local Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) to monitor and promote human rights and the protection of vulnerable communities and individuals in the post-Peace Accord context. PSOPs has also contributed an additional $5.5M to UN-MPTF for 2019-2022 (Ibid.).

Finally, it should be noted that the priorities of Canada's assistance in Colombia - including its focus on peace processes and women's empowerment - align with the country's development goals as laid down in its 2018-22 Development Plan (Congreso de Colombia, 2019). Notwithstanding such alignment of priorities at the higher government-to-government level, the implementation of the peace agreement during the Duque administration (2018-2022) has been subject to ample criticism and the question as to what progress entails for Colombia remains debatable. Concerns about the collision of different interests on the ground and how to achieve gender inclusiveness of Canadian development programs in Colombia are real and will be further

[2] The same number shows up as $40M in Canada-Colombia Relations (Government of Canada, 2022b).

revisited in this study. Moving forward, it will be interesting to see how Canada will work with the new Colombian government following the 2022 presidential elections, which has expressed a renewed commitment to peace processes and to align priorities beyond mere rhetoric.

2.3 Transitional justice scholarship

TJ scholarship is concerned with approaches in the aftermath of a conflict to redress past wrongs, support victims and provide justice through judicial and non-judicial mechanisms such as tribunals, truth commissions and reparations (Buckley-Zistel, Beck, Braun & Mieth, 2014: 1). TJ debates, notably on the *tensions between peace and justice*, are critical to understand the challenges Colombia is facing in the post-peace accord era, as well as the chances for effective interventions through donor assistance. While much of the early literature on peace and justice suggests that the former impedes the latter, TJ advocates argue that the pursuit of justice can promote peace and may deter future abuses (García-Godos & Sriram, 2012).

Since the nineties when TJ entered the academic discourse alongside liberal peacebuilding, a continuous progression is marked from international punitive approaches removed from the local setting, towards merging these mechanisms with local and restorative justice, offering a mix of punitive and restorative approaches (Sriram, 2009:112-130). More recently, the concept has been broadened to include the socioeconomic dimension of justice, opening the door to debates on the relationship of TJ to development (Buckley-Zistel et al., 2014: 3).

Starting from an institutionalist perspective, Sriram (2009: 112) cautions about the risks of TJ being externally imposed and culturally inappropriate, bringing broader critiques of liberal peacebuilding to the field of TJ. Post-colonial authors take such criticism further, pointing to a "neocolonial TJ paradigm" (An-Na'im, 2013: 203), which excludes the "indigenous concepts of justice" (Ibid.: 199). Similarly, Richmond and Poggoda (2016) favor local peace formation, which connects local interests with international interventions, potentially leading to a more positive form of hybrid peace. According to those authors, there is an inherent bias in the northern method, echoing An-Na'im (2013)'s critique of the neocolonial paradigm. Other authors warn against "romanticizing the local". Discussing how populations without access to formal judicial institutions turn to non-state processes, Sriram (2009) cautions "against any naïve embrace of such processes as automatically better" (124). Likewise, Simangan (2017) draws attention to the potential pitfalls of exclusive local involvement in TJ and points to instances of local actors exploiting the legitimacy of liberal institutions to advance their political interests or deny the pursuit of justice for the sake of short-term stability (318).

In the context of Colombia, Ovalle Diaz (2015) builds on the third world approaches to international law to argue that some emerging hybrid transitional and alternative justice models offer hope and are justifiable under "the superior interests of justice" (311). Drawing from her research in various country contexts including Colombia, Sriram finds that the role that the law plays in promoting peace through TJ varies (Sriram, 2017). She proposes a model that goes beyond the peace/justice binary to explore how peace processes could be combined with hybrid and non-linear approaches to TJ (Ibid.). This model addresses the limitations of institutionalism, while reflecting on some aspects of the post-colonial critique. For example, elements of Sriram's hybrid model converge with An'Naim's (2013) call for "multiple approaches and strategies" (203).

However, the two views differ significantly when it comes to the more fundamental question of whether they can work within the confines of existing TJ paradigms.

Finally, critical scholars argue that the mainstream TJ scholarship "does not reflect on social and power relationships that brought about its object of study" (Franzki & Olarte, 2014: 217). Because such scholarship legitimizes liberal democracy and fails to account for the economic dimension of justice, they call for a TJ project that is part of "the societal struggle surrounding the organisation of society and distribution of wealth" rather than its frame (Ibid.: 218).

Within TJ literature, feminist TJ scholarship has grown as a field of study on its own. Applying a critical feminist lens, those scholars argue that the TJ field is profoundly gendered (Buckley-Zistel et al., 2014). Bell and O'Rourke (2007) call to expand the scope of transitional justice "from a mere 'add women and stir' approach toward a more emancipatory project which promotes gender justice more generally" (In Buckley-Zistel et al., 2014: 7). While recognizing the contribution of feminist scholarship in transitional justice, O'Rourke (2015) points to a 'de-politicising impulse' of the mainstream feminist TJ scholarship and urges us to place "any feminist or legal analysis of specific transitional justice processes within the broader political dynamics that drive transition in that context" (Ibid: 125). This converges with post-colonial authors' calls for more holistic approaches, including Tiessen's (2019) call for a more transformative Canadian feminist international policy.

The Colombian approach to TJ is important as it reflects the main debates in the TJ field, breaking ground in practice and scholarly analysis. It makes the case for moving beyond theory-based dichotomies, toward a hybrid and holistic approach to TJ. Its novelties broaden the scope of TJ, combine retributive and restorative measures, draw from local peace initiatives and move beyond the gender blindness of traditional TJ formulas (Meernik et al., 2019b). DeMeritt and King (2019: 252) make the case for recognizing the particularly vital role of Colombian women in implementing 'transformative justice'. Finally, Gómez (2021) calls on researchers to look beyond gender, drawing attention to the need to apply an intersectional lens to study the armed conflict and the sociopolitical violence suffered in Colombia. According to her, gender alone as a category of analysis and transformation does not do justice to the experiences of Colombian women. (Ibid.: 304). Yet once again, it is essential to study the extent to which such transformative promises are or are not realised in practice. Before returning to the question of transformative promises, the next section takes a closer look at Colombia's TJ system, including some of its novel elements and potential threats to peace.

2.4 Background to Colombia's transitional justice system

Since the 2000s, three historic moments marked the evolution of the TJ system in Colombia. First, the enactment of the Justice and Peace Law (JPL) in 2005, following a political pact of President Uribe, which led to the demobilization of over 35,000 paramilitaries (ICTJ, 2022). The Justice and Peace Law offered demobilized paramilitaries reduced prison sentences in exchange for their confession and contribution to reparations for victims (ICTJ, 2022). It established a transitional model whose goals were to deliver disarmament, non-recurrence, truth, justice, and reparations (Friedman, Sánchez & Wiebelhaus-Brahm, 2019). It also created non-judicial supplementary mechanisms that set the groundwork for future truth-seeking efforts (ICTJ, 2022). By mid-2007,

victims returned to Congress and demanded a TJ framework that would better address their rights, arguing that Congress had historically legislated for the perpetrators (Friedman et al., 2019). Paradoxically, while the JPL had limited success in terms of holding all perpetrators accountable, e.g., less than 200 of the 5,000 applicants concluded justice proceedings a decade after the 2005 law (Quinn & Joshi, 2019: 229), it created an enabling environment for victims' organizations to inquire greater truth, justice, and reparations (ICTJ, 2022).

The second important moment is the enactment of the 2011 Victims' Law by President Santos' administration. It established a comprehensive reparations program, truth-seeking and land restitution procedures and new institutions, namely the Victims' Unit, the Land Restitution Unit, and the National Center for Historical Memory (ICTJ, 2022). That law is notable for its restorative approach and a transformative vision of victims' reparation, even though Colombia was still suffering from the armed conflict with TJ processes and land restitution occurring in an atmosphere of violence and insecurity (Friedman et al., 2019: 316).

It is against this historical background that preparations for a new round of peace talks started in November 2012 with FARC leaders, centering on six areas: agrarian reform, political participation, illicit drugs, victims, ending the conflict, and peace implementation (Ovalle Diaz, 2015). Successful negotiations require empowering key actors with different interests and veto powers. For example, while FARC victims demanded truth, justice, and reparations, FARC leaders demanded no jail time and power-sharing (Carlin, McCoy & Subotic, 2019). Carlin et. al (2019) found that trust in the actors at the negotiations table influenced the Colombian public's preferences for different TJ outcomes. The success of a peace process depends on the public legitimacy of both the procedures by which peace is negotiated and the specific TJ outcomes it achieves (Carlin et. al, 2019). Negotiations were informed by public consultations through several mechanisms, allowing unprecedented input into the final agreement, which included a Comprehensive System of Truth, Justice, Reparation and Non-Recurrence (ICTJ, 2022).

The third moment is the historic signing of the peace agreement in Havana in September 2016. Although the agreement lost in a public plebiscite by a narrow margin, a revised version was later signed by all parties and approved by Congress in November 2016 (Meernik, DeMeritt & Uribe-López, 2019a: 3-6). The 2016 peace agreement naturally draws from earlier peace processes, which according to Meernik et al. is "both a blessing and a curse" (2019b: 401). It integrates three objectives: retribution (through legal mechanisms and punishment), reparation (through individual and collective damages), and restoration (through rebuilding social bonds/community ties) (Friedman et al., 2019: 319). McCoy, Subotic & Carlin (2021) argue that negotiation of the peace agreement involved innovative norm-making of transitional justice norms balancing several competing international and domestic demands on disputed issues including victims' rights, accountability, and political participation. Moreover, the process was driven by multiple peacebuilding initiatives promoted by people at the local level "seeking to transform conflicts into networks of cooperation" (Meernik et al., 2019b: 408). The same authors draw attention to other novelties, including the gender lens: For the first time, women had a voice and a place in the process that was "intentionally and beneficially different" (2019: 408). Indeed, that is another landmark development, reflecting feminist activist and scholarly critiques of traditional TJ practices. Díaz Pabón notes that the Colombian case illustrates each of the debates underpinning the TJ field, moving beyond the theory-based dichotomies "to achieve a more holistic process"

(2018: 3). According to Meernik et al. this is the first attempt to build "a peace and transitional justice system so complex and far-reaching as to use every available tool in the kit" (2019b: 408), while Quinn and Joshi call it "the most victim-centered comprehensive peace agreement ever negotiated" (2019: 208).

However, the novelties of the peace agreement alone could not shield Colombia from the challenges it would encounter on its path to implementation. Peace processes face real risks in the post-conflict era and none of them is more imminent than parties not following through with their commitments. Issues faced during the Duque government (2018-2022) made it clear that the post-agreement era was equally challenging. Critics of President Duque note that his government slowed down the implementation of certain commitments and reduced resources for peace processes (Fabra-Zamora, Molina-Ochoa & Doubleday, 2021: 13). Meernik et al. note the importance of connecting agreement implementation with broader strategies for peacebuilding and state-building. Issues such as the state's inability to provide security and control over its territory, the assassination of social leaders, the ongoing conflict with the National Liberation Army (ELN) illegal crops and economies, FARC dissidents, lack of broad-based economic growth and employment opportunities, and unaddressed inequality pose real problems for peace in Colombia (2019a: 6). To date, there is limited progress on key areas of the agreement and the Colombian state remains slow in transforming commitments into deeds, crumpling under economic pressures that have further weakened the agreement and affected public trust (Fabra-Zamora et al., 2021: 13).

The successful implementation of TJ in Colombia "must occur across space, over time, and within the fabric of society" (Meernik et al., 2019a: 10). Three critical factors affect implementation. First, a multifaceted agreement requires the state establish a monopoly on the legitimate use of force over its territory (Ibid.). No other party to the agreement has a greater responsibility for its implementation than the state. Furthermore, citizens' trust in state institutions is key to addressing obstacles to state-building in the post-conflict era. Albarracín and Daly argue that everyday experiences with state institutions matter. The state's presence throughout its territory as the guarantor of public safety and provider of public services is important, as is the quality of such presence and the interaction with its citizenry (2019: 91-92). Second, parties to the agreement should learn from past mistakes and avoid violence. If violence continues, rebels may see a future fighting the state as more secure than their commitment to peace; this applies particularly to the ELN, which has not yet signed a peace agreement and has attracted many FARC ex-combatants (Meernik et al., 2019a: 11). Kaplan and Young argue that as new armed actors mobilize in the aftermath of a conflict, security concerns are likely to persist. They add corruption, victimization, and armed actor territorial control as other barriers to peace and security (2019: 187). Third, it is crucial for Colombia to redefine the nature of social relationships among individuals and groups, including building interpersonal trust and redefining gender relationships (Meernik et al., 2019a: 11).

Finally, the wave of massive protests that swept Colombia in the spring of 2021, triggered by an unpopular tax reform and escalated by police brutality, was in essence a response to the massive inequality and dire economic impact of the pandemic on the most marginalized (ICG, 2021). Undoubtedly, the pandemic added to an already complex tapestry of issues Colombia was facing in the post-accord era. The protests marked yet another moment of disappointment for

Colombians in their government and in the promised transformation of the 2016 peace accord. As Friedman et al. warn, if the agreement is abandoned "it is not difficult to imagine a future generation taking up arms yet again" (2019: 320).

Almost half of the nations that end a civil war with a peace agreement revert to conflict within five to ten years (Meernik et al., 2019a: 1). Only peace processes that survive in the short term can evolve to investigate human rights abuses, prosecute individuals for war crimes, compensate victims, and reconcile communities (Quinn & Joshi, 2019: 229). Several years after the peace agreement was signed, Colombia found itself in what Meernik et al. called "a promising, but risky, era of peace" (2019a: 1). Yet for many citizens, the shaken hopes in the 2016 peace agreement were revived following the outcome of the latest presidential elections, the first victory ever of a left-wing coalition in Colombia which has committed to putting peace first. As the country transitions into this new era of governance, there is hope that the implementation of the peace agreement will be placed high on the list of political priorities. In the words of Díaz Pabón, the peace agreement has the potential to become "a gift from Colombia to humanity" in the same way Gabriel Garcia Marquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude* was a gift from Colombia to world literature (Díaz Pabón, 2018: 251).

2.5 Feminist institutionalism

Feminist institutionalism is concerned, firstly, with how formal and informal 'rules of the games' are gendered (Krook & Mackay, 2011: 1). Having emerged as a new strand within institutionalism, this literature seeks to engage with both strengths and limitations of existing paradigms. (Mackay et al., 2010: 574). Lovenduski (2011) explains how feminism enriches institutionalism. Feminist authors adopt institutionalist research strategies "to illuminate and change the status of women" and by adding gender to institutionalist concepts, "feminism … genders institutionalism" (vii). It is the incorporation of such a gender lens into institutionalist tools that enables feminist institutionalism address the gender blindness of much existing mainstream scholarship. Such a lens "makes visible constitutive gendered power relations and the processes that support and undermine them" (xi).

Mackay et al. (2010) note that feminist institutionalism makes a unique contribution by better theorizing the gendered operation of formal and informal institutions, power relations within them, as well as sources and outcomes of institutional change (584). While the primary interest of feminist institutionalism is on positive gendered change, there is growing interest in how institutions resist and obstruct positive gendered change and the (f)actors that maintain gendered institutions in place (Thomson, 2018). Working from the basis that all institutions are gendered, the feminist institutionalist approach provides useful insights not only into the foundations of institutions, but also into the gendered mechanisms of continuity and change (Kenny, 2014: 679). Kenny draws attention to the methodological challenges of researching gendered institutions. She suggests that in explaining gendered institutional outcomes researchers should consider spatial and temporal specificities and that history matters (Ibid.: 682). These methodological challenges steer researchers towards elements of complexity in their empirical studies through case-by-case analysis or comparative research across space and time (Ibid.: 683). Lovenduski (2011) concludes that by recognizing 'changing gender relations' as a potential source of institutional change, "feminism increases the capacity of 'new' institutionalists to model causality" (xi), thus paying a

great service to this strand. In the context of this project, feminist institutionalism helps us understand the gendered institutions and power relations within the domain of TJ in Colombia, as well as within the relationship between Canada and Colombia, including the prospects for (more or less) transformative gendered change following aid interventions.

2.6 A critical feminist institutionalist framework

This project has drawn on key concepts from three schools of thought to guide the research and analysis: critical institutionalism, feminist institutionalism, and critical feminist analyses of Canadian aid, particularly in the domain of TJ. These distinct areas are connected by this project's focus on developments in TJ in Colombia following the peace accord and the role of Canada's international assistance in influencing TJ and gender equality goals.

The answer on the impact of Canadian aid to TJ in Colombia would vary broadly from no impact, i.e., maintaining the status quo of 'gendered TJ' on one end, to contributing to 'transformative TJ' on the other. The outcomes under 'gendered TJ' would include gendered norms/structures/institutions and/or an overall institutionalized gender inequality. On the other end of the spectrum can be found 'transformative TJ', which would entail a transformative capacity/power/mark of the Canadian aid intervention, fully gender-inclusive TJ institutions, and/or fully gender-inclusive development programs on the ground. It would also mean a TJ that is deeply rooted in local feminist views, applies an intersectional lens that goes beyond gender as a unit of analysis, and a donor that is open to yielding power, sharing its agency, and listening to the voices of the South. Between these two extremes, there is a spectrum marked by some progress towards a more gender-inclusive TJ, but without reaching the mark of transformative TJ. This is where causal factors such as the 'collision of different aid interests' or the 'instrumentalist approach of gender' play out. Some factors, such as 'spatial and temporal specificities' (Kenny, 2014) or 'material factors that are socially constructed in different historical contexts' (Baranyi & Paducel, 2012; Baranyi & Khan, 2016; Baranyi & Binnette, 2017) might influence the gendered outcomes at different points across the spectrum. Finally, the complex history of Colombia's internal conflict and its struggles for peace hint at the critical role these (macro) socio-political factors play in shaping the outcome of Canada's intervention.

The following table and diagram illustrate the theoretical framework chosen to analyze the role of Canadian aid at the nexus of gender and TJ. Table 1 summarises the anticipated outcomes and causal factors, borrowing concepts from the above schools of thought. Figure 3 provides a visual illustration of the interaction between the main causal factors and their impact along the spectrum. It consolidates the multitude of causal factors of table 1 into three main categories: a) the agency of Canada's implementing partners and their Southern counterparts; b) the agency of the donor/Canadian Government, a manifestation of which is FIAP; and c) the macro landscape and material factors socially constructed in Colombia's distinct historical context. These causal factors will be noted in the discourse analysis of the interviews and revisited in Chapters 4 and 5.

Table 1: Anticipated outcomes and causal factors

Outcomes	***Outcomes***	***Outcomes***
• Gendered norms • Gendered structures • Gendered institutions • Institutionalized gendered inequality	• Some (unstable) structures allowing space for creative agency and practical change, but still no fully gender-inclusive institutions and/or programs • Feminist approach tried, but transformative mark not achieved • Some positive gendered change	• Transformative capacity/power/mark of the intervention • Fully gender inclusive TJ institutions • Fully gender-inclusive development programs
Causal factors	***Causal factors***	***Causal factors***
• Spatial and temporal specificities (Kenny, 2014) • Critical actors (Thomson, 2018) • Cultural norms • Interplay of human agency, discourses and structures shaping history (Baranyi & Paducel, 2012) • Broader political context (Swan, 2021)	• Lack of a deep intersectional feminist approach (Tiessen & Baranyi, 2017b) • Tension/collision between gender inclusiveness goals & economic or security interests (Tiessen & Baranyi, 2017b) • Instrumentalist approach of gender, i.e. using it as a means of achieving other aims like economic or security ones (Brown and Swiss 2018; Tiessen 2019; Tiessen & Baranyi, 2017b) • De-politicising impulse, due to a sustained reluctance to engage with the broader political dynamics that drive transitional justice (O'Rourke, 2015) • Material factors socially constructed in different historical contexts (Baranyi & Paducel, 2012; Baranyi & Khan, 2016; Baranyi & Binnette, 2017) • Spatial and temporal specificities (Kenny, 2014) • Broader political context (Swan, 2021)	• An agency-based, intersectional, and transformative feminist approach • Changing gender relations (Lovenduski, 2011) • Interplay of agency and transnational networks of influence (Tiessen & Baranyi, 2017b) • Feminist approach rooted in local contexts (inclusive of social/cultural/political/regional/differences) (Rao and Tiessen, 2020)

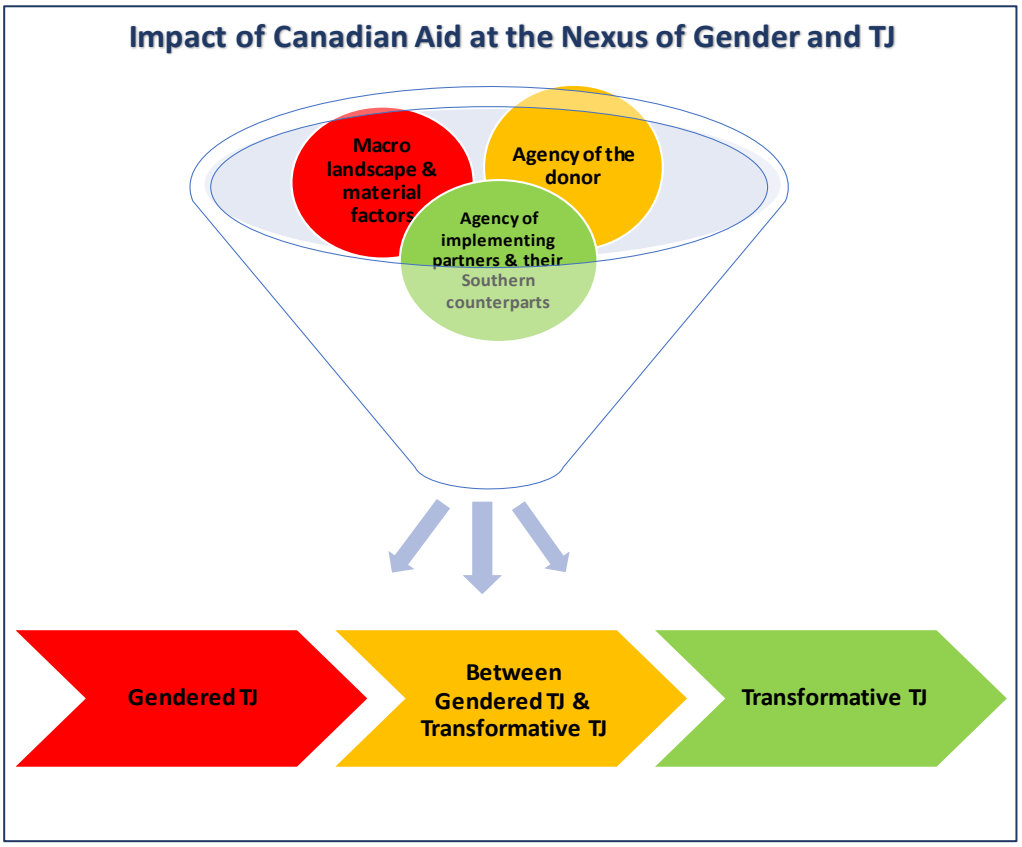

Figure 3: A visual illustration of interaction of key causal factors on the impact of Canadian Aid at the nexus of gender and TJ

By providing insight into the gendered institutions and power relations within the TJ domain in Colombia, the prospect of positive gendered change or resistance to such change following aid intervention, the tools borrowed from feminist institutionalism help assess and explain the impact of Canadian development programs at the nexus of gender and TJ in Colombia.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Overview of the methods selected

The literature review pointed to a lack of scholarly studies on the intersection of Canadian aid, TJ, and gender, including how this relationship plays out in the Colombian context. Conducting an in-depth case study of Canada's assistance to TJ in Colombia, therefore, seems to be a sensible approach. The case study uses mixed methods to answer key research questions.

The complexity and interdisciplinary nature of development research often necessitates the application of more than one method, leading to a "cross-fertilization of tools and more integrated methodologies" (Mayoux, 2006: 119). Mixed methods involve the use of two or more approaches to data gathering, selectively combining quantitative, qualitative and even participatory methods (Greene et al., 2005: 374). The origins of mixed methods also relate to the construct of triangulation, i.e., using multiple methods and sources of data to assess a phenomenon and enhance the credibility of the research findings (Ibid.). Overall, there is an appreciation for mixing methods

in social research, recognizing it as "a challenging but imminently worthwhile approach" (Ibid.: 279).

This project uses mixed methods, keeping at its core the case study of Canadian international assistance to TJ in Colombia, drawing on feminist methods. This approach is widely used in the Canadian aid and foreign policy literature to assess the motives, effectiveness, and outcomes of international assistance and foreign policy in a specific country context (Brown et al., 2016a; Tiessen & Baranyi, 2017; McKenna, 2012). Likewise, the TJ literature has used this method to study in-depth the strengths and limitations of TJ approaches in different contexts, from the former Yugoslavia to South Africa, Sierra Leone or Colombia (Lyons & Reed, 2010; Sriram et al., 2012).

The case study is an approach "fed by many different theoretical tributaries", all converging in their emphasis on in-depth study (Stark & Torrance, 2005: 33). As such, it reports the complexity of social activity, assuming it is created through social interactions and embedded in singular contexts (Ibid.). The case study plays an important role in development research particularly in designing interventions tailored to suit the local context (McGregor, 2006: 200-201). In-depth research is often undertaken as background research or as part of an ongoing data gathering or evaluation (Ibid.: 201). Designing the methodology around the case study of Canada's assistance in Colombia best served this project's interest to assess the outcome of such an intervention, including assessing the gender-inclusive nature of development programs on the ground. It is also a pragmatic choice when it comes to examining and comparing a sample of Canadian-funded projects.

An in-depth case study is frequently paired with other research methods such as interviews, documentary analysis, and observation, with the exact mix depending not only on the disciplinary and professional tradition but also on more practical issues, including funding availability (Stark & Torrance, 2005: 35). In the context of the current pandemic, issues such as researcher's health and safety, and the ability to physically access a research site or subject, became key in determining a specific mix of methods.

Although in the strict sense discourse analysis is concerned with the investigation of language, other variables considered in the analysis include the world, participants, prior discourse, discourse medium, and its purpose (Gillen & Petersen, 2005: 146-148). This method is widely used as most projects in social disciplines collect at least some data in the form of texts that require examination (Ibid). Discourse analysis is often employed to study the effects of various policy interventions, institutional or legal reforms. For example, by paying particular attention to the choice of language, intent, and prior discourses, Canadian authors have used discourse analysis to assess the strengths and limitations of FIAP (Tiessen, 2019; Brown & Swiss, 2018). In the context of this study, a wealth of information was drawn by analysing the spirit, intent and historical context of other relevant texts, such as the priorities of Canada's assistance to Colombia, or the content of the 2016 peace accord itself (Ovalle Diaz, 2019). In addition, a series of project-specific documents were reviewed, such as project reports, studies produced by implementing partners or third parties, project communications, including success stories, website content, blogs, online forums and infographics. (See Annex C for a more detailed list of documents and other material reviewed per project.)

Interviews are used to obtain information from key informants with expertise, insight, or experience relevant to this study. These are popular research tools and a great way to collect in-depth information (Willis, 2006: 146). Rosaline Barbour describes the tool as "a drill to screw deeper into the discursive structures that frame the worlds of 'subjects'. It is as much a way of seeing, or rather a condition for seeing anything at all" (Barbour & Schostak, 2005: 43). What drives the researcher's quest in an interviewing process is the "evocation of the real", particularly when that sense of the real becomes "the focus for political contention" (Ibid.: 42). Interview styles vary between structured, semi-structured, and unstructured. This study used semi-structured interviews, which are helpful in covering important areas of interest while providing space for the interviewees to bring up their own ideas (Willis, 2006: 144-145).

Some authors warn that relying on interviewing alone "can result in an overly empiricist analysis – locked into the 'here-and-now' of participants' perceptions", criticism that can, however, be addressed by using the method "self-consciously to look beyond the immediate" (Stark & Torrance, 2005: 35). The same holds true for documentary research, which should search for "immediate content, changing content over time and the values that such changing content manifests" (Ibid.). As such, this project combined the case study approach with semi-structured interviews and documentary/discourse analysis, with the goal of seeing 'beyond the immediate'.

This research also draws on feminist methods. Semi-structured interviewing is prominent in feminist research in part because qualitative research allows researchers to realize many feminist goals such as valuing the perspectives of women and of other marginalised groups (Bryman, Bell & Teevan, 2012: 181). In the early stages of feminist research, quantitative methods were considered incompatible with the epistemological basis of feminism; yet today feminist scholars use a range of quantitative, qualitative and participatory methods (Burns & Walker, 2005: 70). Feminist methodologies are not "monolithic but numerous, a contested terrain and a source of continual debate" (Ibid.: 69). The same authors argue that there are no methods specific to feminist research. Instead, what connects the different feminist methodologies is their commitment to exposing the deep connections between knowledge and power/privilege, and developing theories that advance gender justice (Ibid.: 66). DeVault (1996) points to a shared commitment of feminist scholars to shift the focus to women's perspectives, minimize harm and support research of value to women, leading to social change (In Burns & Walker, 2005: 70). In addition to the focus on the perspective of the woman being interviewed, other principles applied by feminist researchers, particularly in interviews, include establishing a high level of rapport with the interviewee, a high degree of reciprocity, and a non-hierarchical relationship (Bryman et al., 2012: 181). The interviewing process for this project was guided by these principles and a shared commitment to building relationships of trust between the researcher and the interviewees. The researcher was also committed to creating a safe space where both parties could ask questions and learn. (Annex B provides a summary of research methods used and their contribution to the specific RQs).

3.2 Selection of the project sample

The field component analysed in-depth a focused sample of three of Canadian-supported projects in the domain of TJ, through a series of semi-structured interviews. The project sample was

selected from the GAC's project browser (Government of Canada, 2020). The following steps were undertaken to come up with the proposed project sample.

First, a quick search of the project browser took place, using the keyword 'Colombia'. This yielded a total of 169 Canadian-funded projects for the period 2002-2020, including 61 projects since 2016. This pool of projects was further narrowed down by using keywords such as 'transitional justice', 'peace', 'gender', 'women empowerment'. All post-2016 Canadian-funded projects containing at least one of the above keywords were further screened to assess their compatibility with the study (particularly *project description* and *expected outcomes* sections of the GAC's project browser offered sufficient information on project scope and goals). Priority was given to projects that simultaneously addressed TJ and gender/women empowerment goals. A shortlist of potential projects was compiled accordingly (See Annex A).

Information from the project browser also served as a starting point to recruit interviewees, including project implementers, funders, and beneficiaries. Starting with the project implementer contact person, the snowball technique was used to reach out to potential interviewees from the same target groups. A project from the short-list was formally entered in the sample once the project implementer agreed to an interview. Following the first interview with the project implementer, interviews were then conducted with the funder and project beneficiaries. The project sample was composed of the first three projects that were confirmed from the compiled short-list of Canadian funded projects in Colombia. Though coincidental, the final project sample resulted in an interesting mix in terms of project size (covering from a one year, relatively small $1.2M budget project to a multiple year $18.85M program), focus and beneficiaries. Likewise, the profile of the implementing partners was very different, which added to the distinct character of each case study. Implementing partners for the selected sample included Lawyer Without Borders Canada (LWBC), a Quebec-based, non-governmental and human rights organisation (LWBC, 2022); Plan International Canada, a charity and member of a global organisation dedicated to advancing children's rights and equality for girls (Plan International, 2022); and a UN agency, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in Colombia.

Table 2: Project sample (as per GAC's project browser)

Title	Start	End	Implementing Partner	DAC Sector	Contribution in CAD
Peace Process in Colombia: Building Confidence in Transitional Justice	2017-03-31	2019-03-31	Lawyers Without Borders Canada	Legal and judicial development: 100.00%	4,640,250
Leading for Peace: Supporting the Rights of Children and Youth in Colombia	2016-12-21	2021-12-31	Plan International Canada	Vocational training: 10.00%; Democratic participation and civil society: 10.00%; Civilian peace-building conflict prevention and resolution: 10.00%; Public sector policy and administrative management: 35.00%; Human rights: 35.00%	18,850,000

Strengthening the National Center for Historical Memory in Colombia	2017-03-31	2018-06-30	United Nations Development Programme	Civilian peace-building conflict prevention and resolution: 100.00%	1,200,000

3.3 Ethics considerations and the impact of the pandemic on the fieldwork

Traditional principles associated with conducting ethical research include informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity, and publication access (Piper & Simons, 2005: 56-57). The project complied with those ethics principles and best practices in development research. As it included a field component involving gathering of information from human subjects, it abided by the rules of ethics of the University of Ottawa as defined in the Internal Guidelines and Procedures (Office of Research Ethics and Integrity, 2019). To this end, an application to obtain ethics approval was put forward with the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board during spring 2021. The project received ethics approval in June 2021 for one year. The ethics certificate was renewed in June 2022 for an additional year with the purpose of supporting further contact with interviewees during the writing phase.

Fieldwork in the COVID-19 era posed some additional challenges. Alongside the ethics application, a Safe Research Plan was prepared and submitted with the ethics application. Furthermore, approval for international travel on exceptional grounds was needed from the International Office of the University of Ottawa for the purpose of travelling at a time when the third wave of the pandemic was unfolding. Because of the extended travel restrictions in force, the fieldwork was postponed to early 2022 (from fall 2021). In Bogotá, Colombia, the researcher worked near the Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios sobre Desarrollo (CIDER) of the Universidad de los Andes, under the supervision of Professor Diana Marcela Gómez Correal.

Because of uncertainty from the pandemic, alternatives to in-person interviews were also explored and applied. Several virtual interviews with project implementers were conducted during the fall of 2021 from Ottawa. These helped with sample selection and preparation for the field visit. Unwin (2006) writes that doing development research at home is not necessarily better or worse and to be successful researchers should be aware of the relative advantages and disadvantages of each approach (Unwin, 2006: 104). Unwin's words proved encouraging in drafting alternative research plans and moving forward in such uncertain times. The bulk of interviews took place during the fieldwork in Colombia in 2022. Although some interviews were in person, a good number of them were still conducted virtually. Computer-assisted and online synchronous interviewing has been explored for quite some time as a useful supplement or replacement to face-to-face interviews (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014). But if the debates before the pandemic painted a more balanced picture between the pros and cons of online interviews (Brinkmann & Kvale 2015: 174-175; Bryman et al., 2012: 180-181), in the pandemic era the pros of online interviews outweigh its cons and enable researchers to progress with their research.

Notwithstanding the limitations to in-person activities, the field component brought much value to the case study analysis. It enabled the researcher to better understand the issues and the reality of development work in the Colombian context. It also helped facilitate meaningful connections and access to project beneficiaries and key informants from academic, government

and non-profit circles in Colombia, strengthening the case study analysis and the overall project. Moreover, by being enrolled near the Universidad de los Andes during the fieldwork, the project benefited from the valuable insight and constructed criticism from development researchers in the Global South. Professor Gómez was consulted on the field activities including the list of potential interviewees. She also facilitated several connections with local key informants and was instrumental in organising an in-person seminar at CIDER, on February 16, 2022, where the researcher presented her research proposal and some preliminary observations from the fieldwork.

3.4 Qualitative analysis

To analyse the text generated from the interviews the following steps were taken. In the interview notes and transcripts, relevant words, phrases, or sentences were initially underlined and labelled (coded) as per a set of predefined concepts that were of interest to this study. Coding refers to "attaching one or more keywords to a text segment in order to permit later identification of a statement" (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015: 227) and is a key element of content analysis. Some of the codes used in analyzing the interview text included: "gender", "feminism", "transitional justice", "agency", "empowerment", "foreign aid/assistance", "economic dependency", "sustainability", "donor intervention", "human rights", "peacebuilding", "donor interest", "economic interest", "security", "power vacuum", "violence", "progress", "status quo", "conflict", "safety", "altruism", "extractivism", etc.

The specific codes identified in the interview text were then noted down and examined with the purpose of identifying common themes. This was done through grouping individual codes into broader and more abstract categories such as "intersectional feminist approach", "gender-based programing" or "gendered institutions". While there were many themes identified, the qualitative analysis focused mainly on the most prevalent themes noted across different interviews. Examining the relationships and interaction between the most common identified themes was the next step in this process. This exercise was important as it helped define which themes influenced change (namely, the causal factors) and which ones were the results of such interventions (namely, the outcomes). For instance, application of (or lack of) an "intersectional feminist approach" could be a causal factor, causing project outcomes to vary between reaching a 'transformative capacity of intervention/aid' to perpetuating the status quo of 'gendered institutions/norms'.

The identified outcomes were then mapped out on the impact spectrum which varies from 'gendered TJ' (scenario 1) on one extreme, to 'between gendered TJ and transformative TJ' (scenario 2) found somewhere in the middle and 'transformative TJ' (scenario 3) on the other extreme of the spectrum. The third scenario marks the point of maximum progress a development program can achieve. As shown, Table 1 in Chapter Two provides a list of potential causal factors and outcomes as noted from the literature review and where these could be found on the spectrum from 'gendered TJ' to 'transformative TJ'.

In the case of interviews, the process of mapping out the outcomes on the spectrum was facilitated by a small number of closed-ended questions that required respondents to provide numeric scoring. For example, "*How would you rank the change this project brought in the area of e.g. TJ/women empowerment/gender inclusion on a scale from 1-5 where "1" means "no change" and "5" means "transformative change""?* (See Annex E for the Interview Tool). A

project was assessed on its contribution to both the field of TJ and gender. For a project to align to 'transformative TJ' it needed to score close to "5" on both TJ and gender inclusion themes. On a scale of 1-5 an overall score close to 1 would correspond to 'gendered TJ' and an overall score close to 5 would align closely to 'transformative TJ'.

A similar coding process was applied to the qualitative analysis of project documents. Annex C provides more details on key documents, as well as written, visual and audio resources consulted for each project. The audio and video materials were reviewed to help with project context and to triangulate themes/findings from the interviews and document analysis. Key themes were noted down, but information from the audio and video material was not systematically coded as it was the case with the interviews. The qualitative analysis of the interviews, as well as of the project documents, helped with determining which of the three anticipated scenarios the selected projects fell into, addressing simultaneously RQs 1-3.

3.5 Targeted groups and recruitment of participants

The project targeted four main groups:

1. Funders, including GAC program officials in Canada and/or in Colombia who are/were involved in overseeing the award, implementation, delivery of the selected sample of development projects in Colombia.
2. Implementing partners, either in Canada or in Colombia. These are often experienced Canadian or international organisations working in the field of international development in their respective areas of expertise (e.g., rule of law, human rights, children's rights).
3. Project beneficiaries or participants, including Colombia-based respondents from community groups, women organisations, local non-profits, public institutions and/or individuals who have benefited from/participated in a Canadian-funded development project in Colombia.
4. Local experts and informants with key information, including Colombia-based respondents with knowledge, insight, or experiences relevant to this study. Their profiles include academics, civil society activists, researchers, and lawyers.

Recruitment of participants started with the project implementers (group two above). Their participation was the *sine qua non* for including a project in the project sample. Initially, information from the GAC's project browser helped with the identification of the project implementers. Furthermore, their organisations' websites helped with information about their profile, mandates, the types of projects involved, as well as specific information on the project sample. It also provided information on the organisation contact person or staff working on specific projects and/or regions, and their role within the organisation. Such publicly available information was used to directly connect with potential interviewees from this target group. A written introductory email on the scope and purpose of the study was sent to potential implementing partners, together with an invitation for an interview (see Annex D for an example). A follow-up email was sent as needed several days later. Starting with the project implementer contact person, the snowball technique aided with reaching out to potential interviewees from the same target groups (i.e., project implementers).

Special attention was paid to recruit project beneficiaries (group three). They were contacted in the following way. If published project reports, project communication products, information on the funder's or implementer's websites, news stories or other publicly available information identified specific project beneficiaries, the researcher initiated direct contact. Organisations' websites often helped identify local organisations that the implementers had partnered with in Colombia and their beneficiaries. Plan's website, for instance, proved to be helpful as it featured a number of success stories, written and video testimonials, of their beneficiaries, which helped grasp the context of the project and identify potential interviewees. Using the information that was publicly available, the researcher contacted potential interviewees initially via email. Likewise, an introductory email was sent to potential interviewees, together with an invitation to an interview. Follow-up emails were sent as needed several days apart. In Colombia, targeted cold calls were made to beneficiaries, which often had a better return rate than email invitations. A second way of connecting with project beneficiaries was through implementing partners. Following the initial interview with the implementer, the researcher inquired as to whether they could facilitate an introduction with beneficiaries or other people of interest. Several meaningful connections were facilitated in this way.

As for the funder, an initial point of contact was made with the Embassy of Canada in Bogotá for the purpose of soliciting information on Canada's initiatives in Colombia in the domain of TJ and gender. Such efforts successfully materialised in an interview with the staff of the Embassy of Canada in Bogotá in February 2022. The researcher also reached out to GAC's PSOPs and conducted a second interview with GAC in Ottawa. Finally, being close to CIDER at the Universidad de los Andes and working under the supervision of a Colombian professor, proved useful in facilitating introductions with a number of local contacts, particularly from group four (local experts and informants with key information).

3.6 Consent and anonymity

This project required participants' verbal consent for the interview. Reasons why verbal consent was more appropriate included: First, it enabled compliance with the COVID-related safety measures in place at the University of Ottawa at the time the research activities took place and the Safe Research Plan (SRP); second, verbal consent was considered more appropriate in the case of virtual interviews, with parties not being physically in one space and exchange of signed consent forms being impractical; finally, the researcher considered that verbal consent was more culturally appropriate, allowing for better interaction with the interviewees. However, in complying with the ethics protocols of the University of Ottawa, consent forms were prepared in two languages. At the beginning of each interview the researcher explained the purpose and the content of the consent form, answered any questions pertaining to it and requested permission to audio record.

The field component of this research project was by nature a mini evaluation of the selected sample of development projects. As such, it was made clear to the participants that the specific names of these projects would be used in the dissemination of research findings. This could potentially limit the anonymity of some project participants, particularly project funders and implementing partners. It was expected that members of these two groups would take the survey in their official capacity. This was also the reason why agency/organisational approval was sought for these interviewees and formal channels of communications were used (e.g., all requests were

made from the researcher's university email account, addressed to the official e-mail of the interviewees, etc.). These participants had the option to explicitly waive their anonymity in the consent form. Those who did not waive their anonymity, took the interview anonymously. In such cases, their answers are captured alongside other anonymous interviewees as was the case for interviews with individual beneficiaries, local experts and informants with key information.

3.7 Profile of interviewees and other interview details

While the field component planned initially for 11-20 semi structured interviews, a total of 28 were conducted. The interviews were conducted in either English (six out of 28) or Spanish (22 out of 28). Key communications, including interview protocol, invitation to interview and consent forms were prepared in both languages. As noted, the interviewees had the option to approve or refuse audio-recording. A majority of interviewees gave permission for audio-recording (22 out of 28). While interviewing subjects across cultures may pose challenges, including linguistic and social issues of translation (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015: 168-169), audio-recording proved helpful, particularly in the case of interviews in Spanish for the purpose of ensuring linguistic accuracy. It also eased some of the researcher's concerns regarding language nuances and ambiguities. Out of 28 interviews, roughly 117 pages of typed interview notes and transcripts were generated, with each interview lasting approximately 60 min. 22 interviews were conducted virtually and six in person. MS Teams was the most frequently used platform for the virtual interviews (17 out of 22).

A total of 33 people provided feedback via the interviews, with three interviews being attended by multiple participants (these were counted as one interview given that one set of answers was provided jointly). Out of 33 participants, 21 were female and 12 male. The interviewee's profile included eight project implementers, 12 beneficiaries, five local experts, two interviews with GAC and one with a Colombian government agency. Out of 12 beneficiaries, seven were Colombian public institutions, three local non-profits and two individual beneficiaries. The following figures illustrate these data.

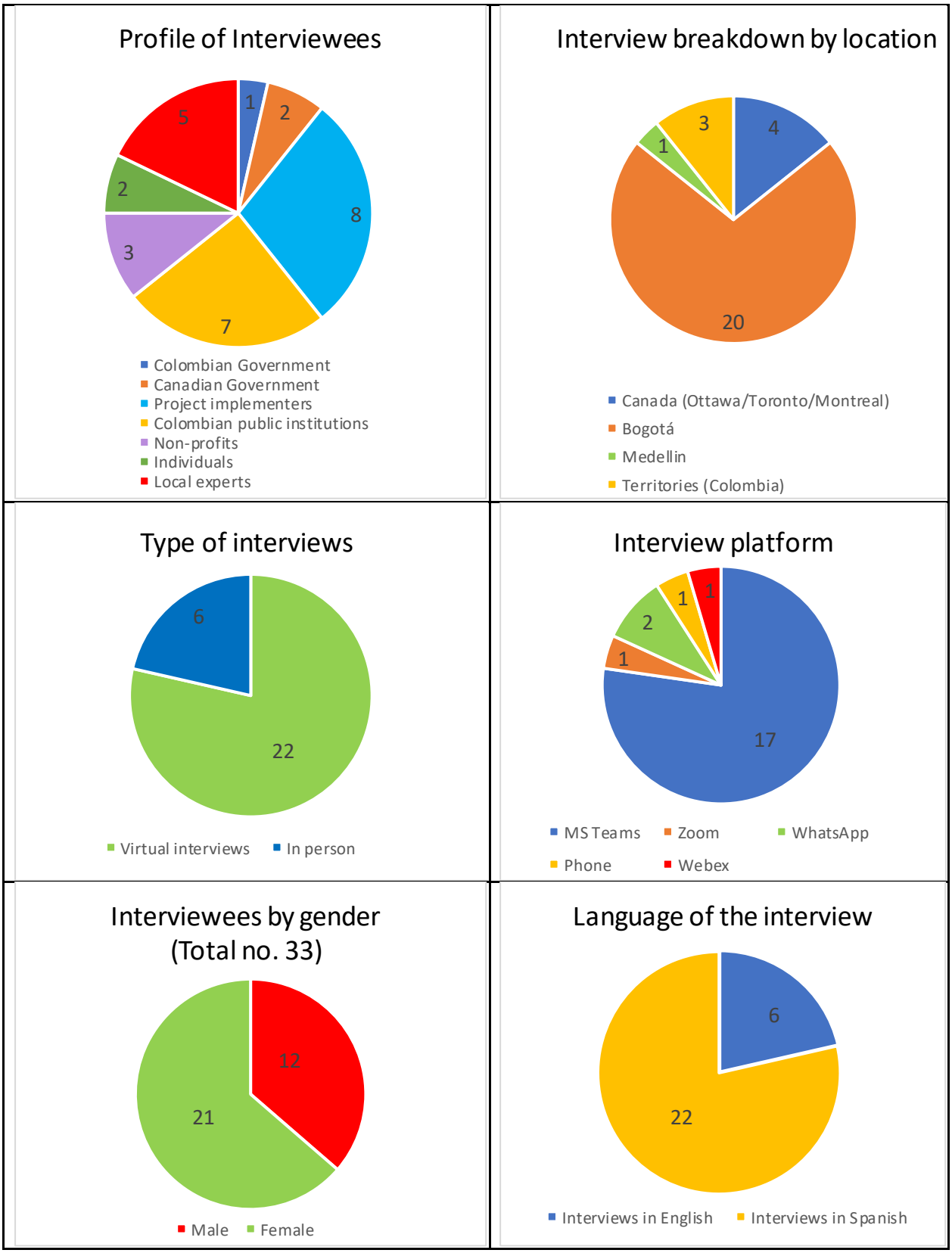

Figure 4: Interview details

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

The next two chapters reflect more closely on the findings from my fieldwork. Chapter Four presents the quantitative and qualitative data from the semi-structured interviews. It opens with an introduction to the project sample, before moving to findings from the three case studies. It concludes with some findings on the broader-scope questions which help us define the macro socio-political context in which these programs unfold in Colombia, a key causal factor along with the agency of the donor and partners in shaping the impact of the intervention. Chapter Five offers a more analytical discussion of key findings and revisits the relation between causal factors and impact, bringing us back to some of the literature debates from Chapter Two.

4.1 The project sample

Case study #1: Peace Process in Colombia: Building Confidence in the Transitional Justice (Also known as "Transitional Justice for Women"- JUSTRAM)

This project is concerned with strengthening the confidence of Colombian society, especially women and girls, in the TJ system and their access to TJ mechanisms (Government of Canada, 2022c). It was funded under PSOPs for a total of $4,640,250 and implemented by LWBC (Ibid.). Its purpose was to ensure that the rights of women, vulnerable people and victims are respected with regards to truth, justice, reparation, and non-repetition in the TJ context of Colombia (LWBC 2019: 9). To this end, it focused on the implementation and monitoring of TJ mechanisms and supported both the local civil society and the Colombian State in that regard (Government of Canada, 2022c). Initially scheduled to run from March 2017 to March 2019, the project was later extended to June 2022 (Interviews with the funder and implementer). It is highly regarded by the funder for its achievements and alignment with FIAP (Interview with funder). The project worked toward ensuring that emblematic cases of strategic litigation were documented and brought before national courts and the Special Jurisdiction for Peace (JEP, as per the acronym in Spanish). It also worked to increase understanding in the regions of the different TJ mechanisms provided for in the Peace Agreement (LWBC, 2022). Some of its achievements include: victims represented by partner lawyers; civil society organizations and members of local communities, particularly indigenous and Afro-Colombian communities, supported in the development of recommendations adapted to their specific needs; cases of serious human rights violations documented and supported, including cases of sexual violence committed in the context of the armed conflict; and civil society organizations received training to create education tools on TJ mechanisms (Ibid.).

Case study #2: Leading for Peace: Supporting the Rights of Children and Youth in Colombia

The purpose of this project was to strengthen the capacity of the Government of Colombia to deliver protection and compensation to victims of armed conflict, particularly children and youth (Government of Canada, 2022d). It ran from December 2016 to December 2021 and was funded under the bilateral portfolio for a total amount of $18,850,356 (Government of Canada, 2022d)[3].

[3] The same number shows as $18.9 in the 2021 Annual Report on Human Rights and Free Trade between Canada and Colombia (Government of Canada, 2021).

It benefited around 140,000 people, including children, youth, women, members of the community and government officials in three conflict-affected municipalities: Buenaventura, Tumaco and Quibdó (Interview with project implementer). Project activities included: training of 1,640 national and local government officials to deliver protection and compensation services; training for youth networks, community leaders, and community-based organisations to participate in municipal planning; and training for youth in entrepreneurship, peacebuilding, life skills and community leadership (Government of Canada, 2022d).

The project was implemented in partnership with Plan's local partner, Fundación Plan in Colombia. It worked closely with key stakeholders, including the Unidad para la Atención y Reparación Integral a las Víctimas (UARIV), the principal project beneficiary, local NGOs, community-based organisations and key community leaders in the three territories (Project implementer). Plan defines the project as a movement working toward improving the lives of these population groups. "We don't consider them beneficiaries; we consider them participants" (Project implementer). Building on Colombia's strong participatory tradition, the implementer consulted with the participants on project design and methodologies to better reflect their needs early in the project. These consultations were also meant to help with project sustainability at both the public sector and community levels (Project implementer).

The project had four components, including: 1) institutional strengthening; 2) citizenship for peace; 3) child protection; and 4) youth economic empowerment. Its ultimate outcome was the realisation of the rights to protection for reconciliation and reparations for the victims of the armed conflict with a focus on girls and boys in the three targeted municipalities (Project implementer). While it was originally designed as a gender aware project with a focus on transformative peace only in the youth economic empowerment component, post 2017 it transitioned into a gender transformative project in all its components by adopting an innovative Gender Transformative Strategy (GTS) (Project implementer; Plan International Canada, 2021). Such a transition was driven by Plan's own organisational purpose, which centres around the commitment to a rights-based and gender transformative approach. That shift also enabled a better alignment with FIAP in the second half of the project (Project implementer).

Case study #3: Strengthening the National Centre for Historical Memory in Colombia

The mandate of the National Centre for Historical Memory (hereinafter CNMH as per the Spanish acronym, or the Centre) derives from Victims Law no. 1448 of 2011 as one of the institutions created to design public policies to support the victims of the armed conflict (Interview with CNMH). More specifically its mandate has to do with the historical memory and the narratives of the victims about the tragic experiences they lived during the armed conflict. "What happened to them, who the responsible parties were, how they lived through the damage suffered, how they are healing" (Interview with CNMH). This Canadian-funded project supported the CNMH in preparing for the establishment of the Commission for the Clarification of Truth, Coexistence and Non-Repetition (hereinafter CEV, or the Truth Commission) with a differential focus on gender. The total project funding was $1,2 Million and it was implemented by UNDP Colombia during 2017-2018 (Government of Canada, 2022e). Project activities included: 1) supporting strategic activities for the reconstruction of memory, coexistence, tolerance and peaceful resolution of conflicts; 2) identifying and systemizing information on cases of serious violations of human rights

and international humanitarian law; 3) supporting women's organisations in process of clarification of truth, coexistence, and the construction of historical memory; and 4) supporting joint activities between the CNMH and the Truth Commission in developing a territorial communication strategy on their mandates (Ibid.). Some of the project achievements reported by the implementer included: design and delivery of a virtual program on the Public Policy of Human Rights Archives; creation of a network of managers of human rights archives at the territorial and national level; creation of a database of human rights cases; training of 26 leaders and representatives of social organisations and victims organisations on the management and use of the human rights archive; and support for the exhibition "Endulzar la Palabra: Memorias indígenas para pervivir" [Sweeten the word: Indigenous memories to survive] (Project implementer; UNDP, Informe Final).

4.2 Findings from the case studies

As explained in the methodology chapter, the researcher carried out semi-structured interviews with four groups: funders, implementers, beneficiaries and local experts with key information. The four distinct profiles necessitated the use of different interview tools. For example, if project beneficiaries were asked to score/comment how useful they found a specific project, local experts were asked to score/comment how important it was in their opinion that Canada continue to fund initiatives on TJ or gender-focused projects. Furthermore, questions on the specific project alignment with FIAP were asked to the funder and implementing partners, but not to the beneficiaries and the local experts. Some questions on the main issues affecting peace processes and TJ applied more broadly to all groups and drew a higher number of responses (see Interview Tool in Annex E).

There was evidently some overlap regarding the profiles of the interviewees. For example, all non-profit representatives interviewed in their capacity as project beneficiaries were experts in Colombia's peace processes and provided feedback beyond the specific project from their respective area of expertise (e.g., gender, TJ, rule of law). However, their answers are captured under 'beneficiaries' for the purpose of distinguishing this group from local experts not associated with any organisation that had received or benefited from Canadian funding. For the same reason, interviews with the two representatives of the NCHM were noted under 'beneficiaries' due to their formal association with an organisation that had received Canadian funding, even though they could not provide feedback on the specific project due to their lack of involvement with the organisation at the time of implementation.

While the interviews with local experts helped with understanding the overall context of the peace process and TJ in Colombia (particularly in addressing RQ #3), interviews with the other three groups provided project-specific feedback with the purpose of assessing the project against the main research interest (the impact of Canadian aid at the nexus of gender and TJ). As such, they speak more closely to RQ #1 and #2. The interviews also enabled looking more closely at each of the case studies and drawing some comparisons among them. Table 3 provides the breakdown of interviews by case study.

Table 3: Breakdown of interviews by case study

Project title	Implementing partners	Funder	Beneficiaries	Total interviews per case study
Project #1: JUSTRAM	2	1*	6	9
Project #2: Leading for Peace	3	1	4	8
Project #3: Support for CNMH	2	1*	2	5

*The same interviewee provided feedback on both projects.

As explained in chapter 3, the interview instruments included a mixture of open-ended and closed questions that required numeric scoring on a scale of 1-5 ("5" corresponding to "transformative change" under the impact questions). These questions complemented the open-ended ones. For example, the respondents were first invited to provide unstructured feedback on the project such as how useful it was and what kind of impact it had made in general terms. They were then asked to provide a numeric scoring on the same (project utility/impact of selected themes/etc.) as well as a rationale for their scoring. Below is a summary of the numeric scoring each project received from implementers and beneficiaries combined.

Table 4: Project #1: JUSTRAM

Questions	Implementer (=2)	Beneficiary (=6)
How useful was this project?	4	4
Impact on the TJ theme	**3.75**	**3.25**
Impact on the gender theme	**3**	3.25
Impact on the women empowerment theme	4	3.25
Overall score	**3.69**	**3.44**

Table 5: Project #2: Leading for Peace

Questions	Implementer (=3)	Beneficiary (=4)
How useful was this project?	5	5
Impact on the TJ theme	**3.67**	**4.50**
Impact on the gender theme	**4.83**	**5**
Impact on the women empowerment theme	5	5
Impact on the human rights of children and youth	5	5
Overall score	**4.7**	**4.9**

Table 6: Project #3: Support for CNMH

Questions	Implementer (=2)	Beneficiary (=2)
How useful was this project?	4.5	Not scored
Impact on the TJ theme	4.5	Not scored
Impact on the gender theme	**4.5**	Not scored
Impact on the women empowerment theme	4	Not scored
Overall score	**4.38**	**Not scored**

The implementing partners and the beneficiaries found project #1 equally useful (4 out 5). This scoring is confirmed by the beneficiaries' narrative statements as well: "Really it has been very valuable" or "We have received great support from LWBC for this project". The implementer gave a higher score to the women empowerment and TJ themes (4 and 3.75 respectively) and a slightly lower scoring to the gender theme (3), while the beneficiaries scored the project equally (3.25) among the three areas (TJ, women's empowerment, and gender). There is close alignment (.25 difference) when it comes to the average overall scoring project #1 received by the implementers and the beneficiaries (3.69 vs. 3.44).

Project #2 scored maximum points and full alignment was noted between the feedback received from the implementing partners and beneficiaries in 3 of the 5 comparative questions asked. This project also received higher scoring from the beneficiaries compared to the implementers in all the categories. It hit an almost perfect mark overall with a 4.7 and 4.9 average score received by the implementers and the beneficiaries (.2 difference). A comparative look between projects #1 and #2, shows that project #1 was scored higher from the implementing partner on the TJ theme, while project #2 on gender and women empowerment themes. A similar comparative look could not be performed for project #3. While highly scored by the implementer in all the categories, the project was not scored by the beneficiary, as the individuals with knowledge on this specific project were no longer with the Centre.

As shown in tables 4-6 above, all projects scored high on the question of how useful these interventions were considered by the interviewees. The high scoring on this question is confirmed in the answers to the open-ended, qualitative questions. For example, Canada's support for the NCHM was praised as "very generous and an important investment, provided at a very key moment for TJ in Colombia." One beneficiary described the impact of project #1 with these words: "Only a few donor projects have a focus on gender and forms of victimisation of women as well as a differentiated focus. From this perspective this project has supported a gender and differentiated focus and we can say that the work is well done." However, the same respondent concludes that in the context of transformative change the question was more complex, requiring monitoring, evaluation and systemic reporting of indicators, particularly in the territories. Therefore, assessing the project's transformative mark for them was not realistic. Project #2 was commented in a similar spirit with regards to its transformative mark. Albeit receiving maximum scoring from both implementing partners and beneficiaries across the board, the interviewees made clear that the transformative impact (corresponding to a "5" scoring) should be read within this specific project's scope and in relation to the selected territories and populations it served.

On project alignment with FIAP (where "1" is no alignment and "5" is maximum alignment), the following scores were provided by the funder and implementing partners:

Table 7: Project alignment with FIAP

Project	Funder	Implementer
Project #1	5	3
Project #2	**5**	**4.67**
Project #3	3	4.5

Project 2 stands out for its almost perfect alignment with FIAP, and the very similar scoring given by the funder and implementer (.33 difference). There is more of a discrepancy on how project alignment with FIAP is seen by the funder and the implementer in the other two projects. However, cross-referencing the implementer's scoring in this table with the ones provided in Tables 4-6 shows that implementers' self-scoring on project alignment with FIAP closely mirrors how they view their project's impact on the gender theme (e.g., project 1 scored 3; project 2 - 4.83 and project 3 - 4.5).

When asked about what including a gender lens meant, interviewees talked about meeting the gender indicators assigned to their specific project components. "Did you take into account women's perspective? Are they part of the project? Did you consult with them?" (Project 1 implementer). So it is very much about women's participation, their situation in the armed conflict and story sharing. For example, during the first year of JUSTRAM project a series of activities were carried out to gather information on the perceptions of women victims of the armed conflict, on key issues regarding the protection of their rights. Using participatory methods - including focus groups, participant observation and testimonies - women's feedback was received on important issues related to the implementation of the Peace Agreement, the mechanisms of TJ, the gender-specific approach and their political participation in peacebuilding (LWBC, 2019). These dialogues led to a series of recommendations which would serve as starting points to guarantee the rights of women as victims in the armed conflict (Ibid.). There was an increased focus on women's realities and experiences in all three projects. "Of course many men were victims of the armed conflict, but the focus here is on women's situation and the emotional, individual, collective and physical impacts on the women" (Project 3 implementer). Project 3 incorporated an ethnic component and intersectional lens. For example, "Endulzar la palabra", an exhibition preserving the memory of the indigenous people on events that occurred during the armed conflict, had a chapter about the situation of indigenous women. For the implementer and the NCHM it was important to build a narrative of events from the eyes of indigenous people and particularly of indigenous women. In that context, the implementer also worked with indigenous men to help raise awareness about the situation suffered by indigenous women during the armed conflict, a line of work that had its own set of challenges. "But when indigenous women opened up and shared with us their stories, it was a special moment of discovery and of great importance for this project" (Project 3 implementer). Interviewees commented that it was critical for all project stakeholders to understand the very important role women have in TJ processes which goes far beyond the context of the UN Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. "Women's participation is important, their truth is important, they are the principal survivors of the armed conflict" (Project 3 implementer).

In project 2, the gender lens was shifted from a transversal gender approach in the first half of the project to an ambitious gender transformative approach/strategy in its second part, which corresponds with the launch of FIAP in 2017. The original approach involved working on 4 areas of transformation along the transversal operational axis, defined as "I", "Us", "Us and Them" and "Advocacy" (Plan International Canada, 2021: 6). The later approach, the gender transformative strategy (GTS), builds on the 6 transformative principles inspired by Plan's global theory of change. These include: 1) Addressing the influence of gender norms throughout the lifecycle; 2) Strengthening the principle of agency; 3) Making men allies in the transformation project and supporting them to embrace positive masculinities; 4) Considering childhood, adolescence and

youth in its entire diversity; 5) Improving conditions and social position of girls and youth; and 6) Promoting an enabling environment to support the journey toward gender equality (Project Implementer & Plan International, 2018: 2). It is these transformative elements which ensure that gender occupies the entire life of the project. While Plan continued to implement all the gender actions foreseen under the original strategy, the GTS was strengthened by including two additional strategies: Transformative masculinities strategy and sexual and reproductive rights strategy (Project 2 implementer).

Other innovative methodologies include those applied by LWBC, namely "popular education" and "transitional justice from the bottom", rooted in the idea that the implementer facilitates knowledge sharing, rather than teaching the beneficiary. As such, the implementer acknowledges what local women already know, be it about justice, political participation, or gender. "And it makes sense, because when you talk about transitional justice, those terminologies, we gave them these names, but these concepts were born there" (Project 1 implementer). "Transitional justice from the bottom" takes into account the realities of local women, their perspectives in establishing priorities, working plans or recommendations. In this sense they lead the work of the implementing partner (Project 1 implementer). A product of these methodologies is "Retejiendo Saberes", a series of women's circles that developed in the context of peacebuilding dialogues from a gender perspective. Tens of women in Antioquia, Santander, Norte de Santander, Cesar, Valle del Cauca and Nariño participated in this exchange of knowledge and shared wisdom (LWBC, 2018: 5). They posed questions and came up with strategies to address their problems. These conversations helped women achieve a better understanding of their participation in the TJ mechanisms (Ibid.). One beneficiary had a slightly different take on the innovative elements of JUSTRAM project. This interviewee commented on how LWBC placed trust in the network of local organisations preoccupied with litigation of gender inequalities at the national level and supported the innovative approaches that these organisations had been applying for some time in Colombia, including a strategic-litigation methodology (Project 1 beneficiary).

Challenges noted by the implementing partners included the overall security situation in the territories and the risks it posed for the safety of their beneficiaries. Lack of economic opportunities, educational opportunities and of social protection for the people in the affected territories were also mentioned. Outside the macro conditions, project timeframe was brought up in the context of its impact on sustainability: "When the project ends a relationship of trust is broken" (Project 1 implementer). The importance of project areas of focus and activities being driven by the people in the territories and not the donor or the centre was also a common theme. There is consensus among the interviewees that the pandemic added to an already complex socio-economic situation in Colombia and posed additional challenges during the project cycle. For Plan however, these challenges helped draw important lessons and expanded horizons on the use of new technologies in future projects. Another common challenge mentioned is that a transformative gender focus requires a cultural change and the impact of the project in this context cannot be realistically noted or measured in the short term.

When asked about the main project achievements, several impacts at both community and institutional level are listed. Increased political participation of women and improved access to justice was noted for project #1. A beneficiary commented on the impact of this project to the work of the JEP with these words: "If we analyse the project in the context of money invested, it is

modest. But if we analyse it in the context of results generated, particularly in the field of investigation of third parties, we can say that it has produced many results and influenced decisions." On the contribution in the line of sexual violence and gender-based violence the interviewee adds: "Thanks to the analysis and reports prepared in relation to state agents and paramilitarism, cases of sexual based violence were identified among both paramilitaries and the public force, which are starting to show a systemic pattern."

Interviewees attributed several achievements to project #2. These included the management of the psycho-social impact of the armed conflict, knowledge exchange through "juntanzas" (a methodology of bringing together different actors), individual and collective agency of women and girls, feminism circles and exploring feminism beyond Western feminism, creative laboratories of men and new masculinities, sexual and reproductive rights strategy or a program for public servants on policies of victim's reparations. An individual beneficiary comments on what legacy project #2 leaves behind. "Much remains: Knowledge, lessons learned, a new mentality and the groups formed. For example, "Ruta de influencia juvenil" still exists and supports activities of young people. It supports them to grow as community and political leaders. They still discuss with this network topics of leadership, political activism, sexual education and more." The legacy of project #2 is confirmed in an interview with UARIV representatives as well. "A public policy on the victims with a focus on gender and youth, trained officials on these topics including new masculinities, knowledge and stronger institutions remain," they conclude.

Regarding the third project, the implementer notes that 26 leaders, representatives of social and victims' organisations, were trained on the management of human rights archives. The project also created a network of archives at the territorial and national level and installed the capacity to work on these themes. Most importantly, it helped with the design of a public policy of human rights and supported the Observatory of Memoria and Conflict of the NCHM as "maybe the best database of victimisation facts, documenting to date 12,000 cases and 353,531 victimisation facts" (Project 3 implementer). Even though the beneficiary was not in a position to provide feedback on these outcomes, document analysis confirms that these achievements are attributable to this project (UNDP, Informe Final).

Lessons learned from these projects included the need to define change more broadly as well as to include new population groups such as trans women and men in project activities (Project #1; #2). One implementer commented that participation of women in TJ is possible if spaces and mechanisms are created that enable "their meaningful participation" (Project #3). The pandemic affected project dynamics and pushed implementers to explore uncharted waters as they turned to new options for connectivity, improved access to technology and innovative methodologies for material and virtual workspaces. Project #3 delivered a virtual course on the Public Policy of Human Rights Archives for social organisations in the pre-pandemic era. In hindsight the implementer notes that this turned out to be a great learning moment that prepared them for the reality of the virtual work that would soon become the norm. Other lessons learned reflect on the need for better coordination among different organisations working with legal, economic, and cultural issues and taking a holistic approach to development as the beneficiaries, mainly women in the violence-affected territories, have competing needs. In this context, linking peace and development becomes key (Project 1 implementer).

For Plan, starting with the GTS from day one of the project is probably the most important takeaway, together with the need for a gender team in the field and a budget supporting the GTS. This is not the first time Plan has reflected on these themes. A report by ISEGORÍA, a third-party consultant hired to review the effects of the implementation of the GTS, comes to similar conclusions. It notes that a gender transformative approach should be formulated from the beginning and given "the same or greater importance as with any component or work module" (ISEGORÍA, 2020: 16). Finally, several interviewees, both implementing partners and beneficiaries, pointed to the need for longer processes in the communities and for more time to accompany the collectives of women, youth and targeted groups in the territories. The ISEGORÍA report makes a similar point under the sustainability argument. It recommends that the GTS incorporates longer processes beyond isolated activities, which "allow the interventions to have a greater impact on the participants and therefore achieve greater sustainability" (Ibid.: 14).

4.3 Findings on the broader-scope questions

In addition to questions pertaining to the three selected projects, interviewees were asked a number of broader-scope questions. For example, they were invited to reflect on Canada's profile as a donor in Colombia, priority areas for donor support, as well as on the main issues affecting peace and TJ in Colombia.

Canada's profile as a donor

Several interviewees from the Colombian public institutions as well as the non-profit sector shared the understanding that while the Canadian government is not the biggest donor in Colombia in terms of aid volume, it is seen as a leader when it comes to gender-focused programming. An interviewee from the Agencia Presidencial de Cooperación Internacional (APC) notes that "Canada is a serious donor, maybe not of great resources, but it is a donor that has done good work with the resources it has." The same interviewee confirms that according to data they collect, Canada consistently shows among the top five donors. The same trend is confirmed by OECD data. (See, Figure 2, Chapter Two.) A local expert who studies donor's behavior in Colombia comments that notwithstanding its limited resources, Canada is important in the political context of the region as a "contrapeso" [counterbalance] among donors of higher profile.

Several institutions' representatives noted that local organisations in the field are aware of the projects Canada is financing. The APC representative notes that "The presence of Canada is felt and is a plus, especially in the territories. Not only in financial terms, but more importantly in supporting communities in the territories as national resources are often insufficient." Several interviewees from the non-profit sector similarly stated that Colombia needs Canada and donors like it.

Some of the characteristics of Canada's brand include being recognized as a donor that seeks to involve communities in its projects in the territories. Others commended Canada for its involvement with the private sector, including being one of the first donors to introduce the idea of working with private sector actors to ensure sustainability of economic initiatives. Canada is also recognized as having very clear priorities and focus - albeit somewhat limited according to some - on supporting mainly gender-based initiatives. The APC representative notes that: "We keep Canada as a model of how international cooperation should work in the area of gender-based

programming." Local NGOs largely identified Canada as "the second country in the world to have applied a feminist international assistance after Sweden." Local partners and particularly civil society organisations share a common understanding and overall support for FIAP's gender equality goal. In this sense, one can argue that FIAP has helped build Canada's distinct brand within the donor community. Colombian public institutions as well share a positive sentiment towards FIAP, even if this appears to be more at a rhetorical level. Interviewees of various profiles confirmed that there has been no pushback against FIAP in Colombia.

However, there are some nuances. One implementing partner shares two realistic perspectives on how locals feel about international donors. On one hand, there are those who are thankful for the support provided to women, ethnic groups and victims of the armed conflict. On the other hand, there is a shared sentiment "particularly among some indigenous people that these great economic powers come with a dual agenda and are interested in the extractive products in the territories." Another interviewee speaks to a similar theme. "For indigenous people, the history of genocide does not start with the armed conflict but long before that with Spanish colonisation. Therefore, a very different expression of harm exists in their communities in the context of "daño ancestral" [ancestral damage]". In this sense, one must be mindful about his/her own positionality when working on donor projects in the territories and how that might translate in the eyes of the populations these very projects are targeting.

What kind of initiatives should Canada/international donors fund in Colombia?

This question asked interviewees to rank potential donor initiatives from a list of selected areas/themes, including peace, TJ, private sector, etc., on a scale from "1" to "5" (where "1" meant "a waste of resources" and "5" meant "best use of resources"). Interviewees were also given the option to skip/not score an area or add new ones for consideration. Below is a summary of feedback received on this question.

Table 8: Support for Canada's/donors' initiatives

Area	Peace Process	TJ	Women Empow.	Gender	Private Sector	Security	Extractive Industries
Average Score	4.77	4.81	4.73	4.64	3.79	3.33	2.3
No of Responses	15	16	15	11	13	11	12

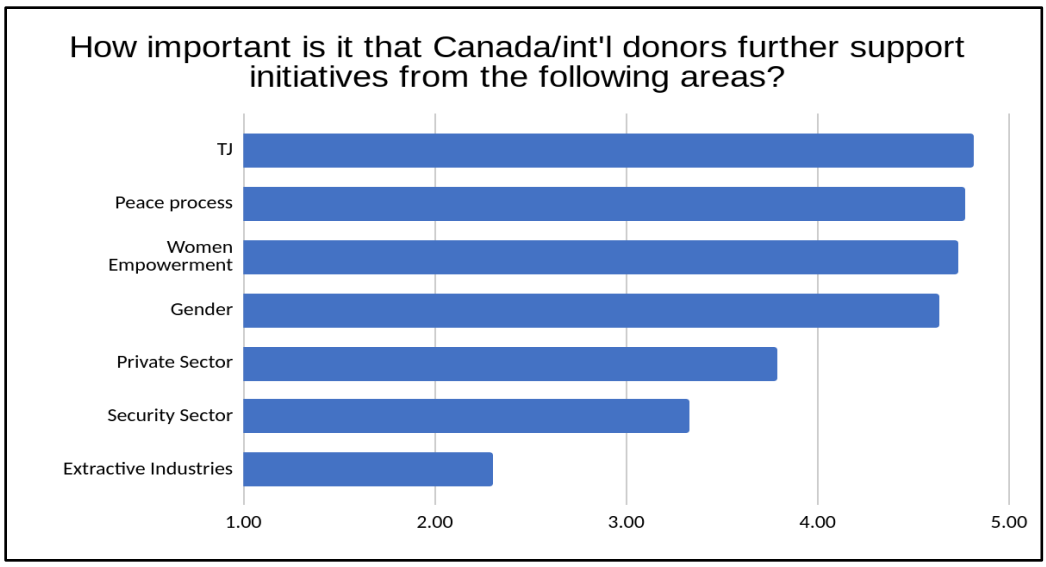

Figure 5: Support for Canada's/donors' initiatives

The above graph shows that participants view future donor support for TJ and peace processes as very valuable, scoring 4.81 and 4.77 out of 5 respectively, whereas the least appreciated is the support for extractive industries (2.3/5). Donor support is critical particularly in the area of TJ as it offers both financial support to TJ institutions and the much needed political support and legitimacy to TJ processes. "Without international cooperation, where we stand today and with the government we have, the TJ infrastructure would have fallen apart," comments one local expert. While there was almost unanimous consensus that support in the areas of TJ, peace process, women empowerment and gender is very important (scoring overwhelmingly 4 and 5 among all participants), there were nuances regarding donor support for the private and security sectors. Those who showed support for private sector initiatives highlighted support for selected economic development projects, targeting vulnerable populations, like women or youth, or generating job opportunities for these populations, but not a blanket support for private sector initiatives.

Feedback on donor support for the security sector varied. While the need to address the security situation was a common theme across interviewees, feedback differed when it came to the issue of donor's role in the security sector. Several participants commented that the security sector should be the exclusive responsibility of the Colombian State and that the history of donor involvement in this sector - drawing from the experience with Plan Colombia in the early 2000s - makes the case for what donors should not fund. Others distinguished between the security theme overall and security for women in the context of their role in the peace process, expressing their support for donor involvement in the context of women, peace and security agenda.

Local experts and NGOs representatives interviewed resisted the idea of donor involvement in the extractive sector. Even though the average score shows as 2.3 out of 5, a number of participants did not score this question, noting simply that donors should not support initiatives in the extractive industries at all. A local expert commented that the extractive industries are part of the Colombian conflict landscape. "These industries infringe upon human rights, women's rights and those of the indigenous people." Those who provided a score for this question note that

it is important to invest selectively in initiatives that improve working conditions and human rights within the industry, social responsibility, environmental rights and programs that ensure that the benefits of these activities return to the communities. Canadian funded initiatives, such as "Building Extractive Sector Governance in Colombia" project ($19.1M invested during 2015-2021), or the Corporate Social Responsibility Strategy in Extractive Sector Abroad, have been addressing some of the above issues (Government of Canada, 2021). However, these facts do not take away from the argument of Canada's self-interest in the extractive sector (Brown 2016, 2020a; Anzueto 2020), or tension deriving from competing interests due to simultaneous involvement in security or extractive sectors on one hand, and peacebuilding or TJ initiatives on the other. "The communities feel very vulnerable when the extraction of their natural resources occurs. Therefore, the investment of the cooperation should be on generating other development opportunities, and not only that the companies come and extract their minerals," notes a local expert. Overall, there was rejection, particularly from the non-profit sector representatives, toward the practice of donor involvement in this sector.

Other sectors which were scored by respondents but received fewer responses included: justice and rule of law (received a score of 4.6 out of 5 respondents); children rights (a score of 5 out of 3 respondents); youth, sports, land reform, indigenous people and integration of ex-combatants showed at least once and scored a "5".

Main issues affecting peace and TJ process in Colombia

This question received feedback from 22 interviewees, making it the most commented one from the surveying tool. Each interviewee was invited to list and discuss at least three issues affecting peace and TJ in Colombia. 86 non-unique topics were generated, and many themes and subthemes emerged. The following diagram illustrates the main themes and their recurrence in the respondents' discourse.

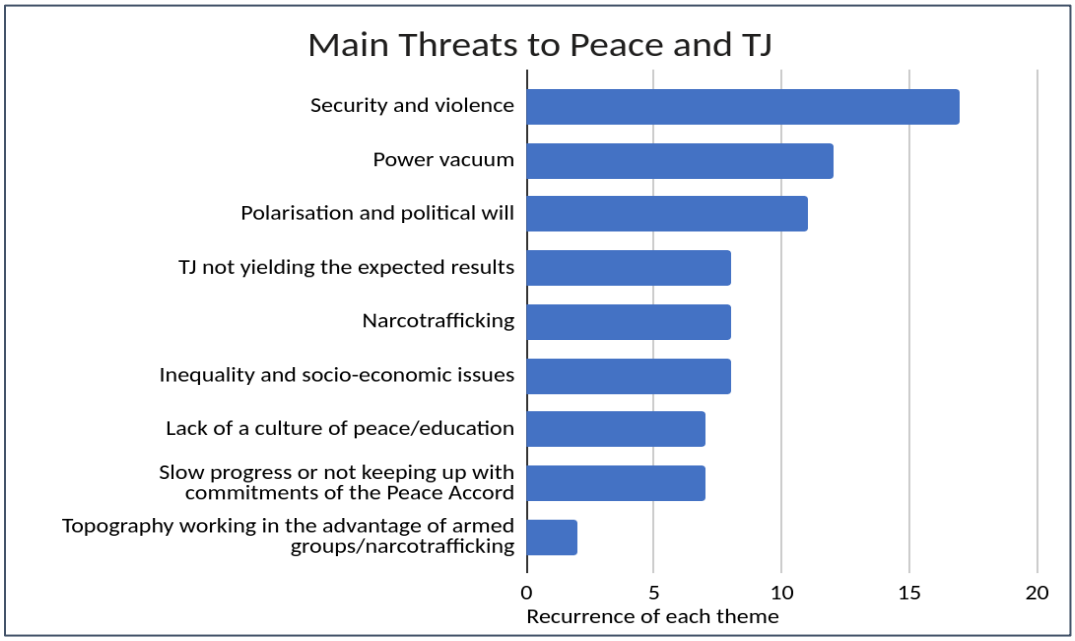

Figure 6: Main threats to peace and TJ

The security situation remains the number one concern for peace and TJ in Colombia. 17 out of 22 interviewees commented on the security situation and persistence of violence. Many noted an intensification of violence, others a transformation in its nature (as directed more toward social leaders, indigenous and afro communities). Interviewees attribute the continuation of violence to many factors including ELN, FARC-EP dissidents and narcotrafficking.

Power vacuum is another central theme, strongly interconnected to the themes of security and perpetuation of violence. Several interviewees expressed the concern that the Colombian government has not taken control of the vacant space left by FARC. "There is no institutional presence in the territories whatsoever," they note. The power vacuum left by FARC is being filled by other armed groups or narcotraffickers, contributing to an even more precarious security situation for the populations caught in the crossfire.

Polarisation and lack of political will to comply with the obligations of the Peace Accord is the next most salient theme. Several commented on the extreme polarisation between the left and right and the tendency of each government to undo the work of its predecessor, adding to an overall feeling of frustration with the peace process. A local activist referred to President Duque's policy "Paz con legalidad" [Peace with legality] as some sort of "doublespeak" as if the peace agreement was "illegal and needed fixing".

The theme of TJ not yielding desired results consolidates three sub-themes. Firstly, the slow pace of formal justice. One interviewee notes that the greatest threat for TJ is its pace: "Not making a decision or delays in making a decision can lead to victims feeling discouraged or losing faith". Secondly, the lack of participatory, local, and territorial processes. One local expert expressed concern that TJ processes are rolled out from the top, without giving participatory processes a central role. Thirdly, impunity due to various reasons - from insufficient evidence to prove culpability to the lack of financial and political support for the mandate of JEP.

Inequality was discussed from different perspectives including between centre and periphery, rural and urban or within population groups. The lack of economic opportunities came up in the context of state measures to eradicate illicit crops. "People rely on illegal activities because of the lack of jobs and economic opportunities" comments an interviewee. Colombia suffers from "a latent social inequality," notes another. Many spoke to the inability of the state to provide for the most vulnerable. Narcotrafficking also spoke closely to the lack of economic opportunities and themes of security, violence, and the power vacuum.

Lack of a peace culture/education deserves further consideration. Several noted that public education on how TJ processes unroll is missing. "Colombians viewed the process as spectators, as something happening between the Government and FARC. They did not have an understanding of the efforts needed for peace to happen" (Local expert). Breaking the cycle of violence was a sub-theme under the topic of peace culture/education. Almost everyone referred to Colombia's history of resorting to violence for over 50 years in their discourse. In this context, peace poses a true cultural shift as Colombians try to break with a common history. A local expert comments: "We don't have the social and political capacity to understand the benefits of living in peace. Unfortunately, Colombia's society has been shaped by violence in many ways."

Other issues affecting Colombia today

Finally, interviewees were asked to reflect on other threats that Colombia faces today more broadly, including those outside peace and TJ. 13 interviewees answered this question and 30 non-unique topics were generated. The following graph illustrates the themes emerged.

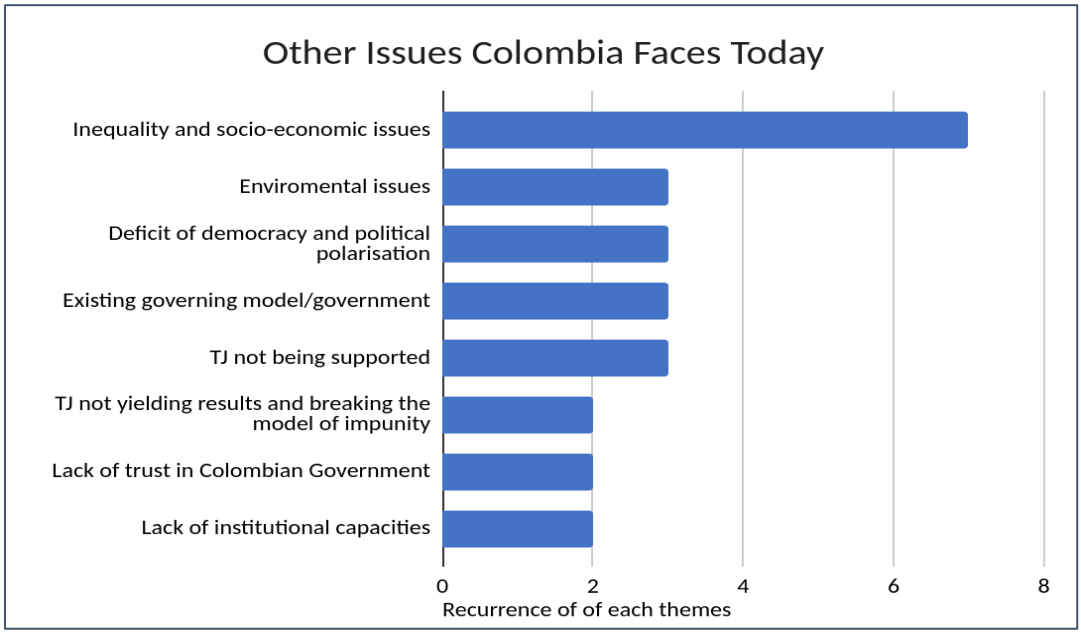

Figure 7: Other issues

A comparative look between graphs 6 and 7 points to several recurring themes, speaking to the interconnectedness of peace and TJ issues to the overall realm of issues Colombia faces. The number one theme here is inequality and socio-economic situation. This is not coincidental. To start with, Colombia remains one of the most unequal countries of the hemisphere with a GINI coefficient of 54.2 in 2020 (The World Bank, 2022), a reflection of a deep-rooted systemic issue. Milanović reminds us that inequality is "an outcome of social and political struggles, sometimes violent ones" (Milanović, 2016: 86) and Colombia best illustrates this. A local expert weighs in: "It's as though there were many Colombias. On one hand, a Colombia that is developed and modern, and on the other, a Colombia of the starving." This theme inevitably draws the attention to the discussion on the root causes of the conflict and how the intersection between poverty, insecurity and exclusion affects the prospects for sustainable peace (Gordon et al., 2020).

Political polarisation is a returning theme as well. On the need for TJ to be supported by all parties one local expert reflects on how time affects TJ vulnerability: "Given time, the support for TJ will diminish and this is the moment TJ becomes more vulnerable to attacks from those who were never on board with it and now have a chance to destabilise it." Another interviewee comments on impunity from a gender and intersectional focus, emphasizing the need for the TJ system "to break the model of impunity for sexual and reproductive violence and violence against LGBTQ people."

Two new themes show up - the environmental theme and the lack of trust in the Colombian Government. A local activist explains: "Colombian NGOs are under a state of attack from their

government. We work in a climate in which our government is against the peace process." Issues raised under "other" include a shift in priorities away from the peace agreement due to the pandemic, narcotrafficking, violence, border control, and the existence of the root causes that led to the conflict. A local expert comments on the latter: "Unfortunately, all the reasons that led to the armed conflict continue to exist, including lack of guarantees for the opposition, the issue of narcotrafficking, inequality, lack of development at the local level and the lack of institutional presence in the territories," echoing Friedman et al.'s warning on a future generation that risks resorting to arms again (2019: 320).

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.1 What does progress look like?

The main impetus for this research project was to understand the impact of Canadian aid at the nexus of gender and transitional justice in Colombia in the post-peace accord era. Three RQs were raised: *1) What key factors shape Canadian international assistance in Colombia, generally and with regard to the nexus of gender equality and transitional justice? 2) To what extent and how has Canadian assistance contributed to reinforcing positive links between gender equality and TJ in Colombia? 3) What does the Colombian case tell us about the collision of interests and (f)actors that influence effective international support to gender-inclusive TJ in peacebuilding contexts?* These questions feed into the main overarching question of concern for this research project: What kind of mark are Canadian-funded projects and programs leaving in the area of TJ in Colombia in the post-peace accord period?

As noted, this study's timeline is of particular importance not only for being tied to a historic event such as the signing of the Peace Deal for Colombia in 2016, but also for corresponding with the launch of FIAP in 2017. The three selected projects unfolded completely or for the most part against this new FIAP backdrop and incorporated a gender focus. Therefore, the methodology and research tools used were intended to help assess the impact of Canadian funded projects in the TJ area along a spectrum that varies from 'gendered TJ' on one end to 'transformative TJ' on the other. To this end, theoretical markers from three schools of thought – critical institutionalism, feminist institutionalism, and critical feminist analyses of Canadian aid – were borrowed and mapped out along the spectrum. For example, while the outcomes to look for under 'gendered TJ' were gendered norms/structures/institutions and/or an overall institutionalised gender inequality, those under 'transformative TJ' included a transformative capacity/power/mark of the intervention that in return leads to fully gender-inclusive TJ institutions, and/or fully gender-inclusive development programs. Therefore, in analysing the text generated from the interviews and document review, the focus was to assess how the text scored against these theoretical markers plotted along the impact spectrum. Which causal factors were spotted and which ones were missed? In what ways the causal factors observed affected the outcomes and where exactly on the spectrum the contribution of Canadian aid was found? This section answers the above questions, keeping the focus on the main causal factors identified at the end of Chapter Two: a) the agency of Canada's implementing partners and their Southern counterparts; b) the agency of the donor, a manifestation of which is FIAP; c) the macro landscape and material factors socially constructed in Colombia's distinct historical context. Meso-level factors such as 'intersectional lens' or 'TJ

processes rooted in the local' are also discussed. (See Table 1 for a full list of these theoretical markers and their respective allocation along 'causal factors' and 'outcomes').

The analysis of the research findings yields mixed results. First of all, the impact of the selected Canadian-funded projects is real when it comes to influencing change and advancing gender equality goals in Colombia and speaks volumes to the agency of the implementing partners. Both the narrative answers and the numeric scoring would point to progress along the spectrum away from the status quo of gendered norms/institutions or structures (the starting point of feminist institutionalists). The findings show that the contribution of each project in this direction differs. For instance, Plan's program has set the bar when it comes to incorporating gender in each aspect of the programming, from design to program delivery and budgeting. Not only is Plan's GTS aligning with the spirit and intent of FIAP, but it is also putting to the test its own applicability in a development context. At the end of the day, FIAP remains a document written from the Canadian perspective which, as some authors argue, adopts a mainstream liberal feminism that fails to incorporate an intersectional approach (Morton et al., 2020). Reflecting on FIAP, one project implementer emphasized this point by noting that the document should be read in a local context and with the purpose of integrating the local element in it: "We should listen to the voices of the South." Drawing on first-hand experience of working in Colombia, the same interviewee further elaborates "For most in the South, feminism is a western concept. So we had to push for certain things to get done. Of course, this is not something that can be done in a week. It takes discussions, a lot of sitting down and explaining to the people."

As noted earlier, Rao and Tiessen (2020) reflect on a similar tension that exists between Canada's vision of feminism and how the same is defined by its Southern partners. These authors call on Ottawa to take "a bolder approach" and adopt a definition rooted in the local contexts (352), which is something Canada's implementing partners in Colombia are pushing forward. As mentioned, the adoption of GTS by Plan marks significant progress toward ensuring that GE goals are advanced. However, because of its novelty, it is important to further monitor how the model pioneered by Plan will transition outside the framework of this program and apply to future contexts.

Discourse analysis of interview notes and document review speak to a strong network of local women's organisations and to the fact that their voices are being heard. This theme is strongly supported in the TJ scholarship on the Colombian case which recognizes the vital contribution of Colombian women in designing and delivering transformative justice (DeMeritt and King, 2019). The theme of interplay of agency and national networks of influence is identified in the discourse of several civil society representatives. They attribute the success of the Canadian-funded projects to the existence of local or national networks of influence. "So rather than experimenting with new methodologies it is more that they [the donor] believed in the innovative approaches we were pushing for a long time," comments one interviewee. Asked to reflect on the value of JUSTRAM project, another interviewee adds: "The synergy of many other projects and actions has managed to at least maintain the topic of gender-based violence and sexual violence in the public eye. This is not due to the contribution of one donor project, but rather to the fact that this project has united in a very intelligent way the various women's organisations that already operate in Colombia." With Canada adopting a feminist international assistance policy, there was a natural expectation within Colombian civil society for increased support for women's organisations and gender-based

projects which, according to some, has not always been the case. (However, as Figure 1 in Chapter Two shows, the volume of Canada's international assistance to Colombia has followed a relatively steady pattern before and after the peace deal).

Representatives of public institutions from both the Colombian and Canadian sides converge when it comes to how gender equality is regarded by their respective governments. The Colombian side talked about gender equality being a priority in public policies and reflected in the country's national development plan. The same is noted from the Canadian officials, who add that the receptiveness of FIAP in Colombia has been positive and no pushback against it was encountered. Moreover, they find that this policy has helped Canada work better with like-minded partners and has led to advancements in the last four years, particularly in the areas of sexual and reproductive health and rights. A representative of the Colombian Agency for International Cooperation spoke about the gender theme having grown in importance recently, which is the reason their government is looking for funding from international donors in this area. "We regard Canada as a model of how international cooperation should work in the area of gender-based programming," a statement speaking to the agency of the Canadian Government, manifested in its feminist policy.

However, while the representatives of public institutions from both sides expressed cautious optimism that achieving gender equality is a realistic target for Colombia – given the right time frame, policy focus and financial resources – the civil society representatives maintain a more nuanced outlook. According to them, how Canada complies with its gender focus and its feminist policy should be something that is more driven by women civil society and "true feminists." More critical voices articulate the concern that FIAP could be used as some sort of a badge the state carries around "to look good in the eyes of the people." One interviewee questions the true meaning behind the requirement for all Canadian funded projects to have a gender focus with these words:

> But having a gender focus and meeting the policy requirement could be any workshop, activity or any dollar amount attached to the gender theme. Of course, it is better to have the policy than not to have one, but the Canadian civil society and the Colombian civil society have to be more demanding to understand what governments mean by feminist policies because this can be a bit tricky in some cases. And I am saying this in a very respectful way and because I know the reality from within, and I know what extractive enterprises are doing for example in Antioquia.

There is much to unpack in the above text. The narrative is not only brutally honest, but a profound reflection of Canada's development work in Colombia. First of all, it speaks to the need for the gender focus to be more than a checkbox in development programming. Furthermore, it leaves the door open to reflect on what the policy is lacking "Of course it is better to have the policy than not to have one," but what is the source of frustration with the current policy? Critical feminist analyses of FIAP would answer this question by pointing to the limitations of a liberal feminist policy, such as the lack of an intersectional approach raised by Morton et al. (2020) or Tiessen's (2019) transformative vision of FIAP. Their critiques mirror the way feminist Latin American authors point to the limitations of liberal peace and the need for transformative peace and TJ (Gómez, González, Bernal, & Montealegre, 2021). One cannot help but notice that the point about civil society demanding from governments what they mean by feminist policies in fact

implies a call for the civil society to lead the way in showing governments what "true feminist policies" are. Moreover, read in the context of feminist development, this is also a call for the diverse voices from the Global South to show the donor what feminism means to them, which according to Rao and Tiessen has "the potential for achieving transformative change through the inclusion of a more transnational feminist lens" (2020: 352). Finally, the speaker contrasts the feminist policy with the interests in extractive industries, speaking to the widely debated theme of collision between gender inclusiveness goals and less altruistic ones such as the donor's economic or security interests (Tiessen & Baranyi, 2017b).

The theme of intersectionality came up several times in the review of the project sample. The three case studies had a gender and differentiated focus (e.g., gender and ethnicity or gender and youth) which speaks simultaneously to the agencies of the donor, implementing partners and their Southern counterparts. From this perspective, they have jointly contributed to some progress on the impact spectrum. However, the interviewees draw the line when it comes to assessing the transformative mark of the intervention: "We have to understand that there is damage done that dates back from a long time and therefore evaluation of the transformative aspect from the eyes of these women is almost impossible." And if one reads this in the context of 'ancestral damage' suffered by indigenous women, the challenge ahead appears almost insurmountable, and the influence of material factors socially constructed in Colombia's distinct historical context offsets the impact of the intervention.

Strongly connected to the question of what amounts to transformative change, is the theme of 'the local' or 'the territorial', which emerges in the context of change failing to materialise in the territories on the periphery of the centre. The contrast between the two TJ realities, as unfolding in the centre vs. in the territories, becomes clear in the following discourse of a civil society activist: "The post-conflict did not reach the territories. It reached the magistrates, the JEP, the Truth Commission, but not the territories and the lives of the women and people who live there." Another interviewee comments on the same theme: "A local and territorial process of TJ is missing which would naturally lead to restorative justice. This, combined with the work of the Truth Commission, could have promoted dialogue and scenarios of reconciliation at the local level that could have shed light onto individual cases and crimes that JEP does not have the capacity to investigate." The three projects reviewed had a much-needed territorial focus and, as the officials of the host country confirmed, Canada's presence was felt and appreciated in the territories (Interview with APC). The fact that several interviewees continue to point to this existing disconnect between peace processes at the centre and in the territories speaks to Canada's sensible approach in focusing development work in the territories most affected by war and Canada's agency as a donor. However, the fact that the needs of the peace process and TJ, and most importantly of the populations in these territories, are not sufficiently addressed - be it by Colombian institutions or the donor - point as well to systemic issues such as inequality and other systemic pressures embedded in the macro landscape of Colombia, which negatively affect progress. This brings the discussion back to one of the most influential causal factors, notably the macro landscape and material factors constructed in Colombia's distinct history.

The role of history in shaping the outcomes of the peace and TJ processes materialised as a theme in the discourse of many interviewees, who shared an understanding that the history of over 50 years of armed conflict in Colombia does not favour these processes. The same issue

relates to the idea of resistance to positive change - also a concern of feminist institutionalists (Thompson, 2018) - that several Colombian women's organisations pointed to. Feminist institutionalists draw attention to spatial and temporal specificities and the role of history in analysing gendered institutional outcomes (Kenny 2014), similar to the way critical institutionalists point to material factors socially constructed in different historical contexts that shape the outcomes of donor interventions in different contexts (Baranyi & Khan, 2016, Baranyi & Binette, 2017). Discourses depicting Colombian society as characterised by a "culture of violence", "lack of peace culture", "historic political polarisation", "deficiency in democratic traditions/institutions", "patriarchal", "classist", "hierarchical", "latent social inequality" or "showing a profound distrust toward the government/state" point to factors constructed in the historical context of Colombia that negatively affect progress along the impact spectrum.

From the perspective of closing the gender gap, statements like: "We must be realistic about the timeline because gender equality is about changing beliefs and change won't happen overnight" or "Perhaps we will see the results in 20 or 25 years" may point simultaneously to the risk of old behaviours rolling over into the new institutions of TJ and our inability to assess change in the early stages of the development of these new systems. Feminist institutionalist authors remind us of this risk. While spatial and temporal approach points to "old" gender norms and legacies carried over to "new" institutions, the recentness of these very institutions makes it difficult to support "strong claims about deterministic paths" (Kenny 2014: 683).

As noted, both positive change and resistance to change are of interest to feminist institutionalism. The analysis of the case of TJ in Colombia from the angle of the selected sample points to evidence of both positive change and resistance to change. Disrupting the system of gendered institutions, including those of the new TJ infrastructure, is proving harder than expected and stands in contrast with the expectations Colombians had when the Peace Deal was signed in 2016. Feminist organisations interviewed testify to the many efforts and reports submitted to JEP, which at the time of these interviews had not yet agreed to open a national case for sexual and reproductive violence,[4] even though women's organisations have been pushing for this over the last two years and are showing that in Colombia all belligerents in the conflict violated women. Inclusion of harms against women within the mandates of TJ mechanisms is a priority of feminist scholarship (O'Rourke, 2015). Such resistance may, on the other hand, point to structural gender inequalities in the current TJ institutions in Colombia, which feminist Latin American authors call into the question altogether as a reflection of liberal peace perpetuating "the dark side of the modern colonial project" (Gómez et at. 2021: 33).

Criticism aside, the progress marked on the impact spectrum is real. Such progress however, even in the best-case scenario, is tied exclusively to the impact of the specific project sample and makes sense only in the context of their scope, selected territories and population groups. Interviewees of different profiles - from funders to beneficiaries - highlighted this point and cautioned against reading their narratives and self-scoring on the transformative mark of the intervention outside the specific project in question. "It would be presumptuous to believe that a project of one organisation can be transformative," comments a Colombian feminist actor. In this

[4] On July 15, 2022 the Special Jurisdiction for Peace (JEP) announced the opening of a macro-case that will investigate the acts of sexual violence during the armed conflict in Colombia. See: JEP abrirá caso de violencia sexual en el conflicto (El Tiempo, 2022a).

sense, paradoxically enough, the task of assessing the overall impact or transformative mark of Canadian aid in the post-peace deal/current FIAP era became less realistic the more the project progressed.

5.2 Between 'gendered TJ' and 'transformative TJ'

As noted, the thesis borrows tools from three schools of thought to help with the analysis of the impact of Canadian aid at the nexus of gender and TJ in Colombia. Feminist institutionalism helped by providing insight into the gendered institutions, the power relations within the TJ institutions, and the prospect of gendered change (or resistance to such change). The critical institutionalist outlook enabled a macro reflection on factors constructed in the historical context of Colombia, and a critical feminist lens enabled an analysis from the transformative and intersectional angle. The purpose of the selected toolkit was to assess the impact of Canadian aid (more specifically of the selected project sample) and show where exactly on the spectrum - from 'gendered TJ' on one end to 'transformative TJ' on the other - the outcome of donor's intervention is found. Outside these two extremes, there is a vast in-between area marked by some progress towards a more gender-inclusive TJ, but without reaching the mark of a transformative TJ.

The thesis found evidence of both agency for change and resistance to change, placing the impact of the intervention in an area of the spectrum marked as 'between gendered TJ and transformative TJ'. This position is depicted by outcomes such as "some (unstable) structures allowing space for creative agency and practical change, but not fully gender inclusive", "feminist approach tried, but transformative mark not achieved" or "some positive gendered change". These theoretical markers came up consistently, particularly in the analysis of the contribution of specific Canadian-funded projects. Plan's GTS is the finest expression of the agency of an implementing partner. It has set the bar in applying a gender transformative lens in each aspect of the donor's programming, thus advancing the impact of Canadian aid along the spectrum, away from the status quo of gendered norms/institutions or structures. As a matter of fact, had the scope of the project been exclusively on this case study, the impact would have been closer aligned toward transformative change. This underscores the need to construct a representative sample of projects, which would best mirror a typical pool of Canadian-funded projects in Colombia and avoid premature generalisations. Therefore, in defining the impact of Canadian aid on the spectrum, the contribution of other projects and a variety of macro factors constructed in the historical context of Colombia were factored in, which would then place the overall impact of the intervention more toward the centre.

The question of assessing transformative change is complex. Most often than not, it requires efforts that escape the boundaries of a donor's power or international cooperation altogether. An example here is the project supporting the National Centre for Historical Memory. The turnover in the leadership of the CNMH and the political context accompanying such turnover (See for example, El Espectador, 2022a; 2022b) had affected the institutional memory to the point that little awareness remained with the beneficiary as to what the project had really accomplished. Despite the project contributing to important goals like gender equity, equality in the process of clarifying the truth, or reconstruction of historical memory through the lens of crimes of sexual violence in the armed conflict (UNDP, Informe Final), the everyday realities of Colombian politics and the institutional inertia have undermined the project's contributions and relativized the impact

of the intervention. Finally, systemic issues such as historic inequality, political polarisation, a democratic deficit, or the lack of a peace culture, unfolding in the backdrop of illicit economies, narcotrafficking activities and an overall delicate security situation, would limit the transformative mark/capacity of any donor intervention and distort the influence of other causal factors.

The positive change noted in the context of the project sample is firstly attributed to the national networks of influence, the agency of Colombian women and grassroots movements. It is the synergy and commitment of civil society and feminist movements that keeps the struggle for breaking the cycle of gender-based violence and disrupting the tradition of gendered institutions alive. The implementing partners, such as Plan and LWBC, are rightly building on Colombia's grassroots movements and capitalizing on the expertise of their Southern partners. Together they are pushing donor intervention towards new frontiers. The role of international donors and their policies, notably of Canada and its FIAP, is of value when it comes to providing financial support and the much-needed political backing for the TJ processes, particularly of importance in the current political climate of Colombia. However, it is the agency of Canada's Southern partners that should drive transformative change, rather than that of the donor or international NGO, and this is the main lesson the Colombian case study teaches us.

Figure 7 below is an illustration of the impact of Canadian aid, updated from the visual introduced at the end of Chapter Two, drawing on lessons learned from the Colombian case. It illustrates the influence of each (f)actor on the impact spectrum. It argues that the impact of the intervention is the collective outcome of multiple pressures exercised simultaneously by key (f)actors at different points on the spectrum, thus limiting the full transformative capacity of the intervention.

Over five years after the signing of the Peace Deal, TJ is caught in the middle of a push-and-pull dance of actors across the Colombian political spectrum, constantly performing a balancing act and testing its very purpose. Notwithstanding the frustration with the peace process and the everyday, the resilience of the Colombian people and of the new TJ institutions comes through. In the words of one interviewee: "There is progress in the sense that there is no turning back to the pre-peace deal era. It is the trajectory that counts, not the bumps on the road". This seems to be a thought shared by many Colombians.

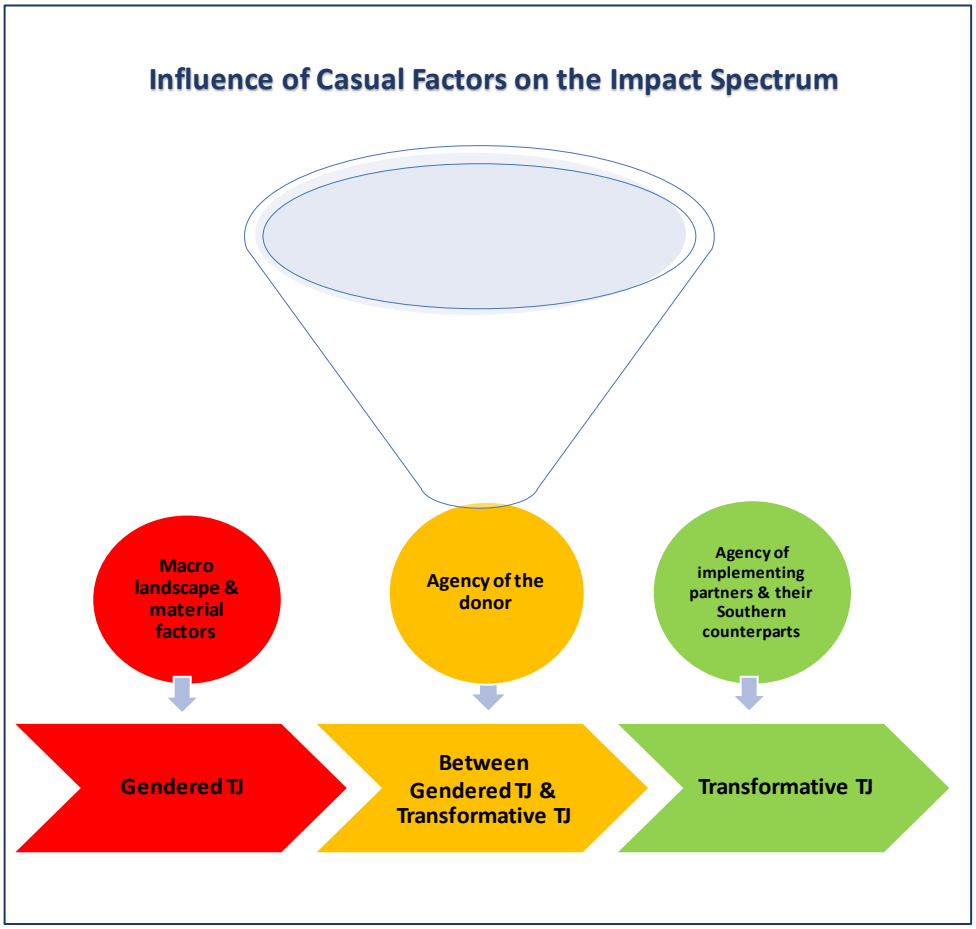

Figure 8: Influence of causal factors on the impact spectrum

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

This study is concerned with assessing the impact of Canadian aid at the nexus of TJ and gender in Colombia. As such, it aims to leave a modest mark on the vast body of scholarships in these areas, while having at its heart the Colombian case study and the post-2016 peace deal developments. An equally important moment in the backdrop of this study is the launch of FIAP in 2017, which places the empowerment of women and girls and GE at the centre of Canada's action areas in international assistance (Global Affairs Canada, 2017). In this study, it was important to understand how FIAP is playing out in the Colombian context and the way it is reshaping the priorities of Canada's work there. The study aims to bring an empirical, theoretical and methodological contribution to the existing literature in the above-mentioned areas.

First, it seeks to fill in the empirical gap identified at its outset, i.e., assessing the gender inclusiveness and/or transformative mark of Canada's support for the TJ institutions in Colombia. To this end, it contributes the case study of Canada's development work in Colombia in the post-peace accord area, designed around a sample of three Canadian-funded projects. The primary research data generated from the field interviews contribute empirically to filling in the initially identified gap. As noted in Chapter Three, a total of 28 interviews produced over 117 pages of

original text that was coded and analysed with the purpose of assessing the impact of Canadian aid from the status quo of 'gendered TJ' to 'transformative TJ'. Thanks in great part to the field research, this study yields new information and empirical data on the mark of Canadian aid in Colombia in the last five years, information that was not available beforehand.

Furthermore, in order to empirically assess the impact of Canadian aid in Colombia, it relied on a hybrid theoretical framework that built on three schools of thought: critical institutionalism, feminist institutionalism and critical feminist analysis of Canadian aid. In this sense, although at a more modest level, it makes a theoretical contribution by testing a framework that borrows from multiple schools, including some very recent bodies of literature, such as the critical feminist analysis of FIAP. The study aims at minimum to make an original empirical and theoretical contribution to the critical feminist analysis of FIAP in the specific context of Colombia, by offering insights into a new case study.

A final contribution is methodological. As noted, the study applied mixed and feminist methods. While there are no exclusively feminist methods, feminist authors often apply semi-structured interviews in qualitative research and have enriched this research tool by incorporating additional feminist values in interviewing (e.g., establishing a high level of rapport between the parties, a non-hierarchical interview, etc.). The research built and expanded on this set of feminist principles in the interviewing process. For example, to establish a rapport of trust and a non-hierarchical relationship, the interview opened with an introduction of the researcher on her professional and educational background, but also on some more personal aspects, such as the researcher's connection to the region, the language, the place and the people. The researcher also invited the interviewees to ask questions first, including on the more personal aspects of the researcher's interests, which they often did, generating some good conversations and a more relaxed atmosphere before the interviews formally started. Another aspect that helped bring the parties closer was the use of Spanish in all interviews with Spanish speakers. Undoubtedly, cross-cultural interviewing has additional challenges, many related to the accuracy of the spoken language (but not only). However, the researcher genuinely believes that conducting the interview in Spanish, rather than in English, notwithstanding personal struggles, shifted the power balance away from the researcher. Working in a foreign language and context, while it naturally puts more pressure on the researcher, paradoxically in this case contributed to a better outcome from the interviewing process as it opened a space of mutual trust, and the imperfection or vulnerability of connecting in a foreign language brought the parties together.

A final consideration on methods is the importance of constructing a representative sample of projects to avoid premature generalizations, a preoccupation that goes beyond the scope of this study. While the selection of the project sample from a shortlist of pre-screened projects was to some degree coincidental - i.e., the first three implementers from a list of pre-screened projects that answered the researcher's invitation for an interview defined the sample - the differences observed from project to project draw the attention to the need for a sample that best mirrors the pool of Canadian projects in a domain like TJ. This brings us to the limitations of this study.

First of all, the study reflects on the feedback of likeminded interviewees (i.e., work on Canadian-funded projects in the peacebuilding area, share a common understanding on feminist policies and values, etc.). As such, their comments and outlook on Canada's role in Colombia and

on what is further needed largely converged. However, this might have skewed the study's outcome toward more positive findings on TJ and GE initiatives, and more negative findings on extractive activities. The similarities in interviewees' outlook could be a by-product of the sample selection process, which raises once again the issue of sample representation. For instance, the study did not look in depth at Canadian-funded initiatives in Colombia in other areas, such as trade, security, or mining. A different profile of projects and/or interviewees (e.g., private sector representatives, environmental activists, indigenous communities) would have yielded very different results. Such a limitation speaks to the need for a greater number and variety of projects to be considered in the project sample, including looking across different sectors and/or across several country cases. Another limitation has to do with the fact that the study builds largely on the feedback of interviewees in the capital. Out of 28 interviewees only four were based in the territories. While implementing partners talked about the impact of their work in the territories at length, these narratives, as well as those of beneficiaries like UARIV or JEP, remain an account of life and issues in the territories from the perspective of the capital. The study would have likewise yielded a different outcome if the ratio between interviews in the capital versus the territories was inverted, and more stories were shared in the first person.

The above limitations simultaneously open new horizons for future research to address some of the issues noted here. For example, future research can expand the scope of the study to include projects from the security and the extractive sectors, which would enable a comparison of outcomes of Canada's intervention across sectors in a countrywide context. In the same vein, a comparative approach across country cases would enable a more holistic analysis of the mark of Canada's aid at the regional level, notably in the Americas, avoiding generalisations based on a single country case. (For example, one could anticipate a different outcome if the same analytical framework is applied in important Canadian partner countries such as Haiti, Honduras, or Jamaica.) Likewise, future research in Colombia could be strengthened with a field component undertaken in the territories and from a stronger intersectional and territorial focus in analysing the achievements of the project sample. Finally, a similar theoretical framework could be applied to a comparative study that assesses the impact of the different donors' interventions - notably from the top five including the U.S. - at the nexus of gender and TJ in Colombia.

Revisiting the question of assessing the impact of Canadian aid at the nexus of TJ and gender in Colombia in the post-peace deal era, this study found evidence of both positive change and pockets of resistance to change. As such, it came to the empirically based conclusion that the impact of the intervention, particularly in the context of the project sample, is found somewhere between 'gendered TJ' and 'transformative TJ'. This is due to the complex socio-political landscape of Colombia which overlays the agency of Canada's implementing partners, their Southern counterparts and the agency of the donor, situating the impact of the intervention somewhere in the middle and limiting its full transformative capacity. This conclusion is supported by several key messages coming out of this study.

First, the impact of some Canadian-funded projects is real when it comes to influencing change and advancing GE, particularly in the context of the specific territories, project scope and the populations these projects reached out to. This is attributed to the national networks of influence and the agencies of implementing partners and their Southern counterparts. A great illustration here is Plan's "Leading for Peace" which pioneered in 2018 a Gender Transformative

Strategy. Thanks to it, gender was incorporated in every aspect of the program, ensuring a better alignment with Plan's rights-based and gender transformative approach, but also with FIAP's goals. While there is a shared understanding that a transformative gender focus requires a cultural shift and decades to materialise, Plan's project lays the path on how to bring about these incremental transformative changes, particularly in those regions that are far from the centre. However, because of the novelty of this methodology, it is important to further monitor its applicability beyond this particular context.

Furthermore, FIAP has helped build Canada's distinct brand within the donor community. Canada is largely recognized by both the Colombian institutions and the civil society partners for its leading role in gender focused programming, a testimony to Canada's agency as a donor. They also share an overall support for FIAP's vision and goals, even in the absence of a shared definition of feminism. As the discourse analysis of the narratives shared by the implementing partners reveals, for many of those living in the territories, feminism is still a western concept, and their feminism goes beyond its confines to include the experiences of afro, indigenous, rural or trans women. Canada's implementing partners working alongside their colleagues in the Global South are well positioned to lead the way in showing the donor what feminism means to the populations they are working with on the ground and be the bridge between these two worlds. Examples such as Plan's feminism circles, which explored feminism beyond Western feminism, creative laboratories of men and new masculinities, or inclusion of trans women in JUSTRAM project activities best illustrate this point.

At least at the higher policy level, the priorities of both the Canadian and Colombian governments align. For example, the development priorities of the Duque government spoke to the themes of peace building and women empowerment that are also reflected in Canada's priorities in Colombia and FIAP's goals. FIAP's goals also align with the gender focus of the current transitional justice system in Colombia. However, concerns about the lack of financial and political support for peacebuilding processes and TJ dominated the Duque era, a void which was largely left to the donor community to fill in. This made the commitment on the part of the Duque government to peacebuilding and TJ rather rhetorical as peace processes and TJ institutions were systematically challenged during his administration.

Whether the change brought by the post-FIAP projects amounts to transformative change overall is a far more complex issue. To start with, certainly not all projects have the same gender focus, scope, resources, and know-how to apply a transformative gender approach as was the case with Plan. Therefore, a more coordinated approach from GAC might be beneficial when it comes to showcasing innovative approaches such as Plan's and ensuring that knowledge transfer is passed onto other Canadian-funded projects/initiatives. Providing additional guidance and training for staff and implementing partners on how to align projects with FIAP was also one of the recommendations of the 2018 Evaluation of International Assistance Programming in Colombia (Global Affairs Canada, 2018). Furthermore, transformative change requires efforts that often escape the scope of individual projects or that are realistically outside a donor's power. As the case of support for the National Centre for Historical Memory showed, the turnover in leadership and the political context accompanying it had affected the Centre's institutional memory, leaving little awareness as to what the project had accomplished. There are (local) political realities like this

one that cast a long shadow on the value of donor projects altogether, not to mention the limitations they pose on any transformative goals.

Another takeaway is that a transformative gender strategy requires a cultural change and as such the impact of these projects cannot be realistically assessed in the short term. Plan's GTS shows us what 'transformative' means and the importance of "an enabling environment to support the journey toward gender equality" (Plan International, 2018: 2). The need for longer processes in the territories to accompany the collectives of women, youth, and other vulnerable populations that these Canadian-funded projects have supported in the post-peace deal era was clearly articulated. This seems, however, to contrast with the logic of limited life cycles that donor projects follow and the pressures from urgent and unrealistic demands for results in the short-term.

The study also pointed to a subtle tension between the gender inclusiveness goals and the less altruistic ones such as the donor's economic or security interests. Even though this focus was more peripheral and not built directly into the case studies (as it was the case with gender and TJ themes), there is tension observed particularly in the context of Canada's interests in extractive activities and how these interests may affect the lives and the everyday of the communities in the territories. There is a shared concern, at least among some indigenous communities, that donor support comes with an exploitative agenda of economic interests in the extractive products in the regions. With limited exceptions - such as the initiatives that improve working conditions and human rights within the industry, social responsibility or environmental rights - donor involvement in the extractive sector was seen as negatively impacting the donor's image.

It is no surprise that more than five years after the signing of the peace deal, the security situation and violence remain top concerns for Colombians and are articulated as the greatest threats to peace. Gómez (2021) writes that to really understand the armed conflict in Colombia, one has to consider it from the lens of systemic and socio-political violence (287), which still endures. Because security concerns are engrained in the everyday life of Colombians, they continue to affect the present with the same intensity of the pre-peace agreement era. According to several respondents, security functions are seen mainly as the responsibility of the Colombian state, and donor involvement in this sector, with the exception of the women, peace and security agenda, is not favored.

Finally, the issues that concern Colombia in the present, such as social inequality, political polarisation, the lack of a peace culture coupled with concerns about illicit economies, narcotrafficking and an unstable security situation reflect on larger systemic issues of oppression and exclusion of entire population groups from power sharing and are constructed in complex historical contexts that transcend the present. As Gómez et al. write, "neither the Peace Accord, nor the instruments of TJ that are created can influence alone the systemic changes that the society needs to leave behind the logic of war" (2021: 35). But neither can donors alone deal with such a monumental task. It is essential to understand how these factors seriously limit the transformative mark/capacity of any intervention now and in the future, if such an intervention disregards the macro landscape of Colombia and the root causes of the conflict.

Assessing the transformative mark of Canada's intervention proved an ambitious undertaking. It might very well be that influencing transformative change escapes the realm of a

donor's power altogether and this undertaking rests mainly on the shoulders of the Colombian government and its people, including women's movements. Or maybe transformative change should not necessarily be a target to hit, but rather an ideal towards which governments and communities alike should aspire. Notwithstanding the frustration with the peace process, or even with the limitations of coming up with a definite answer to the questions raised here, there is progress for Colombia in the sense that there is no going back to the pre-peace agreement era and that the resilience of the Colombian people and of the new institutions of TJ has come through.

"Vivir Sabroso" - An afterthought

On June 19, 2022, the left-wing coalition El Pacto Historico [The Historic Pact] won the presidential elections in Colombia with an overwhelming support particularly in the areas most affected by the conflict. Their victory was also based on the areas in which, in 2016, the "Yes" option won in the referendum on the peace deal signed by then-President Santos. This is an encouraging development for the future of peace processes in Colombia as El Pacto Historico ran with a platform that places the implementation of the peace agreement high on the list of priorities. It comes with a serious commitment to comply with the terms of the 2016 Peace Deal and expand peace by opening negotiations with the ELN (Gómez, 2022). Gustavo Petro, the former M-19 guerrilla turned politician, former senator, and former mayor of Bogotá, is now the new President of Colombia (El Tiempo, 2022b).

Alongside Gustavo Petro, Colombians elected Francia Márquez as their Vice President, the first Afro-Colombian woman to ever reach this position. She is a single mother, born and raised among the poorest and the most underprivileged of Colombia, someone who had to leave her land to work as a domestic worker, an environmental rights activist who won the 2018 Goldman Prize for her activism against illegal mining in her ancestral land, and a law graduate (El Tiempo, 2022c). She represents all those who have been historically oppressed and excluded from power in Colombia, "los nadies" [the nobodies] as she calls them, that she brought together in a social movement to claim the space at the table which they never had. She is the face and the soul of the peoples' Colombia, and this Colombia is now represented at the highest political level.

"Vivir Sabroso", Francia Márquez's campaign slogan, is more than a political refrain. It represents a life philosophy of the Afro-Colombian communities in the Pacific area; a model of spiritual, socio-economic, political and cultural organisation that co-exists in harmony with nature (Reyes, 2022). For Francia Márquez "Vivir Sabroso" also means the possibility to live in peace, to not fear any longer, something that the war has taken away from many communities in Colombia (Ibid). Obviously, it is too early to foretell what future lies in store for Colombia. How many campaign and peace deal commitments will see the light of day? How many others will fall at the wayside? Will the new leadership yield to the pressure of a political system that corrupts even the most idealistic among it, or will Colombia show the world a new way altogether? But for now, there is genuine hope that a better future lies ahead for Colombia, its peace processes and gender equality. The expectations for a turning point in Colombia's history are as high as ever. There are revived hopes of a life in peace that only months ago seemed pure rhetoric. And if Francia Márquez's transformative vision of "Vivir Sabroso" becomes a reality, that is a Colombia where Colombians will want to stay and where partners like Canada will have historic opportunities to contribute to truly transformative change.

Annex A: Short List of Projects Considered

Table 9: Short list of projects (as per GAC's project browser)

Title	Start	End	Executing Agency Partner	DAC Sector	Maximum Contribution
Peace Process in Colombia: Building Confidence in Transitional Justice	2017-03-31	2019-03-31	LWBC - Lawyers Without Borders Canada	Legal and judicial development: 100.00%	4,640,250
Support to the Afro-Colombian Community Initiative for Sustainable and Inclusive Peace in Colombia	2018-02-08	2019-08-31	Madre Inc.	Ending violence against women and girls: 100.00%	617,774
Supporting Criminal Justice and Localized Truth and Memory Processes in Support of the Peace Process	2018-08-22	2019-05-30	International Center for Transitional Justice	Legal and judicial development: 24.00%; Civilian peace-building conflict prevention and resolution: 76.00%	368,088
Strengthening the National Center for Historical Memory in Colombia	2017-03-31	2018-06-30	UNDP - United Nations Development Programme	Civilian peace-building conflict prevention and resolution: 100.00%	1,200,000
Indigenous Women Building Peace in Colombia	2017-03-09	2019-02-28	Conciliation Resources	Civilian peace-building conflict prevention and resolution: 100.00%	515,522
Supporting Children's Rights in Peace Agreement Implementation in Colombia	2018-12-03	2019-12-03	UNICEF - United Nations Children's Fund	Civilian peace-building conflict prevention and resolution: 100.00%	440,789
Enhanced Respect Promotion and Protection of Human Rights in the Post-Accord Period in Colombia	2016-12-03	2018-03-29	OHCHR - United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights	Human rights: 100.00%	1,000,000
Organization of American States Mission to Support the Peace Process in Colombia	2017-05-25	2019-07-31	OAS - Organization of American States	Participation in international peacekeeping operations: 100.00%	444,3265
Enhanced respect promotion and protection of human rights in the post-accord period in Colombia	2018-03-29	2019-10-31	OHCHR - United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights	Human rights: 100.00%	1,000,000
Leading for Peace: Supporting the Rights of Children and Youth in Colombia	2016-12-21	2021-12-31	Plan International Canada	Vocational training: 10.00%; Democratic participation and civil society: 10.00%; Civilian peace-building conflict prevention and resolution: 10.00%; Public sector policy and administrative management: 35.00%; Human rights: 35.00%	18,850,356

Annex B: Summary of Methods Applied and Contribution to RQs

Table 10: Summary of methods

Method	Applied in Relation to	Contributing to
Discourse analysis of key documents/texts	Relevant secondary literatures, policy documents including FIAP, priorities of Canada's assistance to Colombia, Evaluation of Canadian international assistance programming in Colombia (Global Affairs Canada, 2018)	RQ #1
Quantitative document review	● GAC and OECD data on Canadian ODA to Colombia (2010-2020) ● GAC projects browser	RQ # 1
Qualitative document/ discourse analysis	● Project evaluation reports and related documents/communications from the project sample	RQ # 1 RQ # 2
Semi-structured interviews and discourse analysis of interview notes/ transcripts	Targeted populations: 1. Funders (GAC program officials in Canada/Colombia) 2. Implementing partners (Canada/Colombia) 3. Project beneficiaries (Colombia) 4. Local informants with knowledge, insight, or experiences relevant to this study's areas of interest (Colombia)	RQ # 1 RQ # 2 RQ # 3

Annex C: List of Different Resources Consulted per Project

Table 11: Resources consulted per project

Project	Examples of some key documents, audio and visual material reviewed for each project
Peace Process in Colombia: Building Confidence in Transitional Justice	- LWBC (2018). Caja de Herramientas para la construcción de paz con el enfoque de género - LWBC (2019). La voz de las mujeres: Recomendaciones a la institucionalidad en el marco del proceso de implementación de la justicia transicional (https://www.asfcanada.ca/site/assets/files/7636/la_voz_de_las_mujeres_web.pdf) - LWBC and Humanas (2018). "Situación de las mujeres rurales y mujeres ex combatientes en el marco del Acuerdo" - A series of four videos entitled "Retejiendo saberes" produced during 2018-19 by LWBC - available on YouTube - Video recording of the program "La Voz Del Derecho - Protagonistas De La Paz" (streamed lived on 5 Mar 2019) - ASF présente "La justice transitionnelle en Colombie et au Mali" (April 8, 2022) Podcast available on Spotify - Colombia webpage under the LWBC website (https://www.asfcanada.ca/en/projet/projets-en-cours/cooperation-internationale-droits-des-femmes-colombie-asfcanada/)
Leading for Peace	- Midline Summary on the Impacts of the Gender Transformative Strategy (Plan International Canada, 2021) - Synthesis of Economic Empowerment Results (Plan International Canada, 2021) - Project Impact Document (Plan International Canada, 2021) - Project Learning Document (Plan International Canada, 2021) - Masculinidades Transformadoras (infographic) - Empoderamiento Economico (infographic) - Gender Transformative Strategy (infographic) - Project design with a gender transformative approach (infographic) - Monitoring and assessment (infographic) - Final Report (UARIV, 2022) - Executive Summary on the effects of the implementation of the Gender Transformative Strategy of the Program Leading for Peace implemented by Plan International Canada and Fundación Plan (ISEGORÍA, 2020) - Getting it right - A guidance note for gender transformative programming and influencing (Plan International, 2018) - 'Más que nunca liderando' por Colombia, webpage of El Tiempo showcasing stories of "Leading for Peace" program in the Colombian Pacific coast, including 10 videos and testimonials on project achievements (https://www.eltiempo.com/mas-contenido/historias-de-liderazgo-y-paz-en-el-pacifico-colombiano-617849) - Virtual forum: Más que nunca, liderando por Quibdó

	- Virtual forum: Más que nunca, liderando por Buenaventura
	- Virtual forum: Más que nunca, liderando por Tumaco
	- Virtual forum: Más que nunca, liderando por Colombia
	- Fundación Plan website, success stories, program promotional video and multiple tools developed in the course of the program
	- Maleta de herramientas "Caminos Pazcíficos", including:
	- 12 tools under "Soy por que somos territorio de paz" (https://plan.org.co/liderandoporlapaz/caminos-pazcificos/#1622057980076-2)
	  - Bogando por la Igualdad
	  - Cartografía Social
	  - Fortalecimiento de Competencias Interculturales
	  - Laboratorio de Hombres y Masculinidades
	  - Redes de San Acción
	  - Habilidades para la vida, Módulos 1-6
	  - Habilidades para la vida, Guía Metodológica
	- 3 tools under "Nos la jugamos por la igualdad" (https://plan.org.co/liderandoporlapaz/caminos-pazcificos/#1622057994717-2-7)
	  - Derechos sexuales y reproductivos
	  - Círculos de Feminismos
	  - Grupo de Ahorro y Crédito Local
	- 3 tools under "Alza tu voz y construye Pazcífico" (https://plan.org.co/liderandoporlapaz/caminos-pazcificos/#1622058084202-3-2)
	  - Formación para la participación
	  - Ruta de Influencia Juvenil
	  - Semilleros InterPazcíficos
	- 3 tools under "Nos la Jugamos por los Derechos de las Niñas, los Niños y los Jóvenes" (https://plan.org.co/liderandoporlapaz/caminos-pazcificos/#1645307401397-9)
	  - Escuela y Familia
	  - La Aventura de Nuestro Cuidado
	  - Recomendaciones para la Incorporación del Enfoque de Género y Niñez

Strengthening the National Center for Historical Memory in Colombia	- Project contract - Fortalecimiento al Centro Nacional de Memoria Histórica para el alistamiento de la Comisión de la Verdad, Informe Final (UNDP) - Formación Virtual en Protección, Conformación, Acceso y Uso Social de Archivos de Derechos Humanos (DDHH), Informe Final - NCHM website (https://centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co/), including "Observatory of Human Rights" webpage - "CNMH en los medios" webpage, covering 10 media clips on the CNMH (https://centrodememoriahistorica.gov.co/cnmh-en-los-medios/)

Annex D: Letter of Information and Interview Invitation

[***Address/Date***]

Re: Letter of Information and Interview Invitation

Dear Madame/Sir:

I am a graduate student at the School of International Development and Globalization at the University of Ottawa with research interests in Canadian aid, transitional justice, gender and post-conflict and -peace developments in Colombia.

My Master's thesis explores the role of Canada's international assistance at the nexus of transitional justice and gender in Colombia through a feminist-institutionalist perspective and it is funded under the Canada Graduate Scholarships-Master's (CGS M) Program. The research project is supervised by Dr. Stephen Baranyi, Professor at the School of International Development and Globalization, and a leading scholar on peacebuilding, security sector reform, gender in fragile and conflict-affected states (including Colombia), and Canadian policy from these areas. My thesis project includes a field component and a series of semi-structured interviews with key informants in Canada and Colombia, including representatives of funder organizations, project implementers, and project beneficiaries.

I am writing in hopes that ***[you or a delegated representative of your organization/program]*** would be willing to accommodate an interview request for the purpose of providing your input in this research project. ***[Your/your organization]*** expertise ***[in the area/s of]*** would offer an indispensable insight and help shed light onto valuable lessons from existing aid development projects in Colombia. I am particularly interested in learning more about ***[your/your organization/program and its work on TJ/gender/women empowerment/ peace processes in Colombia***]. I hope you will find the interview mutually beneficial.

An interview would require a maximum of a one-hour appointment ***[enter suggested period and schedule or leave it open]***. It can be conducted in person or remotely. A remote interview can be conducted via platforms such as MS Teams, Google Meet, WhatsApp or Zoom. If a different platform or mode of interviewing is preferred, this could be arranged as well.

Please note that this research project has received ethical approval by the Ethics Office of the University of Ottawa on ***[date]***.

As someone who shares a strong passion for ***[Colombia/women empowerment/TJ]*** I am truly excited about the opportunity of an interview with ***[you/your organization]*** at your convenience.

I would be very pleased to provide additional information about my research proposal, background, or discuss interview arrangements as needed.

Thank you for considering this request and I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,

[***Name/Last Name***]

Annex E: Interview Tool

This project has identified four target groups for the field interviews: A) funders; B) Project implementers; C) Project beneficiaries; and D) Local informants with relevant information. Below are some of the proposed guiding questions for semi-structured interviews pertaining to each of the target groups. (Questions for target groups C and D will be provided in both English and Spanish.)

A. Sample questions for interviews with funders

This set of questions targets more specifically program officers involved with a selected sample of development projects (2-3 in total); however, similar questions could be used to discuss more broadly with funder's representatives the goals of Canada's involvement in Colombia and Canada's role in supporting peace-building efforts on the ground.

1. Can you please tell me a bit more about [*enter project name*]?
    - What was its purpose/goals?
    - What did it entail and why did Canada fund it?
    - What activities did it include/what areas did it address (e.g. TJ, gender, etc.)
    - Any innovative approach/tool/process worth noting?
    - Partners and stakeholders engaged in this project.
2. How was stakeholders' engagement ensured in this project and at what level?
    - E.g. project design, implementation, evaluation, none or all of these
3. Where does this project fall in terms of Canada's international assistance priorities/goals as defined in FIAP and was alignment with FIAP goals achieved?
4. How was the alignment with FIAP goals ensured?
    - Follow up questions:
        - What specific methods were used to this end?
        - Was the project evaluated/assessed for alignment?
        - Were local stakeholders involved in project evaluation?
5. How would you rank such alignment on a scale from 1-5, where "1" means "no alignment achieved at all" and "5" means "full alignment achieved with FIAP"?
    - Follow up questions:
        - Reasons/barriers for not achieving the alignment with FIAP goals (if ranked below 3); or
        - Factors that ensured successful alignment (if ranked above 3)
6. How were the goals of FIAP communicated and aligned with the development goals of the host country?
7. How were the goals of FIAP received from the Colombian counterpart? (either in general terms or on this specific case)
8. Are you happy with the outcome of Canada's funded programs in Colombia post-2016?
    - Follow up question: Are you happy with the outcomes of this specific project?
9. How would you rank the change this project brought in the area of [*TJ/women empowerment/gender/etc*.] on a scale from 1-5 where "1" means "no change" and "5" means "transformative change"?

10. What are some of the lessons learned from this project?
    - Follow up question: What are some of the lessons learned from Canada's programs in Colombia in the post-2016 era?
11. Do you think Canada should fund similar projects/from the same area/addressing the same goals priorities/etc. in the future and why?
12. Could you share the project report or any other information on this project?
13. Would you recommend any other contact with insight on this project we should follow up with?

B. Sample questions for interviews with implementing partners

This is a set of questions focusing more closely on the selected sample of the development projects (2-3 in total). The purpose of this set of questions is to learn from project implementers about the outcome, results, successes, and/or issues faced while implementing these projects on the ground.

1. Please tell me a bit more about [*enter project name*]?
    - What was its purpose/goals?
    - What did it entail and why in your understanding did Canada fund it?
    - What activities did it include/what areas did it address (e.g. TJ, gender, etc.)
    - Any innovative approach/tool/process worth noting?
    - Partners and stakeholders engaged in this project.
2. How was stakeholders' engagement ensured in this project and at what level?
    - E.g. project design, implementation, evaluation, none or all of these
3. Did the project align with the goals of FIAP?
    - Alternative question: Did it apply a gender lens/include a gender perspective?
4. If yes, how was alignment with FIAP goals ensured?
    - Alternative question: How was the incorporation of a gender lens/perspective ensured in the project?
5. How would you rank project alignment with FIAP's goals on a scale from 1-5? (where "1" means "no alignment achieved at all" and "5" means "full alignment achieved" with FIAP)
    - Follow up questions:
        - Reasons/barriers for not achieving the alignment with FIAP goals (if ranked below 3); or
        - Factors that ensured successful alignment (if ranked above 3)
6. What were the expected outcomes and the final outcomes?
7. To what degree the expected outcomes were met/not met and why?
8. What issues did the project implementation met on the ground?
9. What should have been done differently (either on the funder's end, implementer's or local partners, i.e. on any front)?
10. In your opinion, what are some of the main challenges Colombia is facing in the post-peace accord era?
11. How would you rank the change this project brought in the area of [*TJ/women empowerment/gender/etc.]* on a scale from 1-5 where "1" is "no change" and "5" is "transformative change"?

12. What were some of the lessons learned from this project experience?
13. Do you think Canada should fund similar projects/from the same area/addressing the same goals priorities/etc. in the future and why?
14. Would you implement a similar project in Colombia in the future and why?
15. Could you share the project report/project deliverables or any other information on this project (in any format writing/video/photos, etc.)?
16. Would you recommend any other contact with insight on this project we should follow up with?

C. Sample questions for interviews with project beneficiaries

This set of questions also focuses closely on the selected sample of the development projects (2-3 in total). Project beneficiaries, either in their personal capacity (e.g. if the individual is the direct beneficiary of a program activity/deliverable) or as organizational representatives (e.g. when local organizations, co-ops or community groups benefit from the project) will be interviewed with the purpose of collecting information about the outcome, results, successes, and/or issues they have experienced in relation to a specific project.

1. Have you heard about Canada's assistance in Colombia? In what context?
2. How do you recall [*enter project name*]/ What was its purpose/outcome if you know/or can recall?
3. What was your involvement with this project?
4. Describe your experience with this project/project team?
5. What can you tell me about the women's role(s) in the project?
6. What can you tell about stakeholders' engagement in this project and at what level did it take place?
    a. project design
    b. implementation
    c. evaluation
    d. all of the above
    e. none of the above
    f. do not know
7. On a scale from 1-5 how useful was this project for you as an individual or your organization/coop/association and why? (where "1" means "not useful/important at all" and "5" means "very useful/important")
8. On a scale from 1-5 where "1" means "no change" and "5" means "transformative change" how would you rank the change this project brought in the area of:
    a. TJ
    b. women empowerment
    c. gender?
9. Would you suggest more or fewer projects like [*enter project name*] in the future and why?
10. What are the top three issues threatening peace and transitional justice in Colombia today and why?

11. What are the top three issues that Colombia is facing today and why (not necessarily related to peacebuilding and TJ)?
12. What project should international donors fund/support in the future and why?
13. On a scale from 1-5 where "1" means "not important at all/waste of resources" and "5" means "very important/best use of resources" how important is for donors to financially support the following initiatives/areas:
    a. Peace initiatives
    b. Transitional justice
    c. Women empowerment
    d. Private sector
    e. Extractive industries
    f. Other areas?

D. Local informants with information relevant to the research topic

This target group might include for example Colombian academics, researchers, civil society representatives, human rights activists, etc. with information relevant to this research project. This set of questions is more general in focus that does not need to relate to a specific project.

1. What do you know about Canada's international assistance/aid programs in Colombia?
2. What are your perceptions of such a role?
3. Are you aware of any major programs or projects supported by Canada?
4. If yes, in your opinion has this program or project affected change in terms of TJ/peacebuilding and/or women empowerment?
5. What do you know about stakeholders' engagement in similar projects/programs and in your understanding at what level did such engagement take place?
    a. project design
    b. implementation
    c. evaluation
    d. all of the above
    e. none of the above
    f. do not know
6. How would you rank Canada's role as an international donor in Colombia on a scale from 1-5, where "1" means "Canada involvement as a donor has influenced/brought no change" and "5" means "it has influenced transformative change".
7. In your opinion where should the focus of international assistance programs in Colombia be?
    - Follow up questions:
        - What is mostly needed locally and why?
        - What types of priorities/areas of focus are needed, etc.?
        - What type of programs should Canada fund in Colombia and why?
8. How do you view donor's involvement/support in peacebuilding in Colombia?
9. How do you view donor's involvement/support in transitional justice in Colombia?

10. How do you view donor's involvement/support in women empowerment in Colombia?
11. How do you view donor's involvement/support in extractive industries?
12. How do you view partnerships between donors, civil society, and extractive industries?
    - Follow up questions:
        - Feasible, not feasible, and why?
        - Can you provide illustrations of some of the issues and/or success stories?
13. What are the top three issues threatening peace and TJ in Colombia and why?
14. What are the top three issues that Colombia is facing today and why (not necessarily related to peacebuilding or TJ)?
15. On a scale from 1-5 where "1" means "not important at all/waste of resources" and "5" means "very important/best use of resources" how important is for donors to financially support the following initiatives/areas:
    a. Peace initiatives
    b. Transitional justice
    c. Women empowerment
    d. Private sector
    e. Extractive industries
    f. Other

Annex F: List of Organisations Consulted

1. Agencia Presidencial de Cooperación Internacional (APC)
2. Corporacion Justicia Mujer
3. Embassy of Canada to Colombia
4. Fondo de Solidaridad con los Jueces Colombianos (FASOL)
5. Fundación Plan
6. Fundación Ideas Para la Paz (FIP)
7. Global Affairs Canada (GAC)
8. Humanas
9. Lawyers Without Borders Canada (LWBC)
10. National Centre for Historic Memory (NCHM)
11. Plan International Canada
12. Redprodepaz
13. Special Jurisdiction for Peace (JEP)
14. UNDP Colombia
15. Unidad para la Atención y Reparación Integral a las Víctimas (UARIV)
16. Universidad de los Andes

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