

# **Moving the Needle: Re-imagining Canada's Development and Humanitarian Engagement**

## ***Recommendations for Canada's New Government***

### **Executive Summary**

Many countries in the world are in crisis, facing growing levels of poverty, food insecurity, political polarisation, and escalating violence. Yet Canadian foreign policy is taking a more isolationist approach, with its almost singular focus on building 'a strong Canada.' Given our global interconnectedness, this Report argues that Canada cannot safeguard its long-term prosperity and security without addressing the growing challenges in developing, fragile, and humanitarian contexts. And it can do so by mobilizing its existing resources more effectively and efficiently.

This Report shows how Canada can 'move the needle' to improve development and humanitarian outcomes. We outline two immediate steps for the government. First, we recommend Canada use the convening power of its G7 Presidency to form and lead a "G7 Working Group on International Responses to Conflict, Fragility and Development." This G7 Working Group should review development and humanitarian aid architecture, including the role of multilateral organizations, and provide proposals for reform. Canada should host a meeting in August or September, before the United Nations General Assembly, to share the proposals from the Working Group.

Second, Canada should articulate a new framework to guide its engagement in fragile, conflict-affected and developing contexts. We outline this framework in the table below.

While Canada should retain its commitment to gender equality as a pillar of our development and humanitarian engagement, Canada's new framework would be broader in scope. We outline the parameters of the framework, namely the principles, goals, mechanisms, and priorities. We suggest two signature initiatives to 'move the needle' and improve development and humanitarian outcomes.

By adopting such a framework, Canada's new government will both strengthen Canada and enable it to contribute to a more peaceful and prosperous world.

## A Framework for Canada's Development and Humanitarian Engagement

<b>Principles</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◇ Promote human rights, dignity and well-being, and boost economic and social potential;</li> <li>◇ Ensure engagement is action-oriented and delivers results;</li> <li>◇ Countries are in the driver's seat of their development.</li> </ul>
<b>Goals</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◇ Protect civilians;</li> <li>◇ Reduce poverty;</li> <li>◇ Develop human capital;</li> <li>◇ Promote gender equality;</li> <li>◇ Enhance sustainability;</li> <li>◇ Promote good governance.</li> </ul>
<b>Mechanisms</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◇ A bureaucracy that 'gets it done';</li> <li>◇ Multilateral reform;</li> <li>◇ Team Canada approach;</li> <li>◇ Collaboration through partnerships and consortiums;</li> <li>◇ Support effective and engaged research networks;</li> <li>◇ Inform and connect to Canadians.</li> </ul>
<b>Priorities</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◇ Protection of civilians;</li> <li>◇ Peacebuilding;</li> <li>◇ Build 'Ecosystems' for Development;</li> <li>◇ Sustain Commitment to Health and Education;</li> <li>◇ Strengthen Ties between Trade and Development.</li> </ul>
<b>Signature Initiatives</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◇ Protection of Healthcare;</li> <li>◇ Pilot "Ecosystem for Development" Hubs.</li> </ul>

The Norman Paterson School of International Affairs  
 Ottawa Ontario  
 May 22, 2025

## Introduction

The Norman Paterson School of International Affairs (NPSIA) convened a series of focus groups on Canada's engagement in contexts of development, fragility and conflict. We were motivated by growing global levels of poverty and human suffering caused in part by increased conflict, trade disruptions, the lingering impact of COVID-19, and massive cutbacks in development assistance by the US and other key donors. We have been disappointed by Canada's relative silence in the face of ongoing humanitarian and development crises, as well as its lacklustre track record on Official Development Assistance (ODA).

A new Prime Minister provides Canada with an opportunity for a policy reset. To help guide our recommendations for this report, we held six discussions among stakeholders from mid-February until mid-April 2025 using Chatham House Rules. The topics included Canada's human security agenda, social development, economic development, humanitarian issues, gender, and the intersection between peace and security. These discussions took stock of Canada's approach to humanitarian and development assistance, reflected on Canada's strengths and weaknesses, and discussed recommendations for how Canada should move forward in an increasingly challenging global context.

This Report is informed by these focus groups and builds upon the work of others who have examined Canadian foreign and development policy.<sup>1-4</sup> It provides pragmatic and realistic guidance to guide Canada's new government as it develops its approach to contexts of development, fragility, and conflict. We identify two signature initiatives for consideration. We hope that the Report provokes debate and fosters greater discussion among those in Canada who research, develop policy, and implement programs in developing, fragile, and conflict-affected contexts.

## Global Context

The world faces multiple and overlapping crises. These crises are most acutely felt in low-income and fragile contexts, threatening to trap them in cycles of poverty and violence. Economies are stagnating, and many countries face crippling levels of debt.<sup>5</sup> Poverty reduction has stalled, while income inequality continues to grow.<sup>6</sup> Climate change and extreme weather events threaten livelihoods and deepen food insecurity.<sup>7</sup> Violent conflicts are at levels not seen since World War Two, causing protracted humanitarian emergencies and record levels of forced displacement.<sup>8</sup> Respect for humanitarian principles, humanitarian space, and international humanitarian law has eroded, leaving civilians increasingly vulnerable.

Over a billion people in the world live in poverty; almost 700 million of whom live in extreme poverty, surviving on \$2.15 per person per day.<sup>9</sup> Forty percent of the world's poorest people live in situations of fragility and conflict.<sup>10</sup> Analysts warn that without a course correction, 2020-2030 will become a lost decade for many countries, reversing fragile development gains.<sup>9</sup> This escalation will deprive even more individuals of their livelihoods, wellbeing and dignity, and deny communities their economic and social potential.

While development needs have escalated, the global development and humanitarian architecture is under strain. The United States' aggressive pursuit of an 'America first' agenda has exacerbated the crises facing many low-income countries while undermining the world's ability to address them. The shuttering of USAID has impacted the distribution of life-saving assistance for millions around the world. Funding cuts have hit multilateral organizations hard, forcing cuts in personnel and programming. The US is not alone in reducing ODA – both the United Kingdom and the Netherlands significantly cut their aid budgets.<sup>11,12</sup> However, the United States provided the most aid of any country in the world – over 63 billion USD in 2024, and the impact of these cuts has been widely felt.<sup>13</sup> Other US policy measures - including US tariffs and the planned tax on remittances for non-citizens - will also impact low-income countries, interrupting supply chains and closing off opportunities for economic growth through trade.<sup>5,14</sup>

While the number of global crises grows, global cooperation is waning. Countries are retreating from cooperative action precisely when it is most needed. The United States' focus on how development assistance makes 'America stronger, safer, more prosperous' has proven contagious. High-income countries are turning inwards, reframing their foreign policies, and conditioning global engagements on their contribution to national growth and security.

## Canadian Context

Canada's new government has been largely silent on Canada's development and humanitarian policies. Prime Minister Carney is - understandably - preoccupied by the dramatic reconfiguration of our relationship with the United States. Given this changed relationship, as well as the threats posed by the broader geopolitical context, Canada faces intense pressure to rapidly increase its defence spending, protect its land and sea borders, and expand its commercial relationships. These priorities are reflected in the Prime Minister's mandate letter with its foreign policy focused on national security, including economic security.<sup>15</sup>

Canada has experienced this security focus before. The attacks on 9/11 and the ensuing 'war on terror' shifted Canada's foreign policy landscape. Foreign policy became preoccupied with the security of the state, its citizens, and its allies. The circle of advisors

engaged in foreign policy deliberations narrowed, reducing the diversity of views at the table. There was little effort to understand, manage, and mitigate the long-term drivers of conflict and security challenges.

Canada needs to be clear-eyed about the threats we face. But a myopic focus on security can contribute to, rather than prevent, insecurity. Ensuring that we also focus on social and economic development in low-income contexts is a smart investment – it prevents conflict and makes societies more peaceful and prosperous in the long term.<sup>16</sup>

Effective engagement in fragile and conflict-affected contexts also falls in line with our historic record and Canada's value-added on the world stage. Canada's Human Security Agenda emerged at a similar inflection point – the end of the Cold War – when the government also faced fiscal constraints. Human Security focused on increasing the protection of civilians through initiatives ranging from the Landmines Convention to the Kimberley process on blood diamonds. To advance this agenda, Canada utilized diverse tools including diplomacy, norm development, and development aid. Policymakers worked closely with the research community to fill knowledge gaps and identify best practices. Canada leveraged our convening power and our role in multilateral organizations. Diplomats worked with traditional allies as well as new partner countries and mobilized networks of Canadians through research and expert deployments.

We recognize the geopolitical context of 2025 presents unique challenges. We acknowledge that the human security agenda cannot simply be recreated. But its legacy can remind this new government that Canada has the ability to make a meaningful contribution to improve civilian safety and well-being in low-income, fragile, and developing contexts. It illustrates the effectiveness of the tools at our disposal – effective diplomacy, our convening power, working through allies, and mobilizing research and advocacy networks at home and abroad.

In a time of fiscal restraint, Canada's response to global challenges will need to accomplish more with the same level of resources. In 2024, Canada provided \$7.3 billion in development assistance, amounting to 0.34 percent of gross national income, and half of the OECD's 0.7 target (first proposed by former Prime Minister Lester B Pearson and adopted by the United Nations in 1970). Although Prime Minister Carney pledged to maintain current levels of ODA, with large budget deficits and a precarious economic outlook, the government will be tempted to cut ODA. Any cuts to Canada's aid budget would be a mistake, jeopardizing hard-won development gains, putting lives at risk, and signalling Canada's retreat from the global stage.

## Recommendations for Canada's New Government

This Report suggests that the government undertake two measures to 'move the needle' and contribute to improved development and humanitarian outcomes.

First, Canada can and should leverage its global convening power to address the current crises in low-income and conflict-affected contexts, specifically Canada's role as G7 President.

Second, Canada should reimagine its engagement in contexts of development, fragility and violence with a new framework for development and humanitarian policy.

### Canada's G7 Presidency

Despite the increased number of conflicts around the world, the impact of that violence on civilian populations, and the deteriorating economic outlook for many low-income countries, Canada's G7 Agenda largely overlooks development and humanitarian engagement.

Canada can and should increase the scope and ambition of its G7 Presidency. While countries need to drive their development, the rapidly deteriorating humanitarian and development context requires a response from the world's richest countries. At the upcoming G7 Summit in Kananaskis, Canada should announce that it will lead a special G7 Working Group on International Responses to Conflict, Fragility and Development. This G7 Working Group should review development and humanitarian aid architecture, including for multilateral assistance, and provide proposals for reform.

UK Foreign Secretary David Lammy recently proposed a global conference on the future architecture of aid.<sup>17</sup> Given Canada's G7 Presidency, Canada should host this conference, in collaboration with the G20. This conference could discuss the G7 Proposals for reform to development and humanitarian architecture and build consensus for a pathway forward. The conference could be held in August or early September – before the United Nations General Assembly.

### A New Framework for Canadian Engagement

To lead this G7 discussion, Canada should develop a new framework for its engagement in developing, fragile, and conflict-affected contexts. This framework would articulate the 'why', the 'how' and the 'what' of our development and humanitarian assistance policy.

### *A Note on Feminist International Assistance Policy (FIAP)*

Canada's FIAP has guided the implementation of Canada's development and humanitarian assistance since its launch in 2017. The FIAP shone a light on the critically

important role that gender equality plays in development and peace outcomes. It strengthened gender equality architecture within Global Affairs Canada (GAC), supported civil society advocates around the world, and provided funding for critically important, evidence-based gender equality interventions.

The promotion of gender equality has long faced backlash. The global anti-gender movement has limited reproductive rights and freedoms in many countries, sparked resistance to gender equality initiatives within multilateral forums, increased political violence targeting women, and fuelled online hatred towards women and gender-diverse individuals.<sup>18</sup>

We are also witnessing some countries, such as the Netherlands, retreat from advocating for gender equality through their foreign and development policies. Some experts have cited efforts to promote women's rights in Afghanistan as mission creep, and one of the reasons for the return of the Taliban.<sup>19</sup> This misreading of gender equality efforts in Afghanistan<sup>20</sup> may undermine the integration of gender equality in future security sector engagements and post-conflict peacebuilding efforts.

Given the strong relationship between gender equality and more peaceful and prosperous societies, Canada's support for gender equality is more important now than ever.<sup>16</sup> Gender equality should therefore remain a goal of Canadian development and humanitarian assistance, and the gender equality architecture within Global Affairs Canada be sustained.

However, development policy also needs to be flexible, adaptable, and responsive, with a focus on diagnosing the problems – not on implementing a single solution. We therefore recommend that Canada's development framework incorporate gender equality as a clear goal, but not the defining focus of Canada's development and humanitarian assistance.

### ***The Why: The Importance of Development and Humanitarian Engagement***

Canada has traditionally framed its development and humanitarian engagement as a reflection of Canadian values. Given the challenging geopolitical context and domestic fiscal pressures, the government needs to articulate how development and humanitarian assistance serve Canadian interests.

An interests-based approach to global engagement can be framed narrowly: i.e. a strong Canada protected from global threats. Or our interests can be framed broadly: i.e. global engagement contributes to a more peaceful and prosperous world.

The frame that we select – the narrow or broad definition of self-interest- is shaped by how we see the world. If we assume that Canada can benefit from international engagement while insulating itself from global threats, our focus is on building a strong Canada. If we

recognize that national economic, social and political systems cannot be disconnected from global systems, our view of Canada's roles and obligations in the world shifts.

As the health and economic disruptions caused by COVID-19 demonstrate, Canada cannot insulate itself from global threats. Crises in one part of the world can quickly spread across global systems. But interconnectedness also brings opportunities, with improved outcomes potentially resulting in a virtuous cascade.<sup>16,21</sup>

Contributing to a more peaceful and prosperous world is clearly in Canada's national interest. Development and humanitarian assistance protect Canada from a wide variety of threats – ranging from security to disease to climate change. Socio-economic development ensures more peaceful and more prosperous societies.<sup>16</sup> Prevention of conflict saves lives, protects economies and reduces migration and displacement. Building human capital through development assistance enables inclusive economic growth that minimizes the risks of conflict and provides potential markets for Canadian goods.

Global engagement also brings opportunities. It contributes to soft power, enabling Canada to expand bilateral relationships to facilitate the exchange of ideas, technology, and trade. Such an exchange enables mutual learning – examples include resilience to climate change, building trust within communities, and developing low-cost technologies. This approach would foster a spirit of partnership and ensure greater humility in Canada's global engagement.

### ***The How: Principles, Goals and Mechanisms***

To ensure that Canada retains its values-based approach in a self-interested world, Canada should clearly articulate its core principles and goals for development and humanitarian engagement.

#### ***Principles***

Development and humanitarian assistance should remain firmly rooted in a recognition of our shared humanity. In a time of scarce resources, Canadian development and humanitarian assistance should be evidence-based and deliver clear benefits to recipient populations. We recommend that the following three principles guide our engagement in contexts of development, fragility, and conflict.

*Canada's global engagement should further human rights, dignity and wellbeing, and boost economic and social potential.*

*Canada should focus on action and results to 'move the needle.'*

*Countries should be in the driver's seat of their development.*



## Goals

Our development and humanitarian engagement should articulate clear goals to guide our engagement. We suggest the following six goals that could serve as a ‘north star’ across development and humanitarian contexts.

*Civilian Protection and Human Rights:* Protect civilians from the impact of organized violence and conflict, and in all contexts, work to protect and promote human rights.

*Poverty Reduction:* Ensure access to basic needs, improve living standards, and contribute to inclusive economic growth. \*

*Human Capital and Capabilities:* Provide access to education, training, and skills development.

*Gender Equality:* Ensure everyone, regardless of gender, benefits from the ability to develop human capabilities, access economic and other resources, live in safety and security, and exercise agency.

*Sustainability:* Minimise the environmental impact of development and humanitarian interventions, while strengthening climate adaptation and resilience.

*Good Governance:* Strengthen public institutions and civil society organizations to promote the rule of law, provide effective public services, and ensure transparency and accountability.

## Mechanisms

Given the need to do more with limited resources, Canada should reform the mechanisms – or the machinery - that will enable us to achieve those goals. We suggest six key mechanisms.

*A Bureaucracy that ‘Gets it Done’:* The current global environment requires a much more nimble and effective bureaucracy, one that prioritizes expertise and experience, devolves decision-making and financial authorities, merges foresight research with evidence-based

---

\* Canada’s Official Development Assistance Accountability Act states that “. . . all Canadian official development assistance abroad is provided with a central focus on poverty reduction and in a manner that is consistent with Canadian values, Canadian foreign policy, the principles of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness of March 2, 2005, sustainable development and democracy promotion and that promotes international human rights standards.”<sup>22</sup>. Official Development Assistance Accountability Act. In: Canada Go, editor. Ottawa; 2008.

analyses of levers of change, integrates a ‘Red Team’ or challenge function,<sup>23</sup> and networks effectively with external actors, including researchers. The government also should embrace technology – such as Artificial Intelligence (AI) – recognizing AI as a tool, not a substitute for expert analysis.

*Multilateral Reform:* A significant percentage of Canadian ODA is delivered through multilateral organizations. The current strain on the multilateral system, including global financing institutions, means that these institutions will have to adapt to survive. Canada should seize this opportunity to influence reforms to build more efficient and effective multilateral institutions.<sup>24</sup> Through the proposed G7 Working Group on International Responses to Conflict, Fragility and Development, Canada could engage in and support such efforts, working with like-minded partners as it did during the Good Humanitarian Donorship initiative of 2005.

*A Team Canada Approach:* At home, Canada should continue to strengthen coordination and collaboration mechanisms across government departments and Crown Agencies. In recipient countries, Canada should adopt a Team Canada approach. To implement this approach and gain efficiencies, Canadian government organizations, such as IDRC, FinDev, and Grand Challenges could be co-located. A central hub that includes networking opportunities and presentation space could facilitate connections among Canadian-funded organizations, researchers, and advocates.

*Enhanced Collaboration through Partnerships, Consortiums, and Communities:* Where possible, Canada should work through consortiums or partnerships – that must be led by national organizations – to identify and address specific development and humanitarian challenges. Data, analysis and evaluations should be more widely shared, and gaps in capacity and expertise identified and filled through expert deployment mechanisms. Canada can also lead the way in democratizing development and humanitarian assistance by developing ‘communities of practice’ in recipient communities, sharing the findings of research and co-creating development and humanitarian programming.

*Research Networks:* Canada will need to do more with less. Policymakers can and should work more collaboratively with researchers from the earliest stages of policy development to fill knowledge gaps, build an evidence base, and identify best practices and levers of change. The Department of Defence prioritizes research through Defence Research and Development Canada, with a \$330 million budget. Canadian foreign, development and humanitarian policy lacks a comparable research arm.

The new government should ensure that research on foreign, development, and humanitarian policy is equally supported. The International Development Research Centre (IDRC) has played an invaluable role in building research networks – but its focus is on research in low- and middle-income contexts. And Global Affairs Canada (GAC)

recently launched an “Open Insights Hub” – but it is hardly open, lacking a presence on the internet or social media.

Networked diplomacy through engagement with researchers and civil society is a critical tool to further foreign policy objectives – particularly in contexts of resource scarcity. Research and collaborations should focus on the intersections among humanitarian action, development action, and efforts to contribute to peace. These collaborations should engage the military, diplomats, as well as the humanitarian sector to identify gaps in knowledge, best practices and norms, and to build institutional capacity at the national, regional, and global levels. Given that the Canadian military, at some point, will be deployed within fragile and conflict-affected settings, such collaborations would be particularly beneficial to them.

*Inform and Connect to Canadians:* Canadians’ understanding of, and therefore their support for the development imperative is constrained by emotive fundraising appeals and poor media coverage. As with other government priorities in areas such as health, education and safety, more and better messaging about the importance of Canadian ODA is essential. Canadians would better understand the value of development and humanitarian engagement through people-to-people connections. Canada should continue to strengthen its work to facilitate these connections through youth internships and professional exchanges.

### ***The What: Priorities for the New Government***

In our complex world, with deteriorating socio-economic outcomes and rising humanitarian needs, the needs are many. We suggest the government focus on five priorities that build on Canadian strengths. It will be critical to ensure that the gender equality architecture built by the FIAP is maintained so that gender equality remains a clear objective of all these initiatives.

*Civilian Safety in the Humanitarian-Development-Peace Nexus:* The norms that safeguard the protection and well-being of civilian populations in situations of fragility and violence are under siege. The erosion of respect for International Humanitarian Law (IHL) has led to a culture of impunity. Working with humanitarian organizations, the military, and the United Nations, Canada should push for a renewed focus on the protection of civilians. This should include a strong push for advancing gender equality in humanitarian settings, with context-sensitive approaches like benchmarking for gender equality.<sup>16</sup>

*Peacebuilding:* In a world focused on international security, the world needs some countries to champion peacebuilding. Canada can work with like-minded countries and partners to support peace processes, including through the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. Canada can increase and coordinate targeted expert deployments to build

capacity, support nationally led development and provide surge support to conflict management and peace processes. Canada could strengthen its mediation capacity by funding research and training, supporting national and regional mediation efforts, and facilitating Canadian involvement in peace processes. Canada could provide capacity building for countries in information warfare.

*Build Ecosystems for Development:* While much hope has been placed in the mobilization of the private sector and capital for development, participants warned that the private sector has not been the panacea that many hoped. Development finance has not met its promise – particularly in the poorest countries where it is most needed. Referring to the ‘Chimera of Private Financing for Development’ *The Economist* attributed an ideological faith in the value of private markets as contributing to the failure of many financing for development initiatives.<sup>25</sup>

Private finance is not equivalent to public investment: it needs an ‘ecosystem’ – one in which various actors work together to identify the barriers to innovation and development. Such an ecosystem approach could also support AI solutions to increase productivity and efficiency and build the resilience of individuals and communities to challenges such as climate change and economic shocks.

*Sustain Canada’s Commitment to Health and Education:* Canada should continue its leadership role in health and education. In conflict-affected settings, we should explore opportunities to implement scalable education and health programming, as well as promote innovation. To create efficiencies, Canada could build coalitions to enable joint programming and shared tools and assessments. Canada could also support capacity building and technology transfer to support countries in their pandemic preparedness efforts.

*Trade and Development:* Canada could expand its existing initiatives and networks on trade and development, with a focus on small and medium enterprises. Initiatives include better collaboration between trade and development personnel in Canadian missions overseas, as well as expansion of trade facilitation activities. The provision of financial and technical support to countries and regional organizations to support trade could help countries navigate the uncertain future of initiatives such as the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA).

### *Signature Initiatives:*

We suggest two signature policy initiatives for Canada’s new government. These initiatives would leverage existing resources more efficiently and be largely revenue-neutral.

*Protecting Healthcare:* In many conflicts, healthcare is under siege. From 2023 to 2024, violence against medical personnel and health system infrastructure rose by 15 percent.

Since 2022, attacks against health have risen by 62 percent. These attacks undermine access to health care, contribute to heightened civilian mortality, and threaten the long-term viability of health systems.

Such attacks are in clear violation of international humanitarian law. The destruction of civilian infrastructure impacts the health of populations for generations and can contribute to entrenching countries within conflict traps that make their future resolution more difficult.<sup>16</sup>

An international advocacy campaign on safeguarding healthcare exists, with data documenting the number and impact of these attacks. Canada could add value to this campaign through an initiative that works to prevent, mitigate, and respond more effectively to these attacks. Such proactive measures could include creating a health neutrality verification mechanism by deliberately placing representatives of international organizations, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, at health facilities. Those representatives could provide independent, transparent, and credible reporting to verify that health facilities are not used by combatants.

*Pilot ‘Ecosystem for Development’ Hubs:* Canada has several initiatives that go beyond traditional ODA to leverage private financing for development. Grand Challenges Canada identifies a ‘grand challenge of global health’, invests in innovations that address that challenge, and takes successful innovations to scale. Canada also has a development financing institution – FinDev.

Given the cuts to ODA, innovative development financing that leverages private capital will be more important than ever. We suggest that Canada establish pilot innovation hubs to create an ecosystem for development. These hubs could identify key challenges impeding development outcomes at the local level. Within these innovation hubs, Canada could bring together public, private, and civil society actors, funding mechanisms (e.g. FinDev) and provide technical support for entrepreneurship.

## Conclusion

Canada’s foreign policy is clearly at an inflection point. Poverty, fragility, and conflict are on the increase, with impacts on regional and global diplomacy and security. As the world faces an uncertain future, countries like Canada have a responsibility to contribute to a more equitable and peaceful world. We hope that this Report helps provoke discussion and debate on how Canada can work towards that objective.

The Norman Paterson School of International Affairs

## References

1. Greenhill R, Welch J. Ten Strategic Choices for Decision Makers. Montreal: Global Canada; 2021.
2. Greenhill R, Welch J. Reframing Canada's Global Engagement: A Diagnostic of Key Trends and Sources of Influence. Montreal: Global Canada; 2020.
3. Canada C. The Post 2030 Landscape: A World of Asymmetry and Realignment. Ottawa: Cooperation Canada; 2024.
4. Evans T, Lee K, Blouin C, et al. Protecting our Collective Future: Renewing Canada's Role in Global Health. Royal Society of Canada and Canadian Academy of Health Sciences; 2025.
5. IMF. World Economic Outlook: A Critical Juncture amid Policy Shifts. Washington: International Monetary Fund; 2025.
6. Stemmler H, Baah SKT, Genoni ME, Lakner C. The polycrisis behind a lost decade of poverty reduction. DataBlog. Washington: World Bank Blogs; 2024.
7. FSIN, GNAFC. Global Report on Food Crises: Joint Analysis for Better Decisions. Rome: Global Network Against Food Crises; Food Security Information Network; 2025.
8. Davies S, Pettersson T, Öberg M. Organized violence 1989–2022, and the return of conflict between states. *Journal of peace research* 2023; **60**(4): 691-708.
9. World Bank. Poverty, Prosperity and Planet Report 2024: Pathways out of the Polycrisis. Washington: World Bank; 2024.
10. OPHI, UNDP. Global Multidimensional Poverty Index 2024: Poverty Amid Conflict. United Nations Development Programme; Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative 2024.
11. Tracker D. At a Glance: The United Kingdom. 2025.  
[https://donortracker.org/donor\\_profiles/united-kingdom](https://donortracker.org/donor_profiles/united-kingdom) (accessed 20 May 2025).
12. Tracker D. At a Glance: The Netherlands. 2025.  
[https://donortracker.org/donor\\_profiles/netherlands#oda-spending](https://donortracker.org/donor_profiles/netherlands#oda-spending) (accessed 20 May 2025).
13. OECD. Preliminary official development assistance levels in 2024: Detailed Summary Note. Paris: OECD; 2025.
14. Murphy H. Devex Newswire: Trump tax bill targets foundations and nonprofits. devex; 2025.
15. Prime Minister Mark Carney. Mandate Letter. Ottawa: Office of the Prime Minister of Canada; 2025.
16. Percival V, Thoms OT, Oppenheim B, et al. The Lancet Commission on peaceful societies through health equity and gender equality. *The Lancet* 2023.

17. Wintour P. 'Conversation on future of aid long overdue': UK looks to lead response to swingeing US cuts. The Guardian. 2025.
18. Bergsten SS-e, Lee SA. The Global Backlash Against Women's Rights: A Stark Reminder on International Women's Day. New York: Human Rights Watch; 2024.
19. Stoltenberg J. Foreign Policy Live. In: Agrawal R, editor. Jens Stoltenberg's Exit Interview: Foreign Policy; 2024.
20. Halaimzai S. Gender apartheid: The legacy of Western intervention in Afghanistan. Malala Fund; 2024.
21. Lawrence M, Janzwood S, Homer-Dixon T. What is a Global Polycrisis. Version 2.0 ed: Cascade Institute; 2022.
22. Official Development Assistance Accountability Act. In: Canada Go, editor. Ottawa; 2008.
23. Singer P. Red Teaming Pandemics: A New Approach for WHO and countries. Substack; 2025.
24. Singer P. UN leadership: relentlessly focused on results? : Substack; 2025.
25. The Economist. The chimera of private finance for development. London: The Economist; 2025.