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# The Complexities of Coexisting: Foreign Aid Organizations and East African Governments

Lynsey Cooper

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# **The Complexities of Coexisting: Foreign Aid Organizations and East African Governments**

A Capstone Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements of the Renée Crown University Honors Program at  
Syracuse University

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and Renée Crown University Honors  
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Honors Capstone Project in International Relations

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## **Abstract**

When initiating projects, foreign aid organizations cannot simply go into another territory and begin their work. On top of the normal procedures of nongovernmental sector organizations and institutions, those from outside the domestic borders face additional measures. These measures are typically put in place by governments, typically on a national level. This paper explores the types of tensions and/or partnerships that may exist between foreign aid organizations and governments when crossing paths in this manner.

To narrow the scope of this broad topic, this paper focuses on developmental aid enacted by foreign aid organizations in East Africa through a case study of the operations and activities of Oxfam International in Kenya and Tanzania. Through a consideration of the historical backgrounds and official governmental policies, acts, and resolutions, as well as foreign aid organization reports and strategic plans, we see that this relationship between foreign aid organizations and governments is a very conditional one. Many factors go into how each side considers the other, including differences in cultures.

## **Executive Summary**

People in need are often considered the responsibility and concern of many actors. Therefore, it is only natural and expected that these stakeholders must interact at times, which is the case in East African nations as state governments and foreign aid organizations impact the operational efforts of each other. This interaction is significant because it occurs across cultures and in order to work with each other, or at the very least co-exist, there must be some type of facilitation, whether communication or legal stipulations. Some governments exhibit different levels of acceptance and tolerance of the activities of foreign aid organizations. Ultimately, the impact of these various relationships falls upon the very communities, governments, foreign aid organizations.

Communication and partnership in this region becomes even more complex when considering historical ties. European imperialism brought Africa into the global society and economy in ways the continent was not prepared for. Colonialism reorganized African society, created modern state boundaries, and imposed economic and political systems in the colonial powers' favor. The same was true for Britain's East African territories. Furthermore, as independence arrived in Africa, the infrastructures that the colonizers built often remained. Of those that changed, influence from colonial powers is still evident many years later.

The journey to independence in Africa coincides with significant points in the history of foreign aid. The Marshall Plan, mainly meant to rebuild European colonies after World War II, was a large-scale, targeted approach to implement foreign assistance. The Bretton Woods institutions also played a critical role in African affairs at this time, while increased activity by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) often brought international attention to areas otherwise

unknown to the global public. Foreign aid organizations since this period have been critical actors in development aid, particularly in Africa.

This involvement can be seen in the case of Oxfam. My paper focuses on its operations in Kenya and Tanzania. The actors in this case study are Oxfam, Oxfam's partner organizations, the governments of Kenya and Tanzania, and the communities in these two nations that are the focus of Oxfam's attentions. Oxfam, in its original form, strived to assist starving Grecian refugees during World War II. With its roots in Britain, the organization was comprised mostly of various intellectuals and activists. With time, Oxfam's activities in Europe were no longer as vastly needed and the organization expanded to address other problems in various regions of the world, including Africa.

As the organization evolved into Oxfam International, an assembly of twenty affiliates stationed around the world, its mission statement expanded to address global poverty more broadly. Oxfam typically partners with other organizations to execute their projects. Partners of Oxfam include other NGOs, UN agencies, private companies, and civil society organizations. We will focus on the development efforts of this international organization.

Among its many countries of operation, Oxfam has investments in several East African nations. The organization has been in Kenya and Tanzania since independence. Although these nations share a border and have a similar colonial history, their post-decolonization histories in terms of government structures varied. Kenya began its sovereignty as a democracy under Jomo Kenyatta while Julius Nyerere led the soon to be united Tanzania in a socialist direction. With different political structures and ideas prevalent in each society, Kenya and Tanzania's plans for development and relations with external actors diverged in many areas.

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### **Advice to Future Honors Students**

Don't be afraid to go off on a tangent in your research. You never know where it will take you. This is why this process begins very early – you have the time to explore an interesting aspect of your topic and have it turn into something unexpected or be discarded. Either way, you learned something new along the way, which will contribute to your overall understanding of your field.

## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

Traveling both across state boundaries and circulating within nations, aid exchanges occur all over the world. Aid may exist in the form of money or other resources and may be distributed through government, organizations, or individuals. Aid organizations play a large role in society today; we have seen an increase in the number in existence within the past fifty years, especially since the 1990s (Powell & Steinberg, 2006, p. 100). There has also been increased involvement with and input from these organizations and important multilateral actors, such as the World Bank and the United Nations. The nonprofit sector has the power to influence global institutions and government policies, playing a role in combating widespread concerns (Powell & Steinberg, 2006, p. 102; 232).

Foreign aid is defined as resources or materials, including but not limited to money, offered by or loaned from an external actor. Debates exist concerning the effectiveness of monetary and donor aid, with discussions centered largely on donor aid between governments, as well as its origins and uses. While this conversation is certainly important to consider, the topic is large and verifiable information is not always easily accessible. In order to examine the impact of aid efforts in a field so vast and varied, it is necessary to hone in on a specific branch of aid: foreign aid organizations. The many activities of foreign aid organizations typically fall into three categories: collecting and sharing research and knowledge, hosting and organizing

meetings and conferences, and advising powerful world actors (Powell & Steinberg, 2006, p. 337). We will observe the limitations and boundaries that foreign aid organizations experience when partaking in actions such as these.

Aid often flows over international borders for many purposes, a main one being the nations of the Global North coaxing along the developmental processes of those of the Global South. This paper will not delve into the morality of these relationships or actions, as that is a much larger and widely debated concept. Therefore, government-to-government aid, where funds are difficult to track, will not be considered. Also allowing for the number of variables present in this area, this paper will not delve into the benefits and shortcomings of donor aid.

Rather, this paper will concentrate specifically on development measures channeled through foreign aid organizations and the measures by which governments prepare for and respond to these activities within their borders. Holding the means of aid delivery constant allows for the examination of the policies and actions of governments with various levels of favorability toward these types of aid operations. This method also assesses how the presence of multiple cultures may clash in such instances. For our purposes, development refers to social, political, and economic progress within a community.

Governments exhibit varied reactions to the activities of aid organizations within their borders, particularly those organizations originating in countries other than their own. Both benefits and consequences result from these government interactions and interests. In cases where governments partner with aid organizations, they may offer funding for projects (Powell & Steinberg, 2006, p. 225). On the other hand, governments and their policies may serve as hindrances to aid organizations' goals by restricting access or creating many layers of formal procedures. As Powell and Steinberg, professors in a variety of disciplines, note, "the nonprofit

sector cannot exist without a supportive legal framework” (2006, p. 237). Without some level of support from the government, aid organizations would not have the legitimacy or authority necessary to even begin their activities. As guests in another country, foreign aid organizations fall under the jurisdiction of the host country and must respect the boundaries in place, only one of which serve to help their cause. As Kevin Watkins, Senior Advisor on Finance and Social Policy for Oxfam GB, notes, “At best, good projects in a bad policy environment could provide islands of excellence, but their potential for promoting wider change was limited. Recognition of this fact led a growing number of NGOs to seek partnerships with the State...” (2000, p. 310). For the most successful outcome to transpire, there must be willingness for cooperation on both ends.

Powell and Steinberg present three theories for relations between governments and the nonprofit sector. (1) The supply/demand model demonstrates how partnership between both actors benefits each, allowing each other to take advantage of their mutual and opposite strengths. Where one sector lacks, the other can compensate. This model may also apply to governments and organizations with diverging focuses and priorities. When one area receives

*Table 2.1* Models of NGO partnerships with other stakeholders

<i>Partnership model</i>	<i>Features</i>
Government dominant model	Government plays a dominant role in financing and delivery of services Government uses taxpayer’s money to fund various services delivered by government employees
Third sector dominant model	NGDOs play a dominant role in financing and delivery of services NGDOs sector plays a “watchdog” role over governments
Dual model (parallel track model)	NGDOs play a supplementary role by providing services to marginalized sections of communities not reached by governments. NGDOs are gap fillers
Collaborative model	NGDOs and governments work together on an intervention common to their strategic direction NGDOs act as agents of government programming (collaborative-Vendor-Model) or NGDOs engage in a contractual arrangement while maintaining some degree of autonomy

more attention from the government, aid organizations can focus on another, leading to a more even distribution of resources. (2) The civil society/social movement model states that economic, social, and political factors of both government and aid organization result in a multifarious rapport, which evolves with time. (3) The regime model considers how aid organizations may develop institutional characteristics, while aspects of the government may change as well (Powell & Steinberg, 2006, p. 222 - 223). Figure 1 offers another way to distinguish types of relationships between governments and the nonprofit sector. Perspectives such as these should be considered in analyses of government-foreign aid organization relations in conjunction with the recognition that these relationships shift over time as changes occur in administrations or government structures (Powell & Steinberg, 2006, p. 232).

The following chapters focus on developmental aid, particularly where foreign aid organizations are implementing projects on the ground. With an analytical focus on one organization's, Oxfam International, operations, we take both Kenya and Tanzania as case studies in exploring the effects of government policies on this foreign aid organization's development efforts. These neighboring countries were both British colonies and gained independence within two years of each other. Thus the political structures and policies within each nation following independence were drawn from similar influences. These states also have similar population statistics, unemployment rates, life expectancies, and climates. Of course, no two nations are exactly the same. One of the most visible differences in these two societies appears in their forms of government. Although both republics, Kenya has a more democratic system of government while Tanzania has elements of socialism. In choosing Kenya and Tanzania for case studies, I attempt to eliminate many of these historical differences and societal

variables in my examination in order to identify the crucial disparities having an impact on the operations of foreign aid organizations.

Following brief contextual histories of European imperialism, Kenya, and Tanzania, this paper looks primarily at modern society and activities. While there are many facets of the topic of foreign development aid to be considered and discussed, this paper will attempt to highlight and understand one aspect these two case studies.

## Chapter 2

### Foreign Aid's Ties to Colonialism

The philanthropy and altruism of foreign assistance may seem to diminish the effects of European colonialism; however, these two apparently divergent practices have a direct link. Many aspects of modern society, including foreign aid, have foundations in colonial history. Colonization furthered global interconnections and installed social hierarchies, altering the paths of emerging and established nations as well as their populations. Analyses of current foreign relations and cross-cultural interactions must take these historical influences into account for their impacts on societal and political developments.

European imperialism in the nineteenth century permeated lands and civilizations across the world, including much of the continent of Africa. Competition among European powers in political, economic, and military prowess had devastating effects on Sub-Saharan Africa and resulted in a rapid and frenzied 'Scramble for Africa' (Collins & Burns, 2014, p. 263). Just as with many other societal changes that came with the presence of imperialist powers, national boundaries did not exist in Africa before the arrival of European explorers, missionaries, merchants, and colonists (Collins & Burns, 2014, p. 271). The indigenous populations had their own systems of government, political partnerships, and modes of survival, which did not align with European interests and Western definitions of civilization. Colonialism in Africa disrupted these local ways of life through the creation of artificial borders, where foreigners established

new rules over, often heterogeneous, groups of people and systematically exploited African resources (Collins & Burns, 2014, p. 295).

With most segments of the continent claimed by different European powers, Africa became increasingly immersed in global politics. The imperial powers controlled and benefitted from their territories' economies as foreigners continued to arrive, bringing with them new political and social institutions (Collins & Burns, 2014, p. 298). Colonies were exploited for not only their natural resources and products, but also for their human assets. African populations were used as pawns for the benefit of their colonial powers (Collins & Burns, 2014, p. 276), such as in World War II. The colonies had no direct interests in the War, but became involved because European nations utilized African human capital and other local resources they deemed helpful in fighting the war (Maxon, 2009, p. 225). This administrative approach increased contact between Africans and foreigners, either within colonial territories or when traveling as part of European militaries. Both forms of interaction exposed Africans to new ideas, which they brought home and used to contribute to revolutionary movements (Maxon, 2009, p. 227).

Independence arrived for most African nations during the 1960s. Over the course of about 25 years, the majority of former African colonies secured their freedom (Maxon, 2009, p. 221). Suddenly, millions of Africans were politically free from their European colonizers. "Almost overnight, many African regimes lost their automatic, clientelist relationships with Cold War hegemony. This erosion of international legitimacy severely diminished the resources available to the African state" (Mutua, 2008, p. 9). Due to the disruption of indigenous lifestyles and the colonial societal structures (Collins & Burns, 2014, p. 297), European-established administrations throughout Africa lacked the infrastructure necessary for sovereignty in the



twentieth century. Each European imperial power had a different process for decolonization and implementing sovereignty in their African colonies.

In East Africa, the British had laid claim to large territories along the Nile River Valley extending towards Cape Colony at the southernmost point of the continent. This area gave Britain control of the water flow into the Suez Canal from the Nile, protecting British jurisdiction over Egypt and the Canal (Collins & Burns, 2014, p. 276). For the East African colonies of the United Kingdom, their colonizers influenced much of the societal structure of these now independent infant nations, such as language and government institutions. “In some ways this dependence was increased, and it is difficult not to believe that the colonial power expected this dependency to keep her former colonies closely aligned to her, both politically and economically” (Maxon, 2009, p. 255). In this way, foreign involvement in African affairs never truly ended.

Ties between former colonies and their colonizers remained in many forms, which kept the Western world involved in the continent. The economic environment, for example, had roots in the system in place during the colonial era, such as capitalist economies and established markets (Maxon, 2009, p. 267). In many ways, these processes kept the African nations in a type of colonial bond although they were officially independent. “In anticipation, the government instituted programs to reshape African societies in ways that promoted the interests of Britain and the Commonwealth, intending to turn over the reins of government to carefully selected Anglophile elites” (Schmidt, 2013, p. 19). These new states faced the task of determining how their colonial identity, where several indigenous populations often co-habitated due to the artificial colonial borders, fit into their indigenous one. “Yet smooth transition to independence was to be frustrated, delayed, or threatened by the intensity and particularism of both majority

and minority ethnic groups within most British colonies, as they vied for advantage and self-preservation” (Gifford & Louis, 1982, p. 285). The former colonies had to learn their place within the societal and political structures in existence, which had typically been imposed on them.

At the same time that many African nations gained sovereignty, Europe and the rest of the world were recovering from their second World War within forty years. These recovery efforts included the Marshall Plan, providing foreign assistance and bolstering the economies and infrastructures of several countries affected by the War (George C. Marshall Foundation, 2017, The Marshall Plan). This arrangement created a formal and structured partnership among the victorious countries to strengthen affected societies, such as Germany. In addition, the newly reorganized United Nations, previously the League of Nations, appeared on the international stage along with other multilateral institutions. The United Nations stood to organize communication and cooperation among all participating states. This body and others came to play a large role in offering assistance to countries, regions, or populations in various states of distress by pooling resources from Member States and organizing action through its many agencies and resolution agreements (Ascher, Brewer, Cheema, & Heffron, 2016, p. 94). Due to the groundwork set by the Marshall Plan and the framework offered by the United Nations, foreign assistance became commonplace among Western nations and their organizations.

As the Cold War era set in, the world saw Africa as a place of many new countries with uncertain futures. With the battle between the bipolar worlds, each ideology wanted to claim Africa within their sphere of influence. Although just having gained independence, foreign intervention in the region remained.

Because poverty and instability provided fertile ground for communist ideas, successive American administrations strove to thwart communism through economic development...However, the [Soviet Union] also took an interest in Third World decolonization, which offered the possibility of new alliances in the struggle against Western imperialism. (Schmidt, 2013, p. 23; 25)

For about thirty years following World War II, the main sources of assistance originated from the United States and the Soviet Union (Ascher et al., 2016, p. 134). To discount the political aspects of foreign assistance in this era between these two hegemonic powers would be a mistake. “In their competition for Third World allies, the United States and the Soviet Union offered two very different development models” (Schmidt, 2013, p. 26). Regardless of political autonomy and sovereignty, others still looked to have influence over African affairs. Aid was often used as a guise or motivation under which nations could intervene in these countries to avoid the risk of the other side gaining more territory under its sphere of influence (Jensen & Winthereik, 2013, Development Histories section, para. 2). Even beyond decolonization, the Western world continued to look at their previous colonies as opportunities.

This period marked the beginning of the ‘Development Decade’ (Black, 1982, p.153). The modern era of assistance was spurred both by colonial ties and the Marshall Plan following World War II (Ascher et al., 2013, p. 134). The world also witnessed the creation of the Bretton Woods institutions and other multilateral organizations meant to promote economic growth (Jensen & Winthereik, 2013, Development Histories section, para. 2). While beginning in Europe, many organizations rerouted their efforts toward less developed countries once Europe was on its way to getting back on its feet.

Rostow held that many less-developed countries would need considerable external aid to achieve this rate of investment; but an essentially optimistic strand in his argument was that the new states of Africa and Asia were following known and proved paths toward affluence: Britain, Europe, and North America had passed that way before, and where they had gone Africa and the rest could go also (Gifford & Louis, 1982, p. 496)

Foreign intervention following independence was marked with this theory, as aid assistance spread over international borders and crossed continental boundaries. Since then, foreign assistance has become an industry of multiple facets and reaches.

However, foreign assistance in Africa following the World Wars often had a different outcome than the Western world expected. The developing world was not another Europe that could be restored to its previous state of prosperity by something akin to the Marshall Plan.

Another problem [during the 1960s] was that, as an instrument of ‘development’, the record of ‘aid’ was disappointing. In their different ways, economists, social scientists, administrators, and plain humanitarians were discovering that ‘development’ – however you defined it – was much more complex than they had realized. (Black, 1982, p.153)

Proof of this school of thought can be seen in the establishment of agencies within Western governments dedicated to aid, such as USAID in the United States and the DfID in the United Kingdom (Fee, 2012, Chapter 3, para. 3).

Very relevant to today’s society and discussion of development are non-governmental organizations (NGOs). This category of actors appeared in the 1980s with a presence that has only increased. Interested in a wide range of issues, NGOs exist in both a domestic and international framework. We have seen an evolution in the relationship between NGOs and governments. Whereas governments used to look down upon NGOs for interfering, they now

often consider their expertise in making decisions and work jointly on operations (Brass, 2016, p. 12-13). For example, in states where the government fails to provide adequate health care, NGOs and other organizations step into the primary roles that the government typically holds (Eade & Williams, 1995, p. 628). However, there still exists a lack of trust in some cases.

The self-regulation approach or the evaluation-by-peer approach may be acceptable to the NGOs themselves, but in the context of undemocratic governments who view the NGOs as their enemies, the self-accountability approach will certainly not be acceptable. The increasing pressure for legislation relating to the oversight of NGO operations in some African countries is clear evidence that governments do not view self-regulation as an acceptable level of accountability. (Fee, 2012)

The nonprofit sector as a whole is not trusted to simply pursue their goals and activities, so governments take on the responsibility of regulating their presence and actions.

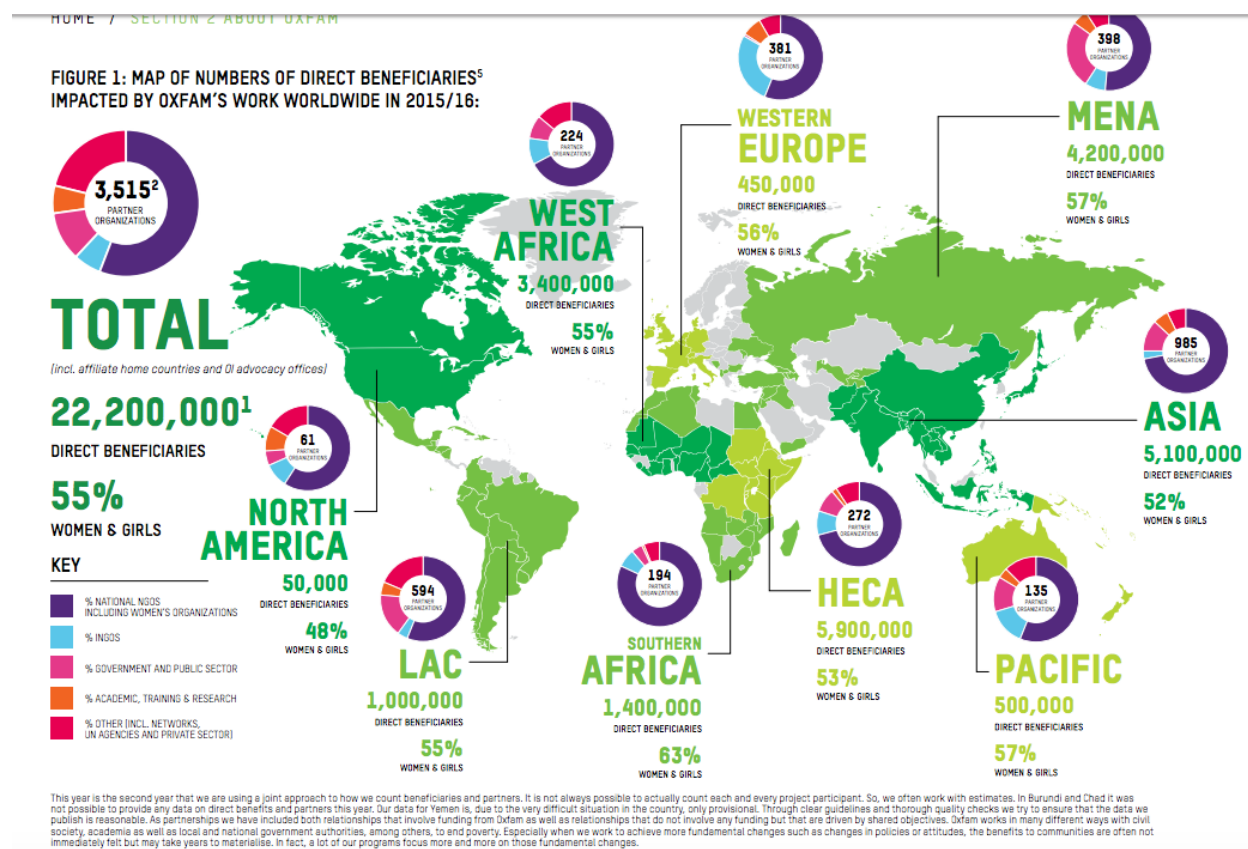
## Chapter 3

### Case Study: History and Organization of Oxfam International

In order to reduce the variables in studying foreign aid organization activity in East African nations, we focus on one specific international development organization. Oxfam has a long history, relatively available records and reports, and operates in several East African countries. These aspects allow us to examine how the approaches of the same organization with the same values and goals have produced differing results among countries with varying acceptance of their activities. Through this lens, we can use the conclusions of Oxfam's successes in improving the lives of individuals to understand the complications foreign aid organizations face in East Africa.

Oxfam has seen great success over the last half century. Such achievement has resulted in the expansion of the organization into its current twenty sub organizations operating around the world (Oxfam International, 2017, Who We Are). With the vision of "a just world without poverty," Oxfam has a mission "to create lasting solutions to poverty, hunger, and social injustice" (Oxfam America, 2017, About Oxfam). Oxfam now works with over ninety nations and has a direct impact on tens of millions of people around the world (Oxfam America, 2017, About Oxfam). In East Africa, Oxfam works in Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda. The organization focuses broadly on "long-term development programs in vulnerable communities" (Oxfam International, 2017, Who We Are). Figure 2 illustrates the expansive and

direct impact Oxfam recently had in the span of one year. According to this graphic, Oxfam directly benefitted 10,700,000 people in Africa alone in 2015-2016 and just under six million in Eastern Africa.



**Figure 2 (Oxfam Annual Report, 2016, p.11)**

The name Oxfam is derived from the group's original affiliation with Oxford (Oxfam International, 2017, Who We Are). The organization in its original form began in 1942 when a collection of British activists and intellectuals, some from Oxford, established the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief. Their efforts, both monetarily and materially, aided refugees in Europe from Greece suffering from starvation (Black, 1992, p.8). As the conditions of the refugees improved, the organization reallocated their attentions and resources to the general poor population of Europe. With time, the work of the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief in

Europe became less necessary. The organization expanded its focus to include fighting poverty in developing countries, which more closely resembles the work done by Oxfam today (Oxfam International, 2017, Who We Are).

Oxfam International was established in 1995, originally an association of eight “Founding Affiliates,” all but one of which (the Hong Kong branch) were located in the “Western World.” Now a collection of twenty affiliates, its international headquarters are located in The Hague, Netherlands. Much like the United Nations, members of Oxfam International pay a contribution and agree to terms of the overall organization. At the global level, it operates under the main administrative umbrella of the Secretariat with an Executive Director, currently Winnie Byanyima of Uganda (Oxfam International, 2017, Who We Are).

The organization also has two bodies with executive powers: the Executive Board, comprised of the Executive Directors of each of the twenty affiliates, and the Board of Supervisors, composed of the Chairs from each affiliate. The Board of Supervisors meets annually and their decisions are binding to all who have agreed to be part of Oxfam International, excepting special local circumstances. The Executive Board has the task of, among many other items, preparing the Strategic Plan for the organization (Oxfam International, 2017, Who We Are). Former Oxfam employee, Maggie Black, notes:

Unlike many other charities, its senior ranks were never dominated by public servants, civil or military, pensioned and in early retirement; although there were some. Nor did any particular social background prevail: those from the gentry and the odd progressive aristocrat assumed a kind of spiritual and social camouflage among more typical ordinary folk. (Black, 1982, p. 81)



Oxfam currently has a Strategic Plan in place from 2013 to 2019, titled “The Power of People Against Poverty,” its fifth Strategic Plan since 1995. This plan outlines a total of twelve goals; six goals aim to “change the world” and the other six focus on adapting “the way we work.” These goals are set at the administrative level and used as guidelines by each individual affiliate to choose their own methods of implementation. Recognizing that as times change the organization needs to adapt to new political, economic, and social environments, Oxfam lays out an improved framework for the organizations’ functions and implementations (Oxfam, 2013a, p. 5-30).

Recognizing that change typically succeeds through the work of many, this organization typically does not operate alone. In many cases, Oxfam relies on partnerships to reach their target communities and implement their efforts. These partnerships include local NGOs, civil society organizations, UN agencies, and private companies among others (Oxfam International, 2017). Oxfam outlines their six partnerships principles to be: “Shared vision and values, complementarity of purpose and value added, autonomy and independence, transparency and mutual accountability, clarity on roles and responsibilities, and commitment to joint learning” (Oxford International, 2012, p. 3).

In order to improve upon general operations and partnerships, as well as gain feedback from partners, Oxfam takes part in a study done by private company, Keystone, with other international organizations. The results of this study in 2014 presented Oxfam with three ways to improve their partnerships. These efforts mainly focus on better strategic support in fundraising and projects, as well as a focus on partners’ programs surrounding gender equality. Oxfam plans to participate in this study again in 2018 (Oxfam International, 2017, Partnerships).

Although not Oxfam's main path of implementation, the organization does frequently interact with governments. These relations most commonly involve the training of government officials, however "often its main contribution is in the space between the two, brokering contacts between people's organizations and state bodies (as well as with the private sector), and creating 'safe zones' in which they can discuss problems and solutions" (Oxfam, 2013, p. 10). However, putting pressure on governments is an important step in creating change because Oxfam notes that there is recently stronger evidence to suggest that there is a correlation between "effective states" and lower levels of poverty (Oxfam, 2013, p. 7). Yet there are some limitations in place regarding government and state matters.

Oxfam's legitimacy also confers an obligation on Oxfam to engage in advocacy in developing countries where it can clearly increase impact. This is balanced by a principled understanding of Oxfam's role as a powerful international actor. Oxfam does not assume the role of a local organization, and recognizes that it should always seek to support national civil society and not displace it. (Oxfam International, 2011, p. 1)

This draws a fine line between community engagement and noninterference on Oxfam's behalf when it comes to official state operations and decisions. Oxfam sees the greatest challenges in cooperating with government to be diverging priorities that require different timelines and must be completed through government's existing institutions (Ndababonya, 2016, p. 7).

In terms of public outreach, Oxfam publishes annual reports and its financial accounts. Providing access to its records is part of Oxfam's dedication to accountability. It reaffirms its commitment to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as the INGO Charter of Accountability (Oxfam International, 2017, Who We Are). It is in these various reports that Oxfam details its successful projects, areas in need of improvement, and other important

information regarding the year's operations. For example, Oxfam has had some difficulties in regions of Jordan executing their projects due to restricted access by the government (Rocha & Smiaroski, 2016, p.31). Oxfam is also a signatory to the Red Cross and Red Crescent Code of Conduct, which has a core principle of not taking political stances, and the Sphere standards of humanitarian response (Oxfam International, 2017, Who We Are; International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2017, Code of conduct). Within Oxfam's own Policy on Program Evaluation, each project with an expected timeline of more than five years goes through a mid-project and final assessment by a third-party (Oxfam, 2013b, p. 3). Each of these assessments and reports are posted on Oxfam International's webpage or the corresponding affiliate's page unless there are legal or other problems with publicly releasing the content (Oxfam, 2013b, p. 4).

Oxfam has specific ways to measure its impact in addition to publishing reports with relevant data. This process includes: evaluating the successes and setbacks and how Oxfam handles these situations through review exercises, analyzing operations with a strategic evaluative research process, and considering the input of other stakeholders (Oxfam, 2013, p. 30). Through these evaluations, Oxfam can adjust its methods to the changes in the global environment. For example, "In response to huge changes in global demographics which see for the first time ever, the world's urban population outstripping rural populations" (Oxfam, 2013, p.9). Adapting to these societal changes has meant a focus on programs targeting and allowing for large urban populations and communities.

## Chapter 4

### Kenya

#### A Closer Look

Situated between Somalia and Tanzania on the Eastern Coast of the African continent, Kenya is home to about 47.3 (2016) million people. Among this population, 25.6% (2015) of which reside in urban settings, one can find high representation of more than forty local ethnicities among Europeans, Arabs, Indians, and Pakistanis (United Nations Statistics Division, 2017, Kenya; SOS Children, Kenya). With poverty and unemployment on the rise, many endure the effects and consequences arising from these conditions. About 4 million Kenyans depend on help receiving food. There is one major public hospital in Nairobi, the Kenyatta National Hospital, and health centers in rural areas, which suffer from a lack of adequate labor, training, and equipment. The disparities between need and demand lead to malnutrition, especially among youth, and a struggle with diseases (SOS Children, Kenya).

Officially under British control for over sixty years, Kenya's path to independence directly evolved from a series of violent events (Mutua, 2008, p. 53). The Mau Mau Emergency continued for a period of seven years, creating terror among all in Kenya and causing the death or injury of at least 15,000 natives (*Mau Mau*, 2010). As a result of this unrest and social upheaval, the British abandoned their objective for political control of the territory and Kenya gained independence in 1963 (Collins & Burns, 2014, p. 342). "Without the Mau Mau struggle,

Kenya would not have attained its independence as early as it did” (Mutua, 2008, p. 55). The tumultuous environment caused a relatively quick decolonization process in Kenya, leaving the new country in an unstable state.

Although the first African who served on the legislative council did so in 1944, the British still held many government posts until Kenya’s independence (Collins & Burns, 2014, p. 338). Solidifying their influence over post-colonial Kenya, Britain imposed conditions in exchange for independence, which established a federal system and favorable aspects for the white minority. Although this political structure did not remain in place for long, traces of its influence can still be seen in these regions even in recent constitutional discussions (Mutua, 2008, p. 42 – 43, 59). As a new democracy, Jomo Kenyatta took up the first position of President. He had studied overseas and been involved in political parties and movements before Kenya’s liberation (Collins & Burns, 2014, p. 358).

Emerging from the colonial British Empire under the 1963 Constitution, Kenya surfaced as a decentralized multiparty democracy. This system allowed for a bicameral parliament, elections, and rights for citizens (Mutua, 2008, p. 59). “Paradoxically, the independence constitution was meant to both preserve the colonial order and at the same time give legitimacy to the emergent African ruling elite” (Mutua, 2008, p. 60). The political party in power, the Kenya African National Union (KANU), passed amendments to the Constitution the next year, making Kenya a republic (Mutua, 2008, p. 61). Kenya’s most recent and current Constitution was adopted in 2010 and called for a more decentralized system of government (East Africa Regional Resource Center, 2014, p. 2).

Kenya categorizes foreign aid organizations in their policies as “public benefit organizations.” As laid out in the Public Benefits Organizations Act, 2013, the meaning of public benefit organization is:

...a voluntary membership or non-membership grouping of individuals or organizations, which is autonomous, nonpartisan, non-profit making and which is – (a) organized and operated locally, nationally or internationally; (b) engages in public benefit activities in any of the areas set out in the Sixth Schedule; and (c) is registered as such by the Authority. (2013, p. 428)

In order for organizations to register under this Act, they must fill out paperwork and pay a fee. This process varies slightly for international organizations; those groups operating internationally must legally prove their operations in another country, provide information about the location their local operations, and present an outline of their projects planned in Kenya. Any changes that occur must be forwarded to the government within sixty days. This Act reserves the right to refuse registrations of public benefit organizations if they conflict with any legal policies. (*The Public Benefits Organizations Act*, 2013, p. 426-481)

In an effort to promote democracy and government accountability, Kenya allows public benefit organizations to “engage freely in... criticism of the policies of the state or any officer or organ thereof” (*The Public Benefits Organizations Act*, 2013, p. 466). However, these groups are prohibited from supporting or fundraising for any candidates for ‘elective public office.’ In exchange, the government states that it will “engage with public benefit organizations on all matters of development and shall invite them to participate in policy making” (*The Public Benefits Organizations Act*, 2013, p. 467). This stipulation is especially emphasized for decisions on the local level. One case where these policies can be seen in action is the role of the

nongovernmental sector in gathering together and critiquing the 2004 Constitution after its adoption (Mutua, 2008, p. 211).

The Public Benefits Organizations Act additionally states in its “First Schedule” a plan for improving the ties between the Kenyan government and public benefit organizations (*The Public Benefits Organizations Act*, 2013, p. 475). This specification may exist due to a history of intolerance by the government for nonprofit intervention in politics. Beginning with Kenyatta, Kenya has seen several administrations react negatively to opposition. For example, human rights issues gained the notice of the international community due to the actions of foreign aid organizations. While the government initially defended itself against the accusations, the pressure and efforts eventually led to policy changes (Risse, Ropp, & Sikkink, 1999, p. 39-40).

Within this provision of the Act, the two sectors set a framework to jointly determine improvements and gaps in the community. The Act installs a joint committee between the Government and public benefit organizations comprised of fifteen members to monitor the commitment to the Act (*The Public Benefits Organizations Act*, 2013, p. 475). An NGO Coordination Board to organize those NGOs from outside Kenya’s borders exists as well. This Board must be comprised of at least one third Kenyans (NGOs Co-ordination Board, 2015, Registration).

In general, the nongovernmental sector in Kenya has had some undoubtedly positive outcomes. Especially on the local level, NGOs have had the ability to work in areas that are difficult for the government to

**Most Confidence in National Governments**

*Confident that \_\_\_ will help solve major problems in our country*

● **Most confidence**

	National government*	Foreign aid organizations	Domestic companies	Foreign companies
Nigeria	86%	70%	73%	68%
Tanzania	83	76	79	67
Senegal	81	68	71	58
Kenya	80	74	66	67
Uganda	76	81	63	60
Burkina Faso	69	65	60	52
South Africa	68	59	69	58
Ghana	60	76	65	70
Ethiopia	—	66	65	58
MEDIAN	78	70	66	60

\*Data not reported for Ethiopia.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q68a-d.

access (Amutabi, 2013, p. 193). This shows the capacity of and need for organizations to fill the gap and provide what the government cannot. This may include populations or communities who are overlooked. In some cases, NGOs may appear as a governmental figure more so than the official government. “Yet in far-flung places that are remote or difficult to reach, NGOs often play the part of government, broadcasting public service provision to a greater swath of the territory” (Brass, 2016, p. 12-13). The people in these regions have more direct contact with groups other than the government, whom they can see developing their communities and instituting change.

With different and ranging priorities, the government may not intentionally overlook or fail to provide for these communities. Yet based on this 2015 survey shows in Figure 3, the overall populations of Sub-Saharan nations, including Kenya, have more trust in government than foreign aid organizations. This large-scale perception is mostly due to the idea that foreign aid can be corrupt (Wike & Simmons, 2015, para. 44). However, only 6% more of the population in Kenya have greater confidence in the government than foreign aid organizations. Overall, both of these bodies have the confidence of close to at least three-quarters of the Kenyan people.

### **Oxfam in Kenya**

Oxfam has had a presence in Kenya since 1963, the year of independence. Oxfam Kenya is one of the twenty affiliates of Oxfam. Oxfam’s mission for Kenya is that “power and powerlessness are avoidable and can be eliminated by human action and political will” (Oxfam Kenya, 2017, Who We Are). Work done in the past includes: emergency funds, refugee support, conflict intervention and management, and promotion of public services and democratic



government. As can be seen in Figure 4, the United Kingdom affiliate of Oxfam was the sixth

**Table 5: Summary descriptive statistics on NGOs' aid to Kenya, 1990-2002**

	Average aid over 1990-2002, US\$*	Std deviation	Coefficient of variation
World Vision	7154.2	3045.9	0.43
Plan International	6015.3	3574.9	0.59
Ford Foundation	4405.6	2705.7	0.61
Actonaid	4354.5	3597.0	0.83
Christian Children Fund	3768.0	1674.0	0.44
Oxfam UK	2945.0	2557.7	0.87
Rockefeller Foundation	2608.4	1647.7	0.63
Charities	2369.1	2100.7	0.89
Food for the Hungry	2135.3	2054.7	0.96
Norwegian Church Aid	1705.0	782.5	0.46
Catholic Relief Services	1638.9	1259.4	0.77
Lutheran World Relief	1292.9	1252.2	0.97
Aga Khan Foundation	1265.3	377.2	0.30
Save the Children Fund	1010.0	221.0	0.22
CARE	851.7	377.0	0.44
MAP International	519.9	302.0	0.58
Trickle Up Programme	159.0	126.4	0.79
AMREF	115.7	30.1	0.26
Total	22801.2	9650.1	0.42

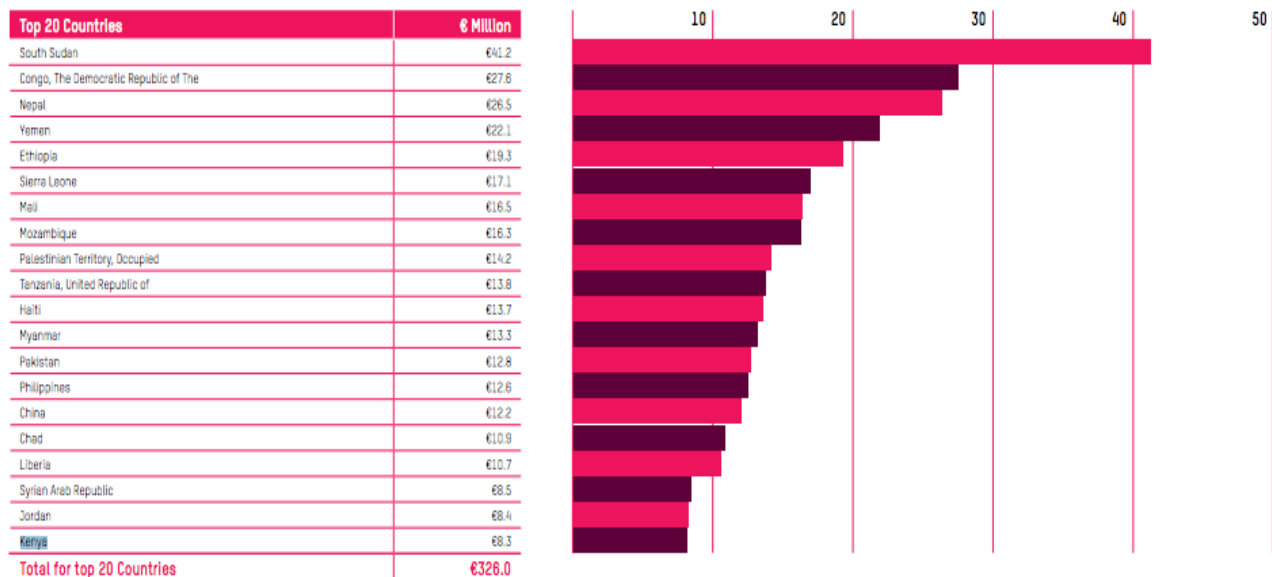
Source: UNDP (2002, 2006)  
\* in thousands

**Figure 4 (Mwenga, 2009, p. 11)**

largest aid donor to Kenya at the end of the twentieth century. The interest of Oxfam UK is most likely attributed to the historical ties between to two nations. This trend of high involvement in

**PROGRAM EXPENDITURE FOR THE TOP 20 COUNTRIES REPRESENTS 326 MILLION EURO OR 43% OF TOTAL PROGRAM EXPENDITURE.**

Reporting period: 1st April 2015 – 31st March 2016. All figures in millions of Euros.



**Figure 5: Annual Report 2015 p. 99**

Kenya has continued into more recent times. As Figure 5 indicates, Oxfam International spent 8.3 million Euros on Kenya during the 2016 financial year. Kenya also rates within the top twenty countries to which Oxfam allocates resources, although barely. Interestingly enough, half of these twenty countries are African states.

Oxfam's current campaigns are: "working with dry-land communities, working with poor urban communities, peace-building and conflict management, climate change, and governance" (Oxfam Kenya, 2017, Our campaigns). We can see that the number of active projects have increased, but some are continued projects from the beginning of Oxfam's work in Kenya, such as work on conflicts and government. These trends reveal what the world perceives as Kenya's long-term and enduring problems. The continuation of involvement with governance can be understood by the many changes in Constitutions within a short period of time.

According to the 2016 *Oxfam in Horn, East and Central Africa Annual Report*, "Oxfam Kenya reached 4,257,294 individuals directly and indirectly through its work in supporting communities in the informal settlements of Nairobi, and in the Arid and Semi Arid Lands (ASAL) counties" (Oxfam International, 2016, p. 20). This work was completed through the twenty-two projects in 2014-2015 and accomplished with seventeen partners (Oxfam International, 2016, p. 20). The projects focused on humanitarian programs for food security, water, and sanitation (Oxfam Kenya, 2017, *Oxfam in Horn, East and Central Africa Annual Report 2016*).

Main categories of partners for Oxfam Kenya include:

State Actors, Non-state Actors, Networks, United Nations bodies, Private Sector, Social Movements, research institutions, donor and bilateral agencies, religious institutions,

unusual actors such as celebrities, musicians, artists, political parties, activists, elected individuals, youth leaders and other social movements. (Oxfam Kenya, 2017)

Oxfam also works with regional bodies to accomplish its tasks, such as the European Union (EU). For example, the Wezesha Jamii Project is a women's right project funded by the EU and implemented by Oxfam Kenya (Oxfam Kenya, 2017, Launch of the EU Funded "Wazesha Jamii" project).

As the social and environmental conditions change in Kenya, Oxfam adapts its programs and campaigns. Kenya's society and populations follow the global trend of an increase in urban populations. Oxfam plans to focus on access specifically in urban areas and their means of implementation to better suit the communities (Oxfam Kenya, 2017, Humanitarian System). Understanding the environment in which they work is important for the trust and success of foreign aid organizations. In cases where these changes should be acted upon by the government, Oxfam publically puts pressure on the administration, such as in its *Urban Poverty and Vulnerability in Kenya* report. Here, Oxfam claimed that the Kenyan government looked the other way when it came to its duties to help citizens of Nairobi slums (Oxfam, 2017, Kenya threatened by new urban disaster).

Looking forward, Oxfam's plans in Kenya are outlined by its 2015 – 2020 Country Strategic Plan. The 2015 – 2020 Country Strategic Plan remains focused on good governance and government accountability. The other three pillars are: preservation and effective use of natural resources, improvement of women's rights, and development of further response systems to natural disasters (Oxfam, 2016b, p. 7).

## Chapter 5

### Tanzania

#### A Closer Look

Tanzania, an Eastern African nation of 47.7 million people (2011), neighbors Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, DRC, Zambia, Malawi, and Mozambique. Tanzania has official languages of English and Swahili, as well as Christianity, Islam, and indigenous beliefs as major religions. Just under half the population is under the age of 18 and 90% survive on below a dollar per day. These levels of poverty lead to 16.2% of children under the age of five being underweight and three million children having lost at least one parent (SOS Children, Tanzania).

Tanzania's colonial history began under German official control in the late nineteenth century. When Germany lost its territories following World War I, Britain was handed ownership of this area, then called Tanganyika. Officially gaining independence from Great Britain in 1961, Tanganyika united with Zanzibar in 1964 to become the United Republic of Tanzania (Government Portal Content Committee, 2015, History). Initially, "the new nation was heavily dependent on Britain for development aid and plans, for trained manpower, and in the political and administrative structure she inherited" (Maxon, 2009, p. 271). However within a few years of autonomy, the structure of the nation shifted and Tanzania showed signs of being a socialist society. With the concept of Ujamaa, a Swahili word meaning brotherhood or

togetherness, private institutions saw rapid nationalization in the years following 1967 (Government Portal Content Committee, 2015, History).

The current Constitution of Tanzania was adopted in 1977, the same year that two powerful political parties, TANU and Afro Shirazi, united. The new combined party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) has since controlled the government, claiming victory in each subsequent election (Government Portal Content Committee, 2015, Constitution; History). Tanzania is a multi-party state and has held multi-party elections since 1995 (Government Portal Content Committee, 2015, Politics). Local government operates through the means of councils. There are one or more councils in each of the 99 districts in Tanzania, totaling a current 114 councils. 92 of these councils represent rural territories (Tanzania Embassy Site, Government and Politics).

Tanzania is relatively forward thinking in its domestic development efforts. The government's model for development focuses on the Joint Assistance Strategy (JAST). Development partners work with the Government to institute projects and meet development goals. The majority of these partners are agencies of the Tanzanian government or other governments, such as USAID (Government Portal Content Committee, 2015, Development Partners).

The Tanzanian government also has in place an initiative called the Tanzania Development Vision (TDV) 2025, or Vision 2025. Spanning over twenty-five years, this plan began in 1999 and set the goal and framework for all sectors to put Tanzania on the path to becoming a middle-income state by the year 2025. This action is characterized by economic reformations and other development efforts to improve quality of life and education for Tanzania, among many others. Vision 2025 consists of an initial Poverty Reduction Strategy

(PRS) for the duration of three years, followed by several Five Year Development Plans. The second of these Five Year Development Plans wrapped in 2016, although fell short in a number of aspects (Government Portal Content Committee, 2015, Vision 2025). Figure 6, a piece of a

Target	Target Indicator by 2025 of total)	TZ Base line	TZ Current Status	Targets for Medium Term
		2000	2010	2015
	Employment in industry (percent of total)	5.0	6.0	8.0
Energy	Electric power (KWH per Capita)		(900MW) 81.7 kWh	200 kWh
	Population growth rate		2.9	2.7
Population growth rate	Rural population, percent of total	74	74	70
	Total population (Millions)	34.4 (2002)	45	49.8
Food self sufficiency	Food self sufficiency ratio (average)	92	100	120

**Figure 6 (Planning Commission, 2011, p. 180)**

table from the Tanzania Five Year Development Plan 2011-2016 outlining several indicators for Vision 2025, shows the target for 2015 in rural population to decrease from 74% (where there has been no change over the ten years between 2000 and 2010) to 70% of the overall population. This target as well as the target for higher food self sufficiency, fall under the category of decreasing poverty levels.

### **Oxfam in Tanzania**

Oxfam has been present in the territory now known as Tanzania since the 1960s. First President of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, through the concept of Ujamaa preached a social and political structure favorable to Oxfam's values and work (Black, 1982, p. 144). "Because of this, the relationship with Tanzania was to be very different from that with any other developing country. In Tanzania, the indigenous agency Oxfam could embrace as funding partner was the government itself" (Black, 1982, p. 145). From the start, Oxfam's involvement in Tanzania had

a different, large-scale view. Creating close ties with the President, “Nyerere expressed his confidence in Oxfam when he visited its headquarters in Oxford in late 1975” (Black, 1982, p. 148). However, Oxfam also experienced tensions and in 1979, after a struggle with the government, the organization left Mbeya region of its own accord (Jennings, 2007, p. 168). The road to an aligned vision between Oxfam and the government of Tanzania was not without its rough patches.

Initial work in Tanzania included causes such as famine relief and Rwandan refugees resettlement. Oxfam projects then expanded to involve the health and agricultural sectors (Black, 1982, p. 145). As of 2012, the organization had helped 200,000 Tanzanians and their presence has grown (Oxfam, 2012, p. 1). This is evident in the fact that Oxfam reached 400,000 people directly in 2015-2016 alone (Oxfam, 2017a, Oxfam in Tanzania). The main focuses of the projects in Tanzania are: livelihood programs, HIV and AIDS programs, and education. More specifically, Oxfam addresses the need for primary education, access to food, and emergency responses (Oxfam, 2012, p. 1).

Partners of Oxfam in Tanzania include the UN Refugee Agency and others to advocate for the protection of the rights of refugees. A prominent partner historically in Tanzania is the Community Development Trust Fund (CDTF), an organization established by a British settler and friend to Nyerere (Black, 1982, p. 146). CDTF and Oxfam worked on a water well project to bring safe water closer to Tanzanian citizens (Black, 1982, p. 147). The government did little to keep up with the repair that was required for the wells. Finding a way around this problem, Oxfam required that a local community member receive maintenance training in order for future wells to be installed (Black, 1982, p. 148).

The Government of Tanzania has partnered with Oxfam to create a risk reduction and response system for when disaster strikes. Oxfam has made progress locally with the implementation of early warning systems and bridging communication on food security information nationally. The work in this sector mainly targets marginalized groups such as women, youth, and smaller farm owners (Oxfam, 2012, p. 2).

Oxfam in Tanzania also works with vulnerable groups to improve their awareness and involvement in social and political happenings on the local and national scales. This project, Wajibika, works on the role of women and youth in improving their constitutional rights (Oxfam International, 2016, p. 39). Empowering vulnerable groups helps the improvement of livelihoods, education, gender equality, and many other areas.

In terms of current and future work, Oxfam's operations in Tanzania expect to adapt based on a few changes. First, oil and gas deposits have been discovered in the southern regions of Tanzania and actors plan to take advantage of the presence of these resources. Oxfam plans to launch programs designed to raise awareness about the impacts of exploiting these resources (Oxfam International, 2016, p. 41). Due to economic interests, there may be challenges with the government concerning this new opportunity.



## Chapter 6

### Conclusion

When looking at foreign aid organizations focused on development work, we find that typically work in similar environments. Development aid projects tend to appear in countries with higher poverty levels, high unemployment rates, struggling economies, lower standards of living, and lower qualities of health care. These statistics are often found in what are sometimes labeled as ‘developing nations’ or ‘third world countries,’ as opposed to the ‘Western’ or ‘Global North’ states that are usually the origins for development aid. Studies have also found that among about forty countries with strained relationships between government and nonprofits, all are considered to be ‘developing nations’ (Kanyinga, 2017, para. 8).

However, looking at this subject through statistics and seemingly straightforward statements such as these does not paint the whole picture. We see what the official policies say but what actually happens with the operations of foreign aid organizations and governments is different, just as what is laid out on paper is not quite what occurs in practice. The relationships and interactions that develop between these actors in societies do not follow a simple and clear-cut path. It is necessary for these organizations to understand the environment and reasons behind government actions and priorities.

There is no manual for foreign aid organizations on how to handle different governments just as no manual exists telling governments how to respond when foreign aid organizations

bring their activities into a state's borders. We see an attraction in Kenya for foreign investments and involvement but a government that was and remains more hesitant to accept the intervention, creating stipulations and regulations for operations. We see initially favorable conditions in Tanzania for foreign aid organizations such as Oxfam due to the presence of socialism and certain policies and practices of Julius Nyerere, yet a continuous struggle within the country to significantly raise poverty levels. Different situations depend on history, social structures, and priorities of each actor, among many other factors. Furthermore with time, governments and organizations change leadership, additionally altering the dynamic.

This leaves us with the rest of the topic of development. Based on the above analysis of this sector of foreign aid activities, each segment most likely has different experiences and outcomes depending on the environments they meet.

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