DECOLONISING AID FOR NON-PROFITS IN AFRICA:
EXPLORING THE PERSPECTIVES AND ROLES OF POLICYMAKERS

WACSI
WEST AFRICA CIVIL SOCIETY INSTITUTE

Decolonising Aid for Non-Profits in Africa: Exploring the Perspectives and Roles of Policymakers

Editorial Team
Jimm Chick Fomunjong – Head, Knowledge Management Unit, WACSI
Nancy Kankam Kusi – Programme Officer, Knowledge Management Unit, WACSI
Shu Mabel Lum - Programme Assistant, Knowledge Management Unit, WACSI

Designed by: Michael Kumordzi Tetteh

About WACSI
The West Africa Civil Society Institute (WACSI) was created by the Open Society Initiative for West Africa (OSIWA) to reinforce the institutional and operational capacities of civil society in the region. WACSI also serves as a resource centre for training, research and documentation, experience sharing and political dialogue for CSOs in West Africa.

About the Research Fellowship
The goal of the research fellowship is to offer young and passionate researchers a wide range of opportunities to develop their research skills, while also contributing to the work of the Institute. The fellowship enables fellows to gain valuable experience working in the civil society sector, building their professional networks, and developing skills that will be useful throughout their professional lives.

This publication was authored by Muhammad Sani Kassim while serving as a Research Fellow at WACSI. The Research Fellowship Programme was supported by the Ford Foundation.

Disclaimer
The author remains responsible for any errors and omissions in this report.

For more information, write to: West Africa Civil Society Institute (WACSI) P.O. Box AT1956 Achimota Accra, Ghana Email: info@wacsi.org Tel: (+233) 303937264

Cite as: Kassim M. S. (2024), Decolonising Aid for Non-Profits in Africa: Exploring the Perspectives and Roles of Policymakers, West Africa Civil Society Institute, Accra, Ghana.

Muhammad Sani Kassim is a Public Sector Reform Manager with Nine (9) years of speciality leading and supporting reformers in and out of governments design, implement and evaluate public sector reforms in the most transparent, accountable, effective, and citizen-participatory approach, especially around Public Finance Management (Fiscal Planning, Domestic Revenue Mobilisation (DRM)/Tax Administration, Budget, Procurement, Public Investment and Audit), and Justice Sector Reform as it translates into improved public service delivery in Agriculture, Basic Education, Healthcare, and Water, Sanitation, and Hygiene (WASH). He is an alumnus of the 2023 West Africa Civil Society Institute (WACSI) Research Fellowship Programme.

Muhammad's research profile revolves around critical areas that aim to transform aid practices, address issues of natural resource governance, combat corruption, foster citizen engagement, promote beneficial ownership transparency, and optimise public finance management to achieve improved service delivery outcomes. He actively pursues these research interests to contribute to the development and implementation of sustainable solutions in governance and development contexts in Africa. He has conducted research for UNDP, OCP, Mastercard Foundation, MacArthur, Public and Private Development Centre, Transparency Centre among others.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

Ideally and as conceptualised, aid plays a central role in assisting African countries as they navigate the complexities of socioeconomic development including governance and aspire to build a more prosperous society. However, this study acknowledges that the historical legacy of colonialism continues to influence modern relationships between African countries, their non-profit organisations and the donor countries.

Decolonising aid represents a fundamental reorientation of the traditional aid paradigm, necessitating a transformative shift in the global development landscape. While there is a growing body of literature that explores the relationships among development stakeholders, the role and influence of policymakers remains underexplored. To address the complexities of aid, neocolonialism and non-profit organisations in Africa from the perspectives and roles of policymakers, the study employed a mixed-methods approach including qualitative interviews, document analysis and diplomatic proceedings examination, focusing on Nigeria (Anglophone), Senegal (Francophone) and Guinea-Bissau (Lusophone). This selection allows for a comparative analysis of aid practises within different linguistic and colonial contexts.

The study highlights conditionalities attached to aid and how they impact the programmes, priorities and decision-making processes of non-profit organisations and further explores the roles policymakers in West Africa play regarding aid distribution and how they navigate the delicate balance between external support and national sovereignty. The study further offers recommendations to decolonise aid in Africa by promoting equitable partnerships, empowering local communities and mitigating the perpetuation of neo-colonial power dynamics across non-profits, funders and policymakers.

The findings highlight the convergence of perspectives across various stakeholders, all advocating for strategies that challenge entrenched colonial legacies, promote flexible funding mechanisms and prioritise the voices and agency of local actors while underscoring the need for fast-tracking and overall system overhaul.

This research examines the significant implications for various fields, including international development, foreign policy, decolonisation and non-profit management. By addressing the issues surrounding aid distribution in Africa, this study contributes to a deeper understanding of how the current aid system can be restructured to promote authentic self-sufficiency and equitable partnerships. Additionally, it adds to the ongoing discourse on the Shift the Power campaign and decolonisation of aid, offering practical recommendations that may serve as a roadmap for reforming the aid landscape and fostering genuine collaboration between donors and recipients especially because of its novelty in researching the perspectives and roles of policymakers.

ACRONYMS

APA	Annual Performance Assessments
AU	African Union
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DLRs	Disbursement-Linked Results
e-CAPH	Enhancing Communities Action for Peace and Better Health Initiative.
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ESAF	Extended Structural Adjustment Facility
EU	European Union
FCDO	Foreign Commonwealth. & Development Office
GNI	Gross National Income
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MSF	Médecins Sans Frontières
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
ODI	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
P4R	Programme/performance for Result
PEs	Public Enterprises
SALs	Structural Adjustment Loans
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SECALs	Sectoral Adjustment Loans
SFTAS	States Fiscal Transparency, Accountability, and Sustainability Programme in Nigeria
TI	Transparency International
UN	United Nations
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WACSI	West Africa Civil Society Institute
WAEMU	West African Economic and Monetary Union
WFP	World Food Programme

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Embarking on this study has been a profound personal and professional odyssey. It was in 2014, that I first got exposed to the intricate nature of neo-colonialism, aid and imperialism as it affects Africa's development from numerous conspiracy theory books I read courtesy of my uncle Barr. Aminu Yahaya Mohammed's library collection. These concepts, since then, have remained in my consciousness.

When I transitioned into the international development sphere, I found myself grappling with the realisation that my actions, albeit unwittingly, mirrored those of a neo-colonial agent as I read in the books. The weight of this awareness often haunted my nights, leaving me to confront the unsettling truth that I have a role to play to advocate for a Shift in Power towards more inclusive, localised and sustainable approaches to aid and partnership frameworks for Africa. Consequently, I became a lone advocate in various meetings, publications and forums, persistently advocating for a power shift.

I extend my heartfelt appreciation to Dr. Saied Suleiman Tafida, the Regional Specialist at the UNDP Africa, the diplomats from Senegal, Guinea Bissau, the Honourable Minister of Foreign Affairs and the ECOWAS Commission in Abuja for their instrumental role in facilitating most of the engagements with the policymakers, as well as to all the respondents and reviewers who contributed to this study.

I am dedicating this research to all Pan-Africanists tirelessly working towards making Africa a better place. I acknowledge the collective efforts required to decolonise aid and forge a path towards genuine empowerment and self-determination for the continent and "US" its people.

Let's Start here and Now!

Photo by Library of Congress on Unsplash

1.   INTRODUCTION

In the complex world of international development, the term "aid" serves as a linchpin connecting historical colonial powers to their former colonies and more broadly, as a bridge between African countries and the economically, politically and culturally influential nations of the global north. This relationship, being intricate and multifaceted, has evolved over time to encompass interactions between African nations and powerful nations that were not their colonisers but still possess considerable sway over the continent as can be seen in the recent overtake of influence by China, Russia and other allies. Ideally and as conceptualised, aid plays a central role in assisting African countries as they navigate the complexities of socioeconomic development including governance and aspire to build a more prosperous society. However, this study acknowledges that the historical legacy of colonialism continues to influence modern relationships between African countries, its non-profit organisations and the donor countries. This research aims to explore the perspectives and roles of policymakers by delving into the dynamics of aid, neocolonialism and non-profit organisations within the African context.

Aid comes in different arrangements and multifaceted concepts; it is synonymous to development assistance, trade agreements, technical support, knowledge transfer and more depending on the approach of administration. A rich body of literature has scrutinised these initiatives, revealing a prevailing narrative of imperialism and neocolonialism perpetuating underdevelopment in Africa (Babatola, (2014); Imrana (2019); Getachew (2023); Smilak, Putnam, (2022)). Neocolonialism in Africa refers to the exertion of economic, political, cultural and other pressures by powerful countries to control and influence the continent (Ebaye, 2010). These external pressures persistently shape Africa's development landscape, prompting the need for a critical examination of the aid relationship.

Africa has been a recipient of aid for over half a century, yet several African countries are unable to carry out many of their statutory responsibilities including the maintenance of security, basic systems and services, or the provision of economic infrastructures, without foreign aid administered in the form of projects or technical assistance (Bräutigam & Knack, 2004). Half of these countries' annual budgetary commitments go unfulfilled because donor countries have enabled a "cozy accommodation with dependency" (The World Bank, 1996). Even though all aid-dependant countries in Africa are low-income countries, some low-income countries are not as dependant on aid as others, indicating that aid dependence is not a result of poverty as many believe (Juliette, 2014).

However, a significant portion of this aid comes with conditions, often referred to as Quid Pro Quo within diplomatic circles. These conditionalities hold profound implications for the effectiveness of aid and the capacity of African countries to employ it strategically for economic development. Conditionalities span a spectrum, encompassing economic policy reforms, political concessions and more. They often influence the priorities and decisions of recipient nations, thus demanding a closer examination of the dynamics at play.

As at 2021 US$ 58.4 billion representing 33.6% of global aid came to Africa (ONE, 2023), a substantial portion of which flows into African countries through non-profit organisations. While these organisations are predominantly self-organising, they operate within the regulatory frameworks of their host countries, implementing initiatives aligned with the objectives of their host countries. Nevertheless, research indicates a misalignment between the goals of some non-profits and the development priorities of host countries. Instead of closely aligning with the interests and needs of local communities, certain non-profit organisations tend to prioritise the interests of their funders both intentionally and unintentionally.

Intentionally, because the relationship between donor agencies and local organisations is still characterised by resource dependency. As part of their funding conditions, donors are known to exert influence on the design and implementation of local organisations' projects, impose monitoring and evaluation conditions and allocate funding to activities that are sometimes not a priority for the recipient organisations (Jacquemot, 2020). While these conditions 'could' be intended to guide the use of aid, they can and have in some instances inadvertently prioritised donor interests over the genuine development needs and aspirations of local communities. Over the years, some non-profit organisations have developed strategies to adapt and avoid such unequal power structures. While some have resisted, some cannot and would not because the sustainability of their organisation depends on aid.

Unintentionally, because the design of development programmes is predominantly rooted in Western values and knowledge systems. Thus, many development programmes inadvertently create or have a norm based on Western values and practices that communities in the Global South must or should follow. Local knowledge is, by default, devalued or poorly integrated. This 'structural racism' is so deeply embedded in the culture and daily working practices of development actors that it has affected the way local staff view their own communities and the way they work with INGOs (International Development Committee 2022).

Policymakers in the context of this study refer to governments, regional organisations like the African Union (AU), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), United Nations (UN) among others and play a vital role in aid and the decolonisation agenda, as they serve majorly as enablers, disablers, negotiators and beneficiaries of such. While there is a growing body of literature that explored the relationships among development stakeholders, the role and influence of policymakers remains underexplored. To address the complexities of aid, neocolonialism and non-profit organisations in Africa from the role and perspectives of policymakers, this study endeavours to answer the following key questions:

I. What are the specific conditionalities attached to aid provided to non-profit organisations in West Africa and how do these conditionalities impact the programmes, priorities, and decision-making processes of non-profit organisations?

II. What roles do policymakers in West African nations play in the context of aid distribution and how do they navigate the delicate balance between external support and national sovereignty?

III. Given the findings regarding aid conditionalities and policymakers' perspectives, what recommendations can be formulated to decolonise aid in (West) African non-profit organisations, promoting equitable partnerships, empowering local communities and mitigating the perpetuation of neo-colonial power dynamics?

This research highlights significant implications for various fields, including international development, foreign policy, decolonisation and non-profit management. By addressing the multifaceted issues surrounding aid distribution in Africa, this study contributes to a deeper understanding of how the current aid system can be restructured to promote authentic self-sufficiency and equitable partnerships. Additionally, it adds to the ongoing discourse on the decolonisation of aid, offering practical recommendations that may serve as a roadmap for reforming the aid landscape and fostering genuine collaboration between donors and recipients especially because of its novelty in researching the perspectives and roles of policymakers.

It further aligns with the Shift the Power movement which advocates for a transformation in the international development and philanthropy sectors, emphasising on a more equitable distribution of power and resources. It emerged from the Global Summit on Community Philanthropy in Johannesburg in 2016, which had as objective, moving away from top-down approaches to a people-centred model of development. The movement calls for new behaviours and mindsets that recognise the inherent power, knowledge, skills and networks within communities. It challenges traditional institutions to relinquish control and support community-led initiatives.

The research employed a mixed-methods approach, combining primary and secondary data sources, including qualitative interviews, document analysis and examination of diplomatic proceedings. This comprehensive methodology was chosen to provide a nuanced understanding of the topic and generate valuable insights for policy recommendations.

This study primarily focused on Nigeria (Anglophone), Senegal (Francophone) and Guinea-Bissau (Lusophone). While West Africa is a diverse region with varying political, economic and social contexts, this research aims to capture common trends and dynamics. This selection allows for a comparative analysis of aid practises within different linguistic and colonial contexts. However, it is essential to acknowledge that individual countries within West Africa may have unique experiences with aid that may not be fully explored in this study.

In terms of limitations, the research is subject to potential biases in data collection, particularly when participants may be hesitant to openly discuss sensitive issues related to aid and policymaking because they benefit from them, or their minds have been influenced by colonisation. Additionally, the study's findings may be influenced by the specific time frame in which the research was conducted, as aid dynamics and policies do evolve over time.

Photo by Henry Be on Unsplash

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Historical Perspective of Aid in Africa

Foreign aid and assistance have a rich historical background, dating back to ancient literature where kingdoms and colonies provided support through trade credits, war armaments and manpower to their allies (Nafziger, 2012) and have metamorphosed to the transfer of resources from developed to developing countries for the purpose of promoting economic and social development (Addison, 2004).

In modern times, the history of foreign aid to Africa can be traced back to the colonial era when European powers provided financial and technical assistance to their colonies as a way of maintaining their political and economic interests (Koffi, 2018). However, the scale and scope of foreign aid increased significantly after World War II, when new international institutions such as the United Nations, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund were established to foster global cooperation and stability. These institutions provided multilateral aid to African countries, mainly in the form of loans and grants for infrastructure, education, health and agriculture projects among others (Andrews, 2009).

In addition to multilateral aid, bilateral aid from individual donor countries also expanded in the post-war period. Rincon (2021) suggests that the main motivations for bilateral aid are geopolitical, humanitarian and commercial. Geopolitically, donor countries used aid as a tool to secure their strategic alliances and influence in the context of the Cold War and the decolonisation process (Wood & Nicholls, 2021). Humanitarianly, donor countries responded to the needs and appeals of African countries facing poverty, famine, conflict and disease (Eneasato, 2020). Commercially, donor countries sought to promote their trade and investment interests in Africa by tying their aid to the purchase of their goods and services or the adoption of favourable policies (Velde et al., 2014)

The effectiveness and impact of foreign aid to Africa have been widely debated and contested in literature. Some scholars have argued that foreign aid has contributed positively to economic growth, poverty reduction, human development, democracy and peace in Africa (Thompson, 2021). They have cited examples of successful aid interventions that have improved infrastructure, education, health, agriculture and governance in various African countries (The New Humanitarian, 2022). They have also pointed out that foreign aid accounts for a small share of African countries' gross national income (GNI), averaging around 3% in 2019 (Peace Direct, 2021). They suggested that increasing the quantity and quality of foreign aid could enhance its effectiveness and impact (Oxfam, 2022).

Other scholars like development economist William Russell Easterly have raised concerns about foreign aid perpetuating a narrative of dependency and reinforcing the notion that low-income countries cannot develop without assistance from the West (Easterly, 2006). Easterly argues against the concept of foreign aid as the "white man's burden," highlighting the need for self-sufficiency and empowerment in low-income countries.

Arnold, Badenhorst and Hoben (2021) argued that foreign aid has been largely ineffective or even harmful to development in Africa. They criticised foreign aid for being driven by donor interests rather than recipient needs, poorly coordinated and aligned with national priorities and systems, creating dependency and undermining domestic accountability and ownership, distorting incentives and markets, fostering corruption and rent-seeking behaviour, inducing policy reversals and macroeconomic instability,and exacerbating conflict and violence as further mentioned by Park (2019). They further questioned the validity and reliability of the empirical evidence on the positive effects of foreign aid. They pointed out methodological limitations and biases that included, fungibility, where it is found, does not significantly reduce aid effectiveness and that the way in which off-budget aid is treated seriously over-estimates the extent to which aid is fungible (Morrissey, 2015).

Easterly, like his contemporaries, contends that foreign aid, despite its noble intentions, has not delivered the expected benefits and has hindered the independent development of recipient countries. Therefore, they suggested that reducing or reforming foreign aid could be more beneficial for development in Africa if it must continue (Montinola, 2010).

2.2 Neocolonialism and Aid Dependency

One of the most prominent critiques of foreign aid to Africa is that it perpetuates neocolonialism and dependency. Neocolonialism refers to the continuation or extension of colonial domination by non-military means, such as economic pressure, political influence, or cultural hegemony (Kenton, 2021), while dependency refers to the situation where a country's development is determined by external factors rather than internal ones, resulting in a subordinate position in the global system.

Proponents of this critique argue that foreign aid is a mechanism for neocolonialism and dependency because it enables donor countries to maintain or increase their control over African countries' resources, policies, institutions and values (Wikipedia, n.d.). They contend that foreign aid is often conditional on recipients implementing neoliberal reforms that favour donor interests at the expense of local needs and preferences as Trejos, Meisel and Jaimes (2022a) state and as seen in the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) of the IMF. These reforms include trade liberalisation, privatisation, deregulation, fiscal austerity, monetary discipline and good governance. They further claimed that these reforms undermine African countries' sovereignty, autonomy and self-reliance and expose them to the negative effects of globalisation, such as market volatility, environmental degradation, social inequality, and cultural erosion as pinpointed by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2021).

The authors, among other opponents of this, critique the challenges, assumptions and implications of the neocolonialism and dependency perspective. They argue that foreign aid is not a monolithic or

homogeneous phenomenon, but rather a diverse and complex one that reflects different motivations, modalities, actors, and outcomes. They contend that foreign aid is not necessarily imposed or coerced on recipients, but rather negotiated or demanded by them (Wikipedia, n.d.) and that foreign aid is not always detrimental or constraining for recipients, but rather beneficial or enabling for them (DevelopAfrica, 2020). They suggest that foreign aid can enhance African countries' capacity, agency, and voice in the global system, and support their development aspirations and strategies (Save the Children, n.d.).

Kassim, (2023) submits that to have a meaningful impact on poverty reduction and sustainable development in Africa, foreign aid must be used judiciously in conjunction with broader economic development strategies.

2.3 Decolonising Aid: Theoretical Frameworks

In response to the critique of foreign aid to Africa as a form of neocolonialism and dependency, some scholars and development practitioners have proposed alignment to some alternative theoretical frameworks to decolonise aid. In context, decolonising aid refers to the process of transforming the power relations, structures and practises that shape foreign aid to make it more inclusive, responsive and accountable to the needs and interests of African countries and people (Philanthropy, 2020). These theories are drawn from concepts of various disciplines and perspectives, such as postcolonial studies, critical development studies, indigenous studies, and social justice studies among others.

I. Post-development: This framework challenges the dominant paradigm of development as modernisation and Westernisation and proposes alternative visions and practices of development based on local knowledge, culture and values (Trejos, Meisel and Jaimes, 2022b). It advocates for a pluralistic and dialogical approach to development that respects the diversity and autonomy of different ways of being and knowing in the world.

II. Human rights-based approach: This framework emphasises the legal and moral obligations of donor and recipient countries to respect, protect, and fulfil the human rights of all people affected by foreign aid (OECD, 2008). Nawaz (2013) supports this approach as that which advocates for a participatory and empowering approach to development that recognises the agency and voice of rights-holders, especially the most marginalised and vulnerable groups.

III. Global justice: This framework addresses the structural causes and consequences of global inequality and injustice that underpin foreign aid. It advocates for a redistributive and transformative approach to development that challenges the unfair distribution of power, resources and opportunities in the global system (Acharya, de Lima and Moore, 2006).

IV. Solidarity (Ubuntu) economy: This framework promotes the development of alternative economic models and practices that are based on the principles of cooperation, democracy, sustainability and social well-being especially in the African context (Bourguignon & Sundberg, 2007). It advocates for a bottom-up and networked approach to development that supports the self-organisation and self-management of communities and social movements (Dreher, Nunnenkamp and Thiele, 2008)

However, these frameworks also face some challenges and limitations in their application and implementation. Some of the main challenges are:

I. Post-development: This framework may be too radical or relativist in rejecting the dominant paradigm of development as modernisation and Westernisation and may ignore the benefits and opportunities of globalisation and technological innovation. It may also be difficult to operationalise and measure alternative visions and practices of development based on local knowledge, culture and values.

II. Human rights-based approach: This framework may be too idealistic or legalistic in emphasising the legal and moral obligations of donor and recipient countries to respect, protect and fulfil the human rights of all people affected by foreign aid. It may also face resistance or backlash from some actors who perceive human rights as a threat to their interests or values.

III. Global justice: This framework may be too ambitious or unrealistic in addressing the structural causes and consequences of global inequality and injustice that underpin foreign aid. It may also encounter difficulties or dilemmas in balancing the principles of redistribution and transformation with the realities of politics and power.

IV. Solidarity (Ubuntu) economy: This framework may be too marginal or may be an alternative in promoting the development of economic models and practices that are based on the principles of cooperation, democracy, sustainability and social well-being. It may also face challenges or risks in scaling up and sustaining the self-organisation and self-management of communities and social movements.

2.4 Conditionalities (Quid Pro Quo) of Aid

Conditionalities of aid often referred to as Quid Pro Quo in the diplomatic circle are the requirements or expectations that donors attach to their aid in order to influence or monitor the behaviour or performance of recipients. Conditionalities can be classified into different types according to their content, timing, enforcement and purpose. Morrissey (2015) classified these types as policy conditionality, process conditionality and performance conditionality.

The proponents of conditionalities argue that they are necessary and beneficial for improving the effectiveness and impact of foreign aid for development in Africa. Some of their main arguments are:

I. Policy conditionality: This type of conditionality can help recipients adopt sound policies that promote political governance systems, economic growth, stability and integration as contextualised by Burnside and Dollar (2000). It can also help recipients improve their governance systems, thereby enhancing accountability, transparency, and participation (Knack & Rahman, 2007).

II. Process conditionality: This type of conditionality can help recipients manage their aid resources more efficiently and effectively. It can also help recipients mitigate the environmental and social impacts of aid interventions (Martens et al., 2002).

III. Performance conditionality: This type of conditionality can help recipients achieve their development goals and outcomes more successfully and sustainably. It can also help recipients learn from their experiences and adapt to changing circumstances (Andrews, Pritchett and Woolcock, 2013).

Opponents of conditionalities like Easterly and Svensson, challenge that they are unnecessary and harmful as they undermine the sovereignty, autonomy and ownership of recipients in their development process. Some of the main challenges include:

1. Policy conditionality: This type of conditionality can impose neoliberal reforms that favour donor interests at the expense of local needs and preferences. It can also undermine recipient sovereignty, autonomy and ownership by interfering with their policy choices and priorities (Easterly, 2006).

2. Process conditionality: This type of conditionality can create administrative burdens and costs for recipients in complying with donor procedures and standards. It can also reduce recipient flexibility and innovation by constraining their options and opportunities (Svensson, 2000).

3. Performance conditionality: This type of conditionality can create perverse incentives and pressures for recipients to focus on short-term outputs rather than long-term outcomes (Rajan & Subramanian, 2015). It can also reduce recipient learning and adaptation by penalising failures rather than rewarding successes (Eubank, 2011).

2.5 Policymakers' Role in Aid Distribution

In the intricate world of foreign aid for development in Africa, policymakers assume a pivotal role. Their responsibilities encompass the conception, execution and assessment of policies and programmes aimed at enhancing the availability, effectiveness and impact of foreign aid. Policymakers, who include diplomats, officials from international organisations such as the United Nations (UN), African Union (AU) and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), as well as representatives from national and local authorities in both donor and recipient countries, are tasked with multifaceted functions within aid distribution as highlighted below:

I. Setting the Strategic Direction and Priorities

At the heart of their duties, policymakers shoulder the responsibility of delineating the strategic direction and priorities for foreign aid. This process hinges upon a delicate balance, incorporating the discerned needs and interests of both recipient nations and donors, all while considering the broader global context (Trejos, Meisel & Jaimes, 2022). It is an endeavour that seeks to align the aspirations of various stakeholders towards common goals and objectives. However, this task is not without challenges as policymakers often grapple with conflicting or diverging interests and agendas that can impact their vision and objectives for foreign aid. Additionally, a lack of adequate information and analysis can hinder their ability to identify and prioritise the most pressing and relevant needs and opportunities for foreign aid as Carbone (2013) and Booth (2012) submit.

II. Coordinating and Harmonising Efforts

An equally crucial facet of the policymaker's role is to orchestrate and harmonise the diverse efforts and resources of the myriad actors engaged in foreign aid. This includes the coordination of multilateral and bilateral donors, international and local non-governmental organisations (NGOs), the private sector, civil society organisations and the ultimate beneficiaries themselves. The aim here is to ensure that aid initiatives operate in concert, thus maximising their collective impact. However, policymakers have encountered difficulties and resistance in aligning and integrating the policies and programmes of different actors who have different mandates, capacities and cultures. Balancing and optimising the quantity and quality of foreign aid resources that are available and accessible always requires diplomacy and trade-offs (Kassim, 2023; Bourguignon & Sundberg, 2007).

III. Negotiating and Defining Aid Terms

The negotiation and agreement of terms and conditions for foreign aid are also under the purview of policymakers (Collier & Dollar, 2002). This involves deliberations on pivotal aspects such as the monetary amount of aid, the modality through which it will be provided, the duration of support, allocation strategies and the mechanisms in place to ensure accountability in aid utilisation (OECD, 2011). Nevertheless, this task can be fraught with complexities. Policymakers may contend with unequal or asymmetric power relations that affect their bargaining and influence in determining and enforcing the terms and conditions of foreign aid. Additionally, limited or variable resources can impact their ability and willingness to comply and deliver on their commitments and obligations (Dreher, Nunnenkamp & Thiele, 2008).

IV. Monitoring and Evaluation

The realm of foreign aid is not devoid of rigorous scrutiny. Policymakers are tasked with monitoring and evaluating the performance and outcomes of aid interventions (Roodman, 2007). This necessitates the establishment of robust systems for tracking progress, gathering data, incorporating feedback from stakeholders and facilitating a culture of continuous learning and adaptation (OECD, 2019). Yet, this task presents its own set of challenges. Policymakers may have insufficient or unreliable data and evidence to measure and assess the performance and outcomes of foreign aid interventions. Conflicting or inconsistent criteria and standards to evaluate and compare the effectiveness and impact of foreign aid interventions can further complicate this process (Thapa, 2020).

V.   Ownership and Participation of Recipients
Crucially, policymakers are tasked with fostering the ownership and participation of aid recipients. This entails a profound respect for the sovereignty, autonomy and voice of recipient nations in decision-making processes and implementation. By empowering recipients, policymakers aim to facilitate a sense of agency and ownership over their development trajectories. This task however has also proven to be very challenging due to lack of proper stakeholders' involvement among others. (OECD, 2008).

2.6   Non-Profits and Development in West Africa

In the dynamic realm of West African development, non-profit organisations play a pivotal role, driven by their commitment to social and environmental goals rather than profit. This diverse sector encompasses a wide array of entities, from international and local NGOs to community-based organisations, faith-based groups, foundations, social enterprises, cooperatives and collaborative networks. Non-profits contribute significantly to the advancement of development across West Africa, offering indispensable services and support to various sectors and marginalised communities. Here, we explore their multifaceted functions and contributions, all while recognising the complexities they face in fulfilling their missions.

Functions and Contributions of Non-Profit Organisations
I.   Humanitarian Assistance and Relief: Non-profit organisations stand as frontline responders when crises, be it conflict, disaster, disease, or displacement, strike West Africa. They deliver critical life-saving aid, encompassing food, water, medicine, shelter, protection and psychosocial support to millions facing dire circumstances, as evidenced during events such as the Ebola outbreak, Sahel drought, Boko Haram insurgency and the Mali coup (UNOCHA, 2020; MSF, 2019; WFP, 2020).

II.   Basic Services Delivery: Addressing gaps in essential services such as healthcare, education, water, sanitation and energy is another vital role that non-profit organisations undertake. They play a pivotal role in enhancing access and improving the quality of these services for marginalised communities in both urban and rural settings. This often involves innovative, community-engaged approaches, including capacity building, advocacy and partnerships (UNICEF, 2019; OXFAM, 2018; CARE, 2017).

III. Empowerment of Marginalised Groups: Non-profit organisations champion the empowerment and inclusion of marginalised groups in West Africa. By providing education, training, resources, networks and platforms, they enable disadvantaged populations, including women, youth, minorities and people with disabilities, to claim their rights and actively participate in social, economic and political spheres. Non-profits also support these groups in their advocacy and mobilisation efforts to challenge discrimination, violence and injustice (ActionAid, 2018; Amnesty International, 2020).

IV. Advocacy for Policy Change: Non-profit organisations serve as catalysts for policy change and reform on critical development issues ranging from poverty and inequality to corruption, climate change and human rights. Their efforts encompass raising awareness, stimulating public discourse and engaging with policymakers and stakeholders at local, national, regional and international levels to shape agendas and drive action (ONE,2019; TI, 2018; ODI, 2016).

V. Building Social Capital and Cohesion: Fostering dialogue, trust, cooperation, and solidarity among diverse communities and actors in West Africa is a cornerstone of non-profit work. They play a pivotal role in promoting social cohesion, which contributes to conflict prevention and resolution, as well as the broader goals of peace and security in the region (USAID, 2017; ECOWAS, 2016).

Despite their critical contributions, non-profits in West Africa grapple with a range of challenges and constraints, which underscore the complexities they face in fulfilling their missions.

Non-profits in the region often depend significantly on external sources of funding from donors, including governments, foundations and corporations. This financial reliance can potentially affect their stability, autonomy, accountability and legitimacy. Striking a delicate balance between their mission and donors' expectations and requirements presents an ongoing challenge.

Furthermore, the capacity and effectiveness of non-profit organisations vary widely, with some possessing robust human, technical and organisational resources for effective service delivery, while others face constraints in these areas. Ensuring the quality, relevance and impact of their interventions can be a persistent challenge.

Operating within a complex and dynamic development environment, non-profit organisations must navigate numerous actors and diverse interests. This can lead to difficulties in coordinating and harmonising their activities and objectives with fellow non-profits and public or private stakeholders. Balancing autonomy and diversity with collaboration and integration is another intricate facet of their work.

In conclusion, non-profit organisations in West Africa wield considerable influence in advancing development and addressing societal challenges. While they are crucial agents of positive change, they navigate a host of complex challenges to fulfil their missions effectively. The delicate balance between autonomy and collaboration remains a critical consideration in their endeavours. They are the key variable of this study.

Image by DC Studio on Freepik

advocacies, budget allocations and performance metrics, internal and external reporting obligations and alignment with donor priorities. While some of these conditionalities may align with the objectives and mission of recipient organisations and the host community, others pose significant challenges, potentially compromising community and organisational autonomy, vision, mission, goals and relevance.

Reforms promoting decentralisation and human rights have emerged as beneficial conditionalities, offering non-profit organisations opportunities to enhance civil society participation and advocacy while decentralisation initiatives empower local communities, enabling them to take a more active role in decision-making processes and resource allocation.

For instance, in Senegal, non-profit organisations have encountered aid conditionalities related to health and education policy advocacies, which resonate with their mission of improving social welfare. But among the conditionalities included requirements to implement specific reform advocacies that do not reflect the needs of their communities and at times even contravene the values of the community. While these reforms may align with the non-profit organisations' goals, other conditionalities, such as rigid budget allocations or cumbersome reporting requirements, hinder their flexibility in addressing emerging community needs.

3. AID CONDITIONALITIES IN WEST AFRICAN NON-PROFITS

Aid conditionalities wield a significant influence over the development landscape of West African nations through their non-profits. This chapter explores the dimensions of aid conditionalities, examining their implications for non-profit organisations and clarifying the challenges and opportunities faced by various stakeholders in navigating these dynamics.

3.1 Overview of Aid Conditionalities

Non-profit organisations operating in West Africa navigate a complex landscape of aid conditionalities imposed by prominent donors such as the Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office (FCDO), World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), European Union (EU), United States Agency for International Development (USAID) among other private, bilateral and multilateral donors. These conditionalities span a spectrum of measures, including policy reforms

> **" *They award the grant to you for a maternal health programme – especially on contraceptives, but they insist that you have to ensure gay and lesbians are covered and also advocate for health policy changes for them. I can't***
> ~ A Senegalese NGO Leader

The imposition of rigid budget allocations, for example, has restricted non-profit organisations' ability to allocate resources based on shifting community priorities or respond promptly to unforeseen crises. Furthermore, the alignment of conditionalities with donor priorities has sometimes led to conflicts with local needs and values.

In Nigeria, for instance, conditionalities tied to economic reforms may prioritise short-term economic stability over long-term social development objectives, conflicting with non-profits' efforts in poverty alleviation and community empowerment. This misalignment underscores the importance of ensuring that aid conditionalities are reflective of local contexts and priorities to maximise their effectiveness and relevance.

Similarly, overly burdensome reporting obligations have diverted valuable time and resources away from programme implementation and community engagement, undermining the effectiveness and responsiveness of non-profit interventions.

Furthermore, alignment with donor priorities has sometimes diverged from local needs and values, creating tension for non-profit organisations. While certain conditionalities may support broader development objectives, they may not necessarily reflect the nuanced realities and priorities of the communities they serve. This misalignment has strained relationships with local stakeholders and compromised the legitimacy and effectiveness of non-profit initiatives.

In navigating these aid conditionalities, only a few non-profit organisations have struck a delicate balance between leveraging external resources to further their mission and preserving their autonomy and responsiveness to local contexts. This requires strategic decision-making, adept negotiation skills and a nuanced understanding of the implications of various conditionalities on organisational objectives and community needs.

I have borrowed a typology developed by Elbers and Arts (2011) from a WACSI (2023) publication to describe their strategic responses to negative conditions imposed by donors. These include avoidance, influence, defence and description.

Strategy	Objective	Tactics	Description
Avoidance	Avoiding exposure to donor conditions	Selection	The NOGO limits its contacts to compatible donors
		Rejection	NGO refuses funding offer
		Output	NGO ends funding relationship
Influence	Changing the content of the donor conditions	Negotiation	The NGO uses mutual dependency
		Persuasion	The NGO convinces with arguments
		Involvement	The NGO personally involves representatives of the donor
Defence	Limiting the impact of unavoidable donor conditions	Protective shield	The NGO protects key elements from exposure
		Compensation	NGO offsets problems with discretionary funds
Description	Pretending to comply with donor conditions	Make-up	The NGO complies in a superficial way
		Retention	The NGO chooses what information it discloses
		Misrepresentation	The NGO transmits inaccuraye information

Figure 1: *CSOs strategic responses to negative conditions imposed by donors.*
Source: Elbers and Arts (2011)

3.2 Analysis of Aid Agreements and Conditionalities

Conditionalities of aid often referred to as Quid Pro Quo in the diplomatic circle are the requirements or expectations that donors attach to their aid in order to influence or monitor the behaviour or performance of recipients. Conditionalities vary according to their objectives, content, timing, enforcement and sanctions among others.

It is based on the premise that aid works best within a sound policy environment, thus, to ensure its effectivity, aid has become increasingly subject to conditionality. It started with IMF and World Bank loans in the 1980s, when policy-and process-based conditional lending obligated recipient nations to take actions specific to policy or process reforms, as well as meet predetermined performance measures, benchmarks and indicators. Non-compliance, in theory, jeopardises donor support; however, failure to comply does not always culminate in a loss of donor funding but sometimes affects its amount, agreement clauses and subsequent diplomatic process. Aid conditionality does not comprise a single approach, but rather a set of strategies used to induce broad-based and sustainable economic and political changes. Some aid agreements and conditionalities demonstrate different types of conditionalities and cross-conditionality as highlighted below:

I. Performance Conditionality: The $750M World Bank's Programme-for-Results (PforR) financing instrument Loan to Nigeria

This type of conditionality encouraged recipients to achieve their development goals and outcomes more successfully and sustainably. It also helps recipients learn from their experiences and adapt to changing circumstances.   It incentivises recipients to enhance their governance systems to promote accountability transparency and participation, demonstrated by the World Bank's loan aimed at the States Fiscal Transparency, Accountability and Sustainability (SFTAS) Programme in Nigeria.

The objective of the programme was to strengthen fiscal transparency, accountability, and sustainability in participating Nigerian states. Strengthening fiscal transparency will help build trust in the government, enhance the monitoring of fiscal risks, and facilitate accountability in public resource management. Stronger accountability reduces the opportunities for corruption and misuse of public resources, thereby increasing the efficiency of public expenditures. Strengthening fiscal sustainability through increased efficiency in spending, strengthened revenue mobilisation and debt sustainability, helps prevent further fiscal crises, and increases the fiscal space for productive spending to support growth and public service delivery.

The Performance-based financing (PforR) component, with a total resource envelope of $750 million (equivalent), provided performance-based grants annually to sub-national entities. These grants were awarded based on annual performance assessments (APA), where sub-nationals had to meet some eligibility criteria and achieve disbursement-linked results (DLRs) around Fiscal Transparency & Accountability, Domestic Revenue Mobilisation, Efficiency of Public Expenditures and Debt Sustainability. As of 2022, the programme had disbursed $1.21billion to states.
Source: SFTAS Programme Scope, Duration and Components - SFTAS NIGERIA

II. Policy Conditionality: The Senegal Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) 1980

This type of conditionality encouraged recipients to adopt policy reforms such as those that promote political and governance systems, economic growth, stability and integration. As the case for Senegal SAPs among other African countries, The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and Western donors developed and advocated for these programmes, which emphasised macroeconomic stabilisation, privatisation and free market development.

Senegal implemented the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) as part of its economic reform efforts, aiming to address macroeconomic and structural challenges, enhance competitiveness, achieve sustainable growth, restore external balance, consolidate public finances and strengthen the country's competitiveness.

Since 1980, the World Bank supported Senegal through six adjustment operations, including four Structural Adjustment Loans (SALs) and two Sectoral Adjustment Loans (SECALs). Senegal also entered into International Monetary Fund (IMF) arrangements, including a three-year Extended Structural Adjustment Facility (ESAF).

During the reform period, the Senegalese government privatised or liquidated several public enterprises (PEs), representing 42% of the total number of PEs in the sector. Notably, utility companies such as electricity, water and telephone were not part of the divestiture programme, despite their significant portion of the sector's assets and government equity.

Senegal again undertook macroeconomic and structural adjustment reforms since the devaluation of the CFA franc in January 1994, which focused on restoring external balance, consolidating public finances and enhancing competitiveness. These reforms aimed at liberalising the economy, reducing the size of the public sector and improving the regulatory environment to promote private sector activities. Regional integration efforts, including the implementation of the Common External Tariff (CET) of the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU), were also part of Senegal's adjustment efforts, supported by international partners.

The main elements of SAPs included classical/neoliberal features emphasising anti-inflationary macroeconomic stabilisation, promoting private sector development, controlling budget deficits, privatising public sector companies and services, dissolving parastatals, eliminating subsidies and reducing public support for social services. Typical SAPs often called for devaluation, trade liberalisation, debt rescheduling and stricter debt management to improve the country's balance of payments and control foreign indebtedness.

However, this type of conditionality could impose neoliberal reforms favouring donor interests over local needs and preferences. It has the potential to undermine recipient sovereignty, autonomy and ownership by interfering with their policy choices and priorities.

Source: Opinions from Interviews and Literature review

In navigating these complexities, non-profit organisations and recipients must carefully assess the implications of aid conditionalities on their organisational goals and community needs. Strategic decision-making, informed by a nuanced understanding of the local context, is essential to mitigate adverse effects and capitalise on opportunities for positive change. By advocating for conditionalities that align with their mission and values, non-profit organisations can contribute to sustainable development and social justice in West Africa.

3.3 Impact on Non-Profit Organisations

The impact of aid conditionalities on non-profit organisations in West Africa extends beyond operational challenges, shaping their strategic decisions and organisational sustainability. Navigating the complex terrain of aid conditionalities demands a delicate balancing act for non-profit leaders, who must reconcile the imperative of leveraging donor resources with the need to preserve autonomy and responsiveness to local contexts.

Leveraging resources from donors is essential for non-profit organisations to ensure organisational sustainability and programmatic effectiveness. Aid funding provides crucial support for implementing projects, delivering services and advancing advocacy initiatives aimed at addressing pressing social, economic and environmental challenges. Without adequate financial resources, non-profit organisations may struggle to fulfil their missions and meet the needs of the communities they serve.

However, the pursuit of donor funding comes with inherent risks and challenges, particularly concerning organisational autonomy and mission fidelity. Leaders of non-profit organisations must navigate a complex landscape of aid conditionalities that may impose restrictions on programmatic activities, budget allocations, reporting obligations and alignment with donor priorities. Balancing compliance with these requirements while upholding organisational principles and values poses significant challenges and ethical dilemmas.

Preserving autonomy and responsiveness to local contexts is equally critical for non-profit organisations to ensure the long-term impact and relevance of their interventions. Non-profit organisations operate within diverse socio-cultural, political and economic environments, each presenting unique challenges and opportunities. Maintaining flexibility and adaptability in programme design and implementation allows non-profit organisations to respond effectively to emerging community needs and priorities.

> *"As an agency we are among the leading partners adapting, shifting and channelling a larger portion of our funding directly to local partners in Africa, so we are localising and we understand the role of our partners* ~ A donor

However, when aid conditionalities impede non-profit organisations' ability to address pressing community needs, they may find themselves in a precarious position, jeopardising their credibility and effectiveness in the eyes of local stakeholders. In Guinea Bissau, for instance, non-profit organisations have faced challenges when conditionalities restrict their autonomy to design and implement contextually appropriate interventions, undermining their legitimacy and trust within the community.

The tension between compliance with donor requirements and adherence to organisational principles underscores the complexity of managing aid relationships in the non-profit sector. Leaders of non-profit organisations must navigate this tension carefully, advocating for the interests of the communities they serve while engaging constructively with donors to negotiate terms that align with their organisational objectives and values.

3.4 Power Asymmetry and Dependency

The dynamics of aid conditionalities in West Africa are intricately linked to underlying power imbalances between donors and recipient organisations, perpetuating dependency relationships that shape the development landscape. This power asymmetry often favours donors' interests over local priorities, thereby undermining the agency of non-profit actors and limiting their ability to effect meaningful change within their communities.

Economic reform programmes like the structural adjustment programmes and some counter-terrorism measures serve as emblematic examples of aid conditionalities that historically prioritise donor objectives at the expense of local autonomy and development agendas. These top-down approaches to development often fail to account for the nuanced socio-economic contexts and cultural dynamics of recipient countries, resulting in interventions that may exacerbate existing inequalities and undermine long-term sustainability.

> *"Our Leaders just sign everything from the World Bank and China, that's why we are suffering* ~ An NGO Leader in Nigeria

The imposition of external agendas and solutions further erodes ownership and autonomy, hindering the capacity of non-profit organisations to tailor interventions according to local needs and preferences. By imposing standardised frameworks and solutions, donors risk overlooking the contextual nuances that are critical for effective development outcomes.

For example, in Senegal, donor-driven governance reforms may inadvertently sideline local voices and perpetuate a cycle of dependency, wherein non-profit organisations are compelled to align their advocacy efforts with donor priorities rather than the genuine democratic aspirations of the communities they serve. This not only undermines the legitimacy of non-profit actors but also limits their ability to catalyse meaningful social change and promote inclusive governance processes.

3.5   Case Studies

I. Resource Allocation Dilemma: In many instances, funding earmarked for specific projects may inadvertently divert attention from broader community needs. For example, a non-profit organisation in Nigeria - Enhancing Communities Action for Peace and Better Health Initiative (e-CAPH) received substantial funding for a sanitation project but struggled to address other pressing and directly related issues such as healthcare and education due to limited resources. This highlights the importance of maintaining flexibility in resource allocation to ensure holistic and responsive interventions that address the diverse needs of communities.

II. Reporting Burden: Rigid reporting requirements can impede timely responses to emergent crises and hinder organisational agility. For instance, Healthy Women, Healthy Liberia! in Liberia faced challenges in meeting stringent reporting deadlines during the Ebola outbreak, delaying crucial interventions and exacerbating the impact of the crisis. Streamlined communication channels between donors and recipients are essential to ensure that reporting obligations do not compromise the effectiveness of aid interventions.

III. Alignment with Donor Mandates: Negotiating instances where donor mandates clash with organisational standards requires adept diplomacy and strategic negotiation. For instance, a non-profit organisation, Tostan in Sierra Leone, advocating for human rights faced pressure from a donor to prioritise economic development initiatives over civil liberties. By engaging in constructive dialogue and showcasing the interconnectedness of social and economic rights, the non-profit organisation successfully persuaded the donor to reconsider their priorities and align funding with human rights advocacy efforts.

IV. Localised Partnerships: TinT-FollowTaxes in Nigeria successfully navigated aid conditionalities by establishing partnerships with local government agencies. By aligning donor priorities with community needs and leveraging existing infrastructure and resources, the non-profit organisation maximised the impact of their interventions while maintaining organisational autonomy and integrity. This case study highlights the importance of strategic collaboration and adaptive management in addressing complex development challenges within the constraints of aid conditionalities.

These case studies underscore the nuanced nature of aid conditionalities and the importance of adaptive strategies and partnerships in navigating these challenges. By learning from past experiences and embracing innovative approaches, non-profit organisations can effectively leverage external support to drive sustainable development and positive change in West Africa and beyond.

3.6 Strategies for Balancing Conditionalities

Leaders of non-profit organisations employ a repertoire of strategies to negotiate the terrain of aid conditionalities effectively. These include a pragmatic assessment of the costs and benefits associated with accepting or rejecting specific conditions, as well as proactive engagement in dialogue with donors to align objectives and expectations. Diversifying funding sources and cultivating partnerships with like-minded civil society actors serve to mitigate dependency on any single donor and enhance organisational resilience in the face of shifting aid landscapes. Nonetheless, challenges persist, particularly in instances where fundamental values or objectives diverge between donors and recipient organisations, necessitating difficult trade-offs to maintain strategic autonomy and mission fidelity.

Addressing power asymmetry and dependency requires a paradigm shift towards more participatory and inclusive approaches to development cooperation. Non-profit organisations must be empowered to take ownership of their development agendas, with donors serving as facilitators rather than dictators of change. This entails fostering genuine partnerships based on mutual respect, trust and shared responsibility, wherein non-profit organisations are recognised as equal stakeholders in the development process.

Furthermore, donors must embrace a more holistic understanding of development that goes beyond economic indicators to encompass social, cultural and environmental dimensions. By engaging in dialogue with local stakeholders and co-creating solutions that are contextually relevant and sustainable, donors can contribute to more equitable and inclusive development outcomes that empower non-profit organisations and communities alike.

Image by freepik

4. THE PERSPECTIVES AND ROLES OF POLICYMAKERS

4.1 Policymakers' Engagement with Aid Distribution

Policymakers in the context of this study refer to governments, regional organisations like the African Union (AU), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), United Nations (UN) among others and play a very important role in aid and the decolonisation agenda, as they serve majorly as enablers, disablers, negotiators and beneficiaries of such aid.

They further play a critical role in the distribution and management of aid, shaping the continent's development agendas. However, their engagement with non-profit organisations is frequently hindered by various challenges, resulting in limited collaboration and suboptimal alignment of aid strategies with national development objectives.

One significant challenge impeding policymakers' engagement with non-profit organisations is a lack of trust and lack of or weak engagement platforms. Across West Africa, most of the funds to non-profit organisations go to them directly without necessarily the direct influence and knowledge of policymakers except at a broader policy level. With the complex nature of non-profit organisations, even when reporting to authorities is mandated, they usually underreport for fear of authorities snooping and control which disrupts policymaking processes and impedes sustained engagement with external partners, including CSOs. This instability often leads to a lack of knowledge sharing and continuity in aid distribution efforts and hampers the development of long-term strategies to address pressing development challenges.

> " *When they want to give civil society organisations money, they don't consult us. In fact, until the CSOs come to us for advocacy and courtesy visits* ~ A Government Official in Senegal

Corruption presents another significant barrier to effective engagement between policymakers and non-profit organisations. Corruption within government institutions undermines transparency, accountability and trust, making it difficult for non-profit organisations to collaborate effectively with policymakers on aid distribution initiatives. Moreover, corruption has distorted aid priorities, diverting resources away from projects that are most urgently needed and exacerbating inequality and poverty.

Bureaucratic inefficiencies further compound the challenges of engagement between policymakers and CSOs. Bureaucratic processes are often cumbersome and time-consuming, leading to delays in decision-making and implementation. This bureaucratic red tape has hindered effective collaboration between policymakers and non-profit organisations, as well as impeded the timely disbursement of aid funds to communities in need.

" *Government asking us for a report of our activities is wrong, it is shrinking the civic space. From then they will start asking for financial incentives or for jobs for their children and people* ~ A non-profit leader from Nigeria

The limited engagement between policymakers and non-profit organisations ultimately undermines the effectiveness of aid distribution efforts. Without meaningful collaboration and consultation, policymakers may continue to overlook valuable insights and perspectives from non-profit organisations, leading to the misallocation of resources and the failure to address critical development priorities. To address these challenges, policymakers must prioritise strengthening their engagement with non-profit organisations, fostering an environment of transparency, accountability and trust and promoting more inclusive decision-making processes in aid distribution and development agendas.

4.2 Negotiating Aid: Balancing National Sovereignty and Donor Interests

Negotiating aid agreements is a complex process that requires policymakers to navigate a delicate balance between safeguarding national sovereignty and accommodating donor interests. The balance is critical to ensuring that aid agreements effectively contribute to national development priorities without compromising the country's independence or perpetuating dependency on external assistance while meeting the expectations of donor organisations.

One key aspect of negotiating aid agreements is maintaining national sovereignty. Policymakers struggle to safeguard the country's autonomy and decision-making authority, ensuring that aid agreements respect countries' political, economic and social contexts. This requires careful consideration of the country's development goals, priorities and challenges, as well as a clear understanding of how external assistance can complement domestic efforts without compromising sovereignty.

At the same time, policymakers also take into account the interests and expectations of donor organisations. Donors often have specific objectives and agendas they seek to advance through their aid programmes, whether related to poverty alleviation, healthcare, education, or governance reforms. Negotiating aid agreements involves aligning these donor priorities with countries' national development agendas, identifying areas of mutual interest and cooperation, and leveraging external resources to support domestic initiatives.

> **" *Diplomacy is always about balancing interests. So what we usually focus on is what our countries stand to benefit from in short and long term* ~** A diplomat

The negotiation process also requires policymakers to carefully assess the potential implications of aid agreements on the country's long-term development trajectory. Policymakers must weigh the short-term benefits of aid against the potential risks of dependency and loss of autonomy. They prioritise agreements that empower local institutions, build sustainable capacities and promote self-reliance, rather than perpetuating a cycle of dependency on external assistance in alignment with regional priorities like the Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want, ECOWAS vision 2050, the Sustainable Development Goals 2030 among other treaties and conventions.

Transparency and accountability are crucial elements of successful aid negotiations. Policymakers ensure that aid agreements are transparently negotiated, with clear terms, conditions and objectives outlined for all parties involved. This transparency helps build trust between countries and their donor partners, fostering a more collaborative and mutually beneficial relationship. Additionally, in a few instances, accountability mechanisms are established to monitor the implementation of aid agreements and ensure that resources are effectively utilised and aligned with agreed-upon objectives. They acknowledge the inability to be transparent to each other due to restrictions on certain disclosures and levels of confidentiality.

Thus, a clear understanding of mutual objectives is essential for successful aid negotiations. Policymakers must engage in open and honest dialogue with donor organisations to identify areas of convergence and divergence in their respective priorities and interests. By fostering a shared understanding of development challenges and opportunities, policymakers can facilitate more effective collaboration and partnership-building with donors, ultimately leading to better-targeted and more impactful aid interventions.

4.3 Policymakers' Views on Aid Conditionalities

Policymakers' perspectives on aid conditionalities are multifaceted, as they recognise both the challenges and opportunities presented by these conditions. Aid conditionalities, which are requirements imposed by donor organisations on recipient countries in exchange for aid, can have significant implications for policymaking and national development strategies.

On one hand, aid conditionalities can serve as a mechanism to ensure external assistance aligns with national priorities and development objectives. By stipulating certain conditions, donors aim to ensure that aid is used effectively and efficiently to address pressing issues such as poverty reduction, healthcare provision and access to education. In this sense, conditionalities can help channel resources towards areas of critical need and promote the achievement of tangible development outcomes.

> **" *We have been supporting countries like Senegal and all of Africa to deliver public sector strengthening projects and they keep failing. The P4R (Program for Result) is here to stay. At least we are now seeing some results* ~** A respondent from a Multilateral organisation

However, policymakers also acknowledge the potential drawbacks of aid conditionalities, particularly in terms of sovereignty and long-term development sustainability. Conditionalities may impose restrictions on policy autonomy, requiring recipient countries to adopt specific reforms or policies dictated by donors. This can limit policymakers' flexibility in responding to domestic challenges and addressing unique socio-economic contexts. Moreover, conditionalities that focus solely on short-term objectives may overlook the broader structural changes necessary for sustainable development, potentially hindering progress towards long-term development goals.

To navigate these challenges, policymakers must engage in critical evaluation of aid conditionalities to ensure they align with national development priorities and respect sovereignty. This involves carefully assessing the potential benefits and drawbacks of accepting conditional aid and weighing the short-term gains against the long-term implications for development. Policymakers should advocate for conditionalities that support sustainable development outcomes, prioritise local ownership and participation, and respect the principles of national sovereignty and self-determination.

Furthermore, policymakers can leverage aid negotiations as an opportunity to assert their country's interests and preferences, engaging in dialogue with donors to shape conditionalities that are conducive for long-term development objectives. By advocating for flexible, context-specific conditionalities that accommodate the country's unique needs and circumstances, policymakers can maximise the benefits of aid while safeguarding national sovereignty and autonomy.

Photo by Markus Spiske on Unsplash

5. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR DECOLONISING AID

5.1 Strategies for Decolonising Aid

5.1.1 Empowering Local Communities

Empowering local communities stands out as a cornerstone strategy for Decolonising aid. This approach entails redistributing power and resources from the Global North to the Global South, thereby enabling local and national non-profit organisations to take the lead in development initiatives. By prioritising community-led projects and involving local stakeholders in decision-making processes, aid interventions become more responsive to the specific needs and priorities of the communities they aim to serve. For instance, initiatives such as community-led sustainable agriculture projects in rural West African villages have demonstrated significant improvements in food security and economic empowerment, illustrating the potential impact of empowering local communities.

5.1.2 Fostering Equitable Partnerships

Decolonising aid necessitates the cultivation of equitable partnerships between donors and recipients. Diplomatic efforts should focus on advocating for flexible funding mechanisms and amplifying local perspectives in aid dialogues. By reshaping power dynamics and advocating for a more consultative approach to policy formulation, diplomatic initiatives can facilitate the creation of platforms where local leaders and representatives have equal voice and decision-making power. Such partnerships are essential for ensuring that aid interventions are contextually relevant and genuinely responsive to the needs of local communities.

5.1.3 Reducing Neo-Colonial Power Dynamics

Addressing neo-colonial power dynamics within the aid sector requires structural transformations and a re-evaluation of existing norms and narratives. This involves challenging entrenched colonial legacies, embracing alternative models of aid based on principles of cooperation and sustainability and implementing transparent and accountable mechanisms for aid governance and oversight. For example, the implementation of community-led

development projects, where local communities retain ownership and control over the entire process from planning to evaluation, represents a tangible step towards reducing neo-colonial power dynamics and promoting genuine community empowerment. Such initiatives empower local communities to shape their own development trajectories and challenge the paternalistic tendencies inherent in traditional aid models.

5.2   Measures for Non-Profits

Non-profit organisations serve as crucial agents of change in advocating for decolonised aid and restructuring power dynamics within the aid sector. Through various avenues of action, non-profit organisations contribute significantly to reshaping the narrative surrounding aid distribution and fostering more equitable partnerships.

I.   Raising Awareness and Generating Debates: One of the primary roles of non-profit organisations in decolonising aid is raising awareness about the existing power imbalances and colonial legacies entrenched within the aid sector. By shedding light on these issues and initiating critical discussions, non-profit organisations pave the way for broader societal recognition and understanding of the need for change. Through research reports, advocacy campaigns and public engagements, non-profit organisations highlight the systemic injustices perpetuated by traditional aid models, thereby catalysing efforts towards reform.

II. Mobilising Collective Action: Non-profit organisations possess the unique capacity to mobilise collective action and galvanise communities towards advocating for decolonised aid practices. By bringing together diverse stakeholders, including local communities, policymakers and international donors, non-profit organisations amplify their advocacy efforts and exert greater pressure for systemic change. Through grassroots organising, petitions and rallies, non-profit organisations harness the collective voice of marginalised communities to demand more transparent, accountable and community-centred aid practices.

III. Promoting Alternative Models of Aid: In addition to raising awareness and mobilising collective action, non-profit organisations play a vital role in developing and promoting alternative models of aid that prioritise cooperation, sustainability and local empowerment. These models emphasise community-driven development initiatives, wherein local communities are active participants in decision-making processes and project implementation. By showcasing the effectiveness and sustainability of these alternative approaches, non-profit organisations challenge the dominance of traditional aid paradigms and advocate for their widespread adoption.

IV. Community-Driven Advocacy: Non-profit organisations engage in community-driven advocacy efforts aimed at empowering local communities to articulate their needs directly to donors and aid organisations. Through capacity-building workshops, community forums and participatory planning processes, non-profit organisations equip communities with the necessary tools and skills to engage in meaningful dialogue with external stakeholders. By facilitating direct communication between communities and donors, non-profit organisations ensure that aid interventions are tailored to address genuine community aspirations and priorities, thereby fostering a sense of ownership and agency among local populations.

In summary, non-profit organisations play a multifaceted role in advocating for decolonised aid and empowering local communities within the aid sector. Through their efforts to raise awareness, mobilise collective action, promote alternative models of aid and facilitate community-driven advocacy, non-profit organisations contribute significantly to reshaping power dynamics and fostering more equitable partnerships in the pursuit of genuine progress and self-sufficiency.

5.3   Measures for Funders and Donors

Funders and donors play a crucial role in the Decolonisation of aid by adopting measures that prioritise local empowerment, transparency and sustainability. By implementing strategic changes in their funding practises and engaging more meaningfully with local communities, donors can contribute to reshaping power dynamics within the aid sector and fostering genuine progress and self-sufficiency.

I.   Prioritising Flexible Funding Mechanisms: One of the fundamental measures for funders and donors to support the Decolonisation of aid is prioritising flexible funding mechanisms that allow for swift responses to local needs. Instead of rigid funding structures that impose predefined project requirements, donors should adopt flexible approaches that enable local organisations to adapt their interventions based on evolving community priorities and contexts. By providing flexible funding, donors empower local organisations to respond effectively to emerging challenges and seize opportunities for innovation and growth.

II. Seeking Input from Local Organisations: Effective engagement with local organisations is essential for ensuring that aid interventions are aligned with community aspirations and priorities. Funders and donors should actively seek input from local organisations throughout the project cycle, from needs assessments and planning to implementation and evaluation. By valuing local expertise and perspectives, donors can enhance the relevance, effectiveness and sustainability of aid interventions. Collaborative decision-making processes that involve local organisations not only empower communities but also foster a sense of ownership and accountability among all stakeholders.

III. Providing Sustained Support: Sustained support is critical for enabling local organisations to implement long-term development initiatives and achieve meaningful impact. Instead of short-term, project-based funding, donors should embrace a more long-term approach that provides consistent support to local organisations over extended periods. By committing to sustained support, donors demonstrate their commitment to building the capacity and resilience of local organisations, thereby contributing to their long-term sustainability and self-reliance.

IV. Embracing Long-Term Vision: Donors should embrace a long-term vision that prioritises the empowerment and self-sufficiency of local communities. Instead of focusing solely on short-term outcomes and deliverables, donors should invest in initiatives that have the potential to catalyse systemic change and foster genuine progress over time. By aligning their funding priorities with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and other global development frameworks, donors can contribute to addressing root causes of poverty and inequality, thereby promoting sustainable development and resilience at the local level.

V. Investing in Capacity Strengthening Programmes: Investing in training programmes and capacity-strengthening initiatives is essential for enhancing donors' understanding of local contexts and empowering local organisations to influence aid agendas at the grassroots level. By providing training and technical assistance to donor staff, donors can ensure that their interventions are informed by local knowledge, cultural sensitivity and contextual awareness. Capacity-strengthening initiatives for local organisations, on the other hand, equips them with the skills, resources and networks needed to effectively engage with donors, advocate for their priorities, and lead development efforts in their communities.

In summary, funders and donors can support the Decolonisation of aid by prioritising flexible funding mechanisms, seeking input from local organisations, providing sustained support, embracing a long-term vision and investing in training programmes and capacity-building initiatives. By adopting these measures, donors can contribute to reshaping power dynamics within the aid sector and empowering local communities.

5.4 Measures for Policymakers

I. Enhance Engagement: Policymakers should prioritise meaningful dialogue and consultation with civil society organisations (CSOs) to ensure that aid distribution aligns with national development priorities. This can involve regular meetings, forums, and consultations where CSOs are actively involved in decision-making processes related to aid distribution. By engaging with CSOs, policymakers can gain valuable insights into local needs and priorities, fostering more inclusive and effective development initiatives.

II. Foster Collaboration: Policymakers should establish transparent communication channels and collaboration mechanisms to facilitate partnerships with non-profit organisations and development partners. This can include the creation of joint task forces, working groups, or advisory committees where stakeholders from various sectors can come together to discuss and coordinate aid distribution efforts. By fostering collaboration, policymakers can leverage the expertise and resources of non-profit organisations and development partners, leading to more impactful and sustainable development outcomes.

III. Evaluate Conditionalities: Policymakers should critically evaluate aid conditionalities to ensure that they support sustainable development outcomes without compromising national sovereignty. This requires policymakers to carefully assess the implications of aid conditionalities on local contexts and development priorities. By conducting thorough evaluations, policymakers can negotiate aid agreements that strike a balance between meeting donor expectations and safeguarding national interests.

IV. Learn from Case Studies: Policymakers can learn from case studies and interviews to gain insights into best practices and effective strategies for aid negotiation and distribution. By studying successful case studies and understanding the factors that contributed to their success, policymakers can identify lessons learnt and apply them to their policymaking processes. This can involve analysing past aid agreements, evaluating their outcomes, and incorporating key learnings into future decision-making processes to improve aid distribution practices over time.

5.5 Toward Genuine Progress and Self-Sufficiency

In conclusion, the journey towards Decolonising aid demands a comprehensive and collaborative effort that prioritises local empowerment, fosters equitable partnerships and ensures transparency across all levels of the aid ecosystem. By implementing the recommended strategies and measures outlined in this report, stakeholders can collectively work towards fostering genuine progress and self-sufficiency within the aid landscape of West Africa and beyond.

The adoption of a multifaceted approach, which includes empowering local communities, advocating for equitable partnerships and embracing transparency, is essential for driving meaningful change within the aid sector. Through initiatives that prioritise community-led development, promote flexible funding mechanisms, and challenge neo-colonial power dynamics, stakeholders can begin to reshape the narrative of aid and create pathways towards self-sufficiency and sustainable development. Moreover, by fostering genuine partnerships that prioritise local voices and perspectives, stakeholders can ensure that aid interventions are contextually relevant, culturally sensitive and aligned with the aspirations of the communities they aim to serve. This shift towards a more inclusive and participatory approach to aid not only empowers local communities but also strengthens their capacity to lead their development initiatives in the long run.

Ultimately, the pursuit of Decolonising aid represents a transformative journey towards building a more just, equitable, and sustainable aid ecosystem. By working together to challenge existing power dynamics, amplify marginalised voices and promote genuine partnerships and collaboration, stakeholders can create a future where aid truly serves the interests and aspirations of the communities it seeks to support. This concerted effort towards decolonisation is not only a moral imperative but also a strategic imperative for achieving lasting progress and self-sufficiency in West Africa and beyond.

6.   REFERENCES

Acharya, A.K., Lima, A.T., & Moore, M. (2006). Proliferation and fragmentation: Transactions costs and the value of aid. The Journal of Development Studies, 42, 1 - 21.

Addison, T., (2004).   Development policy: An introduction for students, WIDER Discussion Paper. The United Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research (UNU-WIDER), Helsinki No. 2004/09, ISBN 9291906549.

Save the Children., Aid effectiveness. (n.d) https://www.savethechildren.org/us/what-we-do/global-policy-advocacy/aid-effectivene.

Amnesty International., (2021). The state of the world's human rights. https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/pol10/3202/2021/en/.

Andrews, M., Pritchett, L., & Woolcock, M. (2013). Escaping capability traps through problem driven Iterative adaptation (PDIA). World Development, 51, 234–244. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2013.05.011.

Andrews, N. (2009). Foreign aid and development in Africa: What the literature says and what the reality is. Journal of African Studies and Development.

Oxfam International. (2024); Annual reports and financial statements https://www.oxfam.org/en/what-we-do/about/our-finances-and-accountability/annual-reports-and-financial-statements.

Arnold, C.H., Badenhorst, C., Hoben, J., Huisman, J. & Tight, M. (2021). Theories on Trial: Deconstructing and Decolonising Higher and Adult Learning Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks"., Theory and Method in Higher Education Research (Theory and Method in Higher Education Research, Vol. 7), Emerald Publishing Limited, Leeds, pp. 1-20. https://doi.org/10.1108/S2056-375220210000007001.

Babatola, J. (2014). Neo-colonialism in Africa: A Perpetuation of Western Interest and Subjugation of Africa.

Booth, P. (2012). Does foreign aid make the poor poorer? Economic Affairs, 32, 1. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0270.2012.02120_1.x

Bourguignon, F., Rancois & Sundberg, M. (2007). Aid Effectiveness – Opening the Black Box. American Economic Review. 97. 316-321. 10.1257/aer.97.2.316.

Brautigam, D., Eborah & Knack, S. (2004). Foreign Aid, Institutions, and Governance in Sub-Saharan Africa. Economic Development and Cultural Change. 52. 255-85. 10.1086/380592.

Craig B & David D., (2016). Aid, Policies, and Growth. SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=569252

Carbone, M. (2013). International development and the European Union's external policies: Changing contexts, problematic nexuses, contested partnerships. Cambridge Review of International Affairs 26 (3): 483–496.

CARE International, (2017). CARE International Annual Report. https://www.care-international.org/resources/care-international-annual-report-2017

Develop Africa, (2006). Changing Lives in Africa https://www.developafrica.org/

Dollar, D. & Collier, P. (1999). Aid Allocation and Poverty Reduction SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=629108

Dreher, A., Nunnenkamp, P., & Thiele, R. (2008). Does Aid for Education Educate Children? Evidence from Panel Data. The World Bank Economic Review, 22(2), 291–314. https://doi.org/10.1093/wber/lhn003

Easterly, W. (2006). The White Man's Burden. The Lancet. 367. 2060. 10.1016/S0140-6736(06)68925-3.

ECOWAS Commission (2016). Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) ECOWAS Commission 2016 Annual Report. https://www.ecowas.int/publication/ecowas-commission-annual-report/

The Chronicle of Philanthropy, (2024). End Donor Dominance: Readers respond to Op-Ed criticizing Trust-Based philanthropy. https://www.philanthropy.com/blogs/letters-to-the-editor/end-donor-dominance-readers-respond-to-op-ed-criticizing-trust-based-philanthropy

Eneasato, B. O. (2020). Foreign Aid as Mechanism for Perpetuation of Neo-colonialism and Dependency: An Interrogation of Issues and Way Forward for Developing Economies. International Network Organization for Scientific Research (INOSR), Arts and Humanities, 6(1), 101-112. Retrieved from INOSR.

Eubank, N. (2011). Taxation, Political Accountability and Foreign Aid: Lessons from Somaliland. The Journal of Development Studies, 48, 465 - 480.

Fiscal Year, (2017). U.S. Agency for International Development. (n.d.). U.S. Agency For International Development Annual Performance Report | Document. Fiscal Year Annual Report. https://www.usaid.gov/document/fy-2017-annual-performance-report

Getachew, F. (2023). Foreign aid in the post-colonial Africa: Means for building democracy or ensuring Western domination? Cogent Social Sciences, 9:1, DOI: 10.1080/23311886.2023.2241257

Global Reach, (2023), Global Reach - Annual Report 2022. https://annualreport.oxfam.org.au/2022/global-reach/

Human rights and development - OECD. (n.d.). https://www.oecd.org/dac/accountable-effective-institutions/humanrightsanddevelopment.html

Imrana, A. B. (2019). Aid, Intervention, and Neocolonial 'Development' in Africa, Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding, 13:1, 131-138, DOI: 10.1080/17502977.2018.1470136

Médecins Sans Frontières, (2019). International Activity Report 2019 | MSF. (n.d.). International. https://www.msf.org/international-activity-report-2019

Jacquemot, P. (2020). "Repenser la relation de coopération avec l'Afrique : quitter l'aide pour le partenariat.". https://www.jean-jaures.org/publication/repenser-la-relation-de-cooperation-aveclafrique-quitter-laide-pour-le-partenariat/

Juliette. L. (2014). "Foreign aid is hurting, not helping SubSaharan Africa" Le Journal International https://www.lejournalinternational.fr/Foreign-aid-is-hurting-not-helping-Sub-Saharan-Africa_a2085.html(accessed 20 March 2024)

Kassim M. S. (2023). Building Stronger Communities: The Need for Local and International Philanthropic Partnerships in Africa, WACSI Series, Issue Paper, Vol.9, Issue 4, West Africa Civil Society Institute, Accra, Ghana.

Kenton, W. (2021). What is foreign aid? Forms of aid, statistics, and examples. Investopedia. https://www.investopedia.com/terms/f/foreign-aid.asp

Knack, S., & Rahman & Aminur. (2007). Donor Fragmentation and Bureaucratic Quality in Aid Recipients. Journal of Development Economics. 83. 176-197. 10.1016/j.jdeveco.2006.02.002.

Koffi, S.K. (2018). Aid and Development in Africa. In: Akanle, O., Adésìnà, J. (eds) The Development of Africa. Social Indicators Research Series, vol 71. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-66242-8_22

Martens., Bertin., Mummert., Uwe., Murrell & Peter et. el (2003). The Institutional Economics of Foreign Aid. 10.1016/S0304-3878(03)00041-5.

Montinola, G. (2010). When Does Aid Conditionality Work?. Studies in Comparative International Development. 45. 358-382. 10.1007/s12116-010-9068-6.

Morrissey, O. (2015). Aid and Government Fiscal Behavior: Assessing Recent Evidence. World Development, 69, 98–105. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2013.12.008

Nafziger, E. (2012). Economic Development. Economic Development. 1-838. 10.1017/CBO9781139028295.

Nawaz, F. (2013). Power, Empowerment and Participatory Development: Conceptual Linkages. SSRN Electronic Journal. 10.2139/ssrn.2224366.
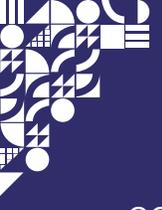
OCHA, (2021). OCHA Annual Report https://www.unocha.org/publications/report/world/ocha-annual-report-2020

OECD. (2019), Measuring the Digital Transformation: A Roadmap for the Future, OECD Publishing, Paris, https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264311992-en.

OECD iLibrary, (2008). OECD Annual Report https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/economics/oecd-annual-report-2008_annrep-2008-en

OECD iLibrary, (2021) OECD Economic Outlook, Volume Issue 1. .https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/economics/oecd-economic-outlook/volume-2021/issue-1_edfbca02-en

ONE. (2023). Official Development Assistance - ONE Data & Analysis. https://data.one.org/topics/official-development-assistance/

Park, J.D. (2019). Assessing the Role of Foreign Aid, Donors and Recipients. In: Re-Inventing Africa's Development. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-03946-2_2

Peace Direct., (2023). Time to decolonise aid. Peace Direct. https://www.peacedirect.org/time-to-decolonise-aid/

Rajan, R. G., & Subramanian, A. (2005). Aid and Growth: What Does the Cross-Country Evidence Really Show? https://doi.org/10.3386/w11513

Rincón, E. (2021). How international aid failed Africa and made poverty worse. Foundation for Economic Education. https://fee.org/articles/how-international-aid-failed-africa-and-made-poverty-worse/

Roodman, D. (2007). The 2007 Commitment to Development Index: Components and Results.

Smilak, N.R., Putnam, R.F. (2022). A Critique of Colonialism and Modern Aid in Africa: What Would Skinner Say?. Behav. Soc. Iss. 31, 252–271. https://doi.org/10.1007/s42822-022-00093-3

Svensson, J. (2000). Foreign aid and rent-seeking. Journal of International Economics, 51, 437-461.

Thapa, I. (2020). Foreign Aid: Positive and Negative Impact in Developing Countries. 10.13140/RG.2.2.19155.81448.

The New Humanitarian, (2022). | The New Humanitarian Annual Report https://interactive.thenewhumanitarian.org/reports/2023/06/27/annual-report-2022/

Thompson, K. (2021). Arguments for Official Development Aid – Revise Sociology. Revise Sociology - A level sociology revision - education, families, research methods, crime and deviance and more! https://revisesociology.com/2017/02/21/arguments-for-official-development-aid/

Trejos, C.R., Meisel, J. D., & Jaimes, W. A. (2022). Humanitarian aid distribution logistics with accessibility constraints: a systematic literature review. Journal of Humanitarian Logistics and Supply Chain Management, 13(1), 26–41. https://doi.org/10.1108/jhlscm-05-2021-0041

Center for Global Development, (2022). UK aid spend in 2022: Oral evidence at the International Development Committee. (n.d.). https://www.cgdev.org/publication/uk-aid-spend-2022-oral-evidence-international-development-committee-0

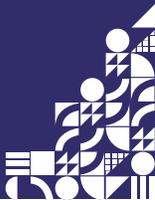Velde, D. W. T., Cali, M., & Page, S. (2014, June 27). Aid for Trade in Africa. ODI: Think Change. https://odi.org/en/publications/aid-for-trade-in-africa/

WACSI (2023). Decolonising Aid: Perspectives of the Civil Society Oof Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa, Accra, Ghana.

Wikipedia contributors, (2024). Neocolonialism. Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Neocolonialism

Wikipedia contributors. (2024). Dependency theory. Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dependency_theory#Aid_dependency

Wood T, Nicholls I. (2021) Aid fragmentation and volatility in the Pacific. Asia Pac Policy Stud. 8: 114–128. https://doi.org/10.1002/app5.321