International Journal of English Literature and Social Sciences
Vol-10, Issue-4; Jul-Aug, 2025

Peer-Reviewed Journal
Journal Home Page Available: https://ijels.com/
Journal DOI: 10.22161/ijels

Ethical dilemmas in global development practice: A critical analysis based on the Sen capability approach

DengDeng Yang

School of government, University of Birmingham

Received: 29 Jul 2025; Received in revised form: 22 Aug 2025; Accepted: 25 Aug 2025; Available online: 29 Aug 2025

Abstract— *This paper critically examines ethical dilemmas in global development practice through the lens of Amartya Sen's capability approach. The study analyzes four key ethical issues: corruption, sexual exploitation and abuse, environmental impact, and pay inequality between international and local staff. Sen's capability approach provides a theoretical framework that redefines development as the expansion of substantive freedoms and capabilities, emphasizing the elimination of injustices that prevent individuals from realizing their potential. The analysis reveals that corruption systematically restricts freedom and perpetuates inequality, with studies showing up to 87% of education funds being diverted in some contexts. Sexual exploitation transforms aid mechanisms into control systems, violating human dignity and autonomy. Environmental damage from development practices disproportionately affects vulnerable populations, while significant pay gaps between international and local staff contradict development's core equality objectives. Despite various intervention measures, including transparency initiatives, codes of conduct, and monitoring systems, current responses remain inadequate. The paper concludes that these ethical challenges require sustained institutional reforms rather than superficial compliance measures. Future solutions must incorporate culturally-sensitive, localized approaches that ensure equity principles are reflected at the policy implementation level, moving beyond moral condemnation toward systemic structural interventions.*

Keywords— ***Sen capability approach; development ethics; global development; ethical dilemmas***

I. INTRODUCTION

There is a complex set of ethical dilemmas in the business of global development, which cover many aspects. These problems not only affect the global development process, but also have a direct bearing on people's quality of life and social stability (Gasper, 2014). Therefore, more nuanced ethical reflection and action is needed in development practice (Drydyk & Keleher, 2019). Sen's theory offers a unique perspective on the ethical dilemmas of development: it redefines development as the expansion of the substantive freedoms that people actually enjoy, and emphasises the elimination of the injustices that prevent individuals from realising their potential. This paper explores the ethical issues of corruption, sexual exploitation, environmental damage and the pay gap, and draws on Sen's capability approach (Sen, 1999) as a theoretical framework to assess its shortcomings in enhancing individual freedoms and capabilities.

II. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK SEN'S CAPABILITY APPROACH

The core of Sen's capability approach is that the goal of development should not only be to raise incomes, but also to expand the freedom of people to actually doings and beings, so that they have the ability to pursue the conditions of life that they find worthwhile (Sen, 1999; Deneulin, 2013). The traditional development model focuses on material wealth and ignores hidden inequalities (Sen, 1999). The capabilities approach reveals that issues such as corruption and sexual exploitation deprive disadvantaged groups of opportunities to participate in development and limit their development potential. Emphasising equity as a core principle, the capabilities approach focuses more on the actual capabilities and opportunities of individuals, arguing that development is not just about the accumulation of wealth, but about enabling individuals to realise their valued lives through the provision of opportunities for freedom and choice (Deneulin, 2013). As ethical issues are often closely related to justice and its uneven impact on different groups of people, this characteristic makes it an ideal framework for examining ethical issues.

The capability approach provides two important perspectives for critical analyses of ethical issues in development: consequentialist and liberal (Sen, 1999; Deneulin, 2009). The consequentialist perspective focuses on the actual impact of a development action or policy, the extent to which it actually enhances people's substantive freedoms and capabilities. Another key perspective is the libertarian aspect, which emphasises individual freedom and autonomy. The capability approach argues that true freedom is not only the opportunity to make choices, but also the ability to realise those choices. Development is not only about providing people with resources, but also about providing them with opportunities to realise their choices, e.g. access to education, freedom of social activity (Sen, 1999). The dual perspective of the capability approach makes it a powerful tool for analysing complex ethical issues (Deneulin, 2013). For example, when analysing corruption, the capability approach not only examines the consequences of resource allocation (outcome dimension), but also looks at how corruption systematically erodes the freedoms of specific groups (especially marginalised and vulnerable groups) (freedom dimension) (Alkire & Deneulin, 2009). This dual attribute also allows it to simultaneously expose inequitable distributional outcomes and restricted freedom of occupational choice in pay gap studies. However, it is often difficult for a single theoretical framework to capture the full dimensions of ethical issues in development practice. Gasper (2002) points out that this approach may be too rationalistic in its understanding of human behaviour, with less attention paid to the influence of emotional, psychological and social factors, and a relatively weak focus on environmental issues (Gasper, 2002). Ethical judgments are always influenced by a variety of factors that vary in different contexts. Therefore, contextualizing ethical issues is crucial when considering developmental practices (Remer, 2017). In addition, the application of capability approach to assessing developmental interventions in practical contexts still faces operational challenges, such as information asymmetry and difficulties in competency measurement dilemmas (Alkire, 2005). This limits the applicability of a single theoretical framework in certain situations.

III. ANALYSIS OF KEY ETHICAL ISSUES

3.1 Ethical Issue 1: Corruption

Corruption is presented in development practice as a structural ethical paradox defined as 'the abuse of power by a public official for private gain through dishonest behaviour' (Harrison, 2007). In development practice, corruption manifests itself in a variety of forms, including bribery and misappropriation of funds (Graycar, 2015). However, the impact of corruption goes far beyond economic losses; it directly challenges the basic fabric of society, especially individual freedoms and opportunities. Within the framework of Amartya Sen's capability approach, corruption can be viewed as a systemic restriction of freedom. The capability approach advocates that development should not only focus on economic growth, but also on expanding individual freedoms and choices, the realisation of which is denied by corruption (Sen, 1999).

The damage of corruption is not only reflected in the loss of material wealth, but the deeper harm is that it erodes the collective decision-making mechanism and destroys the space for democratic participation (Hutchinson et al., 2018). This corrupt mechanism is in fundamental conflict with the principle of "justice" emphasized by the capacity approach.

According to the capability approach, justice is not only the fair distribution of resources, but also the freedom and opportunity for each individual to realize his or her own potential. Corruption serves as a root source of social inequality, preventing access by the most vulnerable groups of people to basic services and resources. Corruption in Uganda, for instance, sees almost 87% of education funds diverted before they reach education institutions, greatly reducing access as well as education quality for children (Reinikka and Svensson, 2005). Not only does such corruption reduce education equity but also hinders people's opportunity for future development. The Afrobarometer (2019) survey explains that over 55% of the population across the continent have witnessed an increase in corruption over the past year, especially in essential services such as health and education. The evidence explains the pervasiveness of corruption into the building blocks of developmental programs, greatly weakening the effectiveness and equity of public services. Corruption also magnifies the wealth gap and social inequality by warping the distribution of resources (Agbiboa, 2014). For that reason, owing to the intricacies and pervasiveness of corruption, there should be a consideration of treating corruption as a structural problem in the context of development practice.

Especially in grassroots development practices, corruption manifests itself in more complex and insidious ways. In some environments, corruption has become a product and ongoing mechanism of social inequality (Smith, 2010), while small-scale bribery may be necessary for development work to take place (Remer, 2017). From a utilitarian perspective, bribery may enable more people to access the benefits of development projects, although it also reinforces structures of corruption. This realistic ethical dilemma reveals the need for anti-corruption to move beyond simple moral condemnation towards systemic intervention in structural factors.

In response to corruption in the development sector, a variety of anti-corruption measures have been taken globally. Increasing transparency and establishing whistleblowing mechanisms are among the most common measures (Reinikka and Svensson, 2005). For example, the annual Corruption report of Danish ChurchAid (DanChurchAid, 2022). Olken's (2007) experimental study in Indonesia showed that both bottom-up community supervision and top-down audit can effectively reduce corruption in road construction projects (Olken, 2007). Transparency initiatives, such as public budget disclosure and expenditure tracking, have proven to be effective accountability mechanisms. Reinikka and Svensson (2005) document a success story in Uganda, where newspaper publication of school allocation information significantly reduced misappropriation of funds.

However, existing anti-corruption measures still face many challenges. One of the deeper challenges is the gap between implementation and execution. Although anti-corruption laws exist in many countries' legal systems, they lack effective supervision and sanctions in practice. The gap in anti-corruption enforcement between donor and recipient countries also makes it difficult to adequately combat corruption (Olken, 2007). As Reinikka and Svensson (2005) have shown, although some development aid projects can help reduce corruption in theory, in practice, donor funds are often held back by corrupt actors, resulting in no real benefit to the beneficiaries (Reinikka and Svensson, 2005). At the same time, when faced with corruption, many development organizations may avoid in-depth disclosure of corruption for the sake of protecting their reputation or maintaining financial support, thus institutionally condoning the culture of corruption (Bruno van Vijfeijken, 2019; Graycar, 2015).

3.2 Ethical Issue 2: Sexual exploitation and abuse

Sexual exploitation and abuse are serious ethical issues in development assistance, often stemming from power imbalances between development workers and the groups receiving aid. Blakemore (2019) notes that in conflict and crisis contexts, women and children, especially refugees and displaced persons, are the primary victims of sexual violence. According to The Times, staff of international aid organizations have used their positions to facilitate sexual exploitation in several countries (Ratcliffe, 2018). Aid workers are often in a privileged position of resources and decision-making power, while aid recipients are in a state of extreme vulnerability and dependence, which provides structural conditions for sexual exploitation (Holmes & Cavanagh, 2007).

Analysed from an ethical perspective and from the perspective of Sen's capability approach, sexual

exploitation is a direct violation of the dignity and freedom of the individual, an act that distorts development interventions, which are supposed to extend freedom, into control mechanisms. Aid is supposed to extend the substantive freedom of poor groups to live in dignity through the provision of basic services (Sen, 1999; Deneulin, 2013). However, sexual exploitation transforms aid into a new mechanism of control, where victims lose their true freedom of choice under fear and coercion, and are forced to accept degrading sexual transactions in order to access basic resources (Westendorf & Dolan-Evans, 2024). When the most vulnerable are forced to trade sexual behaviour for basic assistance, their "choice" is a sham, reflecting structural constraints rather than true freedom (Schrecker & Gupta, 2016). Power imbalances not only facilitate exploitative behaviour, but also make it perceived as "normal" in some cases, further exacerbating the plight of victims (Blakemore et al., 2019). For example, the 2002 West African "sex-for-food" scandal involving 67 people from 42 organisations (Johnson and Sloth-Nielsen, 2020), and Oxfam's allegations of sexual exploitation in the Democratic Republic of Congo (BBC News, 2021), reveal the extent and severity of this problem. The scope and severity of the problem has been well documented from many sources for quite some time. In addition, violence related to sexual exploitation and abuse continues to occur. A United Nations report issued in 2021 reveals the extent of the problem by disclosing more than 2,000 cases of sexual exploitation and abuse committed by United Nations peacekeeping forces in 18 countries since 2010. The Secretary-General reiterated the need for UN agencies and Member States to intensify action to end impunity and abuse of power (United Nations, 2021). Overall, these incidents capture the ethical challenges associated with sexual exploitation in development cooperation and demonstrate the urgent need to completely rebuild and reform the highly imbalanced power relations that typify the aid system.

In responding to the challenges posed by sexual exploitation and abuse, many development institutions have put in place safety measures. For example, the People in Aid Code of Conduct requires that everyone participating in development activities assures ethical conduct, especially when interacting with beneficiary communities, to prevent any abuse of authority (People in Aid, 2003). After the Democratic Republic of Congo scandal, Oxfam too moved quickly with increased monitoring practices and new whistleblower policies (BBC News, 2021). All these actions show the realization by many institutions of the severity of the problem of sexual exploitation. However, the measures of a single organization cannot solve the problem (Cornwall, 2008). Despite the adoption of codes of conduct for People in Aid by many organisations, the problem of sexual exploitation persists, fundamentally because these policies are often seen as a tool to address reputational risk rather than a genuine ethical commitment (House of Commons, 2018). Existing policies have not been fully effective and significant challenges remain. The House of Commons (2018) report noted that while many organisations have implemented a zero-tolerance policy, enforcement is inadequate in practice, with victims deterred from reporting due to fear of reprisals or lack of trust. This is especially true in some cultural and political environments where power structures are deep and victims' voices are often silenced (Harrison, 2013). In addition, corruption or conflicts of interest may lead top managers to cover up problems rather than take effective action, leaving sexual exploitation unpunished (Fechter, 2012).

3.3 Ethical Issue 3: Environmental impact

Compared with issues of corruption and sexual exploitation, the environmental impact of development practices is an under-addressed ethical challenge. In humanitarian crisis Settings, the urgency of saving lives often leads to environmental considerations being ignored (Drydyk and Lori, 2019). Salzenstein and Pedersen (2021) point out that in emergency situations, environmental damage is often seen as inevitable collateral damage (Salzenstein & Pedersen, 2021). The need to save lives in emergencies overwhelms concerns about environmental sustainability, leading to excessive consumption of resources (Salzenstein & Pedersen, 2021; Drydyk and Lori, 2019). This environmental damage not only exacerbates the ecological degradation of the region, but may also affect sustainable survival in the future.

The ethical implications of environmental destruction are particularly acute in terms of Sen's capacity approach. George (2019) emphasises that environmental degradation

disproportionately affects the most vulnerable groups, directly limiting their capacities and opportunities (George, 2019). When natural resources are depleted or land is degraded, communities dependent on these resources are at risk of livelihood collapse. At the same time, development practices themselves produce significant carbon footprints (Gasper, 2002; Sen, 1999). Over the last century, tube-well irrigation has been widely promoted in Bangladesh and West Bengal, India, in response to frequent drought-induced famines. However, these deep tube wells extracted groundwater with high concentrations of arsenic, putting some 35 million people at risk of chronic arsenic poisoning and 39 million people at risk of disease (Smith, Lingas and Rahman, 2000). This disastrous consequence stems in part from the aid programmes of international agencies such as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), which have financed the construction of a large number of wells without adequate environmental assessment (Chowdhury et al., 2000).

Despite the recognition of the importance of environmental sustainability, environmental protection efforts in the development field remain inadequate. Reasons for the inadequacy of current environmental protection measures include the lack of a harmonised carbon footprint measurement system, which makes it difficult to quantify the actual environmental impact of activities. At the same time, inadequate assessment of environmental protection policies may undermine the effectiveness of implementation (White, 2009; Woolcock, 2009), which is further exacerbated by structural challenges in development organisations (Harrison, 2013; Bruno-van Vijfeijken, 2019).

3.4 Ethical Issue 4: Pay Gap

In the field of international development, there is a significant pay gap between international and local staff. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), international staff in Cambodia are paid significantly more than local staff. One study found that despite a narrowing of the gap after cost-of-living adjustments, the real purchasing power of international staff is still more than three times that of local staff (Carnahan, Durch and Gilmore, 2006). This pay inequality not only exacerbates economic disparities but also raises serious ethical questions (Carr et al., 2010; McWha-Hermann, 2016).

From an ethical perspective, the pay gap creates a direct conflict with the core objective of development work, which is to reduce inequality (Carr et al., 2010; McWha-Hermann, 2016). This pay inequality directly challenges the fundamental values of development work (Denskus, 2017). Analysed from Sen's capability approach, the pay gap restricts the freedoms and opportunities of local employees, contradicting the core objectives of development (Carr et al., 2010) The pay gap also negatively affects team morale and productivity. Carr et al. (2010) suggests that the "double demoralisation effect", whereby local employees lack motivation due to perceived pay inequity, while international employees may overestimate their capabilities and contributions due to excessive pay. Research by Ngwira and Mayhew (2020) similarly confirms that unequal pay structures undermine community participation in projects and affect development effectiveness (Ngwira and Mayhew, 2020).

However, the issue of pay gap is not simply an economic one. Tackling pay inequality requires challenging entrenched systems of organisational inequality.Acker (2006) notes that gender, class and race intersect to form systems of inequality within organisations. This implies that it is not enough to start with pay alone, but that deeper issues such as power distribution and access to opportunities need to be addressed. In reality, however, it is often difficult for managers to have a substantial impact on the patterns created by vested interests. The dilemma is how to promote change while maintaining organisational stability (Acker, 2006). In addition, international employees typically face higher levels of work stress, such as working across time zones and transnational family support burdens (Denskus, 2017). These additional pressures make it necessary to take into account more complex work environments and living conditions in the remuneration of international employees.

In order to solve this problem, some improvement measures have been proposed. Project Fair described by McWha-Hermann(2016) advocates a mixed salary system, trying to balance work responsibility and salary equity. In addition, innovative models of hybrid pay systems can minimize the pay gap between international and local employees while taking into account the actual working environment and employee needs, balancing ethical standards with the complexity of development work (McWha-Hermann, 2016).

However, Denskus(2017) highlights the complexity of the issue - international employees do face different pressures, such as multinational family support and work environment adaptation (Denskus, 2017). At the same time, different cultural backgrounds have different understandings of "fairness", which makes it difficult to develop global standards.

IV. CONCLUSION

In general, the ethical issues in development practice were complex and involved corruption, sexual exploitation, environmental damage and the pay gap. Despite the efforts of the international community, the results have been limited. For example, anti-corruption relies on superficial compliance and condones structural corruption, reporting mechanisms for sexual exploitation are ineffective because of patronage, and environmental standards are sacrificed in emergency relief. The issue of pay gaps has further challenged the notions of equality and justice that underpin development work itself (Ferry et al., 2020; Bruno-van Vijfeijken, 2019). Going forward, addressing these issues will require sustained institutional reforms and culturally-understanding localised responses to ensure that the principles of equity are reflected at the level of policy implementation.

REFERENCES

[1] Acker, J. (2006). *Inequality regimes: Gender, class, and race in organizations*. Gender & Society, 20(4), 441-464.

[2] Afrobarometer (2019) *Global Corruption Barometer -- Africa 2019: Citizens' views and experiences of corruption*. Transparency International.

[3] Agbiboa, D. (2014) 'Under-development in practice: Nigeria and the enduring problem of corruption', *Development in Practice*, 24(3), pp. 390-404.

[4] Ahuja, A., Baird, S., Hicks, J.H., K20, M., Miguel, E. and Powers, S. (2015) 'When Should Governments Subsidize Health? The Case of Mass Deworming', *The World Bank Economic Review*, 29(suppl 1), pp. S9-S24.

[5] Anderson, M.B., Brown, D. and Jean, I. (2012) *Time to Listen: Hearing People on the Receiving End of International Aid*. Cambridge, MA: CDA Collaborative Learning Projects.

[6] BBC News. (2021). Oxfam's Response to Sexual Exploitation Scandal in the Democratic Republic of Congo. BBC News, February 2021.

[7] Blakemore, S. (2019) 'Safeguarding in conflict and crisis', *Forced Migration Review*, 61, pp. 52-54.

[8] Blakemore, S., Freedman, R., and Lemay-Hébert, N. (2019). Child safeguarding in a peacekeeping context: Lessons from Liberia, Development in Practice, 29(6), pp. 735–747.

[9] Bruno-van Vijfeijken, T. (2019) '"Culture is what you see when compliance is not in the room": Organizational culture as an explanatory factor in analyzing recent INGO scandals', *Nonprofit Policy Forum*, 10(4), pp. 1–9.

[10] Carnahan, M., Durch, W. and Gilmore, S., 2006. Economic Impact of Peacekeeping. United Nations Peacekeeping. [online] Available at: https://peacekeeping.un.org/sites/default/files/peacekeepingeconomicimpact-march2006doc_1.pdf [Accessed 11 April 2025].

[11] Carr, S.C., McWha, I., MacLachlan, M. and Furnham, A. (2010) 'International--local remuneration differences across six countries: Do they undermine poverty reduction work?', *International Journal of Psychology*, 45(5), pp. 321-340.

[12] Chowdhury, U.K., Biswas, B.K., Chowdhury, T.R., Samanta, G., Mandal, B.K., Basu, G.C., Chanda, C.R., Lodh, D., Saha, K.C., Mukherjee, S.K. and Roy, S., 2000. Groundwater arsenic contamination in Bangladesh and West Bengal, India. Environmental Health Perspectives, 108(5), pp.393-397.

[13] Cornwall, A. (2008). 'Unpacking 'Participation': models, meanings and practices'. Community Development Journal, 43(3), pp. 269-283.

[14] DanChurchAid (2022) *Annual Anti-Corruption Report*. Copenhagen: DanChurchAid.

[15] Deneulin, S. (2013) 'Ethics and Development: An Introduction from the Perspective of the Capability Approach', *Geography Compass*, 7(3), pp. 217-227.

[16] Denskus, T. (2017) 'The salary gap between expat and local aid workers -- it's complicated', *The Guardian*, 19 April.

[17] Drydyk, Jay, and Lori Keleher, eds. 2019. *Routledge Handbook of Development Ethics*. Routledge.

[18] Dupas, P. (2009) 'What Matters (and What Does Not) in Households' Decision to Invest in Malaria Prevention?', *American Economic Review*, 99(2), pp. 224-230.

[19] Duvendack, M. and Palmer-Jones, R. (2012) 'High Noon for Microfinance Impact Evaluations: Re-investigating the Evidence from Bangladesh', *Journal of Development Studies*, 48(12), pp. 1864-1880.

[20] Elbers, C. and Gunning, J.W. (2014) 'Evaluation of Development Programs: Randomized Controlled Trials or Regressions?', *The World Bank Economic Review*, 28(3), pp. 432-445.

[21] Fechter, A.M. (2012) "Living Well' while 'Doing Good'? (Missing) debates on altruism and professionalism in aid work', *Third World Quarterly*, 33(8), pp. 1475-1491.

[22] Gasper, D. (2002). 'Is Sen's capability approach an adequate basis for considering human development?'. Review of Political Economy, 14(4), pp. 435-461.

[23] Glewwe, P., Kremer, M., Moulin, S. and Zitzewitz, E. (2004) 'Retrospective vs. prospective analyses of school inputs: the case of flip charts in Kenya', *Journal of Development Economics*, 74(1), pp. 251-268.

[24] Graycar, A. (2015) 'Corruption: Classification and analysis', *Policy and Society*, 34(2), pp. 87-96. doi: 10.1016/j.polsoc.2015.04.001.

[25] Habyarimana, J. and Jack, W. (2011) 'Heckle and Chide: Results of a randomized road safety intervention in Kenya', *Journal of Public Economics*, 95(11-12), pp. 1438-1446.

[26] Harrison, E. (2007) 'Corruption', *Development in Practice*, 17(4-5), pp. 672-678.

[27] Harrison, E. (2013) 'Beyond the looking glass? 'Aidland' reconsidered', *Critique of Anthropology*, 33(3), pp. 263-279.

[28] Holmes, R. and Cavanagh, E. (2007) 'Gender, Humanitarian Assistance and Development', Forced Migration Review, 28, pp. 29-31.

[29] House of Commons International Development Committee (2018). 'Sexual exploitation and abuse in the aid sector'. Eighth Report of Session 2017–19.

[30] Hutchinson, E., Balabanova, D. and McKee, M. (2018) 'We Need to Talk About Corruption in Health Systems', *International Journal of Health Policy and Management*, 8(4), pp. 191-194.

[31] McWha-Hermann, I. (2016) 'Mind the gap in local and international aid workers' salaries', *The Conversation*, 18 April.

[32] Mungiu-Pippidi, A. and Hartmann, T., 2019. Corruption and Development: A Reappraisal. In: Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Economics and Finance. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Available at: https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190625979.013.237 [Accessed 30 March 2025].

[33] Nations, 2021. Special measures for protection from sexual exploitation and abuse: Report of the Secretary-General, A/75/754. [online] Available at: https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3898858?ln=en [Accessed 12 April 2025].

[34] Ngwira, C. and Mayhew, S. (2020) 'Donor-driven harmonised payment of allowances policy and NGOs' community engagement in Malawi', *Development in Practice*, 30(1), pp. 35-46.

[35] Olken, B.A. (2007) 'Monitoring Corruption: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Indonesia', *Journal of Political Economy*, 115(2), pp. 200-249.

[36] People in Aid. (2003). Code of Conduct for the International Aid Sector. London: People in Aid.

[37] Prowse, M. and Camfield, L. (2013) 'Improving the quality of development assistance', *Progress in Development Studies*, 13(1), pp. 51-61.

[38] Ratcliffe, R., 2018. Oxfam abuse scandal is built on the aid industry's white saviour mentality. The Guardian. [online] Available at: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/feb/20/oxfam-abuse-scandal-haiti-colonialism [Accessed 11 April 2025].

[39] Ravallion, M. (2001) 'The Mystery of the Vanishing Benefits: An Introduction to Impact Evaluation', *The World Bank Economic Review*, 15(1), pp. 115-140.

[40] Reinikka, R. and Svensson, J. (2005) 'Fighting Corruption to Improve Schooling: Evidence from a Newspaper Campaign in Uganda', *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 3(2-3), pp. 259-267.

[41] Schrecker, T., & Gupta, M. (2016). "The Power Dynamics of Aid: Addressing Exploitation and Abuse in Humanitarian Work." International Journal of Humanitarian Studies, 13(2), 87-102.

[42] Sen, A. (1999). *Development as Freedom*. Anchor Books.

[43] Smith, A.H., Lingas, E.O. and Rahman, M., (2000). Contamination of drinking-water by arsenic in Bangladesh: a public health emergency. Bulletin of the World Health Organization, 78(9), pp.1093-1103.

[44] Sultana, F. (2014) 'Doing development as a critical development scholar', *Third World Quarterly*, 35(3), pp. 516-519.

[45] Walker-Simpson, K. (2017). 'The practical sense of protection: A discussion paper on the reporting of child abuse in Africa and whether international standards actually help

keep children safe'. Child Abuse Review, 26(4), pp. 252-262.

[46] Westendorf, J.-K. and Dolan-Evans, E. (2024). Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in Peacekeeping and Aid: Critiquing the Past, Plotting the Future. Bristol: Bristol University Press. Available at: https://doi.org/10.46692/9781529238433 [Accessed 30 March 2025].

[47] White, H. (2009) 'Theory-based impact evaluation: principles and practice', *Journal of Development Effectiveness*, 1(3), pp. 271-284.

[48] White, H. (2013) 'An introduction to the use of randomised control trials to evaluate development interventions', *Journal of Development Effectiveness*, 5(1), pp. 30-49.

[49] White, S.C. (2015) 'Qualitative perspectives on the impact evaluation of girls' empowerment in Bangladesh', *Journal of Development Effectiveness*, 7(2), pp. 127-145.

[50] Woolcock, M. (2009) 'Toward a plurality of methods in project evaluation: a contextualised approach to understanding impact trajectories and efficacy', *Journal of Development Effectiveness*, 1(1), pp. 1-14.