A LATIN AMERICAN PROPOSAL TO INFORM THE GLOBAL DEBATE ON A NEW PARADIGM FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

Latin American Permanent Forum for the
Decolonisation of International Cooperation

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About the organisations behind the Forum

The Latin American Permanent Forum for the Decolonisation of International Cooperation brings organisations and social movements together to reflect and develop proposals from Latin America. Acápacá and FENMUCARINAP share its Secretariat.

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Executive Summary

In Latin America, international cooperation has supported struggles for rights and sustained organisations that have helped shape our paths. We also know what happens when that support recedes. In several countries, funding was already declining before the current crisis; movements and organisations learned how to build alternatives. As the purpose of cooperation comes under scrutiny and a new paradigm is debated, we bring that experience and the thinking it has generated to the global discussion. We offer these proposals in the hope that others will engage with them and help develop them further.

The debate is increasingly shaped by what donor countries stand to gain economically and strategically. When those interests determine who receives support, people whose rights need protection risk being excluded because they have little to offer in return. Drawing on our experience, we want to recover the sense of solidarity between peoples that has animated many relationships in international cooperation and ensure it can endure today. Latin American traditions of thought and organising have shed light on how dependence persists and why people who live with a problem often have little say in how it is addressed. They also ask what we mean by well-being and what it takes to sustain life. Those questions can widen the scope of cooperation and help shape responses grounded in peoples' experiences and ways of organising.

This paper draws on more than a year of consultation and dialogue through the Latin American Permanent Forum for the Decolonisation of International Cooperation. Between April and June 2026, 120 participants took part in four consultations. Interviews and a review of documents and practical experience also informed the proposal, as did the reflections of participants in the Seventh Summit of Indigenous Women of Abya Yala, which brought together 250 Indigenous women in Paraguay in October 2026. The Lima and Bogotá agreements of 2024 and 2025 provide the foundation for proposals that seek to do justice to what we heard. We propose recognising an autonomous and plural civil society as a global public good. The idea grew out of discussions in Colombia and was developed further with the Forum's organisations. We also take up the Global Cooperation Institute's concept of mutuality and ask what it means in practice when parties have unequal resources and power and bear different historical responsibilities.

We put forward nine commitments to discuss and test in cooperation agreements. They address what organisations need in order to pursue their own agendas and to have a say in how resources are used, including funding that covers the actual costs of their work and allows it to continue. We also set out responsibilities for donors and intermediaries, and safeguards that allow communities to dissent or seek redress when decisions cause harm. Applying the commitments in different settings will show which changes work and where more work is needed. We want to change existing institutions while strengthening alternatives developed by organisations and communities in their own territories. The next step is to test the recommendations in actual agreements and see how they hold up against experiences elsewhere. We share this work to broaden the discussion and work with people in other regions on responses to the challenges facing cooperation.

1

Purpose and origins

The Permanent Forum and the consultation process

This proposal was developed by the Latin American Permanent Forum for the Decolonisation of International Cooperation, which brings together social movements, organisations and academia in pursuit of decolonial, equitable and feminist cooperation. It is supported by Acápacá, the Latin American and Caribbean Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO), the Latin American Network for Economic and Social Justice (Latindadd), Brazil's Institute for Socioeconomic Studies (INESC), the Latin American Coordination of Rural Organisations (CLOC), the Abya Yala Indigenous Coordinating Organisation and Peru's National Federation of Peasant, Artisan, Indigenous, Native and Salaried Women (FENMUCARINAP). The Forum includes 350 organisations from Latin America and the Caribbean.

The Forum's political roots lie in peasant and Indigenous organising, the defence of women's rights and struggles for economic, social and climate justice, alongside research and capacity-building. Our legitimacy comes from our ties to communities and territories and from bringing together people with different experiences to develop proposals. That is why we see cooperation as a process that begins well before funding arrives and must be able to continue when it ends.
International cooperation is part of our history. In Latin America, it has supported democratic struggles, kept organisations going when defending rights was dangerous and helped protect the environment. Many of us have benefited from that support in our own work. It informs how we think about the future. We have seen what solidarity between peoples makes possible, and what happens when funding dictates agendas or creates dependence.

Official development assistance to Latin America and the Caribbean has fallen from its levels in the early 2000s. The region received just 6.7% of global official aid in 2024, according to the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) [26]. The decline has been uneven, and some countries and territories still depend heavily on these resources. Many Latin American organisations have spent years learning how to sustain their struggles, networks and agendas with less outside support. The ways they have organised locally, mobilised their own resources and practised solidarity can inform the global debate. Their experience also makes clear the costs of working in precarious conditions and the responsibilities international cooperation still carries.

In Lima in December 2024, organisations and movements from 22 countries agreed to establish the Permanent Forum [6]. The Lima Declaration denounced imposed agendas, short timeframes and colonial practices. It called for organising around feminism, anti-racism, human and collective rights, and the rights of nature. It also proposed a mechanism to report colonial practices and recognise progress.

In June 2025, at CLACSO's tenth conference in Bogotá, we agreed on five principles. Justice is our root, autonomy is our compass, care and relational ethics guide our relationships, planetary solidarity go hand in hand with global shared responsibility, and systemic change is our horizon. We accompanied these with five operational pillars on power, partnerships, funding, accountability and institutions. The text was offered as a starting point for broader dialogue and practical solutions (see Annex 3). We draw on these agreements to develop the proposals presented here and continue discussing how to put them into practice. The annexes trace this trajectory and connect the Lima and Bogotá agreements with the recommendations we put forward for discussion in this document.

The process of developing these proposals combined gatherings and political agreements, consultations with organisations and movements, interviews and a review of documents and experiences. Between April and June 2026, we held four online consultations involving 120 participants. We also interviewed partners from across the world that are taking part in international debates on cooperation. Participants in the Seventh Summit of Indigenous Women of Abya Yala contributed their reflections on decolonising cooperation. Annex 1 explains how we gathered and worked with these contributions.

Our proposals reflect what emerged from that process. We have sought to represent those contributions faithfully and use them to inform the global debate. The proposals are at different stages. Some need further work to establish their implications, compare them with other ideas and test them in practice. Sharing them now invites people from other regions to help develop them.

We also include ideas the Forum has developed or taken up in its own work. The proposal to recognise civil society as a global public good grew out of discussions in Colombia and was developed further with a group of Forum organisations. Mutuality also draws on Latin American thinking, and the Global Cooperation Institute has played a prominent role in developing it. We acknowledge those origins and bring these ideas together with what we heard in the consultations.

The debate on the future of cooperation

The rise of far-right forces in Latin America and elsewhere coincides with shrinking civic spaces for collective action and the spread of hate speech, denialism and anti-science rhetoric that seeks to discredit evidence-based knowledge. The Lima Declaration already voiced concern about this context (see Annex 2). Communities feel the consequences when defending rights puts people's safety at risk, organising threatens access to funding or a community is left to face violence alone.

When hatred becomes a way of governing, defending love between peoples means standing with those who defend a river, supporting an organisation that dares to disagree and sharing resources while respecting the decisions of those who receive them. Solidarity of this kind takes time and funding, and rules that protect the independence of organisations. Amid cuts, geopolitical competition and weakening multilateralism, organisations sustaining community and collective responses have fewer resources for persistent needs and less certainty about keeping their teams together. Defending funding also requires discussing which efforts we want to sustain and what conditions would allow us to support them without creating new dependencies.

Today, cooperation is increasingly focused by what donor countries stand to gain. The language of mutual interest or benefit accommodates economic, trade, migration and security objectives. These interests have always been present. As they become more explicit, they reopen the debate about the purpose of cooperation. Shared benefits can help build partnerships. If they become the sole reason to cooperate, people who can offer little immediate gain or clear strategic advantage are left unprotected. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) recognises this shift and asks under what conditions and with what safeguards mutual interest could strengthen partner-country ownership. It also warns about elite capture and power asymmetries [2]. A relationship can benefit both parties while continuing to concentrate power.

Community philanthropy and civil society organisations have long raised these questions. The #ShiftThePower manifesto calls for recognising the resources and capabilities already present in communities, examining funders' power and taking a long-term view [3]. NEAR, a network of local and national organisations in the Global South, proposes understanding aid as a set of locally led relationships within and beyond the dominant system. Its research shows the diversity of arrangements that sustain humanitarian responses and the need to invest in alternatives [4]. Global Public Investment asks how international resources can be organised around collective responsibility and inclusive governance [5]. All parties can contribute and participate while taking historical responsibilities and inequalities into account.

What we seek to achieve

For the Forum, shifting power goes hand in hand with economic justice, care, and the freedom to organise independently. We want the rules that institutions apply to reflect this. To assess how much autonomy a cooperation relationship allows, we need to look at what happens when an organisation challenges a migration agreement, an extractive investment or a trade policy that matters to its donor. Can it hold its position without reprisals? Does it retain the safeguards and support agreed, even when its work no longer aligns with its funder's priorities?

Cooperation can yield valuable results while leaving dependence in place. An organisation can meet every project target and still lose its team when funding ends. A community may be asked to implement a project after others have already defined the problem. A donor can demand continuity from its partners while reserving the right to change its own priorities without taking responsibility for the consequences.

Behind these situations lies an unfair distribution of power. Those with the money can usually determine timelines, activities, acceptable risks and the evidence that will count as a result. Those who live with the consequences have fewer opportunities to challenge these decisions. Replacing the language of beneficiaries with that of partners achieves little if power remains unequal. Those managing public or private resources have a duty to use them transparently and prevent misuse. That duty can be fulfilled while sharing decisions with others. Safeguards are also needed against disproportionate conditions, unilateral changes and exits that weaken local capabilities.

What makes a cooperation relationship strengthen autonomy? Societies, communities and organisations exercise autonomy when they can set their priorities, mobilise resources, produce knowledge and choose their allies. Self-determination also grows through relationships, as people learn from one another, share what they know and address problems no one can solve alone.

Debt, taxation, trade, the climate crisis and restrictions on civic space shape what cooperation can achieve. A programme may strengthen capabilities while other decisions limit the scope to use them. We need to distinguish what cooperation institutions can change in their own practice from the wider rules that require change. Life in a community begins well before a call for proposals and continues after a project ends. Organisations sustain work rooted in relationships and priorities that cooperation must recognise. The proposals that follow draw on that experience and on Latin American traditions of solidarity. We want cooperation to give peoples and organisations more power to decide their future.

2

Proposals for solidarity-based cooperation

We want cooperation to help peoples exercise their rights and decide their future while working together on shared problems. Each party has something to contribute, even though their resources and responsibilities differ. We propose re-examining who sets priorities and decides how funds are used, what sustains organisations' autonomy and to whom each actor must respond. Some proposals can be tested in existing agreements. Others need more work to establish how they would operate and what changes they would require from cooperation institutions.

The five principles agreed in Bogotá guide this proposal. Justice and shared responsibility shape how we approach each actor's obligations and historical inequalities. Autonomy guides our proposals on decisions, funding and knowledge. Care takes practical form in working conditions and in the time and resources people need to sustain collective work. Planetary solidarity grounds cooperation on shared problems, while systemic change calls for action on the policies and institutions that shape cooperation. We draw on these principles to propose rules and commitments for international cooperation that can be discussed and tested.

Principles of justice and solidarity

Civil society as a global public good

People need the freedom to organise to defend what matters to them and imagine what does not yet exist. Movements, unions, collectives and organisations bring neglected problems to light, work to solve them and hold those with power to account. This capacity is part of the infrastructure of democracy. It preserves collective memory, develops leaders and sustains relationships that make action possible. It takes years to build and can be lost much faster.

We propose recognising autonomous and plural civil society as a global public good. Its benefits can extend across borders, and protecting it may require international responsibilities that complement those of states. A legal or political precedent won in one society can help defend rights in another. Protecting territories helps preserve environmental goods that people share. When a government restricts independent organising, mechanisms beyond the national level can help protect and sustain it.

This recognition opens a discussion about the responsibilities of states and international institutions and the resources needed to preserve that collective capacity. In taking on these responsibilities, institutions should protect the independence of organisations and establish public criteria for allocating funds, with plural governance and accountability. They must also allow exclusion and concentrations of power within civil society itself to be challenged.

Its public value does not depend on civil society implementing government policies or supporting a donor's interests. The capacity to dissent is part of what must be protected. An organisation can contribute to democratic life precisely by denouncing its donor.

If sustaining autonomous and plural civil society is a shared responsibility, we need to consider which national, regional and international mechanisms can fulfil it. Public financing and locally governed funds offer ways to explore how funding can be made predictable while protecting recipients' independence. The discussion must include movements and collectives often excluded because they lack legal registration or the administrative structures that funders require. Organisations and movements must help design these mechanisms and be able to assess how resources are allocated and used. We need to examine which forms of representation and conflict-of-interest rules can keep decisions from being concentrated among local elites or established organisations. Funders need to know how resources are used. Recipients need safeguards against arbitrary decisions and conditions that jeopardise their independence.

Sustaining organisational autonomy requires funding that enables organisations to retain their teams and institutional memory, care for the relationships they have built and respond to the unexpected. We propose covering real costs and agreeing on predictable and flexible terms that provide for security, care, learning and the possibility of building reserves. Risks should consider who can make decisions about them and who can prevent or absorb them.

Mutuality and historical justice

We draw on the Global Cooperation Institute's approach to mutuality [5], which seeks to move beyond fixed roles of donor and recipient. Every society has knowledge, capabilities and resources to share and should be able to participate in decisions about problems that affect it. Participation must take account of differences in wealth and power as well as historical responsibilities. The Forum wants to discuss how to apply this approach in relationships shaped by those inequalities.

Global Public Investment applies this approach to international finance by proposing that all countries contribute according to their means, benefit and participate in decisions [5]. The Forum proposes to examine how contributions would be set and how decision-making power would be distributed. We also want to explore which safeguards would address the needs of those with fewer resources and recognise the historical responsibilities of those with more.

Colonialism, slavery, resource extraction and unequal economic relations helped shape today's capabilities and vulnerabilities. Their weight varies with the history of each place. Responsibilities differ among Northern countries and among Southern actors, and inequalities also exist within each society. These histories need close examination to determine what obligations and measures are appropriate.

Mutuality does not require an immediate return for every contribution. Cooperation must also be able to respond to people who have little to offer in return or whose needs hold little strategic interest for others. In assessing a relationship, it matters how benefits are distributed and who retains the power to decide. We want to know whether those in a weaker position gain space to sustain their priorities and retain the value they generate, and whether the responsibilities each party assumes reflect its resources and power.

Justice and differentiated responsibilities

Redress begins with identifying the harm, who was affected and what measures are appropriate. Legal obligations and processes of recognition and restitution must remain in force independently of cooperation. It is key to examine whether cooperation corrects or perpetuates relationships that have weakened capabilities. That examination should lead to verifiable commitments and avenues for complaints.

Solidarity needs a diverse material base. National and regional public resources, international cooperation, climate finance, philanthropy and solidarity mechanisms can all contribute. Different obligations come with each source. Diversification can reduce vulnerabilities. The origins of the funds, their terms and their effects on autonomy must be open to discussion.

When discussing how to finance global public goods, we must ensure that resources intended to tackle poverty and inequality and protect rights continue to serve those purposes. Proposals will have to explain what additional resources they can mobilise and how they will avoid reducing support for essential services or civil society's ability to organise. To assess the effects, we need to distinguish grants from loans and examine the terms of each source, especially where they could increase debt or limit recipients' power to decide.

Conditions for exercising autonomy

Authority and decision-making power

In deciding who has a say in a cooperation agreement, the parties should weigh responsibility for the use of funds, democratic representation and the legitimacy that participants have in their communities. They should also consider the knowledge each party brings and who will live with the consequences.

Community and organisational priorities should shape decisions about what to do and how to do it. Calls for proposals can serve a purpose, but organisations should be able to seek funding without having to change their agendas. Funding for existing agendas, locally governed funds and negotiated agreements can give organisations more room to decide. The rules should make clear who takes part, who is excluded and how disputes are resolved.

Having the power to decide includes being able to reject conditions without undue reprisals and to review agreements. Exercising that authority requires accessible information, resources for participation and procedures that accommodate different languages and forms of organisation. A seat on a committee is of little use if the time to deliberate, the information and the final say remain in other hands.

Each party should answer for the power it exercises. Organisations answer for the resources they manage. Donors answer for delays, disproportionate requirements or changes that undermine agreements. Intermediaries should explain what they contribute, how much their work costs and which decisions they retain. To make these responsibilities enforceable, we propose that partners assess their donors, that independent avenues for complaints be available and that obligations during transitions and exits be made explicit.

Redistributing authority requires reciprocal oversight proportionate to risk, with safeguards against abuse by any party. This includes protecting people who report wrongdoing or challenge decisions in their own communities and organisations.

Time, trust and how we assess change

Listening, getting to know a place, working through disagreements and recovering after a crisis all take time. That time is part of the work. When everything is urgent, teams burn out. Cooperation must fund the time the work actually takes.

Trust grows when organisations can explain a difficulty, acknowledge a mistake or raise a disagreement without fearing that support will end. Donors need to be willing to listen and reconsider decisions. Agreements should allow problems to be addressed without automatically imposing more controls or conditions that reduce autonomy.

Social change brings advances and setbacks, and its effects rarely follow a timetable. Popular education, participatory action research and the critical analysis of lived experience, alongside feminist, Indigenous and community approaches, offer ways to ask who gets to define worthwhile change and how to understand it as it happens.

When funding ends, ask whether the work can continue and whether the knowledge and relationships it generated remain available. A programme can meet its targets and leave an organisation weaker. Another can depart from the plan and leave people better able to act together. An evaluation should be able to see both.

We propose agreeing with organisations and communities on the changes sought and how to evaluate the results, including what happens to their ability to sustain their own agendas. This means examining whether they can make more decisions, retain the knowledge and relationships they have built and continue their work. Criteria should be open to revision when circumstances change, with reasons given and a way to verify what was achieved. Evaluation must also serve participants by giving them accessible findings they can use to decide how to proceed.

Fair agreements on knowledge

Assessments, evaluations and public accounts can shape decisions and reputations. The people who share their experience may have little say in how it is interpreted or may lose access to the findings. We propose agreeing from the start on who sets the questions, how people take part, who approves the work, how findings are shared back and which uses are permitted.

Sharing knowledge requires agreements that protect the voice and safety of contributors and allow them to understand the consequences of giving up control over information. Such agreements can support exchange without making every idea exclusive property. Personal data protection and safety may require limits even when there is interest in publishing findings.

The same obligations apply to artificial intelligence. Before incorporating data and testimonies into a digital system, the parties need to agree on how consent is obtained, who has access, how the material is protected and what it may be used for later. It also matters who captures the value generated and what capabilities remain in the territories.

Rules and institutions for solidarity-based cooperation

Policy coherence beyond cooperation programmes

Public decisions outside cooperation can affect what a programme achieves. Debt can divert resources from essential services, some tax practices can weaken revenue collection, and trade or environmental decisions can affect livelihoods. The scale of these effects needs to be documented in each context.

We propose assessing the effects of policies across borders, involving the people who experience them and reviewing policies where harm is identified so it can be remedied. Cooperation institutions can bring evidence, convene parties and work with others to change rules. When a policy contradicts their objectives, they should explain how they will respond.

Safeguards to protect rights when interests diverge

Parties with different interests can cooperate. They need to agree how those interests will be negotiated and which limits must be respected. The safeguards we propose help determine whether the benefits are shared or whether the agreement conceals an unequal relationship.

Each actor should disclose its objectives and interests, expected benefits, costs and the alternatives considered. Aggregate figures can conceal who benefits and who bears the costs. Evaluations should make that distribution visible. People who will experience the effects must be able to participate, with accessible information and resources to obtain independent advice.

Agreements should spell out how they can be reviewed, how complaints can be made and how harm will be remedied. Consent given under extreme need says little about real bargaining power. Rejecting, suspending or reviewing a condition requires practical alternatives. If risks cannot be managed in a way that respects rights, the intervention should be redesigned or abandoned.

When political or budgetary conditions change, we propose that funders assess with organisations the consequences of changing or withdrawing support and agree on transitions that reduce risks to people and ongoing work, with particular attention to rights protection and humanitarian needs. Support for organisations and movements must be free of conditions that require endorsement of migration, security or trade policies. To scrutinise these agreements, civil society needs independent funding and protection against reprisals.

When a partnership mobilises investment, ask which productive, fiscal and technological capabilities remain, who controls the assets and data and who answers for harm. These questions show how value and risk are distributed. Addressing side effects will achieve little while decisions about the overall direction remain concentrated.

An architecture with multiple centres of decision-making

Solidarity-based cooperation needs institutions that can mobilise resources and coordinate work at different scales. Regional and territorial funds, multilateral bodies and networks of cities or universities can each initiate action and make decisions. Organisations can also work directly with one another, and public bodies can reach agreements on problems they share. That is what we mean by a polycentric architecture.

A plural architecture needs common rules on rights, transparency, representation and responsibilities. These criteria also apply to South–South cooperation. Changing the direction of flows alone does not guarantee fairer conditions.

Intermediaries can offer protection, bring parties together, provide technical expertise and open access to funding. Their legitimacy depends on what they contribute and how they work. We propose that they disclose their costs and powers, agree to periodic reviews and hand over functions when others can perform them better. A transfer of power should preserve the capabilities and commitments that an abrupt exit would put at risk.

Good cooperation can make some kinds of support less necessary and make others possible. Where it leaves stronger fiscal and organisational capacity, more knowledge and greater freedom to decide, an international institution may come to play a smaller role. That can be a sign of success. The relationship should continue while it serves a purpose.

I · PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE AND SOLIDARITY

01 CIVIL SOCIETY AS A GLOBAL PUBLIC GOOD

Recognise and protect an autonomous and plural civil society as a global public good.



02 MUTUALITY WITH HISTORICAL JUSTICE

Share resources and decisions while recognising inequalities and historical responsibilities.



03 JUSTICE AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Recognise harms, agree reparations and responsibilities according to each actor's capacities.



II · CONDITIONS FOR EXEXCISING AUTONOMY

04 AUTHORITY AND CAPACITY TO DECIDE

Communities define their priorities and participate in the decisions that affect them.



05 TIME, TRUST AND EVALUATION OF CHANGE

Fund long-term processes, build trust and evaluate change together with stakeholders.



06 KNOWLEDGE UNDER FAIR AGREEMENTS

Agree who produces, interprets, shares and uses knowledge, respecting rights and security.



III · RULES AND INSTITUTIONS FOR SOLIDARITY-BASED COOPERATION

07 COHERENCE BEYOND COOPERATION

Review policies that harm rights and correct their effects beyond each project.



08 SAFEGUARDS TO PROTECT RIGHTS

Make interests and costs transparent; ensure participation, grievance mechanisms and protection from harm.



09 MULTIPLE CENTRES OF DECISION-MAKING

Distribute authority among territories, networks and institutions with rules and responsibilities.



3

Nine commitments to put the proposal into practice

We propose discussing and testing these commitments in existing relationships and when designing new partnerships or funding mechanisms. How they are applied will depend on the context and on what the parties can take on. The parties can agree what needs to change, what resources are required and how they will assess whether organisations gain decision-making power and can better sustain their work. Monitoring should be proportionate and funded, so that it does not create new administrative burdens for those least able to bear them. We can then use what we learn to revise these recommendations and clarify where they apply.

1. Agendas and authority

An agreement should start from the priorities of the organisations and communities involved. They must be able to shape those priorities through representatives they recognise. The parties agree which decisions they will share and which each can make independently. They record those arrangements and how to review them periodically. How to verify: Ask organisations which of their priorities made it into the agreement, which decisions they made, and which proposals were rejected, by whom and why.

2. Funding that sustains autonomy

The parties set the duration of support according to the work they want to sustain and give priority to multi-year funding where continuity matters. They agree when funds will be disbursed, how far budgets can be adjusted and how the actual costs of the work will be covered, including indirect costs, accessibility and care. They also agree how funding will be reviewed and how much notice organisations will receive of changes or of the end of support. How to verify: Compare actual disbursements with the schedule, identify costs left uncovered and assess how much freedom organisations had to adjust the budget.

3. Independent organising

Public and philanthropic funding supports independent organising and advocacy and protects the right to dissent. Agreements must protect organisations' funding if they challenge a donor's policies or decisions. How to verify: Review the funding terms and safeguards for raising disagreements. Ask organisations how disagreements were handled and whether they faced pressure, restrictions or threats to withdraw funding.

4. Reciprocal accountability

Each party sets out its obligations and agrees how it will be held accountable for meeting them. Organisations must be able to assess donors and intermediaries and raise complaints safely through a channel independent of those whose conduct is at issue. The parties identify which mechanisms are available and where there are gaps, and specify who will respond and by when. How to verify: Review responses and action taken. Ask complainants whether they were able to speak up without reprisals and received a response that addressed the grounds of their complaint.

5. Risk and redress

The parties identify the main risks of the agreement and allocate responsibilities according to who can prevent those risks and who has the resources to manage them. They agree how to pay for protective measures and what to do if funding is delayed or cut or terms change. If harm occurs, they examine what caused it and what responsibility each party bears, then agree remedies with those affected. How to verify: Review the resources set aside for prevention, what happened when risks materialised and the measures taken to remedy harm.

6. Knowledge and data

Before collecting information, communities and teams agree who frames the questions, interprets the data, receives credit and authorises subsequent uses. They decide how to share findings and what can be made public, respecting consent, safety and collective rights. They must be able to review planned uses if circumstances change or new risks arise. How to verify: Review the agreed protocols and permissions, check that actual uses complied with them and confirm that findings were shared in accessible formats.

7. Intermediation

Intermediaries disclose their costs, roles and the decisions they keep in their hands. They agree with organisations what work and support they will provide and when those arrangements will be reviewed. How to verify: Trace how decisions were made and where funds went. Compare who held decision-making authority at the outset and at each review.

8. Collaboration for structural change

Organisations, intermediaries and donors identify a specific reform to public policy or an international agreement. They agree what decision they seek, which body can take it, whom they will work with and how each party will contribute. How to verify: Record how the proposal was submitted and debated, what decisions were taken and how they were implemented. Distinguish steps towards reform from the change itself. Assess with the organisations involved whether the measures adopted extend rights, reduce inequalities or strengthen their decision-making power.

9. Policy coherence

Public institutions responsible for cooperation examine whether their countries' trade, migration, security or investment policies contradict the rights they seek to protect. Where they find a contradiction, they explain what they can change within their mandate and which decisions they must pursue elsewhere, with the participation of affected organisations. How to verify: Review the contradictions identified, the remedies proposed and the responses received. Record which changes were actually adopted as well as the steps taken to pursue them.

Annex 4 brings together questions for examining these commitments when negotiating a cooperation agreement or reviewing an existing collaboration.

These recommendations can help organisations and their supporters decide under what conditions to start or continue working together. Where problems can be corrected, we propose agreeing what needs to change, who will take responsibility and by when. Where reprisals occur or rights face serious risks, the priority is to protect the people affected and examine with them what would need to change for collaboration to continue, and whether activities need to be suspended or an exit prepared. That decision should also consider the consequences of interrupting funding so that people already in more vulnerable positions do not bear its costs.

01 AGENDAS AND AUTHORITY

Organisations and communities set their priorities and take part in decisions.



02 FUNDING THAT SUSTAINS AUTONOMY

Sufficient, flexible and sustained funding to support their own processes.



03 INDEPENDENT ORGANISATIONS

Defend autonomy and the right to question those who provide funds, without reprisals.



04 MUTUAL ACCOUNTABILITY

Mutual obligations and accountability in both directions, with safe ways to complain.



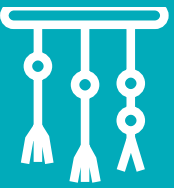
05 RISK AND REPARATION

Share responsibilities in the face of risks, protect participants and repair any harm caused.



06 KNOWLEDGE AND DATA

Communities decide how their knowledge and data are used, interpreted and shared.



07 TRANSPARENT INTERMEDIATION

Know the costs, roles and decision-making power of those acting as intermediaries.



08 WORKING TOGETHER FOR STRUCTURAL CHANGE

Work together to change policies and agreements that reinforce inequalities.



09 POLICY COHERENCE

Prevent trade, migration, security or investment policies from undermining the rights that cooperation aims to protect.



4

What we bring to international debates

We propose changing existing institutions and strengthening alternatives governed by organisations and communities in their territories. Reforming donor and multilateral rules can free up resources and shift decision-making power to sustain those alternatives. Community funds, solidarity networks and other forms of cooperation can show how to distribute authority differently and offer lessons for reform. We need to see how these approaches work together in practice. Do the changes help organisations sustain their own agendas, reduce their dependence on unilateral decisions and give them more options?

Several international fora shape what gets funded, who sets priorities and to whom the parties are accountable. The Forum has already brought proposals to some of them. We will continue to engage with concrete positions on the rules under discussion, working closely with movements and organisations elsewhere in the Global South. We want to develop common positions that give more weight to proposals rooted in our experiences.

OECD Development Assistance Committee. The review of the role of aid and the DAC's working methods offers a space to discuss what responsibilities might follow from recognising autonomous and plural civil society as a global public good [8]. As we propose in the Forum's report on this issue, we want to work with DAC members, the OECD and civil society organisations to bring evidence and explore the implications for cooperation policy. A working paper and a dedicated dialogue would allow this discussion to develop, drawing on experience from different regions.

United Nations financing for development and cooperation. Follow-up to the Sevilla Commitment through the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) Financing for Development Forum allows debt, taxation, multilateral banks and cooperation to be considered together.

The Development Cooperation Forum offers a place to discuss the quality and governance of cooperation and the parties' responsibilities, including in South–South and triangular cooperation [9]. We call for protecting concessional finance for rights, publishing the terms and distributional effects of instruments and giving decision-making power to those who bear the costs.

Global Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation (GPEDC). Its monitoring allows country practice to be assessed against commitments on ownership, predictability, inclusion and mutual accountability [10]. We propose that national dialogues record which decisions changed through the involvement of social actors and publish who is responsible, by when and how recommendations were answered. Country ownership requires democratic participation and civic space.

Humanitarian reform. The Grand Bargain and the Humanitarian Reset coordinated by the Inter-Agency Standing Committee are debating funding quality, local leadership and the division of roles under budgetary pressure [11]. We propose agreements that cover full costs, shared decisions over funds and coordination, and exit protocols that preserve capabilities. Simpler procedures can help. Transferring responsibilities without resources increases the risks for those who respond first.

Climate finance. In negotiations under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change [12], we propose assessing adaptation and loss and damage finance by whether peoples and communities can actually access it, the proportion provided as grants, the cost and time of accessing funds and the protection of collective rights. When examining capital mobilisation, we also need to consider what it means for debt, decision-making power and exposure to risk.

Dialogue with Global South networks, community and feminist funds, and initiatives such as #ShiftThePower, NEAR and Pledge for Change can help us compare these proposals with experiences elsewhere. We want to identify where we agree and can work together, which recommendations can be tested in actual agreements and which need more development. These exchanges can help determine which proposals to bring to each international forum and with which allies, recognising that humanitarian cooperation and climate finance require specific knowledge and partnerships.

The OECD's guidance on locally led development identifies barriers arising from how power is distributed and how intermediaries operate and proposes ways to address them [13]. We welcome that progress and will press for implementation. For the Forum, the test lies in who sets the agenda, how decisions are governed and who answers for them.

The Permanent Forum's proposed safeguards mechanism could document practices, protect people who provide information and compare what parties promise with what happens in practice. Its design still needs to specify how it will remain independent, what criteria it will apply, what capacity it will need and how it will work alongside other avenues for complaints.

5

The Latin American traditions that inspire us

The consultations brought us back to questions Latin America has debated for decades about dependence and peoples' ability to decide their future. These traditions help explain how cooperation can bring resources and still leave dependence in place, and why people with first-hand knowledge of a problem often have little say in how it is addressed. They also invite us to ask what we mean by well-being and what work and relationships sustain life.

These traditions have their own differences and debates. Our proposal draws on some of their contributions to thinking about cooperation. The Forum wants to examine how they relate to what we heard in the consultations and to the recommendations we present. This work must continue with the region's organisations and movements, recognising the ideas they develop from their own experiences.

The Indigenous, Afro-descendant, peasant and women's organisations that participate in the Forum develop ideas through their struggles and organising. That collective thinking is reflected in the Lima Declaration, which challenged imposed agendas and the fragmentation of social processes, and in the Bogotá Principles, which called for cooperation guided by justice, autonomy and care [6, 7]. These agreements are part of the foundation of our proposal. Developing them requires keeping dialogue open with organisations, recognising differences among their experiences and protecting those who challenge inequalities within their own communities.

Economic structures and relations of dependence

Structuralist thinking at the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) questioned whether all economies could follow the same development path. Its account of Latin America's place in the international economy showed how an unequal economic structure could limit the benefits of technological progress and reproduce inequalities [14]. Different strands of dependency theory examined these problems further and debated how to explain them. One contribution was to examine the role of domestic elites and institutions alongside that of external actors [15].

These perspectives help situate cooperation within the economic and political relationships that shape a society's ability to decide how it develops. A programme may provide resources while trade rules, debt or decisions by domestic elites limit what it can achieve. We propose examining how cooperation relates to these structures, what it can contribute to changing them and which limits it faces in doing so.

Coloniality of power

> "Coloniality is one of the constitutive and specific elements of the global pattern of capitalist power"
>
> Aníbal Quijano, Coloniality of Power and Social Classification

Aníbal Quijano showed that the end of formal colonial rule left intact hierarchies linking racial classification, labour, authority and knowledge [16]. This helps explain why some institutions can present their ideas as universal while others must demonstrate again and again that their experiences are valid.

Who has the authority to name a problem in a cooperation relationship? Whose knowledge counts and who can take part in decisions? Transferring funds or changing the nationality of those implementing the work can leave these hierarchies intact. Redistributing resources also requires changing who holds authority and the conditions under which knowledge is produced.

This critique concerns us in Latin America. Racism, patriarchy and concentrated power run through our societies, organisations and international relationships. A decolonial proposal must be able to challenge a government in the South, a local elite or a community organisation when they reproduce exclusion or concentrate power.

Popular education and how knowledge is produced

> **"No one liberates anyone else, no one liberates themselves alone. Human beings liberate themselves in communion"**
>
> Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed

Paulo Freire challenged a way of teaching that reserves the production of knowledge for some and leaves others to receive it. In his approach, dialogue enables people to understand reality critically and act to transform it [17]. Applied to cooperation, this means recognising organisations and communities as actors who interpret their own circumstances and build agendas to change them. From there, we can discuss which forms of support strengthen that ability and which make their decisions depend on priorities set elsewhere.

When consulting a community or organisation, we must leave room for its experience and proposals to influence how we understand the problem and what we decide. That takes time to listen and discuss differences. Those convening the process must also be willing to reconsider their positions and share decisions on how to proceed with those who take part.

Participatory action research links knowledge to the possibility of transforming reality [18]. It prompts us to ask who defines the research, what role those contributing their experience play and whose interests the findings serve. Participation means being able to influence the questions, interpretation, authorship and use of information.

Knowledge and intellectual authority

> **"Only a world grounded in relationships and community places limits on the objectification of life"**
>
> Rita Segato, Contra-pedagogías de la crueldad

Rita Segato identifies a division of intellectual labour that reserves theory-making for some places and leaves others to provide data and experiences. In cooperation, we see this when communities provide testimonies and funding institutions retain the authority to interpret and name them and receive the recognition that follows [19, 20].

Latin America has its own questions and concepts for understanding what happens in its territories. The Forum asserts the region's place as a source of political thought and proposals, in dialogue with other places. Exercising that authority requires funding for research, recognition of authorship and freedom to develop concepts around the questions our societies need to answer.

Organisations and communities can define their own knowledge agendas. Technical partnerships should respond to them. Indigenous peoples and nations and social movements produce knowledge, as do universities and research centres. Cooperation requires a willingness to learn from what they produce and to reconsider decisions when their findings challenge a donor's strategy.

Latin American feminisms and the politics of life

> "If our lives are worth nothing, produce without us"
>
> One of the slogans of the Ni Una Menos movement in Argentina

Latin American feminisms examine inequality by tracing the links between violence, economic organisation, bodies and territory. Grassroots, Indigenous, Afro-descendant and community feminisms ask how domination works and what it takes to change everyday life. Taking those questions seriously means rethinking how cooperation sets priorities, mobilises resources and exercises authority.

Ni Una Menos brought violence against women's bodies into public debate and showed its links to working conditions, inequality and unrecognised care work [21]. The movement produced knowledge through its struggles and turned what it learned into political demands.

What is lost when cooperation splits into separate activities what people experience as one problem? Preventing violence also requires attention to economic autonomy, social protection and access to justice. People who face these conditions can show connections a sector-specific call for proposals may miss. Funding an agenda that grows from their experience means letting their understanding shape the instruments used and what counts as a good result.

The Latin American debate on a society organised around care asks how life is sustained and who does the work that makes it possible. That work is distributed unequally and falls largely to women [22]. The same inequality can reappear within organisations in unpaid community work, expectations of constant availability and demands on people who are already stretched. From a feminist perspective, we propose that cooperation fund decent working conditions and make provision for safety, rest and the resources people need to participate.

Organisations should also examine how they distribute work and who makes decisions, so that cooperation does not continue to depend on women's unpaid time and labour.

Protecting life means sustaining the relationships that make it possible to defend it. A network supporting a woman facing violence and an organisation demanding justice are as much a part of that work as the everyday tasks that keep a community going. Asking women to continue doing that work while their rights, resources and time are sidelined is unsustainable.

Sustaining life in our territories

> "In our worldviews, we are beings born of the earth, water and maize"
>
> Berta Cáceres, acceptance speech for the Goldman Environmental Prize, 2015

Shared responsibility extends to our relationship with nature. Indigenous, peasant, Afro-descendant and environmental struggles have raised the question of what kind of development is desirable from the standpoint of self-determination. Buen Vivir and the rights of nature broaden the question. To speak of well-being, we must look at the water, land, relationships and knowledge that make it possible.

These experiences prompt us to ask what kinds of development cooperation supports and how they affect life in the territories. An initiative can meet its environmental objectives while weakening the livelihoods or forms of organisation of those who live there. Perspectives on Buen Vivir and the rights of nature help examine those consequences and question what counts as a desirable result. For cooperation, this means opening its priorities and evaluation criteria to the different understandings of well-being expressed by peoples and communities.

A Latin American invitation to the world

> "A new and sweeping utopia of life"
>
> Gabriel García Márquez, The Solitude of Latin America

Different ways of cooperating are already taking shape. In community, Indigenous and feminist funds, regional networks and partnerships rooted in particular territories, some decisions on priorities and resources grow out of the organisations' own work, well before a funder issues a call for proposals. These arrangements offer practical examples and lessons that others can use.

In the Mesoamerican Territorial Fund, created by the Mesoamerican Alliance of Peoples and Forests, territorial committees agree which initiatives to propose. They include representatives of women and young people. A regional committee, which also includes community representatives, validates the proposals' eligibility and feasibility [24].

In studying these experiences, we want to know which decisions organisations were able to make and which conditions enabled them to sustain their work, including the difficulties and disagreements they encountered. That knowledge can help us test the Forum's recommendations and identify what needs further development. It can also help us examine the risks of power becoming concentrated within the alternatives themselves and which lessons may be useful elsewhere.

We invite movements, organisations, governments and funders elsewhere to examine this proposal in light of their own experience and test its commitments in actual agreements. We propose identifying which rules can change, documenting what that means for autonomy and sharing what we learn, including where we encounter difficulties or disagree. That work can inform common positions in international debates and strengthen alternatives already taking shape. The Forum offers this proposal as a contribution to an ongoing discussion and expects it to change in response to what others bring.

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Annex 1. How we developed this proposal

To develop the proposal, we brought the Forum's political agreements into conversation with the literature, practical experiences of cooperation and what we heard in consultations and interviews. Each source contributed something different.

Approach and background

We wrote the proposal collectively. We drew on the Forum's political history, a review of documents and literature, participatory consultations and interviews with people who have worked in international cooperation for years.

We started from the exchanges and agreements reached in Lima and Bogotá, especially the Lima Declaration and the Bogotá Principles. From Latin America, we sought to formulate a political and conceptual position that engaged with changes in cooperation and international debates about its future.

Document review and international debates

We read the Forum's political and institutional documents, including its texts on civil society as a global public good and as democratic infrastructure, along with other working papers and conceptual contributions. We considered these alongside research, reports and proposals on the crisis in official aid and the future of cooperation. The review covered localisation, decolonisation, funding for organisations, tax and climate justice, trust-based philanthropy and ways to govern resources.

In comparing these materials, we asked who sets priorities, how resources and risks are distributed, who has authority to produce knowledge and to whom actors answer. We also examined which institutional conditions allow organisations and movements to act autonomously. We found proposals to improve effectiveness and the quality of partnerships, as well as others seeking deeper change.

We examined funds governed by communities and movements, flexible multi-year funding, ways to share risks and hold funders to account, and forms of intermediation that derive their legitimacy from what they offer organisations and communities in the territories. Comparing these experiences with the principles helped us see what obstacles persist when procedures change but the same people retain the power to decide.

Participatory consultations and shared visions for the future

Between 15 April and 2 June 2026, 120 people took part in four online Forum consultations. To imagine a different paradigm, we used a participatory foresight technique called News from the Future. We invited participants to place themselves in 2035 and describe a world where cooperation had already changed. We asked what had changed. Imagining that future from within gave people more room to think beyond present constraints.

The consultations were open so that people with different experiences and perspectives could take part. In developing the proposal, we wanted to practise the horizontal relationships and participation that we ask of cooperation.

The Seventh Summit of Indigenous Women of Abya Yala brought together 250 Indigenous women in Paraguay from 15 to 20 October 2026. At the discussion on decolonising cooperation on 17 October, we shared the Forum's ideas and listened to participants speak from their experiences of organising and struggle. The summit's agenda included defending territories, water and the commons, food sovereignty and Buen Vivir. That dialogue brought us back to a central question. What must change in international cooperation so that peoples gain autonomy and can decide what happens to their territories and their future?

Interviews with key actors

We interviewed people with experience in leadership, research, advocacy and international organising. We spoke with leaders of Global South networks and platforms, practitioners in humanitarian cooperation and peacebuilding, and specialists in governance and development policy. Participants also included people involved in multilateral debates and people with experience in funding, institutional change and emerging technological agendas. Their different positions allowed us to compare understandings of the crisis in cooperation and of the conditions for changing the system.

The interviews allowed us to examine in more detail the tensions between redistributing power and meeting fiduciary obligations, the possibility of changing funder incentives, the role of intermediaries and the feasibility of new forms of cooperation. We sought to develop a collective proposal and compare perspectives. This was a qualitative exercise. The interviews do not constitute a statistically representative sample of Latin America or of the cooperation system.

Annex 2. Lima Declaration

In Lima, on 5 December 2024, social and workers' organisations, Indigenous, Afro-descendant, peasant, environmental and women's movements, continental organisations, academia and international NGOs from Latin America, representing 22 countries and committed to decolonising cooperation,

In the face of

- An environment marked by acute social injustice, class exclusion, poverty, racism, gender inequalities and violence, wars and criminal economies, environmental collapse, and discourses and practices promoting hatred, division and autocracy,

- A context of shrinking spaces for activism and the advance of deeply conservative far-right forces in our region and the world, requiring strong unity and organising among peoples, movements and progressive civil society organisations,

Considering that

- Social organisations and movements have advocated for decades for solidarity-based cooperation supporting their agendas, but progress has been insufficient and slow, and colonial approaches and practices continue to prevail,

- A significant part of cooperation has imposed agendas, fragmented organisations and supported short-term projects instead of processes of profound transformation,

- Decolonial cooperation rooted in reciprocity is urgently needed to address critical issues in a divided, polarised and unjust world,

We agree to

- Establish the Permanent Forum for the Decolonisation of Cooperation, seeking to organise ourselves to accelerate and achieve change in international cooperation based on decoloniality, feminism, anti-racism, participation and inclusion.

- Jointly advocate for profound changes in cooperation, to recognise and redefine meanings, rebuild foundations and co-create from decoloniality, feminism, anti-racism, and human rights, collective rights and the rights of nature.

- Establish a Council made up of different organisations to guide the work of a Secretariat initially facilitated by FENMUCARINAP and ACAPACÁ.

- Organise the Forum through working groups comprising representatives of different organisations and movements, by subregion (Mesoamerica and the Caribbean, the Andean countries and the Southern Cone) and critical issues (funding models, advocacy and collective action agendas, equitable partnerships and reimagining relationships between actors, among others).

- Establish a mechanism to denounce colonial practices in cooperation and celebrate progress consistent with a decolonial, feminist and anti-racist agenda.

The Forum is an open, continually evolving process seeking to bring together everyone who struggles for fair, inclusive and participatory cooperation.

We call on donors, international NGOs, philanthropists and other allies to join this vital and urgent process in the face of challenges we share in both the Global South and North. We propose coming together in a great agora of collective reflection.

We commit to working on this agenda with enthusiasm and conviction, inspired by cultural and artistic diversity and the immense wealth of progressive and decolonial ideas generated in Latin America. We join with anti-racist, environmental, peasant and feminist movements from other regions of the Global South, with all the strength of our music and our dances.

Annex 3. Principles for solidarity-based cooperation

Proposal of the Latin American Permanent Forum for the Decolonisation of Cooperation, Bogotá, June 2025

From Latin America and the Caribbean, we share our proposal for Solidarity-Based Cooperation. Inspired by the Lima Declaration of December 2024, when more than 200 representatives of organisations and movements gathered to accelerate and achieve changes in cooperation, our call today is urgent.

In recent months, tectonic changes have occurred in cooperation through drastic budget cuts by the governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, the Netherlands and others. Facing turbulent shifts in global geopolitics, several Global North countries are now choosing militarisation. In this context, we believe solidarity between peoples cannot wait. From Latin America and the Caribbean, we commit to strengthening South–South cooperation and collaboration with agencies, international NGOs and donors committed to solidarity.

In recent months, a broad range of Indigenous, Afro-descendant, peasant, feminist, environmental and organised women workers' movements, academic institutions, international organisations and allied donors have gathered to begin developing a new paradigm for Solidarity-Based Cooperation at this critical moment for the planet.

Our paradigm requires abandoning approaches that foster dependence on assistance, redirecting international cooperation from paternalism, neocolonialism and project-centred thinking towards justice, shared responsibility, solidarity and sovereignty. Our paradigm is not new. It emerges from collective knowledge. We propose cooperation built on horizontal relationships, mutual respect and living memory.

The principles and operational pillars shared here are a starting point to broaden dialogue with other regions, networks and alliances, and collectively build, over the coming months, a paradigm of Solidarity-Based Cooperation with concrete, practical solutions.

We are convinced that another paradigm of cooperation is both possible and already under way. We build it from our struggles, knowledge, alliances and territories. From Abya Yala, we weave this proposal for the world, to continue building it together in community.

May it flourish. May it inspire. May it transform.

Principles:

- Justice as our root. Cooperation springs from historical, climate, racial, gender and economic justice. It is not a matter of favours. Cooperation is collaboration between peoples who share responsibility.

- Autonomy as our compass. The peoples of the Global South are political actors, rather than passive beneficiaries. Our rhythms, languages and priorities are the starting point. Without autonomy, there is no true cooperation.

- Care and relational ethics. Care is central to cooperation. We propose relationships and partnerships that heal, accompany and repair. We dismantle soulless interventions and projects.

- Planetary solidarity and global shared responsibility. We understand cooperation as a tool to preserve life on the planet. Ecological sustainability and collective survival are part of this ethical call. South–South cooperation is one of our greatest strengths.

- Systemic change as our horizon. The previous cooperation paradigm, with its top-down logic, is exhausted. We are committed to radically transforming practices of global collaboration, participation, governance and financing.

Operational pillars:

- Redistribution of power. Decision-making is led by communities. Intermediaries serve Global South agendas, and their roles are reviewed by organisations and movements.

- Horizontal relationships and decolonised partnerships. Co-creation guides every stage of the process. We form alliances in reciprocity and shared dignity. We meet as equals, moving beyond aid delivered from above.

- Funding in the service of life. We have funding that nurtures rather than imposes conditions. It is diverse, sustainable and respectful. At least 80% reaches local organisations directly. We support democratic mechanisms such as Global Public Investment.

- Accountability to communities and oversight. We use social audits, co-created indicators, oversight mechanisms and tribunals managed by the Global South. Accountability is towards communities.

- New institutional arrangements for cooperation. International NGOs, agencies and donors review their internal structures, decision-making and accountability in line with the proposed paradigm, ensuring coherence between words and actions. They share their strategies and budgets transparently.

Annex 4. Questions for reviewing cooperation agreements

These questions can be used to review an existing collaboration or assess a new agreement. We propose discussing them with those taking part in the cooperation to decide which conditions to keep and which to change.

- Agendas and independent organising. Which priority existed before the call for proposals, who defined it and who can change it? Does the support allow organisations to sustain their own agendas and challenge their funders without facing reprisals?
- Authority. Who can reallocate resources, revise targets or reject a condition?
- Inclusion and rights. Who is missing, which barriers prevent participation and which rights are at risk?
- Resources. Do funds arrive on time? Can they be reallocated, and do they cover real costs, including indirect costs, accessibility and care?
- Reciprocal accountability. To whom does each party answer for what it agreed? What independent, safe avenue is available for complaints, and who must respond and by when?

- Knowledge and data. Who sets the questions, interprets findings and receives credit for the work? Who authorises the use of data and how is ownership agreed? How are results shared and sensitive information protected?

- Risk and redress. Who can prevent or absorb the risk of a delay, a cut or a change in priorities? If harm occurs, who remedies it and with what resources?

- Intermediation. What does each intermediary contribute, how much does its work cost and which decisions does it retain? When will its role be reviewed with the organisations involved?

- Structural change. Which public policy decision or international agreement do we want to change, through which body and with which allies?

- Policy coherence. Do the donor's trade, migration, security or investment policies contradict the rights the cooperation seeks to protect? How will that contradiction be addressed?

- Exit. What could undo progress? What capabilities will remain when the work ends and how will the transition be agreed?