



UNDERSTANDING FOREIGN AID IN AFRICA: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND REAL-WORLD OUTCOMES

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Abstract

Foreign aid is aimed at promoting development, but what is (under) development? Is it GDP growth rates or does it involve a visible change in the lives of a substantial portion of the population of a country? For this purpose, 'development' is mainly progress, be it economic, social or cultural, that serves the basic needs of both today and tomorrow. These needs include five interconnected freedoms; namely, economic opportunities, political freedoms, social freedoms, transparency and protective security. Under development occurs when these basic needs and freedoms are denied or not equally accessible to all members of the populace. Development is not the absence of development. It results from the uneven nature of human social, political and economic to us means much more than economic growth as measured by improvement in GDP per capita. In like manner, a decline in GDP growth rate does not necessarily mean there is underdevelopment..

Keywords: Aid and Development; Foreign Investment; Infrastructure Development; African Countries Development; Rural and Urban Development.

INTRODUCTION

The growing gap between the developed and developing countries has dominated international relations and diplomacy for a long time. This gap has led to constant capital inflow from the developed countries to those in the Third World including Africa, with the goal of helping them overcome their problems and reduce the gap. However, there is evidence that decades of foreign aid have done little in changing the destinies of many African states, most of which are currently experiencing low growth rates. This suggests to some extent that there is more to the African problem than just sending money there as this is not likely to turn things around. Estimates suggest the West has spent about \$600 billion on foreign aid to Africa so far (Akonor, 2008). Yet underdevelopment is widespread, while at same time some states are considered to have collapsed (eg. Somalia). It results from the uneven nature of human social, political and economic to us means much more than economic growth as measured by improvement in GDP per capita. In like manner, a decline in GDP growth rate does not necessarily mean there is underdevelopment.

METHODOLOGICAL TECHNIQUES

Hussey and Hussay (2017) define methodology as the overall approach of the research process starting from the theoretical underpinning to the collection and analysis of the data. . The methodology in any research is supposed to specify how the research will be conducted and controlled. The aim of this chapter is to provide the reader with an explanation of the research and methods used in order to satisfy the overall aim of this study. This chapter will highlight the methodology adopted in this study on the effect of Facebook marketing on consumer purchasing intention in the telecommunication sector: Case of NetOne. The research philosophy, research strategy, research design, target population, sample size, sampling method, research instruments, data collection procedure, data analysis and presentation methods, reliability and validity, ethical considerations will be provided in this chapter. This chapter ends with a summary.

Research philosophy

According to Kuhn (2016) the research philosophy or paradigm is the set of standards to which practioners refer. Three views on research philosophy are relevant to the field of marketing research include positivism, interpretivism and realism (Cooke and Davies, 2010). According to Creswell (2012) positivism refers to the classic research and interpretivism is about conversational qualitative research. In this research study positivism was adopted because it is quantitative in nature.

Research strategy

Perl and Noldon (2012) noted that there are distinct differences in the applicability of quantitative and qualitative research strategy, although it is accepted that both quantitative and qualitative research strategy are compatible. Cresswells (2018) denotes that quantitative strategy looks at aggregated data whilst qualitative strategy values individual voices and is usually used to illuminate voices that have been marginalized previously. This research study adopted mixed research that is both quantitative and qualitative approaches. The researcher has chosen the mixed methodology approach because it provides the flexibility to adopt different methods, diverse views and alternative assumptions as denoted by Cresswell (2013). The use of mixed research strategy allows room for incorporating both the quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques and analysis. According to Tashakkori and Teddlie (2013) neither quantitative nor qualitative methods on their own are sufficient enough to explore and explain any given phenomena. The researcher adopted mixed research strategy (quantitative and qualitative research strategy) because they complement each other in the sense that they would offer a more absolute analysis.

Research design

Burns and Grove (2013) defined a research design as an outline for carrying out a research study with utmost control over factors that may hamper the validity of the findings. The cross sectional survey research design was adopted in this research study. Saunders (2010) noted that a case study research design is one of the well-known research methods in quantitative studies that are employed to collect data from selected sample. Creswell (2013) maintains that a survey design provides a quantitative or numeric description of trends, attitudes, or opinions of a population by studying a sample of that population. From sample results, the researcher generalizes or makes claims about the population of the study. While agreeing with this statement, Easterby-Smith, et al. (2018) connect their view on survey method to epistemological assumptions and explained that since the (relativist) research involves multiple factors, and needs to make approximation of reality, relatively large samples are usually required, and hence surveys are the preferred methodology in this research study.

Purposive/Judgmental Sampling Procedure

In purposive sampling procedure, the researcher chooses the sample based on who he/she thinks would be appropriate for the study. The main objective of purposive sampling is to arrive at a sample that can adequately answer the research objectives. The selection of a purposive sample is often accomplished by applying expert knowledge of the target population to select in a non random manner a sample that represent a cross-section of the population (Henry, 1990).

A major disadvantage of this method is subjectivity since another researcher is likely to come up with a different sample when identifying important characteristics and picking typical elements to be in the sample. Given the subjectivity of the selection mechanism, purposive sampling is generally considered most appropriate for the selection of small samples often from a limited geographic area or from a restricted population definition. The knowledge and experience of the researcher making the selections is a key aspect of the “success” of the resulting sample (Michael, 2011). A case study research design for instance, employs purposive sampling procedure to arrive at a particular ‘case’ of study and a given group of respondents. Key informants are also selected using this procedure.

Sampling method

In this research study the method of sampling chosen was purposive sampling for and purposive sampling. NetOne Regional Manager and Marketing Manager were purposively sampled. Purposive sampling is when researchers thoroughly think through how they will establish a sample population, even if it is not statistically representative of the greater population at hand. As the name suggests, researchers went to this community on purpose because they think that these individuals fit the profile of the people that they need to reach. However, the primary downside to purposive sampling is that it is prone to researcher bias, due to the fact that researchers are making subjective or generalized assumptions when choosing participants for their online survey (Shaughnessy et al 2017).

Purposive sampling was applied to NetOne consumers. The researcher requested the data base of subscribers from

NetOne Offices in Masvingo to select respondents. Purposive sample is a randomly selected subset of a population. In this sampling method, each member of the population has an exactly equal chance of being selected. This method is the most straightforward of all the probability sampling methods, since it only involves a single random selection and requires little advance knowledge about the population. Because it uses randomization, any research performed on this sample should have high internal and external validity. Meanwhile the quality of responses was high as participants of this research study took their time to respond to the research instrument.

Research instruments

The primary data is mainly collected to provide the data that would produce answers to the research objectives, compared to secondary data that is used to develop contextual or confirmatory elements of research. Bryman & Bell (2013) assert that that common data gathering methods include self-completing, face to face interviews, telephone interviews and observations. For the rationale of this study, the researcher employed questionnaire and key informant interviews to collect data as to ensure more internal validity and reliability of the research. According to Cohen and Manion (1980) the use of two or more methods in data collection is called triangulation. He explained the objectives of this study to different participants such that they were aware of this study

Key informant Interviews

Key informants are knowledgeable individuals who contribute a perspective on a research phenomenon or situation that the researchers themselves lack. They are not usually research participants per se (that is, they are not the subjects of the research; they provide information about those subjects) but contribute to expanding a researcher's

understanding and precise insights and help to reduce potential bias. Key informant interviews shall be handy in addressing all the objectives which are the respondents holding the key information. Key informant interview is a loosely structured conversation with people who have specialized knowledge about the topic under the study. According to Speedy (2014) key informant interviews are focused interviews specifically addressed to those selected respondents who are in knowledge pertaining to the study. The key individuals or respondents in this study shall be the NetOne Advertising manager and regional manager responsible for Social Media Marketing. The responses of the key informant were used for all the objectives. The researcher chose key informant interviews because it provides information that is reliable and valid (Kothari 2017).

Tremblay (1982) suggests that key informants can provide different kinds of data, mentioning '*definitional, objective and judgmental*' (p. 99), each of which contributed to the research objectives. According to Marshall (1996, p. 93; possibly paraphrasing Lincoln and Guba, 1985), '*The principal advantages of the key informant technique relate to the quality of data that can be obtained in a relatively short period of time*'. This includes using key informants instead of large data collection approaches to make the research faster (Pauwels and Hardyns, 2009). Pauwels and Hardyns' findings suggest that expert key informants can provide '*reliable and valid measures of social cohesion and disorder on two rather small units of analysis*', a large sample is not required, in their opinion. The most notable limitation is that of selecting the right key informants. Without some insider knowledge, the researcher may not know who the most appropriate individuals are to be involved, yet their knowledge is likely to be limited which is why they would seek to use key informants in the first place (Tharenou et al. 2017). Unless the key informants are already known to the researcher, it may be difficult to determine their expertise, both in extent and appropriateness to the research. Some may be more obvious choices due to their role in an organization, while others, especially those who self-select, may have hidden agendas and want to twist the research in a particular direction.

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

Data will be statistically analysed by means of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Descriptive analyses will be performed. The linear regression will be performed, to determine statistically significant relationships between the behavioural intention and actual usage. A p-value of less than 0.05 will be selected for the statistical significance of the results. In this research, data was analyzed using description, charts, diagrams, tables and graphs. Where diagrams were not appropriate, the researcher used descriptive or prose forms under each of the findings, percentage were used to interpret and compare data. Data processing is a procedure of converting raw data into some forms that show relevant summary information. Kitchen and Tate as quoted by Dirwai and Gwimbi (2003) say that analysis holds the key to understanding of the issues under research. Data was analysed so that it becomes useful and relevant.

Reliability and validity

Quantitative and qualitative methods differ in the emphasis on validity and reliability. Greater emphasis is put on reliability when the study uses the quantitative approach. One of the objectives of a combined methodology is that both validity and reliability will be increased by resultant cross-checking of data. Reliability is defined as the consistency of a measuring device (Spector, 2011). It was addressed by careful attention to unambiguous question wording and, in the survey, a large proportion of closed questions. When open questions were coded manually, a sample was tested by a colleague and proved satisfactory. Statistical analysis was performed on the survey responses and secondary data using mainly SPSS for Windows software. The quantitative analysis will be performed to test the research hypotheses on the research questions discussed in chapter 2 of this study. Mean comparison (chis square) and correlation analysis will be employed in testing the hypotheses that are related to

knowledge sharing on the effect of Facebook marketing on consumer purchasing intention in the telecommunication sector: Case of NetOne. Table 3.2 below suggests the rule of thumb on correlation coefficient size. A correlation that is significant at the 0.05 level is indicated by two asterisks (**) and a correlation that is significant at the 0.01 level is indicated by one asterisk (*). Sekaran (2010) states that high correlation of 0.75 or above might indicate the invalidity of a measurement because it indicates that the variables are not different and distinctive.

Table 3.3: Rules of Thumb on Correlation Coefficient Size

Coefficient Range	Strength of Association
+/- 0.91 - =/1.00	Very strong
+/- 0.71 - =/0.90	High
+/- 0.41 - =/0.70	Moderate
+/- 0.21 - =/0.40	Small but definite relationship
+/- 0.01 - =/0.20	Slight, almost negligible

*Assume correlation coefficient is statistically significant. **Source:** Hair et al. (2018)

Ethical considerations

Before data collection the researcher will seek permission from GZU and NetOne to carry out the research. During data collection the main objective of the study will be along with ethical considerations, such as informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality, which will be explained in the introduction letter of the questionnaire. It will be indicated in the introductory letter that participation is voluntary and that participants may withdraw from the study at any time. After data collection presented the data as it will be and the collected data will solely be used for academic research purposes.

The Argument

It appears as though most African countries are so dependent on aid that without it almost half of their yearly budgetary commitments cannot be fulfilled. For example in 1992, aid is said to have accounted for 12.4% of gross national product (GNP), over 70% of gross domestic savings and investments in Sub-Saharan Africa and over 50% of all imports (Ampaw, 2000). Under the age-old saying that “you cannot bite the fingers that feed you,” leaders of these countries are unable to speak out when fake and unwanted goods flood their markets. It seems aid is not meant to ensure recipients become self-reliant since if it is the case, powerful states can no longer brag about who is giving more than the other. The conclusion we can deduce here is that since aid is not a “joystick by which donors can manipulate macroeconomic or political outcomes” (Edgren, 2002).

To a large extent, Africa’s development depends on “African private sector entrepreneurs, African civic activists and African political reformers... not on what ineffective, bureaucratic, unaccountable and poorly informed and motivated outsiders do” (Easterly, 2005). Besides, there is constant debt servicing where recipients routinely report to donors, service donor consultants and try to keep things “normal” (Kanbur, 2000), thus neglecting domestic issues and development. Loans put Africa in debt and it has to spend eternity in a merry-go-round affair to reschedule and negotiate “to keep gross inflows sufficient to fund debt servicing outflows” (Kanbur, 2000).

Ampaw (2002) believes the modernization paradigm is “a historical construct, not fashioned by a critical analysis of Africa’s present condition as a product of history, structural presuppositions and process.” Ampaw (2002) revealed that even a national economic policy choice that is driven by the logic of structural adjustment program and its neoliberal underpinnings will not make Africa experience autonomous development. And he

doubts if this paradigm that propagates the role of foreign capital investment as catalyst to growth is really beneficial since the longterm dependence on aid puts the continent in a vulnerable position. Despite commitments by OECD countries to increase aid. The trend of Official Development Assistance (ODA) has been falling since the beginning of the 1980s. This fall has been confounded by the rise in ODA for “global housekeeping activities” such as managing the environment, controlling illicit drugs and preventing infectious diseases such AIDS. According to Reuse (2002) notes that these activities in the last few years have risen to about 40% of ODA. This suggests that monies that previously targeted poverty reduction in Africa are now being channeled to deal with these global issues. Yet donors still want everyone to believe aid is flowing at an increased rate. Moyo (2009) argues that the notion that aid can alleviate poverty is a myth since “aid has been and continues to be, an unmitigated political, economic and humanitarian disaster” for most developing countries. The vicious cycle of aid as one that chokes off investment, encourages dependency and facilitates corruption, adding that this cycle “perpetuates underdevelopment and guarantees economic failure” in poor regions. In the study by Moyo (2009) also touches on ‘the paradox of plenty’, insisting that aid instigates conflicts in Africa. If not, how come the same continent that receives the largest amount of aid is the most conflict ridden place in the world? For instance, the estimated costs of armed conflicts in Africa between 1990 and 2005 exceeded US\$300 billion – an amount which is almost equal to overseas development assistance in the same period (UNDP, 2007).

This means that in places like Sudan, Congo, Angola, Rwanda, Burundi and Somalia, armed conflicts hinder efforts towards development and that even when the floodgates of foreign aid are continually open, it will have no long-term effects. In this sense, countries that have depended on foreign aid are now facing the adverse consequences of their actions. Landes (2009) therefore suggests a low-aid market-based development financing model that encourages trade and investment (from both foreign and domestic middle class). This is her formula: 5% from aid, 30% from trade, 30% from FDI, 10% from capital markets and the remaining 25% from remittances and harnessed domestic savings (Mohd Pauzi & Shahadat Hossen, 2025). Her point that aid is not working is cogent, no two ways about it. However, her thesis makes it seem aid is entirely redundant as it stalls progress. Meanwhile, the trade and FDI which she advocates have not been entirely beneficial to poor countries. Berry (2000) thinks an open market is not necessarily an answer to world poverty since some of the things society would have naturally opted for such as “strong social security network, high social expenditures, high minimum wages and job security” are “sacrificed in order to attain the needed level of competition” in the ‘dog-eat-dog’ nature of international trade. Culpeper (2004) clearly states that foreign direct investment has “little impact on poverty reduction and other fundamental objectives of development, or worse, it undermines those objectives.”

Although we might say the complexity of the African problem requires the tactics of the Machiavellian Prince, we cannot decidedly side with Moyo’s lukewarm attitude towards the role of democracy in development. To her, what low economies need is not multi-party democracy but a “benevolent dictator.” We cannot definitely correlate democracy with progress in Africa; neither can we tell where these countries would have been without elements of democracy. They probably could have been worse off. China, for instance, is touted as the third leading world economy, yet with burgeoning records of inequality and gross human rights violations. It is a paradox of modernity with Chinese characteristics, maybe, but what is development without equity and freedom from suppression? One needs to be skeptical of a so-called ‘benevolent dictator’ because he is likely not the one to save the bottom billion (Collier, 2007) from the bottomless pit of poverty, disease, corruption, weak institutions and overall underdevelopment – even global marginalization. The issue is not just whether aid increases dependency, or that a dictator can do the job. What is required is a separation of the ‘merely desirable’ from the ‘essentials’ of democracy and also a way of making aid influence, not determine, the development of poor countries.

Correlation between foreign aid and economic development

There is no agreement in the literature on this question. While Rostow (1990) sees foreign assistance the “external intrusion by more advanced societies” as a precondition for the take-off into economic success, Hayter (1971) argues it is a disguised form of imperialism and as such cannot result in any desired economic benefits. To her any benefit that could arise from aid would only be incidental, not planned. These two divergent schools of thought in the aid/development literature are still present to date. A paper by Burnside and Dollar (1997) was emphatic that there is a correlation between aid and economic growth, but only when aid is applied in a good policy environment. The paper, using a sample of 56 countries and six four-year time periods from 1970 - 1973 until 1990 - 1993, shows that where aid coincided with good policies, its impact on growth was strong and positive. Collier and Dollar (2001) also argue “aid is conditionally effective,” with conditions including policy environment, governance, rates of corruption and conflicts. Despite the support the Burnside and Dollar stance has amassed (Dovern and Nunnemkamp, 2007; John and Sackey, 2008), there are other studies that show no significant correlation between aid and growth. In the first place, besides the point that the four-year ranges they used is too short to measure significant growth, if the focus is “good policies” then very poor countries will not be selected for aid since they will mostly not meet this criterion (Hossen & Pauzi, 2025).

Thus, eradicating poverty will not be realized soon. On this same matter, Easterly et al. (2003) found different results when they added more data and also extended the year range from 1993 to 1997. Although they do not actually argue that aid is ineffective, they find that with the introduction of the new data, the positive relationship between aid and growth withers away. Easterly (2003) has pursued this argument further, stating that “the idea that ‘aid buys growth’ is an integral part of the founding myth and ongoing mission of the aid bureaucracy.” Another argument is that aid reduces the incentives to invest, especially when the recipient is assured that future poverty will call for more aid. This phenomenon is known as the Samaritan’s Dilemma (Gibson et al., 2005; The Economist, 1995). Aid can also reduce the recipient country’s competitiveness (Rajan and Subramanian, 2005), culminating in the Dutch disease (a condition that reduces competitiveness of the manufacturing sector due to overabundance of foreign assistance). The robustness of the many empirical studies have been tested but the fact remains that most scholars agree aid in real terms has not been effective as it has a “weak association with poverty, democracy and good policy” (Alesina and Dollar, 2000).

While Sachs (2005) sees more aid as increasing the possibility “to end extreme poverty by 2025”, some recent literature ask a more reflective question: does foreign aid really work? (Riddell, 2007). Riddell presents a more balanced analysis of why aid has not lived up to performance by discussing the systemic impediments at the donor level (such as distortions caused by mixed interests, voluntarism in aid-giving and multiplicity of donors) and the issues of commitment, capacity, ownership and governance at the recipient end. He outlines a cluster of motives that have historically influenced aid allocation. They are (1) to address emergency needs; (2) for development – growth and poverty reduction goals; (3) to show solidarity; (4) to promote donor’s commercial, political and strategic interests; (5) historical ties; (6) to reduce the ill effects of globalization; and (7) aid giving dependent on recipient’s human rights record. Riddell concludes that although aid has made a difference, it could make a greater difference by having a “long-term, systemic or sustainable impact” on the lives of the poor when the roadblocks are removed.

The contribution of culture

If we should follow the linear argument of ‘modernity’ and how a country has to progress from one poor, ‘dark’ and backward stage to a better one, we might see the African culture as irrelevant, something that should be done away with to take up the new culture of a ‘modern life’. Rostow’s classification of “traditional societies” in his

Stages of Economic Growth means that Africa has to abandon its “traditional practices and assume Eurocentric cultural values, beliefs, and ideology” (Njoh, 2006). Other economists have generally swept culture under the carpet when dealing with aid as it is considered as both ‘vague’ and dynamic. How can a policy be fashioned on something that keeps changing? Despite this, there are certain dispositions of a group that do remain over a long period of time and that is why culture (which is their way of life) should be considered if the goal is to move to a better place. Culture is not anything vague if it is basically the beliefs, knowledge, customs, morals, habits and traditions of a people. It is not entirely a hindrance to development (Rashed et al., 2025).

For instance, Ghana and South Korea in the early 1960s had comparable levels of growth, but thirty years down the line South Korea has become an industrial giant while Ghana still remains dependent on foreign aid including aid from South Korea. Huntington (2000) believes although many factors might explain this, “culture has to be a large part of the explanation. South Koreans valued thrift, investment, hard work, education, organization and discipline. Ghanaians had different values.” Landes (2000) insists “if we learn anything from the history of economic development, it is that culture makes almost all the difference”. Landes’s point in the end is that foreign aid can help but it also does hurt. However, history has taught us that “the most successful cures for poverty comes from within” (Landes, 2000). This is why he thinks culture makes a big difference. Sen (2004) suggests the issue is not simply whether culture matters, but rather how it matters. He admits that since “culture engulfs our lives, our desires, our frustrations, our ambitions and the freedoms that we seek”, having for instance, “a high GNP per head but little music, arts, literature, etc., would not amount to a major developmental success” (Sen, 2004). Sen argues culture influences economic behavior, political participation, value formation and evolution, and it also gives people a sense of identity or association.

One clarification we can make here is that it is not that culture explains everything. However, if donors seek to ensure participatory development, then the culture of these participants should be given a closer look (Abraham and Platteau, 2004). We are also cautious as to how we apply cultural determinism to the whole of Africa as we look at the term in a much broader sense than just funerals, festivals or rituals. This notwithstanding, not all scholars subscribe to the culture development thesis. Codjoe (2003) for example discounts Huntington’s argument that Ghana’s culture contributes to its underdevelopment and indicates that the answer rather lies in colonialism and the integration into the world capitalist system. Rodney (1973) believes colonialism had a negative impact on Africa’s development as Africa lost the power to defend its interests, and control its internal matters. He also argues that the international capitalist system has been the “principal agency of underdevelopment of Africa over the last five centuries. Harrison (2000), on the other hand, argues that as discussions of colonialism, dependency and racism lose credibility today in explaining poverty and authoritarianism, scholars, journalists, policy makers and development practitioners are made to focus on “the role of cultural values and attitudes as facilitators of, or obstacles to, progress”. Although the issue of the credibility of colonialism, dependency and racism is debatable, we share his conclusion that “integrating value and attitude change into development policies, planning and programming is ... a promising way to assure ... the world does not relive the poverty and injustice” (Harrison, 2000). Hyden (2006) has admitted that culture cannot be discounted by political scientists because “it is the foundation on which not only formal, but also informal institutions arise”. In understanding African politics, the socio-cultural underpinnings remain essential.

Pomerantz (2004) argues that culture matters and that whether one views social capital as a prerequisite to economic advancement or not, trust is an important ‘social glue’ that engenders better two-way-street relationships between donors and recipients of aid. For her, it is not just a matter of giving the money and walking away, but making sure both donors and recipients choose the right path of development. Although Calderisi (2006) shifts the

blame for underdevelopment to the diversity of the African culture, Pomerantz (2004) argues that donors have not made conscious efforts to understand the context within which aid is made to work. This point is not to discount money totally but rather to show that culture matters and that money cannot solely bring sustained development to Africa. Her understanding is that since donor aid has not achieved much, there should be a way to incorporate Africa's culture (history, politics and society) into the debate.

The ills of aid, according to Reusse (2002), include inertia, easy money, ignorance, complacency and the fact that an interventionist paradigm is imposed on recipients of aid regardless of their internal socio-cultural dynamics. He argues that for aid to work well, "it pays to acquire an understanding of the local culture before applying an interventionist paradigm because development efforts... must be situated within the cultural context." This also means that the people development aid targets should be essentially involved in the decision-making process. Simply put, the perspectives of the recipients should be incorporated into the 'development business'. This will limit the larger constraint of a physical and institutional distance between the decision-making processes of international agencies and their recipients (Satterthwaite, 2001).

CONCLUSION

It is difficult to conclude from the many debates above especially since there is no single magic wand (or stick) to command development to appear. Most of the so-called empirical studies focus on economic growth in the macro-economic sense without taking cognizance that development is much bigger than just statistically significant improvement in GDP per capita. The reality is that there could still be widespread poverty in the grassroots even when a country is perceived to have attained appreciable levels of macro-economic growth. Given the unclear and ambiguous nature of empirical literature on aid effectiveness, we cannot have a firm conclusion that aid has led to (under) development in Africa. However, we reiterate our argument that unless aid/development discussions incorporate socio-cultural factors, we cannot fully appreciate why foreign aid has failed to deliver 'development' in Africa. We propose a return to the culture-development discussions which have been overshadowed by macro-economic 'buzzwords' in the development literature. This is against the backdrop that inasmuch as GDP growth rates matter, policies and institutions work in some socio-cultural milieu which has mostly been ignored by donors: The focus is too often on money alone, to the detriment of aid performance.

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