



# The **Meaning** and **Practice** of **Philanthropy** in **Uganda.**

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The Meaning and Practice of Philanthropy in Uganda  
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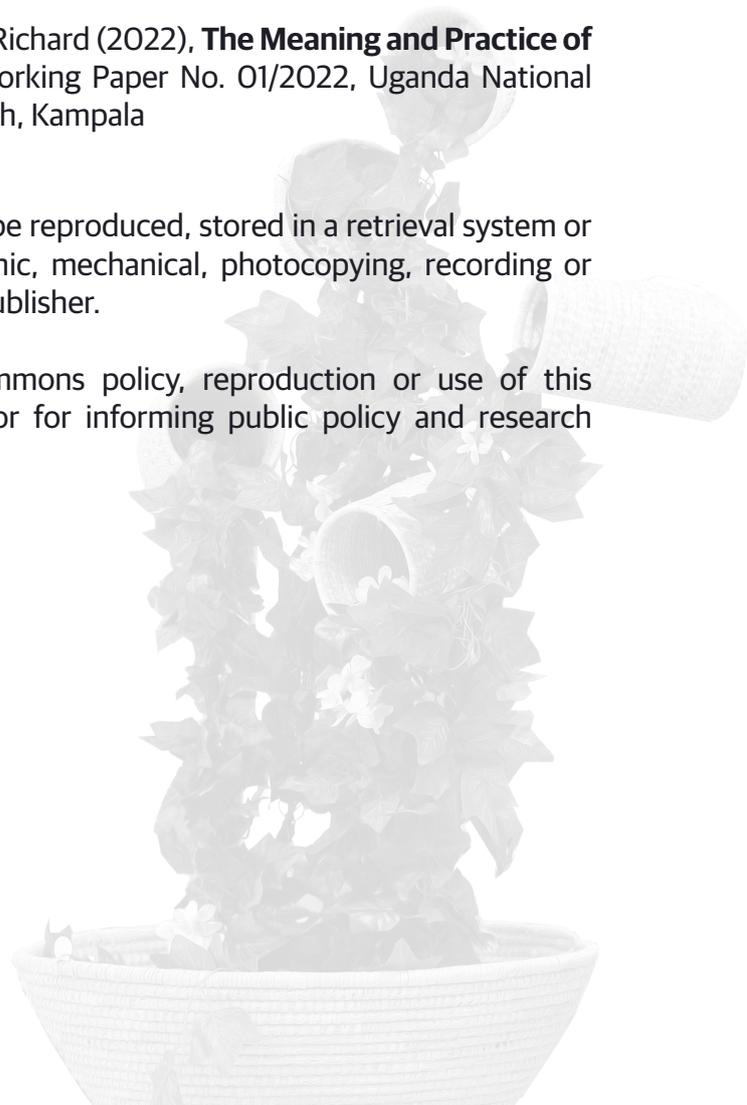
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# **01 Contextual Background**

This is a 'Sense-making'<sup>1</sup> Paper on the meaning and practice of philanthropy in Uganda. It is the first paper in a series of five Policy Positions Papers that will be produced as part of the policy knowledge products for the Giving for Change Alliance Programme (in Uganda Philanthropy for Development). Giving for Change Alliance Programme is a Multi-Annual Program for the period 2021-2025.

The papers are produced by the Uganda National NGO Forum which is the National Anchor Institution for the international consortium of the Giving for Change Alliance Programme. The Giving for Change Alliance Programme's vision is to transform how "development is done" by focusing specifically on the recognition and importance of domestic resources in increasing local ownership, unlocking agency and strengthening communities' ability to claim entitlements from different actors, especially government. To be able to make meaningful progress on the above vision, UNNGOF commissioned five policy positions papers focusing on specific dimensions of philanthropy.

This first paper focuses on interrogating the 'meaning and practice' of philanthropy in Uganda. This paper will therefore briefly present a historical evolution of the term 'philanthropy' and associated terms as well as identify key policy entry points that can support the practice of philanthropy at community and national level. The paper will discuss broadly the practice of philanthropy and the opportunities that exist in creating philanthropy as an empowering practice at community level.

The paper uses several sources that include; a desk review of secondary literature, targeted key informant interviews with practitioners in the field and data collected from attendees during two large virtual conferences; the African Philanthropy Conference 2021 and the East African Philanthropy Conference 2021 which together brought together over 2000 participants online over the duration of three days for each conference. The author of this paper attended all sessions, took notes and spoke to a selected number of participants as well as participating in breakaway group sessions.



## 02 **Rationale** *for a Policy Paper on Meaning and Practice of Philanthropy.*

The term 'philanthropy' evokes different meanings, ideas and even images when it is mentioned or used. In its contemporary popular use, it evokes deceptive images of an influential - very rich individual, mostly from a developed country, who is able to give several millions of dollars to poor communities in a developing country. In this sense, the term has been firmly appropriated by those with lots of money, living in developed countries (either alive or dead) and very rich. This dominant image is problematic.

As we shall show in this paper, many people in developing countries engage with practice of philanthropy - albeit known by different names. The concern is that in some instances these actors are in a 'near apologetic' stance, seeing their actions as not worthy of mention as acts of philanthropy. This dominant appropriation of the term philanthropy by the rich and marginalization of philanthropy by ordinary community members is an issue that needs to be debunked.

In some parts of Africa, this deceptive understanding of philanthropy has made it possible for those who have become high net worth individuals (HNWI) to try and mirror the western notion of philanthropy by either giving to causes that give them global acclaim or practicing philanthropy in Africa in ways that are predominantly western. For example, the rise in the number of philanthropy foundations across the continent that look very similar in structure and philosophy to western foundations is growing rapidly. On the other hand, this formulation makes local giving and generosity invisible, unrecognized and sometimes apologetic. It frames communities in Africa as people going around with a begging bowl as those in other parts of the world drop in whatever little they have. It frames the development discourse in very unequal and disempowering terms.

In light of this challenging dynamic, relating to the meaning and practice of philanthropy, it is imperative that conceptual clarity is achieved. The dominant narrative that philanthropy is a western practice must be debunked. This has to be done empirically through research and practically through appropriate domestic policies that assign philanthropy in Africa its rightful place at the national and community level.

Discussions on any form of philanthropy in Uganda must engage with this hegemonic discourse that represents philanthropy as an exclusive practice by the rich. This will be pursued through an exercise that affords clarity to the term philanthropy. Advocacy that builds a body of knowledge and policy practice will be undertaken. This will ultimately lead to policies that support community philanthropy - an important variable in the development agenda of Uganda.



## 03 *Evolution* of the term *Philanthropy*

To understand the meaning and practice of philanthropy in its western epistemological formulation requires a return to the etymology of the term 'philanthrôpía'. The term 'philanthrôpía' - that later gave us the term 'philanthropy' can be traced back to a Greek word whose origins literally mean "love for mankind (or humankind)."<sup>2</sup> In its original form, the term was used by Greek philosophers like Plutarch in ways that associated philanthrôpía to 'being civilized' or a 'superior being'.<sup>3</sup> In this formulation the practice of philanthrôpía was very much about the practice of civilization by public figures in the ancient Greek communities.<sup>4</sup> Philanthrôpía was therefore very much related to the high class and those who were interested in raising their profile in society.

### *Philanthrôpía and Emergence of Charity*

This formulation of philanthrôpía was resisted and during the Roman Catholic Middle Ages, the term philanthrôpía was superseded and the use of the term 'charity' was introduced by the church. The argument used at the time was that 'charity' embodied a better description of the religious idea of; 'charity, generosity and selfless love which are valued elements of salvation and escape from purgatory'.<sup>5</sup> What the ancient Greek formulation had promoted was an idea that created discrimination and assigned philanthrôpía only to the rich and civilized - which was an important endeavor for the Greek Enlightenment<sup>6</sup> and Hellenization<sup>7</sup> projects.

While the Catholic Church introduced the use of the term charity in place of philanthropy, there was also an additional belief attached to charity: that there was a degree of epic reciprocity in charity. The rich gave and in return the poor - who were at the time thought of as being close to Christ prayed for the souls of the rich.<sup>8</sup> As an exercise in transactional religion, it was a common practice in the later Middle Ages for wealthy individuals to try to reduce their time and sufferings in purgatory<sup>9</sup> by paying for chantries<sup>10</sup> where prayers would be offered.

### *Abrahamic Religions and Philanthropy*

We can therefore see from the broad-brush historical narrative above that even at this time, the term philanthropy was travelling through a rough conceptual epoch. It should be noted that while the terms philanthrôpía and later charity that were used at that time were predominantly Christian, they were instrumental in shaping the practice of giving in all the Abrahamic religions - Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. The literature of these religions indicates that the idea of charity and benevolence to the poor is one of the foundations of these faiths. In Judaism, charity is also called tzedakah and is tempered by the requirement of compassion and empathy of the giver. Tzedakah is a complex system based on a hierarchy of needs.<sup>11</sup> As the Jews say, in Judaism, giving to the poor is not viewed as a generous, magnanimous act; it is simply an act of justice and

righteousness, the performance of a duty, giving the poor their due."<sup>12</sup> In Islam, philanthropy and charity is one of the five pillars of the religion. In the Islamic religion, each year Muslims are required to pay Zakat, or "poor dues"- which is compulsory giving. Zakat is based on the following three ideas: All money used must be lawfully earned, all wealth after personal and family necessity belongs to Allah and should be shared among the less fortunate, and all philanthropy should be done for the sake of Allah alone, not for recognition or benefits such as tax breaks.<sup>13</sup>

While philanthropic giving has continued to date as a large part of the practice of Abrahamic religions, the idea did suffer significant resistance in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in Europe.<sup>14</sup> With the rise on poverty and vagabondage amidst economic expansion in Europe , the attitudes of the rich towards the poor changed. Attitudes turned from being compassionate to being harsh. A school of thought emerged that argued that poor people were not close to Christ as had been propagated in earlier years. Influential leaders started arguing that poor people were idle, licentious and dangerous!<sup>15</sup> Historians attribute this change in attitude to the changing economic conditions of the times.

Europe at the time had several hundreds of communities living in poverty and charity was no longer linked to gifts but more to relief for the poor. Additionally, local leaders and social activists from a Protestant tradition that questioned many of the Catholic ideas of the time argued that charity was encouraging laziness and exacerbating bad behavior of the poor. Yet this argument was being made at a time when charity was still a cornerstone in the practice of Catholicism. These new critiques celebrated the virtues of hard work as the 'true' Christian virtues and indeed relegated charity to a lower rung in the ladder of progressive society.<sup>16</sup>

## *Reclaiming Philanthropy from Charity.*

This opposition to charity also led to the new formulation and distinction in the practice of philanthropy. Scholars and researchers trace the emergence of modern philanthropy to the stance taken by the French elite organization, *Société Philanthropique de Paris*, which was instrumental in the development of the idea of modern philanthropy and philanthropists.<sup>17</sup> *Société Philanthropique de Paris* (Philanthropy Society of Paris) criticized faith-based philanthropy and built a tradition of mobilizing and giving money and gifts to causes that included initiatives like orphanages and prisons. They also ensured that this type of giving was different and distinct from the giving that happened in churches. They argued that their giving was driven by those who had 'love for humankind' without focusing on the religious beliefs of either the giver or recipient. This was an effort to return to the modified Greek formulation of philanthropy.

The idea of *Société Philanthropique de Paris* then spread to several other parts of Europe and America, and it is argued that they were instrumental in defining the modern practice of philanthropy. This period of philanthropy also saw the growth in indiscriminate giving to a diversity of causes in communities. This led to debates about the value of indiscriminate giving and institutional giving that is not controlled or regulated by the state. As one social democrat of the time wrote:

*The attitude of philanthropists to those they set out to help was to 'treat them as things to be amused, educated, restricted, lectured, advised; to have everything except fair play'. We were working out our own salvation, and there was no need for the 'canting sympathy and foolish patronage' of philanthropists.*

The writer concluded that;

*the state alone, could tackle the problems that beset a late 19th and early 20th Century City: unemployment; homelessness; poverty especially in childhood and old age; environmental degradation and ill health<sup>18</sup>*

Even with philanthropy having distinguished itself from charity, the criticism continued about the way it was practiced. As the quote above shows there were those that seemed to be quite weary about indiscriminate giving and philanthropy that is not controlled by the state. As the quote illustrates, there were also those that deemed the actions of philanthropists as serving their own benefits and viewed philanthropy as patronizing and exploitative.

## *Tensions in Institutional Philanthropy*

Another feature of the late 15th century were those who discouraged indiscriminate giving especially to beggars and argued that all these people need to be placed in institutions so that philanthropy focuses on giving to institutions where the needy should be collected. Today, we have examples of countries that have taken aggressive steps against giving to beggars. In Ethiopia it is outlawed to hand money to a beggar during a traffic jam – hence discouraging indiscriminate giving. This type of giving is blamed for the increase in the number of beggars in the urban centers. In Uganda the same debate continues relating to children and women with babies mostly from the Karamoja region of Uganda who are beggars in the city.<sup>19</sup>

To return to the history, the resistance against indiscriminate street giving led to the growth of institutions like orphanages or institutions of persons with disabilities. Literature documents 'troublesome' children who were taken into Canada and Australia under schemes defended as 'philanthropic abduction'.<sup>20</sup> The era of institutionalization of suffering<sup>21</sup> was also an era of institutionalization of philanthropy. This led to the spread of orphanages, disabled people homes and other such institutions. These kinds of institutions were also expanded during the colonial period. In Uganda the Kamparingisa Rehabilitation Home was opened in 1952 (before independent Uganda) as a detention center for 'troublesome boys'.<sup>22</sup> In many ways institutionalization has continued in many parts of the world but has been divorced from mainstream philanthropy, although there are many philanthropists that give to such centers.

It should be noted that contemporary use of the term philanthropy in Africa has significantly been influenced by the history above. The history indicates that there has never been a single point in time when the term philanthropy sat comfortably and did not face any critique. It is a term that has evolved, it has been used at various points in history to mean different things and also to fit different circumstances. In the mediaeval times when religiosity was rife, it served as a religious vehicle. When times changed and poverty became widespread the term changed to charity. When society wanted to make a distinction between charity and philanthropy – a new movement of philanthropist that promoted institutional philanthropy grew.

The shift from institutional philanthropy in detention homes was followed by a civilizing project where the rich decided not to promote detention centers. The phenomena of giving large donations to universities, libraries in cities, museums and public leisure parks took root. This came to be known as 'scientific philanthropy'. This was a philanthropy that focuses on the root causes of a problem rather than the structural issues from a scientific point of view. Philanthropists in America were fundamentally influenced by this approach.

A key proponent of this perspective was Andrew Carnegie. Carnegie is famed to have divided his life in two – in the first phase he wanted to be the richest man and in the second phase of his life he gave all his wealth away in philanthropic endeavors. His letter – '*The Gospel of Wealth*'<sup>23</sup> became a seminal blueprint in understanding philanthropy around the world and was in many ways a pacesetter in what American philanthropy is all about till today. In his work Carnegie argued that the wealthy people were morally obligated to give their money back to others in society – giving to good causes<sup>24</sup> or what others have called Giving to Public Good. This idea has been quite dominant in the western conception and application of philanthropy for many decades and still lives on today.

## *The Emergence of Philanthrocapitalists*

A new form of philanthropy has closely followed on the heels of the 'gospel of wealth' idea and that is – philanthrocapitalism<sup>25</sup>. The key features of this type of philanthropy is that it is associated with donors who made their fortune at a relatively young age through the IT and finance industries. These Philanthrocapitalist have started foundations which they manage and direct. These include personalities like; Bill Gates and Mark Elliot Zuckerberg. The modern philanthrocapitalist are considered quite influential globally and are successful capitalists. Bill Gates is the owner of one of the biggest tech companies (Microsoft) and Zuckberg (Facebook).

We have also witnessed other initiatives by these philanthropists. One influential one is the new umbrella - Giving Pledge - championed by personalities Warren Buffet and Bill Gates to build a movement of philanthropists who commit to giving the majority of their wealth to philanthropy or charitable causes, either during their lifetimes or in their wills<sup>26</sup>. The success of the philanthrocapitalists has even led to the thinking that they are better placed to tackle and solve the world problems than governments and NGOs. Today we see their influence in the United Nations community and even in the tackling of the global pandemic – Covid 19. Another important feature is the valorization of the philanthrocapitalist's business acumen as personalities that have the aptitudes, skills, contacts, drive, and other features which made them successful in business, and apply them to philanthropy. Some enthusiasts refer to these philanthrocapitalist as:



*hyper-agents: individuals who have the abilities, persona or contacts to leverage large amounts of political or financial support for a cause, 'individuals who can do what it would otherwise take a social movement to do'.<sup>27</sup>*

From the discussion it is clear that the concept of philanthropy continues on a long and audacious journey. However, authors have also argued that presenting and positing philanthropy as the approach that will solve humanity's problems is deceptive since philanthropy has existed for over two centuries and yet the world's problems have continued to also exist. Further there is also the critique that sometimes the story may be *about* philanthropy and not *about* the societal structural issues that it intends to address.<sup>28</sup>

The question that is being asked currently is; to what extent is philanthropy diverting attention and resources away from the failings of contemporary manifestation of capitalism?<sup>29</sup> These kinds of alternative critiques are going to be important as we rethink the future, scope and character of philanthropy.





## 04 African Philanthropy and the Spirit of Ubuntu

Several African authors in the last two decades or so, have spent significant time debunking the hegemonic discourse of western philanthropy as one that is an exclusively western notion. They argue that this articulation does not define accurately the reality of other parts of the world.<sup>30</sup> The key argument being that philanthropy is a culturally rooted concept that is about pro-social behavior and can cover a myriad of behaviors.

African authors have also argued that philanthropy is embedded in the life system of the African and African lives are in themselves an encapsulation of the diversity of philanthropic gestures from helping relatives, to contributing to weddings, to giving to religious functions and most of all giving time to each other.<sup>31</sup> This expanded conceptualization of philanthropy to include new forms of philanthropy that include community-led philanthropy is what has led authors to ask the question - *is there is a unique 'African Philanthropy' or do we only have Philanthropy with African Characteristics?*<sup>32</sup> It looks like this is a debate not yet settled but one that needs to be interrogated through further systematic research at country and continental level. Nevertheless, this is a pertinent question to ask.

In Uganda, like other African countries, philanthropy defies some of the standard definitions. While standard definitions emphasize giving of 'time, talent and treasure' outside the family and for altruistic or public service purposes with no expectation of benefit, in many parts of Africa this classification may not always stand. For example, giving to members of the extended family seems a predominant type of giving and all the related forms of giving that include mutual funds and other types of giving community giving. For example, analysis of the "Generosity During the Time of COVID" reports that were developed by CivSource documented some interesting kinds of giving that demonstrate the blurred boundaries of philanthropy in Uganda. Below are a couple of examples from the collections:

*Hilary Nuwamanya a 24-year-old man decided to walk to health centers to collect the life-saving drugs for people living with HIV/AIDS in his community (Bunamwaya, Wakiso District), after hearing the stories of distress from several people. Another person notices his act and offers him a bicycle to use during this time. As the report says; 'his commitment to volunteerism soars through every word; he has chosen to do this at no cost. "Government forgot us, we had to find a way to look after each other."<sup>33</sup>*

In another location in Eastern Uganda:

*Patrick Waisana, a volunteer at Busolwe Hospital (Butalega District) rode his bicycle daily to take ARVs and anti-TB drugs to patients who were due for a refill but couldn't access healthcare centers because of the travel ban. The thoughtful Waisana rode over 50km, expecting no pay. Kirabo Brian, a young man who works in Busolwe affirmed that indeed Waisana was one of a kind.<sup>34</sup>*

From these two stories, selected randomly, from various examples of people who gave their time and effortlessly supported each other in times of need – each of them speaks to a community spirit that lives within and beyond each one of us. That is the spirit that moves in communities and makes people take action to help each other selflessly. As Moyo (2011) puts it; 'African philanthropy is in fact the foundation on which an African's life and his or her development revolve. It is the foundation upon which modern institutions are built or from which they get their inspiration and identity'.<sup>35</sup>

The stories above speak to the spirit that has been captured in many societies in Africa - that is the spirit of Ubuntu. For the Zulu it is expressed in the epistemological idea that says; umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu, literally meaning "a person is a person because of people or through other people". The same spirit is described by CivSource (2019) report on Giving for Public Good. The report quotes Uganda's languages that describe the act of giving as; in Baganda - "Obwa Sselunganda", in Iteso - "eitunganane" and in Lugbar Ba oa' baa si.<sup>36</sup> The spirit of Ubuntu engenders reciprocity and envelopes a communalism of interdependency, sharing, oneness, loving, giving, and a sense of a continuum of relationships.



## 05 **From Philanthropy** to Giving and Gifting

The idea of giving that goes beyond the household to also encompass the community is very prevalent in Uganda and many parts of Africa. This would therefore suggest a further expansion of the concept and well as exploring ways in which the concept of giving that is rooted in the African experience of philanthropy.<sup>37</sup> Authors like Fowler have argued that there is a need to make a distinction between 'giving' and 'gifting'. This distinction is driven by the assertion that giving usually falls into two major categories – giving that is transactional and giving that is relational. As Fowler et. al. (2019) says;

*[...] a more substantive argument for use of gifting is that, from an ontological point of view, it is preferable because of its place in the evolution of the human behavioural repertoire that is cooperative rather than competitive. It is a type of transaction that co-determines the collaborative nature of the social order to be found within and across all societies. There is an implied 'altruistic' morality in gifting, analogous to modern philanthropy...<sup>38</sup>*

Given the foregoing, there has been an emergent advocacy for the need to remedy what is obviously a major error in assumptions that philanthropy serves the public good. The argument here is that bridging the African collective-good orientation of giving and helping and the public-good orientation of giving in the West requires a different theory or different concepts and well as a different policy stance. Hence advocacy for the use of the term "gifting" instead of "philanthropy" to capture a plurality of pro-social transactional practices around the world is an important policy agenda that should inform African philanthropy. It is also important to note that liberating the term philanthropy from its western conceptual strictures that hold it captive as a commercial endeavor is an important policy undertaking. In the next section we look at what the empirical evidence of global and local giving in Uganda says.



# 06 Empirical Evidence on Philanthropy in Uganda

The World Giving Index annual report<sup>39</sup> published by the Charities Aid Foundation every year ranked Uganda as the 8th most generous country in the world.<sup>40</sup> The report is based on data collected over a period of 10 years and is the world's largest survey of charitable endeavors around the world. The 2021 World Giving Index report uncovering trends in people's charitable actions through times of economic crisis, economic recovery and geopolitical unrest. The three dimensions that the report covers include:

- Helped a stranger
- Donated money to a charity
- Volunteered time to an organization

Below is a figure that ranks the best countries globally.

## The world's most generous countries

Figure 1: Highest scoring countries in 2020



Source: World Giving Index Report, 2021

As the figure above shows, in Africa four countries stood out. Kenya was the most generous country in Africa followed by Nigeria, Ghana and Uganda. On specific metrics Uganda ranked 7th with 75% of respondents reporting to have helped a stranger in the period under study. 32% of the respondents reported that they had donated money to a charity and 31% had volunteered their time.

These findings are clearly instructive for Uganda and other African countries. When these figures like these are read in juxtaposition to the poverty numbers in Uganda, it is clear that indeed the motivations for generosity are not a function of the level of wealth or poverty. For example, in 2019/20 the Uganda National Household Survey indicates that the number of Ugandans living below the poverty line in Uganda stands at 8.3 million people. On account of the effects of Covid-19, poverty rates have remained high across the country. But regardless of this reality Ugandans have continued to be generous.

While in years before the Covid pandemic, countries like the United States gave most, during the Covid pandemic we see new countries emerging as giving the most in crisis. The authors of the world giving index report concluded that, after ten years of surveying the charitable actions of over 100 countries, no one trait indicates a country's generosity.<sup>42</sup> The top charitable countries represent different levels of wealth, cultures, religions, and geographies.

The authors of the World Giving Index are conducting (in 2021) in-depth studies in a sample of countries that are ranked most generous including Uganda. This in-depth research will go a long way in helping to understand the role of giving, the motivations behind generosity and other variables. However, CivSource (as mentioned earlier) has documented some of the giving in Uganda through studying and documenting the acts of generosity during the Covid 19 pandemic in Uganda.<sup>43</sup> The "Generosity During the Time of COVID" reports clearly highlighted the outpouring of generosity in Uganda. The reports may be the only authoritative collection of giving stories in Uganda during the 2020 COVID 19 lockdown and its aftermath. While the reports document and celebrate giving, they are also an important resource in providing the readers with insights into how to build a policy framework for philanthropy.

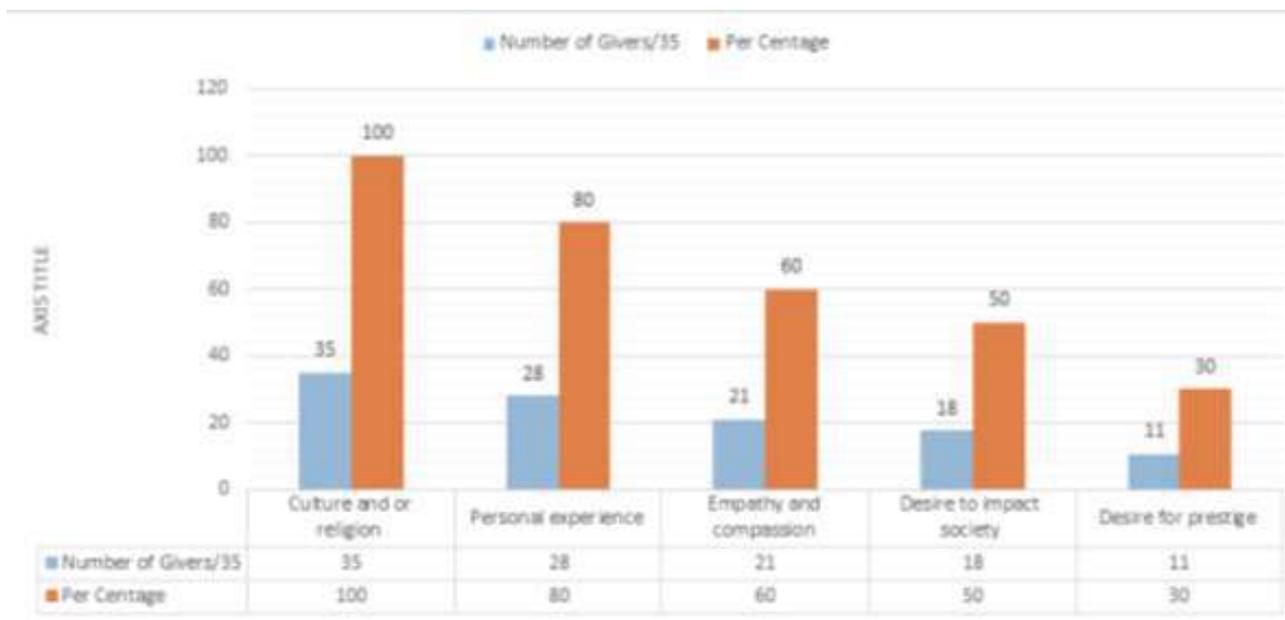
The reports present information and data on amounts of money given by individuals, institutions and communities to support philanthropic causes. From the findings in these reports it is clear that; for philanthropy to thrive in Uganda, it must be situated within a robust policy enabling environment. The stories in the reports for example present data on giving to the National COVID 19 Taskforce but do not show how what was given was used, the reports also present giving by corporate institutions and individuals but there is no known incentive available to encourage giving and ensure it is anchored in a framework of accountability. Another report<sup>44</sup> published by CivSource explored the landscape of giving for public good (GPG) in Uganda. The report focused on understanding the motivations of giving, the influences, changes and challenges in giving and experiences as well as the regulatory environment.

The findings indicated that individuals are driven to give to public good by different reasons. The top five reasons given included;

- Culture and religion
- Personal experience
- Empathy and compassion
- Desire to impact society
- Desire for prestige

The figure (Figure 2) below shows the results:

Figure 2: Motivations for Giving.



Source: CivSource 2020

In a country with high levels of poverty and other attendant social challenges, it is in order that a policy and conceptual dialogue on philanthropy happens. There is a need to collect empirical and anthropological evidence on the practice of philanthropy in Uganda. This will contribute greatly to the possibility of building a strong policy framework that facilitates all types of giving in Uganda.



## 07 *The Practice of Philanthropy*

In understanding how philanthropy is practiced, there are three main dimensions in the literature which are discernible.<sup>45</sup> These dimensions focus on the functional approach to philanthropy and integrate elements described in the history of philanthropy and develop them into distinct categories.

The first category is what is now known as the charity or service approach. This type of approach has its origins in religious or moral practice. While in the history we did indicate that at some point it had usurped the identity of all philanthropy, today this is a distinct practice. This is the practice employed by all religious organizations and some of the civil society organizations. This approach stresses help for the less fortunate through alms giving, tithing and its equivalents including other categories like Zakat among the Moslems.

The second category is the philanthropic or science approach which is distinguished from the charity approach as a practice. This usually focuses on addressing the causes rather than symptoms of social problems. One could categorize the Paris Society of Philanthropic approach discussed earlier as a typical example as well as the contemporary approaches by the philanthrocapitalist discussed earlier.

The third approach to philanthropy discernible in the literature is the venture philanthropy or entrepreneurial philanthropy approach. This type of philanthropic practice is fairly recent and has come in vogue with the rise of what Michael Edwards has called the 'Silicon Valley Consensus' philanthropists.<sup>46</sup> These are the billionaires of the new millennium that have made billions of dollars from the technology revolution.

Another type of categorization of the practice of philanthropy in the literature comes from the work of African Grantmakers focusing on the 'direction of giving'. In this categorization the practice of philanthropy is categorized in the following areas:

- One to One giving
- One to many giving
- Many to many
- Many to one

For the one to one practice of philanthropy, this is seen as the most common type of giving and one that is not even focused on in research on philanthropy. This is mostly because of the difficulty of documenting the myriad of practices that are performed on an everyday basis by individuals in numerous communities around the world.

The one-to-many practice is the most visible type of philanthropy practice and it is employed by High Network Individuals. It has become a dominant face of philanthropy and it is employed a lot by politicians and other rich individuals as well as civil society organizations. These could be organizations that give to a particular cause and raise resources intentionally to address that cause.

Many-to-many is also another type of practice that is prevalent at community level. This is usually characterized by several kinds giving that include efforts to mobilize resources from a larger group of individual givers towards a shared cause or objective that does not directly impact their immediate circle. During the Covid pandemic, this kind of giving was recorded in very many parts of Uganda with communities coming together to rescue each other.

In the many to one - this kind of practice looks at situations where multiple givers are mobilized in support of a cause or individual that directly affects or is linked to them. In the Covid 19 pandemic times this has also been a common practice. In Uganda the two types - many to many and many to one have been well documented in the generosity studies conducted during Covid 19 lockdown in 2020.<sup>48</sup>

It is important to note that while this categorization can be defined on paper, it is not as clear cut and the boundaries between and among the various types of giving can be blurred. For example, in one-to-many giving, it is also possible to have one-to-one giving happening concurrently. This is indeed a common feature at community level. Figure 3 below presents data from a recent study conducted by the East African Philanthropy Network. The study was looking at institutional philanthropy and it established that grants are still the dominant type of philanthropic practice that several civil society organizations use in their activities. This type of practice stood at 35% and online donations came last at 5%. The figure below shows a summary of the results of this study.<sup>49</sup>

Figure 3: Preferred Giving Practices



Source: East African Philanthropy Network (2021)

As discussed at the recent East African Philanthropy Forum, Africa is giving more to the world than it takes.<sup>50</sup> The practice of philanthropy and giving in Africa does not get well documented because of the systems in place for documenting as well as research in the area of philanthropy. By delineating the diversity of giving practices happening and research them empirically, practitioners in the sector will be able to demonstrate the role, place and impact of philanthropy in Africa.

Several speakers at the African Philanthropy Conference and the East African Conference in August and September 2021 respectively did make the point that Africans have always viewed philanthropy as a duty and a practice that defines the African worldview. A recent book on African proverbs on giving illustrates this with a collection of insightful proverbs on giving in Africa. A couple of examples will suffice:

This proverb from Tooro in western Uganda says;

*‘Never undermine/underestimate a friend who has given you little or much’*

or the proverb from Bugisu that says:  
*‘Things of a selfish person are eaten by insects.’*

At the heart of these sayings is the idea that giving is to be appreciated and actually not giving can have negative consequences. In the discussions of the practice of philanthropy in this section we are able to demonstrate that there is a diversity of approaches to philanthropy. These approaches are not mutually exclusive but are reinforcing with several of them happening concurrently at community level. The key point being that in building a case for a policy on philanthropy, the diversity of approaches will have to be taken into consideration. This will help to develop an approach that is relevant and speaks to the reality and experience of communities where philanthropy practices happen. In the next section we focus more specifically on community philanthropy as a particular type of practice of philanthropy in Africa.



# 08 **Community philanthropy**

## *The Practice and Limits*

In the formulation by the African Grant Makers Association, community-based philanthropy maps to the “many to one” model. In this case many members of a community come together and work towards tackling one need or problem. The problem could be at a community level. However, it should be noted that the definition of ‘one’ need and even ‘a community’ could vary.

Another definition of community philanthropy says that community philanthropy is the giving by individuals and local institutions of their goods or money along with the time and skills to promote the well-being of others and the betterment of the communities in which they live and work. This definition does draw particular attention to two key features. First, community philanthropy is a collective act, and second, it promotes the wellbeing and improvement in the lives and prospects of others.

While in traditional formulations community philanthropy could be referring to small communities in rural areas that pull resources together to deal with a specific need, we also see the emergence of larger community projects. In some situations the ‘community’ may not be a geographically bound space but an identity-based definition. In the urban areas some of the key informants I spoke to indicated that, ethnic community groups for example in the capital city or in the diaspora can come together as a ‘community’ to tackle a defined problem in a community.

For instance in the Generosity reports by CivSource there were findings relating to community philanthropy through diaspora groups. A case in point was in Karamoja:

*Aware Uganda, in partnership with The Karamoja Community United Kingdom Foundation, has launched an appeal to support the vulnerable communities in Karamoja. The proceeds will go towards rebuilding the lives of the region's vulnerable women and children during and after the coronavirus. Prior to the fundraising drive, they committed to contributing Personal Protective Equipment across the Karamoja Region.<sup>53</sup>*

However, it should be noted that while 'community' may not be defined as geographical, this is an issue that needs further interrogation in the understanding of community philanthropy. The dominant use of the term 'community philanthropy' links it to the idea of a geographical scope categorized as a community where the philanthropic practice happens. Geography is therefore an important variable in understanding what constitutes community philanthropy. As shown in the case below; community philanthropy would typically fall in situations like this case in the generosity reports involving community members coming to the rescue of a woman whose husband had gone to the city. The narration is as follows:

*Lorna Wanyenze's husband was supposed to travel back from his trip to Kampala, the President announced a national lockdown. With just a few weeks left until the birth of her baby, the very pregnant Lorna went into a state of panic. She was new to the trading center in Butiru Sub-County. She knew no one and was counting on her husband to be there for the birth of their son. As soon as her neighbours noticed that her husband was away, and would be stuck wherever he was, they started trickling into her small compound with help. "First they brought a bunch of matooke, and then avocado," she told of the giving that unfolded right before her eyes. "The next morning, I heard a knock at my door. About three or four women who had brought me more food and water."<sup>54</sup>*

The concept of community philanthropy offers a different way of looking at the assumptions and concepts that underlie the general understanding of organized philanthropy. Crucially, it offers a means of understanding 'community' from the perspective of localized help and its proper place in development thinking and practice. However, it is important that proponents of community philanthropy avoid romanticizing and further taxing the poor in the name of local resource mobilization. The idea is not to increase the burden on the poor nor to exploit their existing systems and strategies of help. The objective of exploring community philanthropy should be more about learning from what works organically and what is consistent with the values and norms of the communities involved.



## 09 *Philanthropy and Social justice*

Darren Walker, President of the Ford Foundation has written a pathbreaking book entitled; *From Generosity to Justice: A New Gospel of Wealth*. It is instructive and insightful that a new gospel of wealth is being written to interrogate and move away from the earlier ideas of Carnegie. The book lays out interesting insights as it brings together several thinkers and activists to speak about the transitional shift from generosity to justice. While the book is instructive, it is also restrictive in as far as it discusses philanthropy from a largely 'treasure based' conceptualization.

The examples do indicate interesting insights in terms of the ways in which the thinkers in the book approach the issues around philanthropy, it still speaks about a 'new gospel of wealth'. It may be time to completely divorce the thinking on philanthropy from discussions of wealth. This is because the conceptualization of wealth in purely monetized ways robs agency of the other forms of philanthropy (talent and time) which in many ways are used greatly by those who are excluded or disadvantaged by the global monetary system.

However, it should be noted that the transition from generosity to justice is a very welcome idea especially in African philanthropy. Philanthropy and its army of hegemonic practices has been discussed in many spaces as removed from the political realities of Africa. It will therefore be important that more work is done to see how philanthropy can move from being an exercise in giving without justice to an exercise in giving that promotes justice. Social justice philanthropy is therefore an area that is still growing but one that has to be built intentionally as it will play a major role in locating philanthropy at the heart of societal transformation – both social and politically. Social justice philanthropy is an ideal towards which we can strive.

While we should be aware that completely egalitarian societies are an utopia, we should bear in mind that building societies that are fairer in economic, social and political realms with opportunity for a more equitable distribution of power is an aspiration within reach.



# 10 Challenges *around Philanthropy*

The historical challenges of philanthropy notwithstanding, challenges are still abound in how philanthropy can be understood. The exploitation of the motivations of philanthropy through practices that pollute philanthropy with patronage systems is an issue to contend with. It is now clear from everyday experience that not all giving is altruistic. For instance, in the history of independent Africa, authors have documented various ways in which African communalism and giving has been exploited.

In Peter Ekeh's 1975 thesis of 'two publics in Africa', he argues that colonialism in Africa left two kinds of publics - a civic public and a primordial public. He submits that that while individuals pretend to uphold the virtues of the civic public (brought by colonialism) they also remain loyal to their primordial public (rooted in tradition). This clash of norms and interests according to Ekeh generate tendencies that have come to be known as tribalism and corruption with public officials stealing and looting and giving through philanthropic gestures as 'High Net Worth Individuals' to their clans and villages.

These instances and practices do point to the fact that giving is deeply embedded in the politics of patronage and while it can be wished away, we know that it is a reality that scholarship on philanthropy should engage with. Indeed, when the first Covid 19 lockdown happened in Uganda, the first people to start distributing food publicly were politicians who were interested in the 'political capital' that comes with giving. This led to a serious and brutal crackdown on politicians who were distributing food during the lockdown by the government security agencies. Giving will always have to contend with the politically strategic and perverse patron-client political economy relationships responsible for much of Africa's governance excesses.

The connection between giving and political calculation by politicians and state officials who donate part of their loot to constituents as a way of buying loyalty and patronage is something that has been variously documented in Uganda.<sup>55</sup> The discussion on the sometimes outright selfish and "dark" motivations of individuals as well as private and corporate foundations to engage in philanthropy further accentuates this view. Research needs to be done in this area as a way of opening doors to the broader questions of the politics of giving in Africa and provide an opportunity to bring into the conversation estranged epistemological standpoints on giving and politics in Africa.



# 11 *Policy Imperatives of Philanthropy*

## *So where do we go from here?*

From the foregoing analysis, it is evident that a major problem of our times is to formulate a public policy for philanthropy that will ensure freedom for voluntary action consistent with the need for public accountability. In this section we present some areas for engagement in terms of building a strong public policy ecosystem that supports the philanthropy infrastructure support organizations and the policy community in Uganda.

The following are key areas of possible policy advocacy and policy engagement:

### ***a) Defining Philanthropy in Policy and Legislation:***

As has been illustrated in this paper, the term philanthropy is not one that sits comfortably in any societal discourse. It is a fluid term. It is imbued with images that make it deceptive, yet it is also a powerful term that can encapsulate several important generosity gestures. It will therefore be important for a public policy discussion to be initiated so that philanthropy can arrive at a local definition or definitions and its definitional challenges discussed and negotiated.

This is very important in the Ugandan policy context especially in light of the ongoing debates around registration of non-profit and non-state organizations including NGOs, companies limited by guarantee and other such formations. The character, history and philosophy that underpins philanthropy as discussed in this paper will do well with a structured policy discussion that can arrive at clarity in terms of helping to 'give giving a name'.

## ***b) Investing in philanthropy leadership development, innovation, and capacity-building efforts:***

African philanthropy is a growing field of practice. It does therefore need a policy and regulatory framework coupled with a community of practitioners that play a diverse number of roles in the building of philanthropic practice in Uganda. Developing a robust national capacity development initiative that focuses on building knowledge about the diverse forms of meaning and practice in African philanthropy is critical.

Further investing in leadership development, innovation, and other capacity-building efforts is critical for the growth of the sector in terms of persons that give and also the growth of the sector in terms of the quality of giving practices that will embody African philanthropy. This capacity development will not only focus on practitioners but also regulators in government who play a crucial role in instituting an enabling environment for philanthropy at country level.

## ***c) Developing a culture of local giving and local resource mobilization to escape the 'starvation cycle':***

Philanthropy infrastructure support organizations are undergoing challenging times. While giving has expanded during the Covid 19 pandemic across Uganda and around the world, institutional giving has also dwindled. Many nonprofits are increasingly being asked by donors and governments to do more with less. The call for organizations to cut costs and build sustainable models may lead, at least in the short term, to exacerbating the "starvation cycle," in which funders only pay for program costs and not for administrative costs.

To overcome this starvation cycle will require innovations in local giving and local resource mobilization. The expansion of avenues of local giving and the building of strong financing models is critical. Developing capacity and influencing and expanding the 'generosity mindset' (a discussion we shall develop in another paper) will be critical for the growth of local resource mobilization and philanthropy as a whole.

## ***d) Creating a Nexus between Local Economic Development and Community Philanthropy:***

Uganda is a highly decentralized country. Uganda currently has 135 Local Governments. The Government is working on implementing an innovative National Local Economic Development Policy to support Local Governments to identify own investment opportunities that can generate revenue, create employment and make them less dependent on the central government.

While this is a welcome policy innovation, its success rests on the capabilities at community level. It will therefore be imperative that innovations that link these processes together are explored so that local economic development is augmented by community philanthropy.

## ***e) Exploiting the potential of the Parish Development Model and Community Philanthropy:***

The Government of Uganda is also rolling out the Parish Development Model from 2021. This model is a vehicle through which household incomes and the quality of life of Ugandans will be improved, where the Parish is developed as a wealth creating unit responsible for taking services closer to the people. The Parish will play a key role in the coordination, monitoring, supervision, reporting and oversight for Production, Marketing, Social Services and Financial and other services in their localities.

The Parish Model will lay emphasis on agro-industrialization initiatives. One of the key objectives of the Parish Development Model will be supporting initiatives focusing on mindset change. This is where the synergies between community philanthropy and parish development will have to be explored to ensure the best for citizens across Uganda.

## ***f) Create learning communities and build robust knowledge production processes on philanthropy:***

Patterns of giving, policy intervention strategies, structural issues, programmatic opportunities and constraints need to be constantly studied and understood. It will therefore be imperative that there are internal processes built that support learning from others and sharing what is learnt. There are over 135 Local Governments in Uganda and over 1000 parishes. It is important that note that as one community tries to accomplish something in one corner of the country, it is possible that there are other communities in another corner that will have already tested solutions to the same problem in another "greenhouse of democracy".

It is therefore critical that the philanthropy ecosystems operates as a true ecosystem - seeing and exploring the interdependence and opportunities for action so that communities desist from reinventing the wheel – or worse, trying out failed strategies. In the same breath, when something promising is invented, it needs to be publicized so that others can apply and adapt it.

## ***g) Building Leadership Policies that are Gender Sensitive:***

If leadership is critical in getting things done, then it will be critical to look for those who demonstrate both exceptional self-leadership and community leadership in promoting the agenda for community philanthropy. To develop a truly social-justice-rooted and gender sensitive approach to philanthropy will require envisaging a world that is just and free from patriarchy through processes that enable leaders to enable others to lead and building power with them instead of over them.

It is critical that promoters of community philanthropy align with the gender sensitive view that patriarchal ideology enables and legitimizes the structuring of every aspect of our lives by establishing the framework within which society defines and views women and men and constructs male supremacy. Through community philanthropy it will be important to promote intentional actions that focus on fighting patriarchy within the systems of philanthropic practice.



### ***i) Philanthropy Resources should complement and not backfill:***

Philanthropic resources at community and local level cannot match government resources shilling for shilling, nor can they make up for them as funds are cut back during budget cuts.

In all cases where funds are mobilized, the key should be to identify high-impact opportunities and make investments that will leverage or increase the effectiveness of much larger sums of government funding. This will always mean that when resource mobilization is undertaken, philanthropy resources should not lead in any way to less government resources at community level.



## End Notes



- 1 Sense-making is the process by which people give meaning to their collective experiences. It has been defined as "the ongoing retrospective development of plausible images that rationalize what people are doing". See Weick, K., Sutcliffe, K. M. and Obstfeld, D. (2005). **Organizing and the process of sensemaking**, Organization Science, 16(4): 409-421.
- 2 Mary Ellen S. Capek and Molly Mead (2006) **A Effective Philanthropy: Organizational Success through Deep Diversity and Gender Equality**, MIT Press, Cambridge
- 3 See Hubert Martin, Jr. (1961) **The Concept of Philanthropy in Plutarch's Lives**, The American Journal of Philology, Vol. 82, No. 2 (Apr., 1961), pp. 164-175
- 4 Ibid, p. 168
- 5 See Wagner, David (2000) **What's Love Got To Do With It: A Critical Look At American Charity**, New Press, New York
- 6 Enlightenment is a European intellectual movement of the late 17th and 18th centuries emphasizing reason and individualism rather than tradition. It was heavily influenced by 17th-century philosophers such as Descartes, Locke, and Newton, and its prominent figures included Kant, Goethe, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Adam Smith.
- 7 Hellenization is the historical spread of ancient Greek culture, religion, and, to a lesser extent, language over foreign peoples conquered by Greeks or brought into their sphere of influence, particularly during the campaigns of Alexander the Great in the 4th Century BC
- 8 Lindemann, M, 2002, **Urban charity and the relief of the sick poor in Northern Germany, 1750-1850**, in Grell, O P, Cunningham, A and Jütte, R (eds) 2002, **Health care and poor relief in 18th and 19th century Northern Europe**, Aldershot: Ashgate, pp136-54
- 9 Purgatory is a place in (Catholic doctrine) or state of suffering inhabited by the souls of sinners who are expiating their sins before going to heaven.
- 10 A chantry is an ecclesiastical term that may have either of two related meanings: a) a chantry service, a Christian liturgy of prayers for the dead, which historically was an obiit, or a chantry chapel, a building on private land, or an area in a parish church or cathedral reserved for the performance of the "chantry duties".
- 11 <https://tzedakah.info/>
- 12 Ibid, <https://tzedakah.info/>
- 13 <https://www.muslimaid.org/>
- 14 Jütfe Robert (1981) **Poor Relief and Social Discipline in Sixteenth-Century Europe**, European Studies Review, Volume: 11 issue: 1, page(s): 25-52
- 15 Jones, C, (1982), **Charity and bienfaisance: The treatment of the poor in the Montpellier region 1740-1815**, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- 16 Ibid, p.36
- 17 Duprat, Catherine (1993), *Le temps des philanthropes*, Paris: Éditions du C. T. H. S.
- 18 See Waters, C (1990), *British socialists and the politics of popular culture, 1884-1914*, Manchester University Press, Manchester
- 19 See Suam Nangiro's blog here
- 20 See Cunningham Hugh (2015) *Philanthropy and its critics: a history* in Behrooz Morvaridi (2015) **New Philanthropy and Social Justice: Debating and Conceptual and Policy Discourse**, Polity Press, Bristol, p.27
- 21 Rothman, D J, 1971, **The discovery of the asylum: social order and disorder in the new republic**, Little, Brown and Company Boston
- 22 See <https://mglsd.go.ug/kampiringisa-rehabilitation-center/>
- 23 Carnegie, Andrew (1889), **Gospel of wealth**, North American Review, CCCXCI
- 24 See Andrew Carnegie (2017) **The Gospel of Wealth** [first published in 1889], Carnegie Corporation, New York
- 25 Bishop, M and Green, M (2008) **Philanthro-capitalism: how the rich can save the world**, Bloomsbury Press, London
- 26 See <https://givingpledge.org/> for details of the Giving Pledge and the Billionaires involved
- 27 Ibid, p.48
- 28 See Pablo Fuentenebro (2020) **Will philanthropy save us all? Rethinking urban philanthropy in a time of crisis**, Geoforum, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2020.07.005>, p.3
- 29 See Hay, I., Muller, S (2014), **Questioning generosity in the golden age of philanthropy: Towards critical geographies of super-philanthropy**. Program Human Geography, 38 (5), 635-653

- 30 See for example; Moyo, Bhikinkosi (2005) **Setting the development agenda. U.S. foundations and the NPO sector in South Africa: A case study of Ford, Mott, Kellogg and Open Society Foundations.** Johannesburg, South Africa: University of the Witwatersrand, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation
- 31 Fowler, Alan (2002) **NGOs as a moment in History:** Beyond aid to social entrepreneurship or civic innovation? *Third World Quarterly* 21 (4), 637–654.
- 32 Moyo, Bhikinkosi (2009a) **Philanthropy in Africa**, Pp. 1187–1192 in *International Encyclopedia of Civil Society*, edited by H. K. Anheier, S. Toepler, and R. List. New York: Springer
- 33 *Generosity Report* Vol.1, p.23
- 34 *Generosity Report* Vol.1, p.50
- 35 See Moyo, B. (2011) **Transformative Innovations in African Philanthropy**, Institute of Development Studies, Sussex University, Brighton for The Bellagio Initiative. Accessed June 20, 2020. <http://www.bellagioinitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/Bellagio-Moyo.pdf>
- 36 CivSource Africa (2020) **Finding Philanthropy: Exploring the Practice of Giving for Public Good in Uganda**, CivSource Africa and Robert Bosch Stiftung, Kampala, p.11
- 37 Remarks by Professor. Bhikinkosi Moyo, Centre on African Philanthropy and Social Investments at the East African Philanthropy Conference, August 2021
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- 40 Charities Aid Foundation (2020) **CAF World Giving Index 2020: A Global Pandemic Special Report**, CAF, London
- 41 *Ibid*, p.7
- 42 *Ibid*, p.4
- 43 The full reports can be accessed at <https://www.civsourceafrica.com/giving-reports>
- 44 CivSource Africa (2020) *Finding Philanthropy: Exploring the Practice of Giving for Public Good in Uganda*, CivSource Africa and Robert Bosch Stiftung, Kampala
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- 50 Presentation by Dr. Tendai Murisa, Founder & Executive Director, SVIO Institute at the East African Philanthropy Forum, September, 2021
- 51 Wilkinson-Maposa (2009) **The Poor Philanthropist III: A practice-relevant guide for community philanthropy**, United States Centre for Leadership and Public Values, Johannesburg
- 52 Interview with respondent from West African Civil Society Institute, August 2021
- 53 *Generosity Reports*, Vol 2, p.60
- 54 *Generosity Report*, Vol.2, p.50
- 55 See for example Alliance for Alliance for Finance Monitoring [ACFIM] (2021) **WHO WON THE CAMPAIGN SPENDING WAR IN NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER 2020?** Interrogating the influence of money on the outcome of elections, ACFIM, Kampala.

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Giving  
For Change  
Alliance



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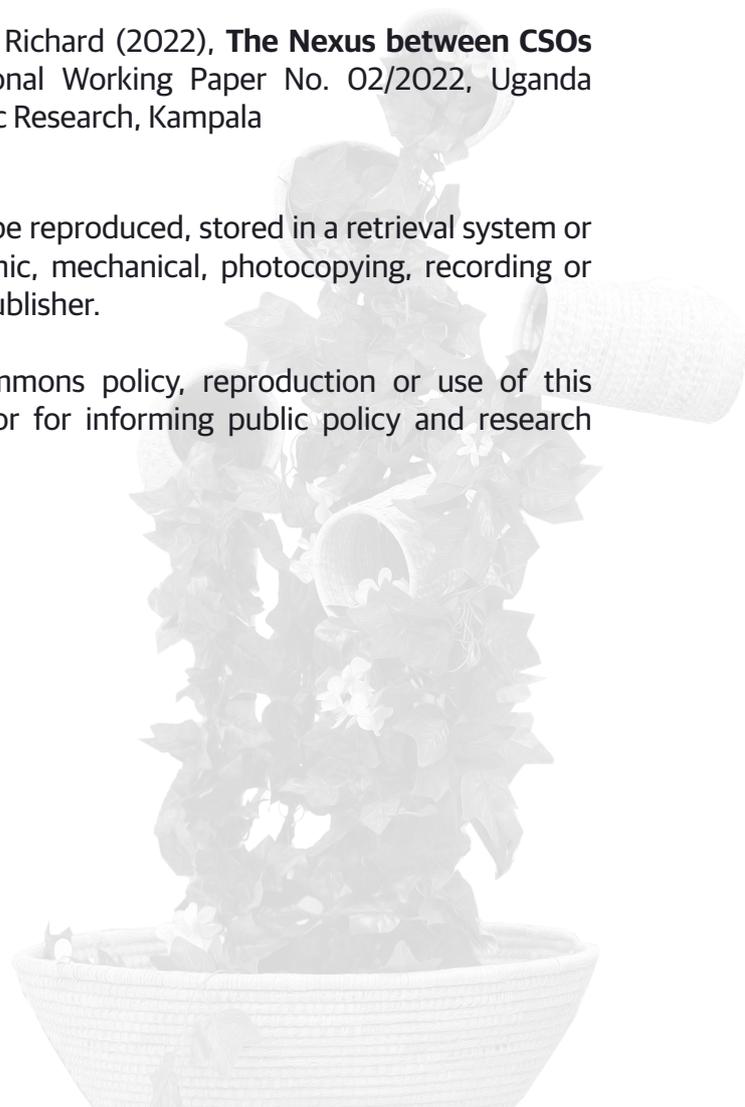
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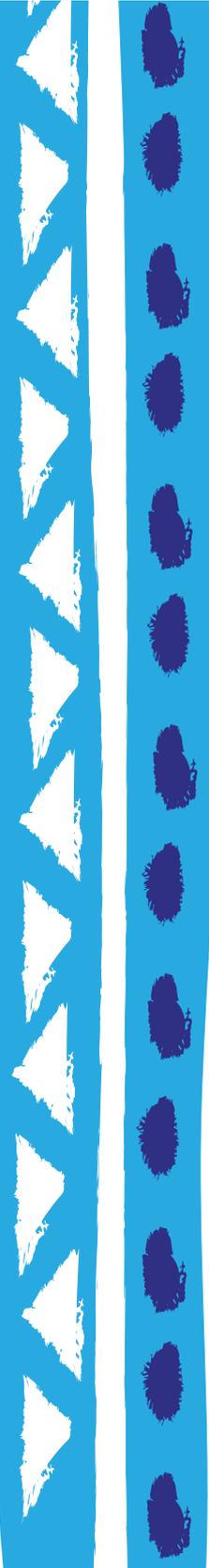
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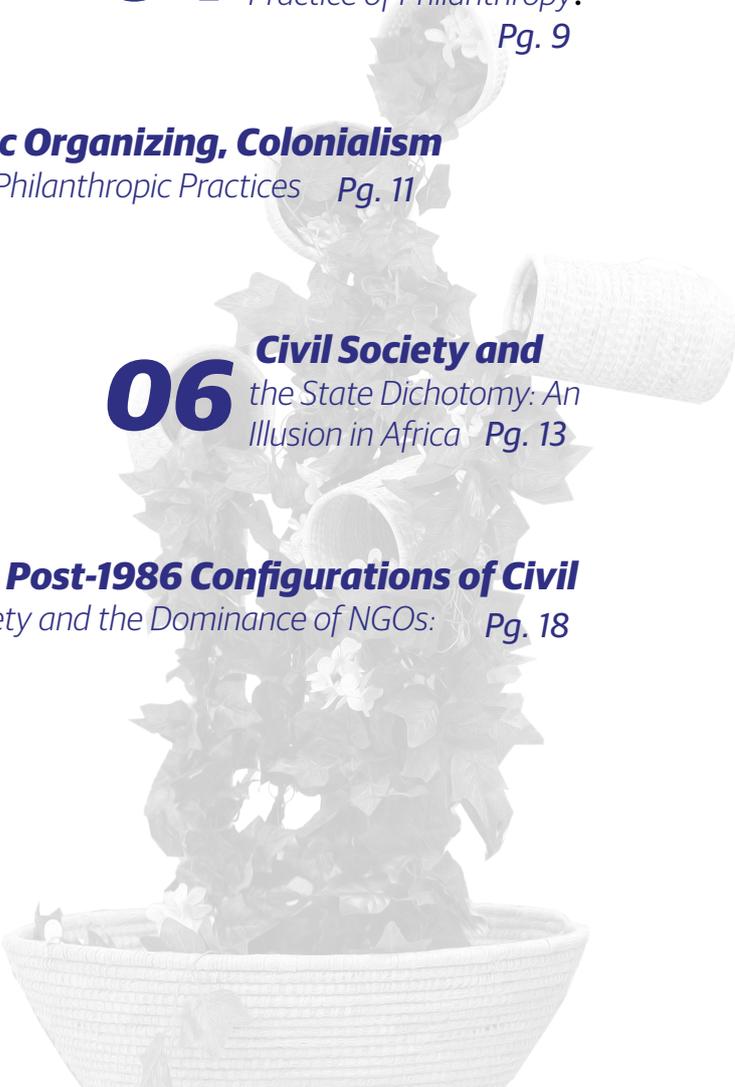
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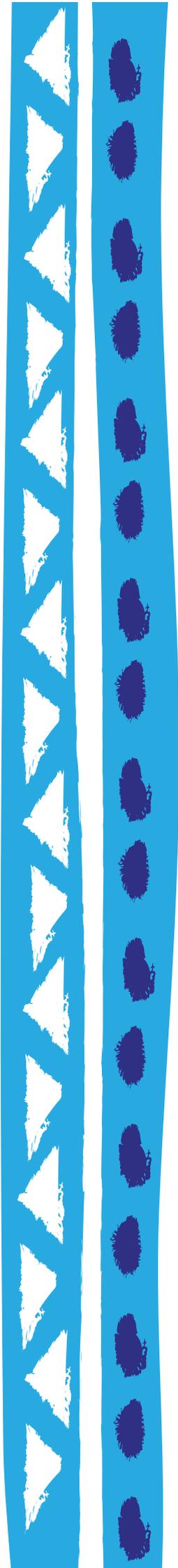
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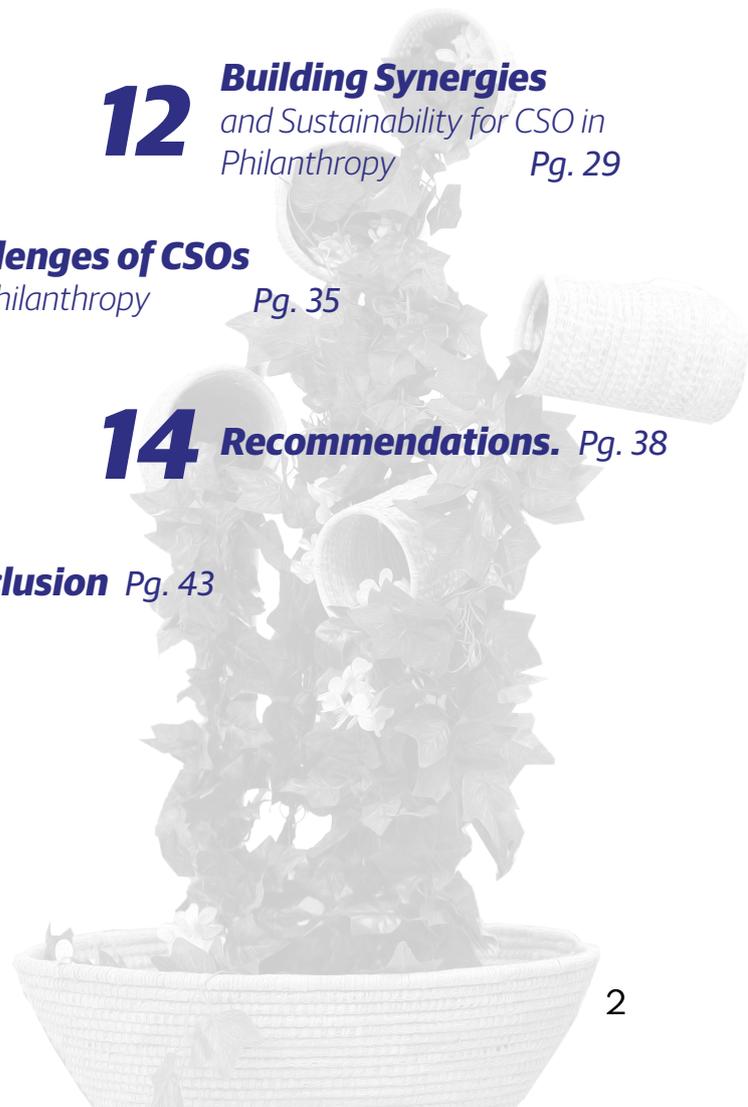
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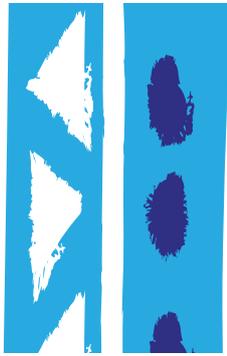
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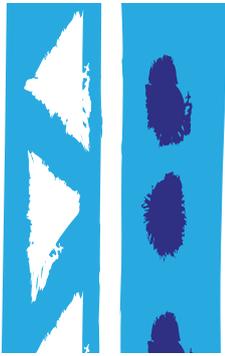


## 01 Preamble

Philanthropy and civil society organizations are conjoined twins. They are held together by the umbilical cord of gift-giving and associated pro-social philanthropic behaviors that society has built over the years. The foundational philosophy of civil society is driven by the idea of associating and collectively organizing to respond to societies' needs.

On the other hand, philanthropy, giving and gifting as prosocial behaviors are about responding to society's needs by giving what one has - time, treasure or talent. With this simple association made, this 'Sense Making' Policy Position Paper will attempt to present the evolution of these two ideas of development. The paper will show how these two social ideas have structured life in Uganda. The paper will also make proposals on ways in which philanthropy and civil society can reinforce each other's utility value in Uganda's development.

This paper is exploratory in nature but with a firm solution-focused bias. This is to ensure that development practitioners in civil society and the philanthropic community can find value and efficacy in the policy proposals that emerge from such a paper.

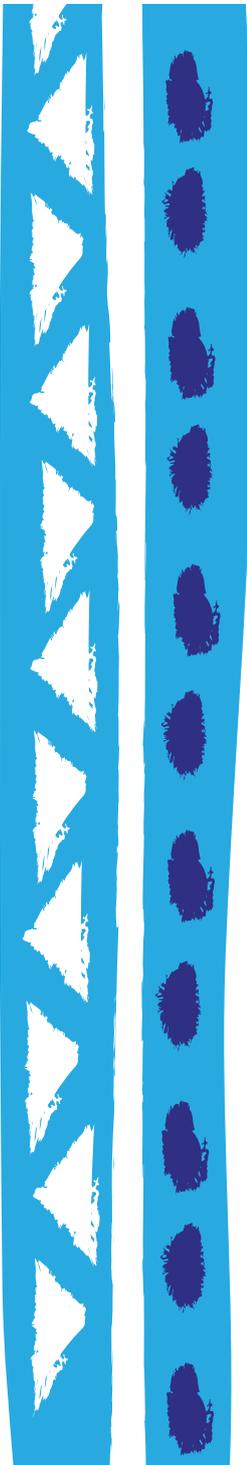


## 02 *Contextual Overview*

To understand civil society in Uganda, one has to return to the history that formed the society known as Uganda and how associational life interweaved itself in the formation of Uganda. In the associational life of civil society organizations, we shall also be able to trace the role of prosocial behaviors, philanthropy and gifting and their impact on Uganda as a society. It will be evident in the analytical journey we shall travel that there exists a tension within the prosocial behaviors that are rooted in the African traditional experience and the colonial experience.

In this paper we shall not invest any analytical effort in offering judgmental analysis of the pros and cons of colonialism, but we shall demonstrate how the colonial life experience is an important historical fact in countries like Uganda and how we need to pay attention to that history to only build new alternatives that do not deny but embrace the diversity of tensions that countries like Uganda have to endure as they strive to build societies that are true to the African experience and ramifications of the colonial experience.

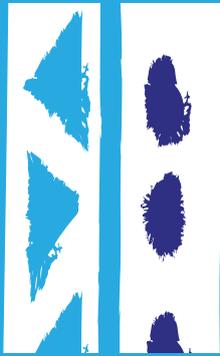
To kick off, Uganda got its independence in 1962 from British rule. Independence came with great expectations.



The lowering of the Union Jack and the hoisting of the Ugandan flag, the first speech by Prime Minister Milton Obote, the handover of instruments of power and putting together of a first cabinet that was seen as nationalistic. These are all fond memories in Uganda's history. Indeed, the development indicators of the first few years of independence put Uganda above or next to many of the East Asian economies.

Economic history reminds us that in 1968, Singapore's economy was worth \$1.4b while Uganda's was worth \$1.04b. They were both third world countries. Today, the two are far from peers. Singapore's economy is worth \$208.77b, while Uganda's is worth less than a tenth of that - roughly \$18b.<sup>1</sup> The positive economic developments of the early post-colonial Uganda did not stay for long. The army was the first to throw a spanner in the works with the mutiny for higher pay that led to the then Prime Minister to call in British troops to handle the situation. Indeed, a bad start for independent Uganda requiring foreign troops in the first few years. Like quicksand all kinds of challenges continued.

The brutal expulsion of the first President of Uganda and King of Buganda, the military takeover of Government by Idi Amin, the expulsion of Asians and a host of atrocities have pockmarked Uganda's independence history like ugly scars. In 59 years, Uganda has seen over 11 Presidents and one Military Commission, a number of brutal military takeovers of government and the consistent degradation of different sectors of the economy. State looting and pillaging of different kinds brought the country to its knees at the turn of every regime.



## 03 *Contextual Overview*

The above context necessitated that Ugandans for a longtime depended on each other - through building strong social networks and systems of giving, gifting and community philanthropy built on the norms of reciprocity, solidarity, obligation, and trust. It is within this context that we discuss the nexus between CSOs and philanthropy in Uganda. The colonial period was marked by associational life and civil society that organized around resisting the excesses of colonialism.

During the colonial period (1920-1960) civil society organizations organized themselves in several categories. It is a foundational contention of this policy paper that the birth of the foreign-funded, proposal writing NGO, which is almost exclusively run by careerists, had (and still has) a debilitating effect on the rooted, authentic, and interest-based fraternity of civil society formations in Uganda which successfully championed workers' rights, land rights, negotiated agricultural produce prices, and ultimately won Uganda's independence through citizen-led struggles and causes.

The congenital defects with which the modern NGO was born not only polluted the operating environment for the greater civil society, but also groomed a detached middle class which upended the pursuit of group and community interests—a major characteristic of emerging democracies elsewhere.



There were the elite civil society groups that invested in fighting the colonial governance system and working to replace it with African self-determination and African rule. These used civil and elite methods like petitions to the colonial masters to try and point out injustices of the colonialist. These elite groups of the time did not indeed pose any significant threat to colonial rule as they were using civil means that did not destabilize the colonial power base.

On the other hand, the militant groups often comprising the trade union and farmers' association leaders with their political base on the peasantry and unionized workers focused on changing the status quo through organizing protests and strikes. These groups focused on demanding for higher commodity prices, better conditions of work and eventually political independence. On its part, the colonial state<sup>2</sup> provided little or no space for civil society activism and it *"sought to control the evolution, content and impact of associational life in Uganda... in order to prevent drastic challenges to the hegemony of the colonial state."*

An important and sometimes ignored practice of these early civil society groups was how they were sustained through giving by their own members. To sustain these struggles local people came together to give through different forms. For example, the civil society formation - The Young Buganda Society which included many of the best-known men in Buganda's office-holding elite in the 1940s, as well as men well placed within the protectorate's administration were also involved in some form of prosocial behaviors. As Summers Carol (2005) writes:

*Members met occasionally, listened to speakers, wrote letters to the newspapers and government officials, and supported initiatives they considered progressive, such as syphilis treatment and school funding.<sup>3</sup>*

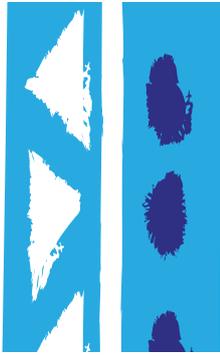
Cooperatives are also fondly remembered to have pooled resources and sent one of their own - Ignatius Musaazi to London in 1950 to lobby the British Parliament for support of the Federation of Partnerships of Uganda African Farmers (FPUAF) Union aspirations.<sup>4</sup> While civic organizing was challenging in the colonial times it was also alive on the margins of society and in many ways sustained by philanthropic efforts of members who participated variously.

Another key feature that accompanied the colonial project was the institutionalization of giving. Institutional giving was part of the mechanisms that were used variously in the colonial times. In societies where there was indirect rule the Chiefs who had hitherto been part of the gifting life cycle, became collectors of tax on behalf of the colonial government and extractors of treasure from communities completely negating the gifting ethos in their new configurations as accomplices in the colonial project.

These instances created a new dynamic with gifting rapidly being reconfigured into other types of giving that included taxation and other dues that were given to the state. But it should be noted that gift-giving was central to the encounter between Ugandans and Europeans in the late-nineteenth century and even beyond. It was performed as part of diplomatic encounters and political settlements<sup>5</sup> It therefore follows that the attendant discourses around gift-giving and other prosocial behaviors are important in understanding the economy of affection in the colonial period and beyond.

The arrival of Christianity and Islam also reframed the narratives of giving with new forms of giving that included giving to the church for Christians and giving Zakat for the Muslims. Traditional gifting was sometimes demonized as part of the uncivilized customs of the natives. In this case the 'native' who was being modernized was encouraged to give in other forms - either through the church or the mosque.





## 04 *Meaning and Practice of Philanthropy.*

In the first Sense-Making Paper on the Meaning and Practice of Philanthropy we dealt with the conceptual terms relating to the prosocial behaviors related to philanthropy that are known by terms like; gifting, giving and charity.<sup>6</sup> Suffice it to say, that in the pre and colonial African experiences, there was a strong culture of gifting and caring as discussed in the preceding sections. Communities in Uganda have always worked together, eaten together and even raised children together.

Several African authors in the last one decade or so, have spent significant time debunking the hegemonic discourse of western philanthropy as one that is an exclusively western notion. They argue that this articulation does not define accurately the reality of other parts of the world.<sup>7</sup> The key argument being that philanthropy is a culturally rooted concept that is about pro-social behavior and can cover a myriad of behaviors. African authors have also argued that philanthropy is embedded in the life system of Africa and African lives are in themselves an encapsulation of the diversity of philanthropic gestures from helping relatives, to contributing to weddings, to giving to religious functions and most of all giving time to each other.<sup>8</sup>

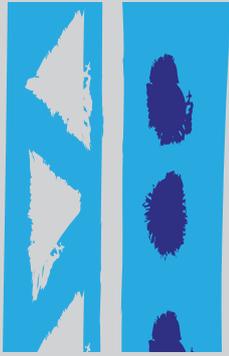
This expanded conceptualization of philanthropy to include new forms of philanthropy that even include community led philanthropy is what has led authors to ask the question - is there is a unique 'African Philanthropy' or do we only have Philanthropy with African Characteristics?<sup>9</sup>

It looks like this is a debate not yet settled but one that needs to be interrogated through further systematic research at country and continental level. Nevertheless, this is a pertinent question to ask.

As this proverb in Buganda says, Olugend'enjala terudda - The stomach that goes hungry is unlikely to return on a visit. The proverb was used as a demonstration of the fact that one's reputation would be at stake if a visitor was not gifted with anything during their stay and such visitors would never return. Further, authors on African philanthropy have demonstrated that philanthropy as understood in its 21st century framing is limiting in describing the true ethos of the African experience. What is experienced in Africa is more than charity, more than giving - but what is experienced can be better referred to as gifting. As Fowler et. al (2019) put it:

*A simple reason for speaking of gifting rather than giving is that the former is premised on a positive moral element while the latter needs to be qualified to understand its value. One can give someone a cold shoulder, influenza, misinformation, a helping hand, job contacts, an introduction which expands a social network and so on. Without the qualifier, giving is not, a priori, an act dedicated to the well-being of others. Gift-giving is a compound option that implies a normative value to the interaction. However, a more substantive argument for use of gifting is that, from an ontological point of view, it is preferable because of its place in the evolution of the human behavioural repertoire that is cooperative rather than competitive.<sup>10</sup>*

What the above quotation illustrates is that while philanthropy with its root in the Greek etymology is about 'love for humanity', the same practice in Africa represents a life force and the DNA of people. Indeed, gifting was at the root of associational life, which is a key characteristic of what has come to be known as organized civil society.



## **05** *Civic Organizing, Colonialism and Philanthropic Practices*

Colonialism brought new forms of associational life that were linked to giving. Charities that were part of the colonizing and civilizing projects became a new feature in the African body politic.

Institutions like the Boy Scouts - a global youth movement (with over 4 million members in Africa) whose stated purpose is to contribute to the development of young people in achieving their full physical, intellectual, emotional, social and spiritual potentials, as individuals, as responsible citizens started.<sup>11</sup> The Girls Guides movement also arrived in Africa whose stated focus is to empower girls and young women to be leaders - now has over 1.5 million members.<sup>12</sup>

These forms of civil society were followed by other religious based civil society configurations in several parts of Africa. In church, groups like the Mothers Union and Fathers Guild were influential forms of civic organizing. All these forms of organizing were built as charities where young people are expected to give of their time, talent and in some instances treasure. In the religious organizations the giving of treasure is central and has taken on various types of philanthropic gestures as mentioned earlier in this paper.

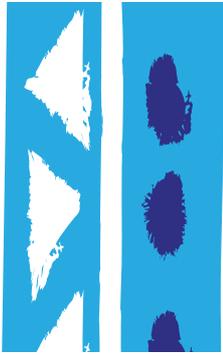


In Uganda, the era of creation of institutional homes to bolster giving and charity or what has been referred to in literature as 'institutionalization of suffering'<sup>13</sup> was also an era of institutionalization of charity and philanthropy. This led to the spread of orphanages, disabled people homes and other such institutions that were built to manage and support the various categories of persons who are suffering. These kinds of institutions were started in the colonial period and are still existent. For instance, in Uganda the Kampiringisa Rehabilitation Home was opened in 1952 (before independent Uganda) as a detention center for 'troublesome boys.'<sup>14</sup> This was supported through donations from well-wishers.

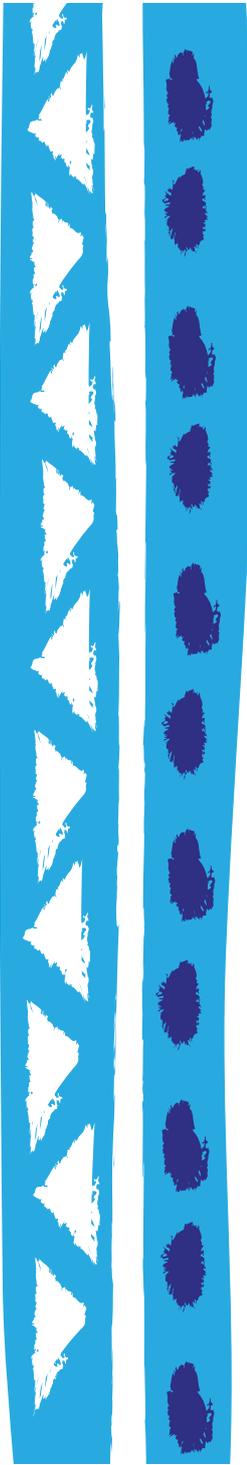
The same can be said about Sanyu Babies Home that was established in 1929 by Milnes Winfred Walker a midwife at Mengo Hospital. It is said that after noticing the overwhelming number of children abandoned after birth within the hospital, she started collecting the babies and providing them with much needed care and the home has existed for 90 years. The Babies Home is financed through philanthropic donations by a diversity of partners.<sup>15</sup> It is a common practice for individuals, churches, mosques, corporate companies to occasionally – especially during the Christmas season – to give generously to these and other institutions of the same character.

In many ways institutionalization has continued in many parts of Africa but has been divorced from mainstream philanthropy, although there are many philanthropists that give to such centers across the continent.





## 06 *Civil Society and the State Dichotomy: An Illusion in Africa*



Influential writers on Africa, Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz (1999) argue<sup>16</sup> that referring to a civil society outside the state in sub-Saharan Africa is difficult. A dichotomy between state and civil society does not reflect realities on the continent. A notion of civil society can only apply if there is a meaningful institutional separation between a well-organized civil society and a relatively autonomous bureaucratic state.

What can be observed in sub-Saharan Africa, says Chabal et.al, is the interpenetration of the one by the other. Chabal's most important argument is that African societies are essentially plural, fragmented and above all, organized along vertical lines. Socio-political cleavages are usually a matter of factional divisions, which occur primarily because of competition and need for use of scarce resources. In general, vertical divisions remain more significant than horizontal, functional bonds or ties of solidarity between those who are similarly employed or professionally linked.

That is why associations charged with promotion of the "common good" within the public sphere are problematic in Africa. Chabal holds that questions of identity or community often undermine attempts at occupational or professional unity, and further, that the business of politics is more usually conducted along informal vertical channels of relations (patron-client networks, communal organizations etc.) linking the elites with the rest of the population.

A key question posed by the author is whether the primacy of such vertical and personalized ties on the continent does not invalidate the notion of a functionally based civil society. The authors make a bold conclusion that emphasizing a supposed opposition between

state and civil society does create the illusion that African political systems are more similar to their Western counterparts than they really are.<sup>17</sup>

Another closely associated reading of the state and civil society with implications for discussions on philanthropy is Peter Ekeh's 1975 thesis of 'two publics in Africa'. He argues that colonialism in Africa left two kinds of publics - a civic public and a primordial public. He submits that that while individuals pretend to uphold the virtues of the civic public (brought by colonialism) they also remain loyal to their primordial public (rooted in tradition). This clash of norms and interests according to Ekeh generate tendencies that have come to be known as tribalism and corruption with public officials stealing and looting and giving through philanthropic gestures as 'High Net Worth Individuals' to their clans and villages. He elaborates the point with what he calls the 'dialectics of the two publics' thus:

*A good citizen of the primordial public gives out and asks for nothing in return; a lucky citizen of the civic public gains from the civic public but enjoys escaping giving anything in return whenever he can. But such a lucky man would not be a good man were he to channel all his lucky gains to his private purse. He will continue to be a good man if he channels part of his largesse from the civic public to the primordial public. That is the logic of the dialectics.<sup>18</sup>*

Ekeh goes on to discuss voluntary organizations in the civic public and argues that the voluntary associations are not part of the civic public but are part of the primordial public. He states that:

*If tribalism is amorphous, ethnic 'voluntary' associations are its visible operational arm. Again, voluntary associations emerge in the big urban centers and are nourished in our universities. Like tribalism, they have developed with the civic public and in fact feed on it. [...] he adds that...So long as the primordial public survives - and it survives on the insecurity of the African bourgeoisie thrust into unwonted places of authority - so long voluntary associations will retain their strength.<sup>19</sup>*

This framing helps us to see the role of civic organizing in the recent memory of the African state. What has emerged here is what many scholars have referred to variously as 'legal pluralism' or the bifurcated state. Another influential analysis on this subject is the work of Mahmood Mamdani (1996) on the 'Citizen and Subject' when he argues that the African colonial state had a distinctive structure bifurcated between the "civil" and the "customary." In the civil sphere courts governed urban (white) citizens through European laws, while in the customary sphere "traditional" authorities governed rural (black) subjects through customary law.

Thus, the African colonial state was constituted through a racialized distinction between citizen and subject. After independence African states struggled to overcome the deep legacies of racial and tribal divisions. "To bridge the rural and the urban through politics that is both noncoercive and democratic," Mamdani concludes, "it is necessary to transcend the dualism of power around which the bifurcated state is organized around"<sup>2016</sup>

This legal pluralism and confusion as well as conflicting value systems stands at the door of any reified discussion of philanthropic practice. As we engage in questions about the state in Africa and civil society organizing and philanthropy, we shall do well to return to these intellectual memories because debunking the ramifications of these memories is an important enterprise in reframing modern day philanthropy.

Nonetheless, we see several categories that emerge in the configuration of civil society and the state in Africa. The following categories of civil society emerged during the colonial and post-colonial period and have continued to influence the configuration of civil society in Africa:

### *Mass-based Membership Organizations:*

These organizations were formed to promote economic and social interests of peasants and workers and included peasant-based cooperatives formed in the inter-war years to resist the monopolization of trade in agricultural products by the colonial state and immigrant communities from Europe and Asia. In addition to cooperatives, trade unions were formed in this period to address labor related issues including low wages and poor working conditions.

In Uganda, trade unions organized the general strike of 1945 leading to an increase in wages and an improvement in the conditions at workplaces.<sup>21</sup> The earliest iterations of civil society or nonstate actors in colonized Africa spanned the cultural, socioeconomic, and political domains. Prominent amongst these were formations which championed the labour rights of the newly minted workforce made up of professionals and labourers whose employment run the engines of the colony. Agricultural cooperatives such as Namutamba Growers (formed in 1947 in Mityana, Buganda) and Ttakagwanika (formed in 1956 in Gomba, Buganda), led the charge in collectivizing the labour of farmers and negotiating produce prices with the colonial administration and other buyers.

The Bataka Association which staged major protests against the landed gentry who had been created by the Buganda (Land) Agreement represents the sprouting of the seeds of dissent and organising around outrightly political causes. Ultimately, it was the translation of the foregoing group interests into political parties like Kabaka Yekka and Uganda People's Congress that laid the foundations for a successful push for self-determination.

### *Elite-led Membership Organizations:*

These were formed during the colonial period by middle class men aggrieved at the colonial policies. These included organizations such as the "Young Men of Buganda", the "Young men of Busoga, Young Men and Toro, Uganda African Welfare Association among others. The elite based and deeply patriarchal associations were very much about pushing back on the excesses of colonialism by those who had enjoyed the benefits of colonialism. However, there were also a number of women's civic formations that were vehicles for colonial resistance.

The first 'local' formal organization to promote 'women's concerns' and social change was the multi-racial Uganda Council of Women, formed in 1946.<sup>22</sup> But this was preceded by a number of organizations that were racial in nature. For example, the British missionary wives formed their own association in 1906, which later opened up to Ugandan women in 1908. The Red Cross, although formed in 1918, was only able to open up to African women in the 1930s.

Such mutations colored the early Women's Movement with efforts to minimize difference in organizations that had been formed on the basis of race taking center-stage. Many women are remembered for working to establish linkages between the local Ugandan women and the foreign women. Sugra Visram, a Ugandan woman of Indian descent was one such woman who embodies the efforts of trying to link women from different backgrounds. However, one of the most notable efforts was the formation of the (Young Women's Christian Association) YWCA and the Uganda Council of Women.<sup>23</sup>

These organizations that had started early before Independence were able to live through the test of time resisting different regimes and working to improve women through various initiatives.

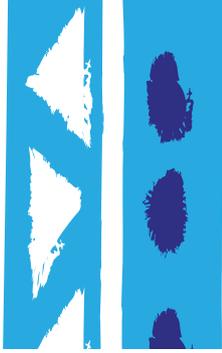
### *Clans, Cultural/Ethnic-based Organizations:*

These were organizations seeking to advance parochial interests of groups in the country. Examples here include organizations representing Kingdoms and other cultural institutions. These were common in countries like Uganda. An influential organization of the time was the Bataka Union. As Summers 2005 wrote about this organization:

*During the late 1940s, activists in the "Bataka Union" mobilized tens of thousands of Baganda to read newspapers, attend mass meetings, donate money for international lobbying, and petition the kabaka (king of Buganda) with a vigor that turned into an armed insurrection. In voicing a rhetoric of grandfathers and grandsons, these activists imagined a new sort of citizenship grounded in local concerns over land, graves, and inheritance.<sup>24</sup>*

### *Welfare and Charitable Organizations:*

During colonialism welfare and charitable organizations were founded often under the auspices of the church, such as Red Cross Society and the Salvation Army and other organizations based in Europe and other colonial capitals. These were distinct from the membership-based organizations in that they acted as philanthropic intermediaries providing welfare services to the poor. In this role they were the early precursors of the non-governmental organizations that rose to prominence in later years.



## **07** *The Post-1986 Configurations of Civil Society and the Dominance of NGOs*

As mentioned in the categories above, within the welfare and charity category emerged NGOs. NGOs come from a very particular global world order as discussed. This is a world order characterized by the demise of communism and the rise of capitalism and its attendant offshoots like economic liberalization.

One of the foundational characteristics of this global order was the valorization of the roll-back of the state, celebration of the private sector and non-state actors as the engine and vehicle of development. In fact, in the early days of structural adjustment, NGOs were seen as the most efficient vehicles for delivering development because the state of Africa was seen as failed and one that could not do business and even deliver essential services to its citizens.

This phenomenon, then led to the burgeoning bureaucracies of international NGOs that characterized most of the post-structural adjustment era. With this came the exponential growth of local NGOs which worked closely with their international partners.

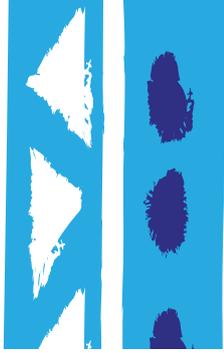
In Uganda one can recall the work of international NGOs in the 'rehabilitation phase' (1986-1990). These were days when NGO workers were even paid in foreign currency to deliver basins, jerry-cans, water, oral dehydration salts and much more to populations that were recovering from the Luwero Triangle war. This same phenomenon went on for quite some time in northern Uganda in response to the two decade Kony war. While this model could demonstrate results on the ground because the NGOs were able to demonstrate how they could reach the large numbers of

people, this same model was viewed with a dose of envy and a throat-lump of spite by government technocrats. With the strengthening of government institutions, the service delivery role of NGOs waned and many were lured into advocacy programs by their donors. The argument being that since government can deliver services then NGOs should only hold government to deliver services and NGOs should not primarily deliver services themselves.

The NGO bureaucracies rolled back and what emerged was the lean advocacy networks that make bold and discomfiting statements on all policy issues in the name of policy advocacy. They became a pain in the neck of government and government had to look for ways of delegitimizing them. Statements like - who do you represent, you only serve interests of your donors, you are as corrupt as all of us - became the order of the day. This was followed by the introduction of laws whose spirit was the policing of NGOs and NGOs were viewed as a security threat that had to be monitored by security institutions.

This was the troubled birth of the post 1986 citizens' organizing. These organizations were not helped by the Movement System of Government that indeed touted them as the quasi-opposition in the political dispensation where there was only one party - the Movement. In fact, for the women's movement that situation was even more precarious because the women's movement remarkable success was defined as the Movement Government System's success and for many the separation of the Movement System of Government and the women's movement for long could not be seen because even the leaders of the women's movement became influential leaders of the Movement System of Government. It is important to note that the women's movement is a civil society movement with many NGOs and indeed the exponential growth of women's NGOs during this time was a visible sign of the juxtaposition of the two movements.

In present day Uganda, NGOs are also under pressure - with a much more stringent law in place and a difficult operating environment. The NGO Bureau that regulates civil society has in 2021 even made bold steps like closing and suspending the permits of selected NGOs. One important development that has emerged from this 'history of the present' is the need for NGOs to deepen their reach by supporting and engaging in philanthropic activities that create purpose and reinvigorate passion in society.

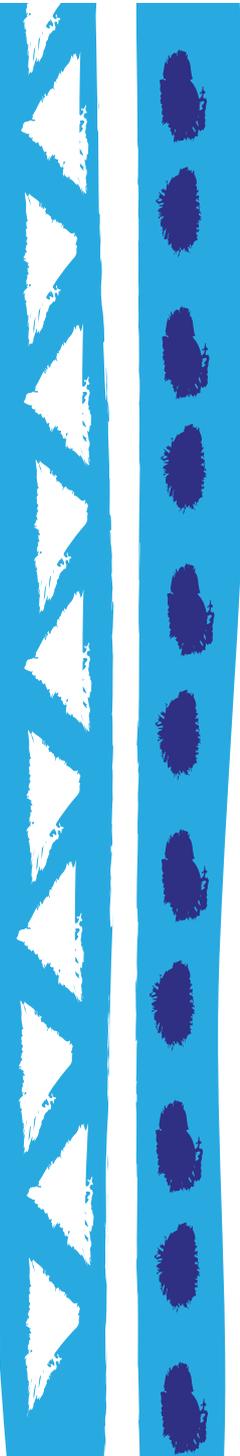


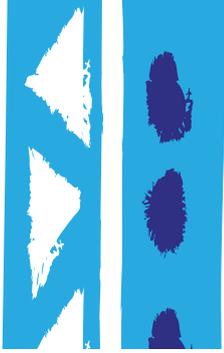
## 08 *The Civil Society* - *Philanthropy Nexus*

The discussion in this paper thus far has been able to map the terrain of philanthropy, civil society organizations and the state. In the discussion that follows in this paper explores the functional objectives that have been pursued by civil society and philanthropy foundations. In this section, the paper uses philanthropy foundations as a proxy in the analysis of the nexus between civil society and philanthropy.

Philanthropy foundations have had a significant influence on the shape and structure of civil society in Uganda. Philanthropy foundations unlike bilateral and multilateral donors that are involved in development are characterized as organizations offering private giving for public benefit. Public foundations have been an important contributor through the provision of additional private resources for public benefit, filling gaps in public provision, and catering for minority and vulnerable people's interests.

Civil society organizations in Uganda prefer philanthropy foundations as partners in philanthropic practice because they are sometimes less bureaucratic and more capable of generating a speedier response than funding from bilateral or multilateral donors. Philanthropy foundations are also known to finance pilots and innovations that are sometimes difficult for governmental agencies to undertake.



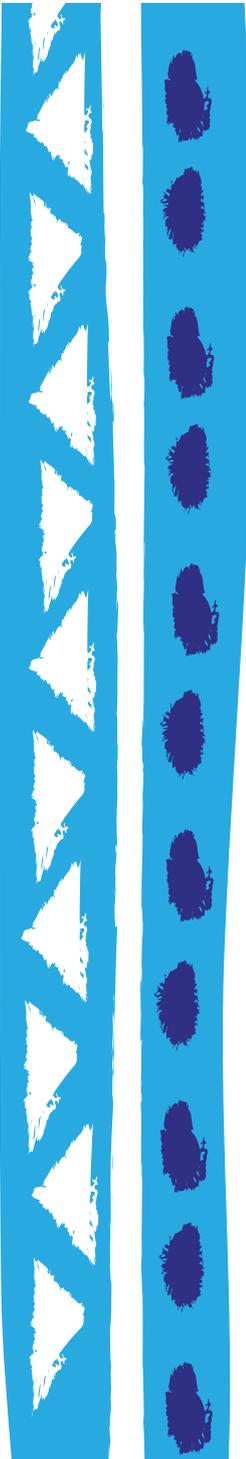


## 09 *Types of Philanthropic Foundations*

The world has witnessed a significant growth in philanthropic foundations that work closely with civil society as providers of grants or direct implementers of development projects. Just like other parts of the world, 'big' giving from personal wealth is emerging on the African continent. Below is a useful categorization as listed by Leat Diana (2016):<sup>26</sup>

### *Endowed foundations:*

These own a body of assets invested to produce a regular income to pursue the foundation's mission. These are the 'purest' form of foundation. These are foundations with the most autonomy, they are mostly self-governing and independent. They are fully endowed foundations and do not have to please anyone (except regulators) in order to survive. Endowed foundations vary radically in size and level of activity. Some foundations are run solely by the donor and his/her family members, others include nonfamily members on their boards. In Uganda most of the endowed foundations that support CSOs are foreign foundations from America and Europe and they include names such as Ford Foundation, Hewlett Foundation, Mastercard Foundation, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundations and several other big foundations.



### *Corporate Foundations:*

Corporate foundations may or may not be endowed. More commonly, a corporate foundation has no permanent endowment, but rather receives regular transfers from the associated company. These non-endowed foundations have a degree of autonomy and do not have to fundraise in the conventional sense in that they are likely to receive, say, a set percentage of the company's profits each year. Nevertheless, these non-endowed corporate foundations may have to keep one eye on maintaining the support of the board, shareholders, staff, and customers. In Uganda one longstanding foundation in this category is The Muljibhai Madhvani Foundation that was set up in 1962 on the eve of Uganda's Independence to honor the vision of the late Muljibhai Prabhudas Madhvani.<sup>27</sup> It offers education scholarship to children in Uganda. There are also other foundations like the MTN Foundation that was inaugurated in July 2007 as a vehicle through which MTN Uganda implements its corporate social investments (CSI).<sup>28</sup>

### *Community Foundations:*

These are in a sense 'endowed foundations in the making'. Community foundations, by definition, focus on a geographical community (or a community with a specific characteristic) and attempt to raise funds to both benefit that community in the short term and build an endowment for future use. As fundraising organizations, community foundations are constrained to a degree by the interests and concerns of their donors. Community foundations are increasing in number in many parts of the world. In some countries community foundations offer philanthropists a 'shortcut' to creating their own foundation with the service of donor funds, whereby a donor creates, in effect, a foundation within the community foundation.<sup>29</sup> Examples from Uganda include organizations like Kabaka Foundation<sup>30</sup> whose overall aim is to institute, promote, encourage and support cultural, educational, literacy, economic, social and charitable projects for the benefit of the public in Buganda and Uganda. There are also other smaller foundations like the Kwagalana Community Foundations that look after street kids.

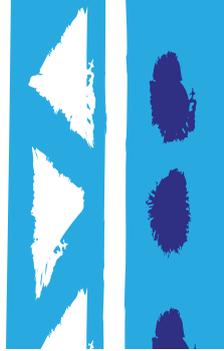
### *Fundraising Grant-Makers:*

These are one part of a larger category of fundraising foundations. Some people would argue that these organizations are not usefully put in the same box as endowed foundations but are really more akin to any other fundraising charity. Although they are obviously constrained by the need to appeal to large numbers of donors, they arguably have a greater degree of autonomy in how they distribute the funds raised as compared with a charity for a specific purpose.

### *Government Inspired Grant-Making 'Foundations':*

This category is also a growth area in many countries. For example, in the UK the government-created National Lottery Boards, distributing a percentage of the proceeds of the sale of lottery tickets, have become some of the largest funders of charities and non-profit organisations. There has not been a specific foundation of this nature identified in Uganda.





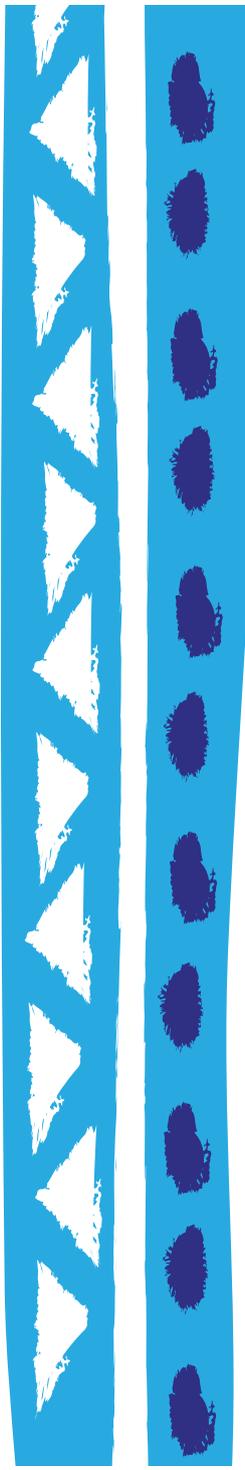
## 10 *Roles of Philanthropy Foundations in Civic Organizing*

Here following are the major roles philanthropy foundations play in their functions as actors in civil society and supporters of civic organizing:

### *Support civil society organizations as grantees:*

Foundations will either seek to identify partners that work in an area of their defined mission, or they will put out a call for proposals and select partner organizations to work with. This model has expanded variously, and many foundations are expanding their footprints across Africa in this manner. Examples include foundations like Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundations, MacArthur Foundation and even foundations based in Africa like Tony Elumelu Foundation and African Women Development Foundation.

The typical model for these foundations is to identify and work with partners who they have a shared objective with. This could be through strategies like:



*(a) Develop Capacities and Build expertise of Civil Society Actors:*

Another function that philanthropy foundations play in Uganda is support the building of expertise. This is a model that has been expanding quite rapidly. We see foundations that are investing heavily in education by supporting school and students across Uganda - like the Madhavani Foundation among others. MasterCard Foundation is known for its support for capacity development and Tony Elemelu Foundation is known to support young people across Africa every year and several others. Some of these foundations operate thematically in areas like: human rights education, health education, primary education and other types of sectoral capacity development initiatives. Some foundations offer short term courses in form of specific capacity development initiatives.

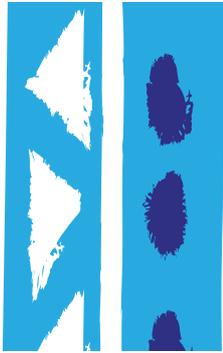
*(b) Philanthropy foundations engage with stakeholders in governance and rights:*

Foundations have also been known to support stakeholder engagement on governance questions. For example, foundations like Open Society, Human Rights Defenders Fund, Human Rights Fund and several others have been instrumental in engaging with stakeholders on critical governance and rights programs. This is mostly through financing specific projects.

*(c) Supporting advocacy and seeking public opinion:*

Foundations have also been known to engage with civil society to seek public opinions in diversity of ways. An example is Hewlett Foundation which for a longtime worked across Africa supporting advocacy on quality education. This was through supporting organizations in Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania to learn from organizations in India and develop education advocacy programs that became the basis for governments in East Africa focusing on learning as an education result<sup>32</sup>

As discussed in the preceding section, foundations are critical in the advancement of social causes, building community and citizen competencies and influencing society generally.



## **11** *Roles CSOs Play and the Philanthropy Nexus*

### *Voluntarism and Philanthropy:*

While there is a myriad of definitions of what constitutes volunteering, one that encompasses several variations is that volunteering entails the self motivated act of a person(s) contributing their time, skills, ideas and talents for charitable, educational, social, political, economic, humanitarian or other worthwhile purposes.<sup>33</sup> An analysis by Civicus (2011) on volunteering in Africa found that country CSO partners tended to emphasise the socially, culturally and community rooted wellsprings of volunteerism, which pertain both to direct and community volunteerism. For example, in Uganda, cultural aspects of volunteering like; *Bulungi Bwansi* (loosely translated – ‘for the good of society’) is a practice that is used by CSOs and community groups in the central region.

There is a significant diversity of volunteering approaches across Uganda which are undertaken as legitimate forms of participation and are part of the larger rubric of civil society roles. In western Uganda there is the traditional of carrying sick people to health centers on local stretchers called Ngozi. In several communities there are burial group that assist community members when a loved one passes on.

### *'Additionality' – mobilize and bring in resources:*

CSOs in Uganda bring in as much money as some of the multilateral organizations annually. NGO Forum (2015) reports that in Uganda, NGOs employ over 500,000 persons which is nearly twice the size of the civil service. NGOs contribute nearly 20% (20 billion) of official development assistance – 100 billion US dollars and traditionally NGOs have been heavily involved in the development of education, health and agriculture systems in Uganda – and their contribution could be anywhere beyond 50% of all interventions.

In the health sector Faith Based Organizations have contributed approximately 40% of services to the health sector alone and in some districts up to 60% water and sanitation services are provided by NGOs.<sup>34</sup> NGOs' contribution has been significantly acknowledged in environmental conservation, provision of microfinance and interventions in HIV/AIDS prevention and care. There are also other types of supranational philanthropic entities that work closely with CSOs, foundations, multilaterals and governments. Examples include organizations like The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria which is a private–public partnership with funding from both government and philanthropic sources that invests up to \$4 billion annually.<sup>3516</sup>

It is generally difficult to determine exactly how much money is going to what, from whom and through whom; it is equally difficult to access aggregate funding data in order to secure an overview of the level of funding by CSOs and private philanthropic donors for international development but significant investments are made.

### *Mobilizing Private Giving for Public Good:*

Private giving has always been an important source of financing for civil society organizations. Many international and local organizations have been largely financed through private giving. For instance, the child sponsorship models by international NGOs have been quite influential. For example, in 2019, World Vision globally reported sponsoring 3.4 million children, through its overall annual spending of around \$2.1 billion, while Plan International raised approximately \$436 million directly from sponsorship donations, 40 percent of its income in 2020.

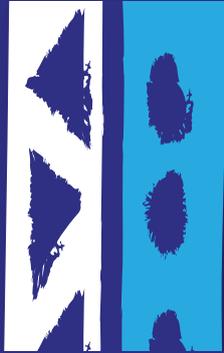
Another international NGO, Compassion International, sponsored 1.9 million children in 2020, with \$755 million of its annual income raised through this programme<sup>36</sup> In fact, many well-known NGOs trace their origins to private individuals who give money to an array of charitable causes domestically and worldwide.

### *"Care of Last Resort":*

CSOs have acquired the reputation of being "carers of last resort" to policy-failures and constrained government program-reach in Uganda. CSOs operate in marginal areas geographically and socially, providing such services as micro-finance, conflict resolution and peace-building, education and a lot more. Uganda for example was the country most affected by the flow of displaced people, and it hosted more than 1 million refugees.

The major partners working with government are CSOs both local and international that continue to care for people. The first responders in all these areas are community-based organizations that welcome refugees and internally displaced persons before the large humanitarian agencies arrive on the scene.

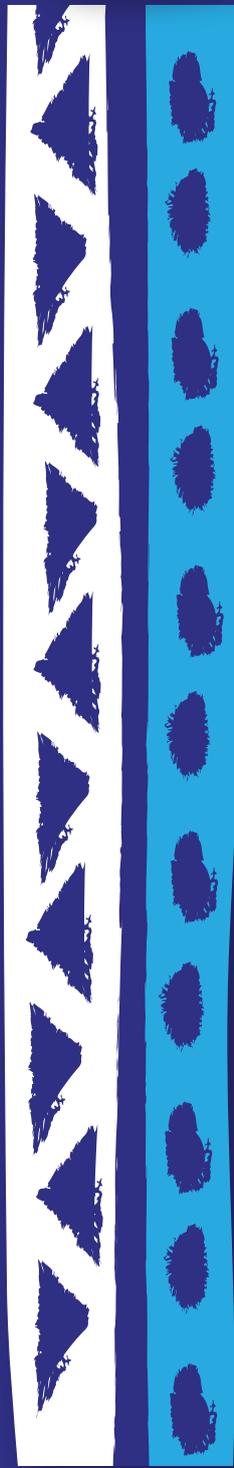




## 12 **Building Synergies** *and Sustainability for CSO in Philanthropy*

In this section we look at the issue of resilience and sustaining of CSO philanthropy work. One of the important questions that many CSOs grapple with is - sustainability. But while this is an important question, it is important to note that preoccupation with sustainability if not strategically explored creates relationships of insecurity, anxiety and preoccupation with organizational survival without thinking about the deeper reasons of why organizations do the work they do. For CSOs to engage meaningfully in development work, it is critical that the issue of sustainability is paid attention to in a nuanced manner.

CSOs usually operate to achieve some or all of these following dimensions; a) amelioration of suffering, b) identification of causes of problems and solutions and c) the pursuit of sustainable change. These are not mutually exclusive, but it is important for CSOs to see which one of these is their *raison d'être*. On the other hand, CSOs need to reflect on the type of philanthropy foundations that they engage with on questions of sustainability. This also largely depends on the funding approaches by the philanthropy foundation. These can be categorized in the following typologies a) 'gift givers', b) 'investors', and c) 'collaborative entrepreneurs'.



Gift givers usually give smaller one-off, fixed-term grants. They may or may not give the full sum requested and they usually require little measuring or 'impact assessment'; the grant is a gift. 'Investors' typically identify promising areas of work/organisations, assess what is needed to achieve a result, and then invest in the work at an appropriate level for an appropriate period of time. 'Investors' monitor their grants and if something appears not to be working as planned the 'investor' may pull out or may invest more resources to get things back on track. The 'collaborative entrepreneur' starts with a goal to be achieved and then looks for organisations likely to be able to deliver that goal. The relationship with the 'grantee' is a collaborative dialogue, and the size and length of the grant are determined by what is necessary to get to the desired result.<sup>38</sup>

Another formulation of this could benefit from a formulation by Louis Klein (2021)<sup>39</sup> who argues that we could see philanthropy as evolving from; philanthropy 1.0 (focusing on charity), Philanthropy 2.0 (focusing on venture philanthropy), Philanthropy 3.0 (focusing on community-led philanthropy) and then Philanthropy 4.0 (focusing on social value philanthropy that leverages the advantages of the digital revolution).

In all situations that bring CSOs and philanthropy organizations together under the dimensions described above – sustainability is a question that must be answered. While in everyday practice the impulse is to focus on financial sustainability, it is now common knowledge that finances are not a panacea for sustainability. A lot more happens beyond money to sustain organizations. INTRAC's framework and holistic view to sustainability that discusses the six elements of sustainability in CSOs is instructive here. These elements include; legitimacy, resourcing, leadership, mission and values, space and context.<sup>40</sup>

### *Legitimacy as Sustainability – A Cornerstone:*

Legitimacy is an issue that preoccupies many organizations. This is because organizations have to earn legitimacy. Being a legal entity will not mean you are a legitimate entity. Legitimacy touches on how different stakeholders view organizations. But because legitimacy is about value judgement, civil society always finds itself walking a tight rope. First in the eyes of government, when CSOs challenge the status quo, they are seen as illegitimate and asked – who do you represent?

This manifests itself differently, those in capital cities are accused of promoting foreign interests and those at the sub-national level are accused of promoting 'elite' urban-based interests. But in the same sector when organizations speak in support of some power center then they are seen as legitimate and indeed useful or when they deliver the much-needed social services. The implication of these and several other relationships point to the need for organizations to ensure that they have a constituency to which they are accountable and which can vouch for their legitimacy.

For philanthropy foundations the question of legitimacy is not very pronounced especially for those foundations that have endowments. These foundations are able to operate without anxiety, but for CSOs this is a question that cannot be ignored. However, for foundations that support areas considered controversial like governance or minority rights issues, this is a question to grapple with as it can affect the ability to contribute to CSO causes that are transformational.

### *Diversification for Sustainability*

is another critical area that affects work of CSOs' accountability. CSOs cannot run away from the reality that without money they cannot survive as organizations. For CSO funding to be sustainable it has to be diversified and accounted for. In effect this means that organizations will have to find themselves working with a range of partners – some gift givers, investors and collaborative entrepreneurs. However, regardless of the type of partner, diversification is critical for sustainability.

Diversification of sources of financing is key to sustainability but also it is what allows an organization to build sustainable advocacy engagements and a tapestry of networks that can ensure sustainability. Surviving on one source of funding for any organization is the first step towards building an unsustainable institution and hence the organization may end up engaging in short term projects that do not allow the organization to stay focused on mission critical areas. Civil society therefore needs to build in elements of diversification in the fundraising so that it can build institutions that can pursue longer term development agendas. While for development partners, one funding source may create less transactional costs, having money in one basket and disbursed centrally also contributes to building organizations that have insecure funding bases. But the onus is on civil society organizations to find strategies that allow them to fundraise variously.<sup>41</sup>

### *Leadership as Sustainability:*

In civil society, myopic, weak and uninformed leaders can be a disaster for organizations. Even with the best funding modality the absence of leadership can create a real crisis in an organization. Right leadership also needs to come at the right time. Civil society organizations are usually started by people with a passion to a social cause and the attendant advocacy engagements. Charismatic leaders are seen as an important contribution to an organization's capacity to engage in any work, but as the founder members transit and organizations grow, it is important to get leaders with managerial and catalytic capacities that can help build systems and ensure that the organization stays on track with its mission.

For philanthropy foundations they usually play a role in building capacity of local leaders at the front line. The critical issue in building sustainable leadership in CSOs is for funders to ensure that they do not use their disproportionate power that comes with financial resources to make judgements about which groups are well-equipped to achieve social change. While funders may have views on how to build leadership as Alison (2018) says:

*Funders do not always see that the lived experience of many powerful frontline and grassroots leaders is what makes them experts. Their expertise might not fit neatly into a box that funders can check off, and they may not agree with funders' ideas or strategies. But it is not their role to agree with us or fit into philanthropy's predetermined and often structurally racist criteria; it is our responsibility to see them, listen to them, and follow their lead. Building relationships and trust with these leaders means spending time with folks in communities—where they live, play, pray, congregate, eat, organize, dream, and work together.<sup>42</sup>*

Civil society leaders must be able to operate at the level of the 'city boardroom' and the 'village bonfire'. As one CSO leader said, 'leaders in civil society need to be versatile and broad-minded with the ability to read the context, text and subtext of their work'. But when we think about leadership – it should encompass both leaders at the secretariat and leadership at the Board and through the ecosystem of the whole organization.

Many organizations are crumbling under the weight of unprogressive Boards or mismatched leaders at the Board and Secretariat. It will be important that organizations ensure that in situations where Board leadership is weak, there is a strong secretariat and in cases where secretariat leadership is weak there is a strong Board. These decisions are very critical in ensuring the growth and sustainability of organizations and ability of CSOs to undertake meaningful advocacy initiatives.

### *Organizational Mission is Critical to Sustainability:*

The commitment to vision, mission and values is critical for organizations to be able to carry their programs. CSOs are usually set up with very good intentions. They ensure that these intentions are known by all in proposals, in value statements that are written on all walls and reception areas and a lot more. But sometimes these mission statements hide one reality; that like people, organizations have a life cycle. They are born, they grow, they live, and they die. Organizations also get accidents and sometimes catch a 'disease' that kills them. But unfortunately, many CSOs work as if organizations are immortal, and they can only die when they have achieved their mission.

The fundamental point around the adage 'survival for the fittest' is the question – what does 'fittest' look like? If 'fittest' is about those that can write the best proposal and develop the best budget and have the ability to manage complex grants with thousands of forms, then it is superficial. 'Fittest' in civil society has to be about something deeper. It has to be about changing and improving lives of people and questioning in a deeper sense why one wakes up every day and come to the office. When an organization loses its passion and commitment to a core ideology that drives its mission and values - it quickly dies. When organizations are driven by a core ideology that fuels its mission and vision then logos become irrelevant.

For philanthropic foundations remaining true to their mission is also critical. Although for these organizations, they encounter the need to remain focused on their missions in different ways. For foundations that are formed by successful businesses, they usually have a cause that they believe in and invest in. In this case the mission is personal to the foundation and does not require any external effort to stay on mission. For those foundations that are grant makers, they may also experience the influence of mission-focus differently, as they focus on an issue and fundraise for it. In that case any change in the mission-focus will have known consequences for the foundation.

### *Enabling Environment and Sustainability:*

Even with money, good leadership and clear vision – an enabling environment matters for an organization's sustainability. Enabling environment for civil society essentially is the political, economic and social space in which civil society representatives operate. Today, in many parts of Africa, this space has come under serious attack and pressure, leading to a diversity of threats to civil society. Threats to civil society seriously undermine sustainability of organizations. This is because fear of reprisals and attacks will lead to inability to fundraise, attract partners and work coherently at community level.

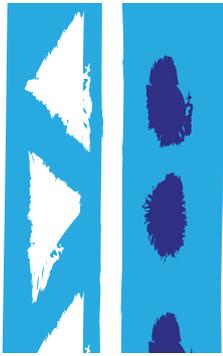
While it is appreciated that CSOs play a vital role in development by way of providing citizens an opportunity to gain, gather, hold and exchange information, to participate in shaping development policies and partnerships, to initiate and oversee the implementation of these policies, and to claim their legitimate rights as citizens – for all these to thrive – there must be an enabling environment. Today, more and more CSOs in Africa work in an environment where their operational and political space is considerably limited. Those include legal as well as arbitrary measures such as restrictive administrative procedures, which hinder registration or access to funding, stigmatization, criminalization, intimidation as well as physical harassment.



In this section we have made linkages between CSO sustainability and philanthropy. There are several ways in which organizations can work to become sustainable. Philanthropic foundations are strategic partners for CSOs and can support their sustainability. However, they can also look like potential competitors in development when they move into the operational and advocacy space that they have long occupied at both community and international level. Some of the criticisms of, and skepticism about, private philanthropic donors may stem from fears that new, independent grantors will displace rather than complement traditional development actors.

From this perspective, philanthropic foundations in development could be viewed through civil society lens, as civil society actors in their own right who use, or could use, their financial clout to engage in deeper community level engagements. When it comes to the question of sustainability, CSOs and philanthropic foundations need each other. It is therefore imperative that CSOs and philanthropic foundations work closely and recognize that to build truly sustainable CSOs will require to look both at the internal and external environment and recognize that what will drive true sustainability is working at various levels and not focusing only on financing as the panacea for sustainability.





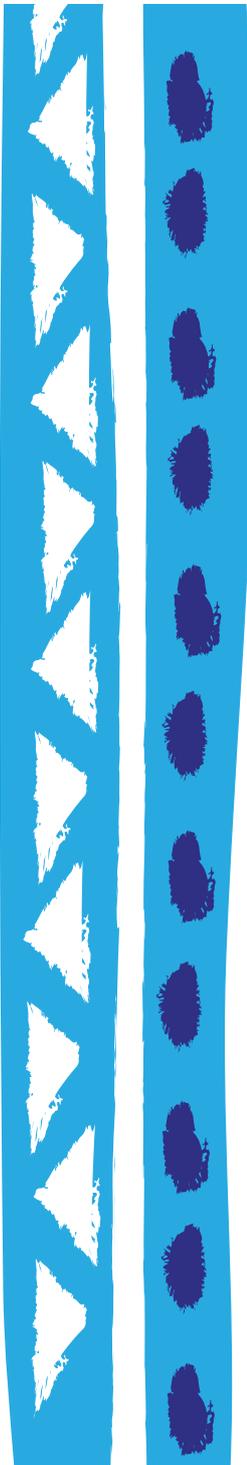
## 13 *Challenges of CSOs and Philanthropy*

There are many challenges that CSOs face in their interaction with philanthropy. These include:

### *Generosity and Justice Tensions:*

The tight rope that CSOs and philanthropic foundations have to walk is anchored in what constitutes generosity and justice (to use Ford Foundation President's - Darren Walker's words). Foundations in their giving are both an expression of democracy in the sense that rich people have the right and leeway to do whatever they want but in the same breath the rich are also able to undemocratically choose or dictate which services, issues, and approaches deserve support and crucially, which one do not.

In this same breath some of these organizations then shape policy debate and draw attention to selected issues while others are ignored. In the COVID 19 pandemic for example some critiques argue that the philanthropic giving to the research and manufacture of the COVID 19 vaccines was legitimate giving to public good. But ignoring of issues around vaccine equal distribution led to vaccine inequality and vaccine apartheid. In some developed countries vaccinated populations are up to 80% of their eligible populations and those in the developing world have vaccinated less than 1% of their population.



On the other hand CSOs sometimes frontload their focus on justice with little regard for the funder's priorities. In such situations CSOs then feel betrayed by the funders who shun governance, rights and justice related issues and choose to invest in more livelihood related issues. The tension between generosity and justice is not one that has been resolved as yet. It is therefore gratifying that philanthropy foundations are starting to engage with the questions relating to the intersection between generosity and justice as seen in Darren Walker's book – From Generosity to Justice.<sup>45</sup>

### *Civic Space Challenges and continued negative narratives:*

Civil society and philanthropy will only thrive with a dynamic civil society where there is expansion of associational life and citizen organizing. Several citizen groups in Uganda are faced with an uphill task to meaningfully engage in the governance of the country. State repression of citizen voices is still an issue in Uganda. Civic space for citizen's organizations and human rights defenders is still an issue.

The freezing of accounts of advocacy NGOs in the run up to the 2021 general elections in Uganda by the Financial Intelligence Authority, the arrest of human rights defenders and episodes of human rights irregularities and violence during the 2021 General elections are issues that indicate elements of shrinking civic space in Uganda. For CSOs and philanthropy to thrive, civic space must be enabling and not constrained.

### *Rootedness and Connection:*

Marina Ottaway used the word 'trusteeships' to describe what she called an assumed mandate that many civil society organisations and NGOs have. They are often not as embedded as they ought to be in the societies and communities they work in. As one commentator once asked [...] how many people would rise up in public action if an NGO was closed down tomorrow? This indeed is not a matter for only civil society in developing countries but also International NGOs in the countries where many raise money, including from individual givers. If CSOs are to improve their chances of being relevant, they must connect better with the population, lest they increasingly alienate themselves from reality that is driving the world.

### *Whose money and whose results?*

The rising tide of technocracy that has swept through the philanthropy community - has driven CSOs as clients to work on a limited range of agendas, mainly biased towards service delivery and democracy promotion instead of deep-rooted transformation of politics, social relations, markets and technology. This is happening despite donors and philanthropy organizations moving towards more political methods for facilitating development, which efforts remain hampered given that there has been little shift in the narrow conceptualization of civil society.

There are still very few examples of philanthropic foundations and traditional donors with the ability to design innovative funding mechanisms to support, rather than erode the political roots of civil society organizations. This is particularly the case for bi-lateral donors who unlike philanthropic foundations, are a lot more 'governmental' in their 'DNA', and align more with or at least sympathize with governments, and are always mindful about their limits.

### *Capacities and skills to implement development programs:*

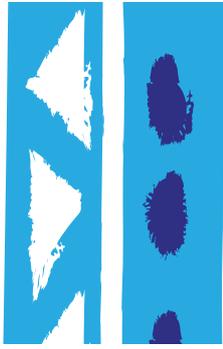
Sometimes the skillset required to implement programs is limited for civil society actors. This is especially evident in areas that require technical monitoring like infrastructure projects by multilateral agencies to government. In many cases civil society actors will either depend on consultants or on the limited knowledge they possess to conduct such advocacy. It is therefore imperative that CSO undertake capacity development on a continuous basis within civil society. This is because of the everchanging development terrain as new issues emerge on the daily basis. To continue to be relevant, civil society will then need to focus on building competencies that are critical in the development arena.

Although studies have also shown that the crop of leaders in civil society also has very good competencies. One study placed NGO Leaders in Uganda as being of high intellectual promise and concluded that while Ugandan NGOs rely on foreign resources, they do not depend on foreign manpower.<sup>46</sup> In the study by Barr (2003:22) says:

*[...] surveyed NGOs as a whole muster considerable manpower resources. The average number of staff members and volunteers is 129 (...) but with a median of 18, hence there are considerable disparities. Surveyed NGOs had on average 15 full-time staff and 18 part-time staff”, with very few foreigners, and quite a large percentage of professional and management staff. These numbers are expanding rapidly, prompting the conclusion that “The Uganda NGO sector may depend on foreign funding; it does not depend on foreign manpower.” The same survey shows that 84% of the NGO directors had a tertiary or university degree and 14 years of education on average. Using Social Security figures, the John Hopkins Comparative Non-profit Sector Project estimates that “the workforce in the civil society sector exceeds that of the public sector [in 1998]”.*<sup>47</sup>

### *Dilemma of Foreign Funded, Proposal Writing outfits:*

As illustrated earlier in this paper, the history of civil society in Uganda is intertwined with the political history of the state in Uganda which suggests that civil society was not always in the position of vulnerability in which it finds itself today. Civil society was once vibrant, locally rooted, locally supported, diverse in nature and character. Indeed, elements of community philanthropy were present in the ways in which some organizations were supported. While nostalgic aspirations cannot take us far, what needs to happen now is rethinking support to civil society. While civil society cannot return to the romantic past of self-sustenance or does not desire to stay in the present state of mutual suspicion among donors and civil society, it must confront the question of financing the sector in a manner that allows it to become sustainable and rooted in the communities in which it works.



## 14 Recommendations.

The options for the future in this study are based on the idea that; CSOs and philanthropic organizations must seek to be both procedurally and substantively legitimate, effective and sustainable in what they do in the communities they serve.

For philanthropy to thrive, CSOs and philanthropic organizations cannot pursue one at the expense of the other. There are fundamental shifts that have to happen at every level as we build collective efforts towards new ways of doing philanthropy in Africa. The following are the key shifts that should occur:

*Reclaim the Narrative and Definition of Philanthropy:* Philanthropy as a concept has travelled through numerous historical epochs moving from love for humanity, to charity, to institutional giving, to high-net-worth individual giving and several other mutations along the way. The term now sits in a very difficult place where it is held hostage by the new philanthropists. The new philanthropists, some of whom earned much of their wealth in the Silicon Valley and dot.com boom, have developed an approach to solving the problems of extreme poverty based on the principles that made them successful in business. Branded the 'Silicon Valley Consensus', innovation, technology and modern management methods are seen as the framework for solving the poor's problems and global poverty.<sup>48</sup> This current narrative framing of philanthropy is too narrow. The emphasis on the ultra-wealthy 'giving back' and presented as if they possess a superior moral agency than the poor is problematic. The poor give every day in small and big ways at community level. They continue to sustain their communities over time through this giving.



It is therefore imperative that CSOs in Africa and philanthropy organizations invest in a political project of reclaiming the narrative on philanthropy generally and accord gifting in community and African philanthropy the visibility that it deserves. This will be through initiatives that boldly discount the hegemonic narratives that surround the Silicon Valley philanthropy movement and its attendant offshoots like philanthrocapitalism.

### *Overstated contribution of new philanthropy:*

The hegemonic positioning of 'new philanthropy' as discussed by Edwards (2015) is instructive. In Africa, like many other parts of the world, there is an emergence of a strong movement of philanthropy foundations that are driven by successful capitalists. For example, foundations like the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the Qatar Foundation, the Emirates Foundation, Mo Ibrahim Foundation and many others all privilege the approach of using market mechanisms, technology and 'big data' to guide decisions. For example, the presentation of the impact in many of these foundations is presented in terms of rates-of-return on investment.<sup>49</sup>

Further small civil society organizations in Africa that do not have the organizational sophistication to present their results in this way end up failing to compete favorably under these circumstances. What then emerges is the overstating of the contribution of these new foundations.<sup>50</sup> Organizations that agree to work with such foundations must endure very close supervision, standardised outputs as indicators of success and entrepreneurial results-oriented frameworks. Words like 'value for money' and several others such as smart economics formulations are the norm.

This overstated contribution of new philanthropy ends up masking the qualitative contribution of civil society organizations that have to struggle to put their best foot forward if they are going to work with such foundations. Governments in Africa end up embracing these kinds of foundations more easily as they present compelling quantitative stories about development impact. Community philanthropy, for example, disappears from the radar as these 'high net worth entities' reposition themselves in the world of philanthropy

### *Under appreciation of gifting:*

It is now abundantly clear that philanthropy in Africa cannot be structured around the same relationships as philanthropy in the west. The cultural logic that informs philanthropy is that, in Africa, it is rooted in community experience and African tradition.

The philosophy of 'Ubuntu' and the attendant social practice of 'gifting' have for long not been positioned as an influential philanthropic approach at community level but have not gained prominence in development narratives on philanthropy. Susan Wilkinson-Maposa and Alan Fowler (2009) make a compelling argument when they state that the unique capability of poor communities is not found in exceptional wealth, influence or power over others<sup>51</sup>. Their greatest development strength is found in the 'ordinary'. Self-help and mutual assistance is part and parcel of the social fibre of how things are done in poor African communities.

As we rethink the practice of philanthropy it is imperative that old concepts like 'gifting' and 'ubuntu' that sustain and build community resilience are given visibility and value in the discussions on philanthropy. These concepts need not be discussed in a patronizing manner that belittles actions that are not backed by 'big money' but they should be discussed as community actions that possess agency in their own right.

### *Pay attention to the Obscure Power of High-Net-Worth-Individuals (HNWI):*

The phenomena of philanthropy foundations is spreading across Africa quite rapidly. Studies have shown that several foundations have been formed by the emerging club of High-Net-Worth-Individuals across Africa.<sup>52</sup> As of December 2020, the total private wealth held in Africa was approximately two trillion U.S. dollars. The amount was accumulated by 125 thousand millionaires, 6,200 multimillionaires, 275 centimillionaires, and 22 billionaires.<sup>53</sup> A study by Trust Africa/UBS on giving habits of approximately 40 HNWI spread across the African continent found that these HNWI were actively giving within their extended families (19%), communities (12%) and beyond (26%). Moreover, they do not only give through their foundations but also through informal channels. Their giving is also embedded in beliefs and cultural practices.<sup>54</sup>

While all these are important efforts in understanding philanthropy in Africa, it is important that HNWI in Africa are not 'charged' of the known excesses in philanthropy. Foundations of HNWI have been accused to be 'playthings of the rich', allowing them to impose their own particular preferences and priorities on society. In many societies giving is encouraged by tax incentives and thus the average taxpayer subsidises the whims of the wealthy.<sup>55</sup> While in their defence HNWI have argued that rich people have the right to spend their money as they choose and charitable giving is for public benefit, so society is the winner, it is important that there is strong awareness of the power that HNWI play on the continent. We have seen some of the HNWI being given roles to support state and continental projects.<sup>56</sup>

We all need to be aware of the multiple layers of power that come with resources and HNWI have the responsibility to ensure that their philanthropy does not just mirror western typologies but also lends credence to the gifting philosophy that embeds African philanthropy exemplified by dignity and respect.

### *Politics of Giving or Patronage Shadowing Philanthropy:*

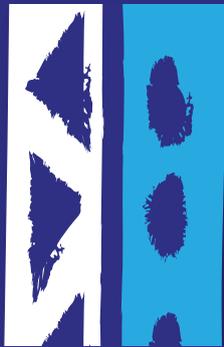
A worrying trend and dimension that CSOs have to contend with is the exploitation of the motivations of philanthropy through practices that pollute philanthropy with patronage politics. It is common knowledge that not all giving is altruistic. For instance, in the history of independent Africa, authors have documented various ways in which African communalism and giving has been exploited. In Peter Ekeh's 1975 thesis mentioned earlier on 'two publics in Africa', he argues that the clash of norms and interests in Africa generate tendencies that have come to be known as tribalism and corruption with public officials stealing and looting and giving as philanthropic individuals to their clans and villages.

These instances and practices do point to the fact that giving is deeply embedded in the politics of patronage and while it can be wished away, we know that it is a reality that scholarship on philanthropy should engage with. Indeed, when the first Covid 19 lockdown happened in Uganda, the first people to start distributing food publicly were politicians who were interested in the political capital that comes with giving. This led to a serious and brutal crackdown on politicians who were distributing food during the lockdown.

Giving will always have to contend with the politically strategic and perverse patron-client political economy relationships responsible for much of Africa's bad governance. The connection between giving and political calculation by politicians and state officials who donate part of their loot to constituents as a way of buying loyalty and patronage is something that has been variously documented in Africa.

The discussion on sometimes outright selfish and "dark" motivations for individuals as well as private and corporate foundations to engage in philanthropy further accentuates this view. Research needs to be done in this area as a way of opening doors to the broader questions of the politics of giving in Africa. This will provide an opportunity to bring into conversation the hitherto estranged epistemological standpoints on giving and politics in Africa.





## 15 *Conclusion*

This policy paper has engaged with the question of CSOs and philanthropy through a broad overview of important elements that need policy attention. The paper has presented a brief overview of African philanthropy, the colonial and post-colonial structures that philanthropy has had to negotiate, the nature of the state and civil society in Uganda within which it is located. The paper also presented the typologies of civil society in colonial times and post-colonial Africa, the nexus between CSOs and philanthropy foundations as vehicles of philanthropic practice.

The roles of both CSOs and philanthropic foundations as well as the challenges that each need to contend with are also presented. The paper ends by presenting options of the future. What this paper has attempted to do, is situate the discussions around CSOs and philanthropy in a manner that is significantly nuanced and ensures that any future discussions on the role of CSOs and philanthropy engages with these questions critically.



## Foot Notes

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The Centre for Basic Research (CBR) is publishing this series of papers as part of its Philanthropy in Uganda Research Program. CBR is an academic Non-Governmental Organization with a mission to spearhead the generation and dissemination of knowledge by conducting research of social, economic and political significance to Africa in general, so as to influence policy, raise consciousness and improve the quality of life. CBR was one of the pioneer organizations in articulating the need for Ugandans and African intellectuals to define a national agenda through creation and use of locally generated knowledge through 'basic research'. Over the years CBR's research agenda has included democracy, governance and constitutionalism, gender studies, decentralization, land tenure and land use, social movements, labour studies and cultural studies, among others.





# The Philanthropy And Foreign Aid Nexus

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'Sense-Making Policy Paper Series'  
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**Giving  
For Change  
Alliance**



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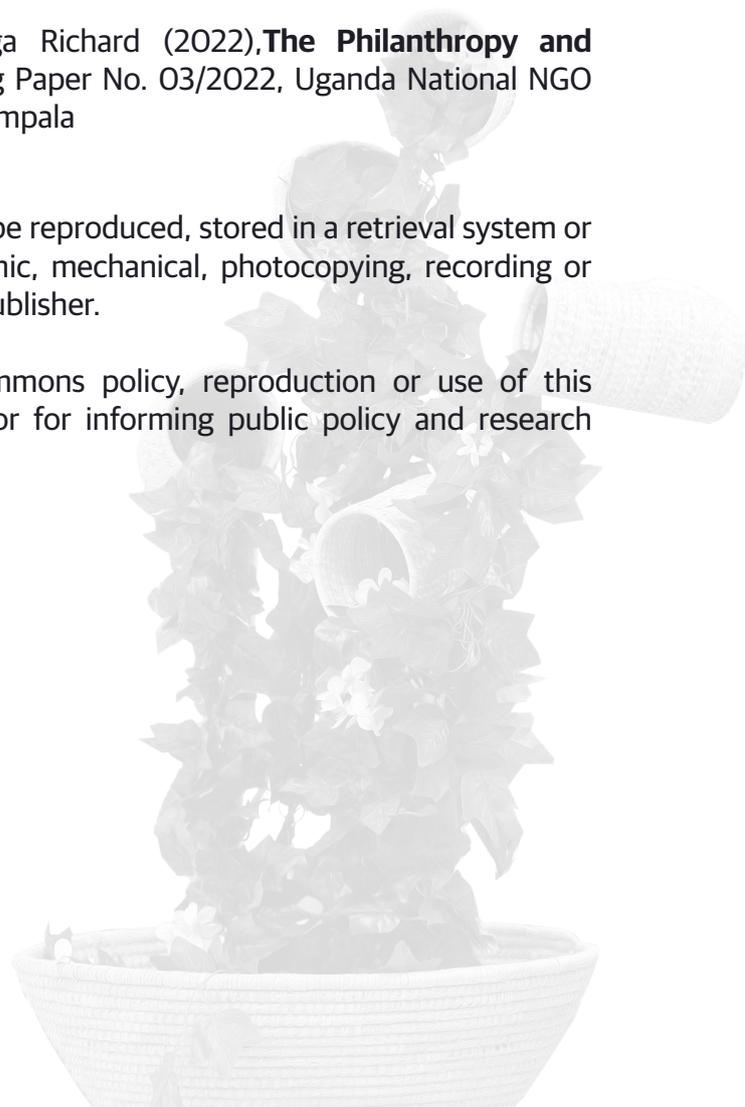
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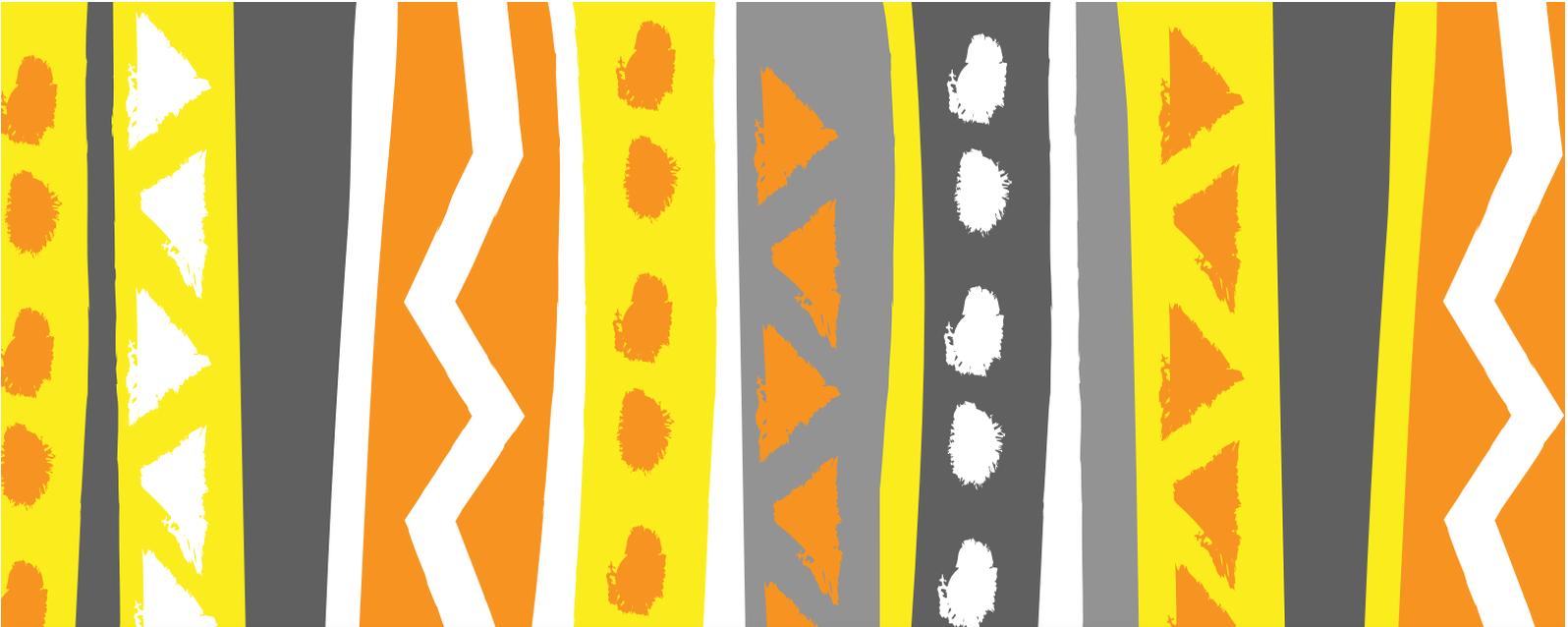
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# 01 Introduction

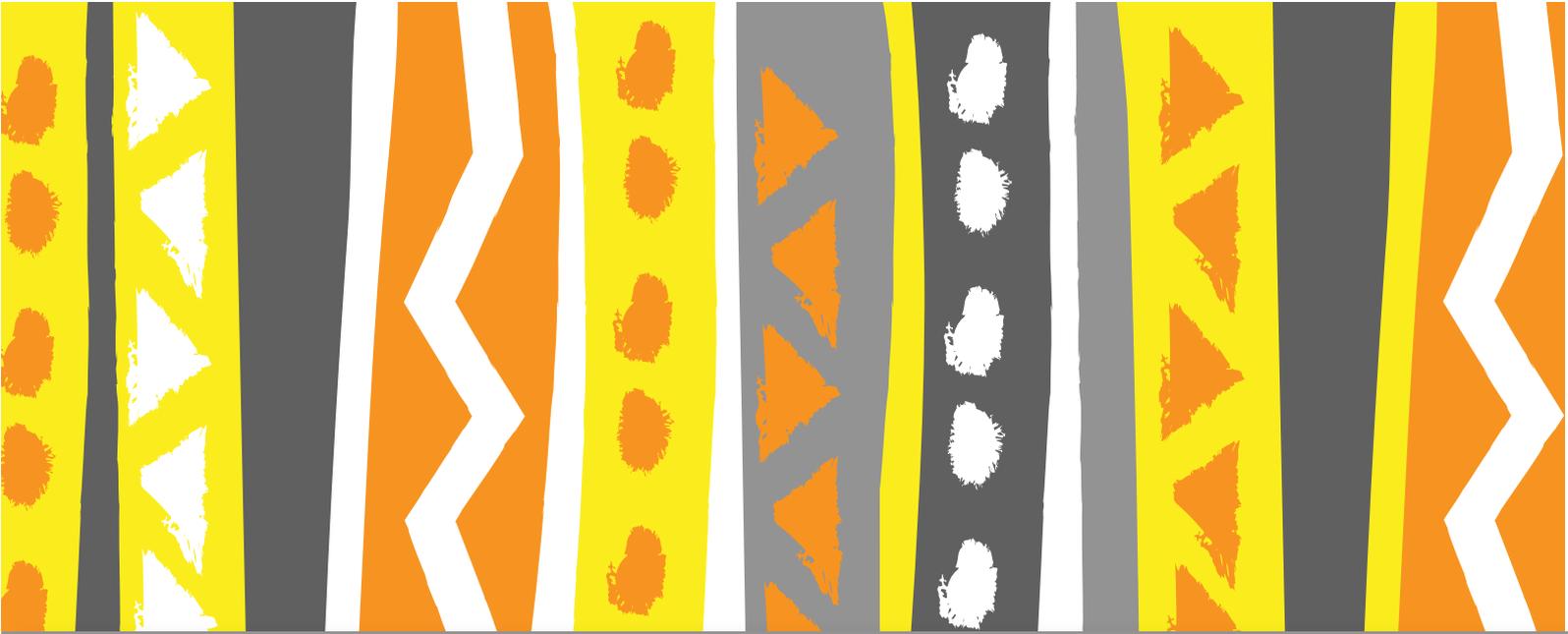
*“We acknowledge the added value that philanthropic foundations bring to development co-operation. In particular, we welcome the voluntary Guidelines for Effective Philanthropic Engagement developed in conjunction with the OECD Network of Foundations Working for Development and encourage continuous multi-stakeholder dialogue and co-operation as appropriate to foster their implementation and follow-up” (Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation Communiqué, 2014, paragraph 17)<sup>1</sup>*

The statement above was part of a 'path-breaking' communique of the Global Partnership for Development Cooperation (GPEDC)<sup>2</sup>. For the first time in decades of discussing aid and development, the word philanthropy was being used in an official international aid policy document.

This paper attempts to explore the nuances around the evolution of aid/development cooperation<sup>3</sup> and philanthropy in Africa and the possibilities of leveraging a progressive relationship between the two forms of giving in development work. It should be noted at the outset that philanthropy and development aid have existed for quite some time as tools for financing and supporting development. While the story of philanthropy dates back to the Greek formulation of philanthropy as 'love for humanity' and the seminal works of influential capitalist like Andrew Carnegie in his article the 'Gospel of Wealth';<sup>4</sup> philanthropy has significantly evolved. In its numerous historical epochs, philanthropy has been posited as a tool for addressing the social deficits in society by helping the poor, contributing to social causes and many such interventions.<sup>5</sup>

The discussions in this paper will not focus on the whole array of philanthropic practices but will restrict the discussion to philanthropic foundations that play a 'macro-role' in development cooperation and development financing. Our definition will therefore be restricted to the OECD formulation that defines philanthropic actors in development cooperation as;

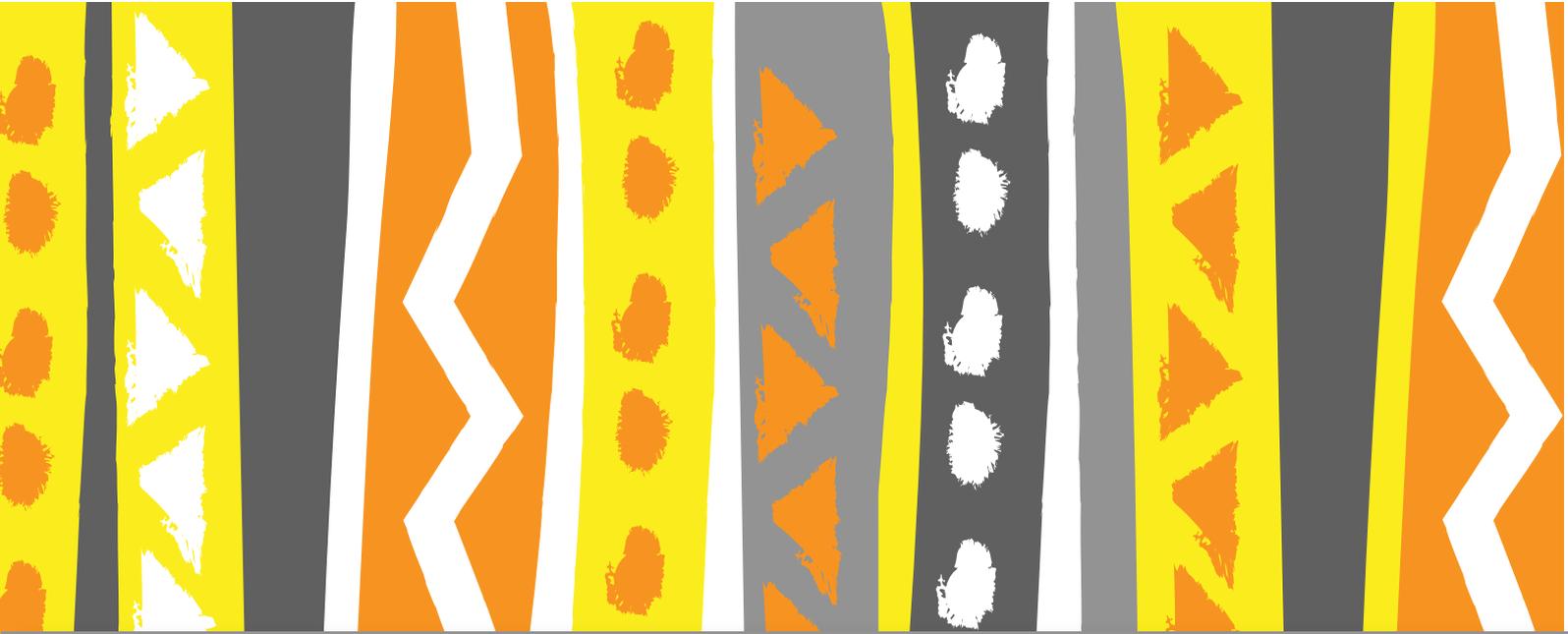
*independent, non-state entities that associate private resources and deploy these through funding or by running their own programmes to advance social, cultural, economic, environmental, scientific and other public good purposes at the local, regional and/or international levels under a defined legal status.*<sup>6</sup>



## **02** *Origins of Foreign Aid* *or Development Cooperation*

Foreign aid – to which these philanthropic actors contribute to can also be understood as a governmental tool used to support countries with economic deficits that cannot be met by local resources alone. Foreign aid traces its origins to the Marshall Plan.<sup>7</sup> The Marshall Plan, also known as the European Recovery Program was a U.S. program providing aid to Western Europe following the devastation of World War II.<sup>81</sup> This was a 15-billion-dollar plan that was famed for reconstructing cities and other infrastructure destroyed by the World War II.

In a sense the Marshall Plan was intervening in societies in Europe to relieve suffering just as philanthropy has for decades intervened in societies around the world to relieve suffering. One would therefore have imagined some point of convergence in the delivery of philanthropy and foreign aid over the years. However, a loud silence in the two practices has for long been in place. A policy dialogue between the two giving practices is barely a couple of decades old.



# 03

## **Uganda**

### *and the philanthropy-aid nexus*

In Uganda, policy dialogue between these two giving practices is absent. This paper is therefore a contribution to the policy analysis work that is exploring questions around the philanthropy-aid nexus primarily in Uganda with some references to the continent of Africa. There are several interesting perspectives that emerge from focusing on the continent of Africa and Uganda that could be helpful to both country level, continental policy making and global policy on aid and philanthropy.

The Charity Aid Foundation World Giving Index Statistics indicate that in the top 10 countries that give most in philanthropic activities, Africa has four countries represented. These include Kenya in 2nd place, Nigeria in 3rd place, Ghana in 6th place and Uganda in 8th place as shown in the figure below from the World Giving Index<sup>9</sup>:

At the same level when one looks at the data of countries that receive most philanthropic giving, Africa also leads the way. A survey by the OECD shows that Africa received the largest share of philanthropic giving (USD 6.6 billion, 28%), followed by Asia (USD 4.1 billion, 17%), Latin America (8%), Europe (2%) and Oceania (0.12%). Of this over two-thirds of agriculture giving (69%) was allocated to African countries, predominantly with Uganda (5%), Ethiopia (8%), Tanzania (8%), Nigeria (6%), and Rwanda (5%).<sup>10</sup>

Figure 1: Most Generous Countries in the World.

The world's most generous countries

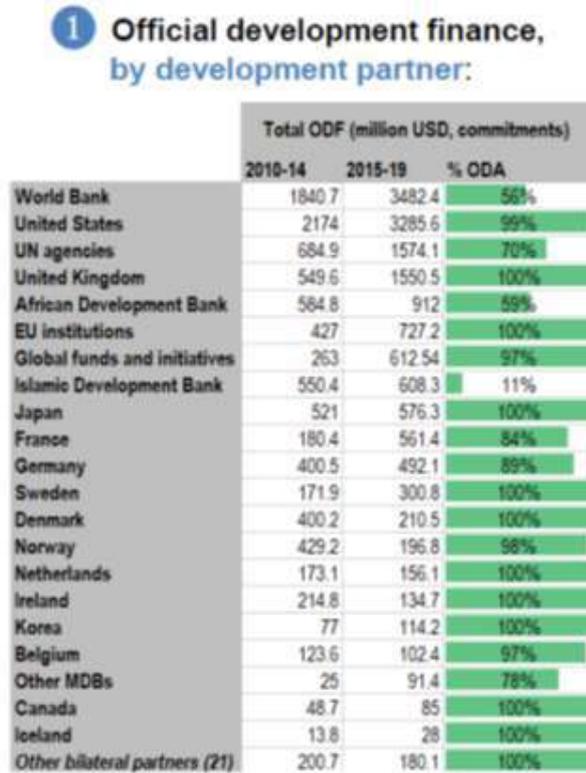
Figure 1: Highest scoring countries in 2020



Source: CAF World Giving Index 2020: A Global Pandemic Special Report

Figure 1 shows that the biggest philanthropic funders are led by Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation's whose giving constitutes a significant share of giving to Africa (49% of the Africa total). Official development finance explicitly directed to Uganda has grown over time - from USD 1.7 billion in 2010 to about USD 2.2 billion in 2019. Since the approval of the SDGs in 2015, official finance is distributed across 2,988 new development interventions per year, 89% of which are limited in volume (less than USD 1 million).

Figure 2 below shows Official Development Finance by donor partner to Uganda.



Source: OECD (2021)

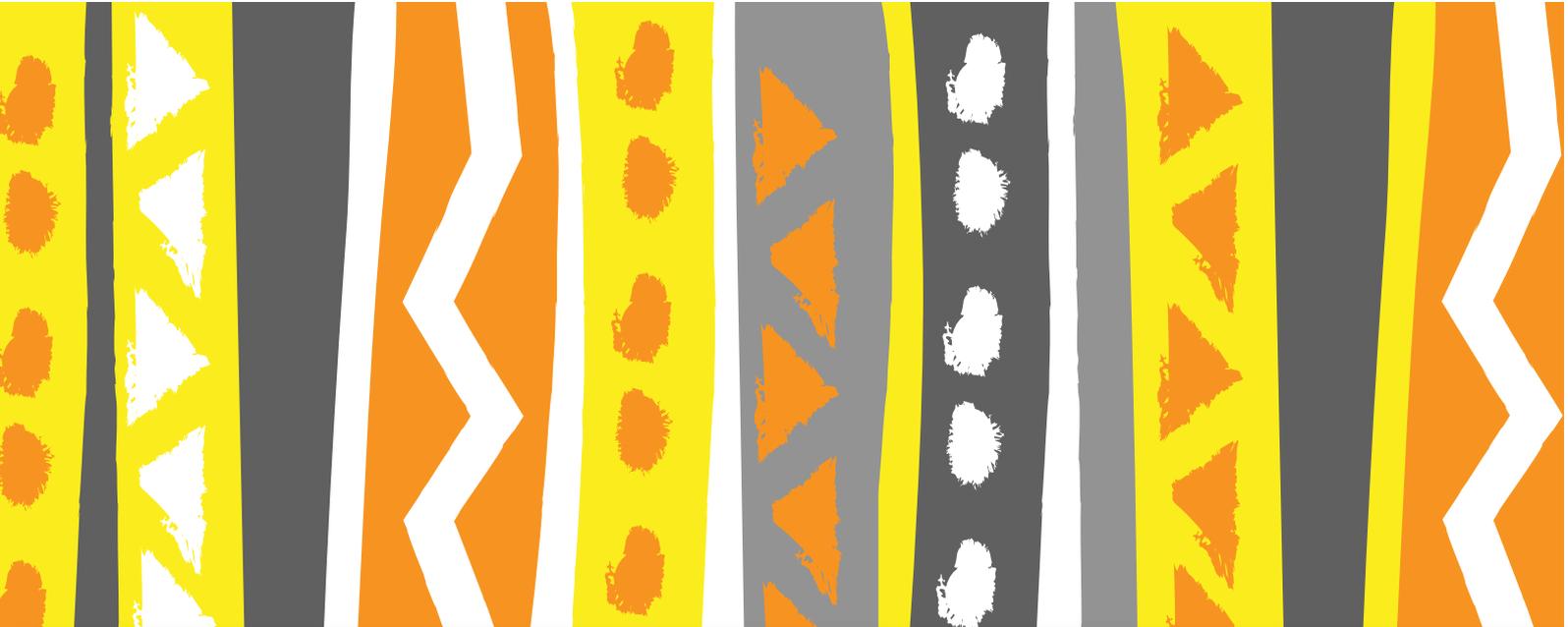
These contradictions relating to 'giving' and receiving are instructive in as far as they indicate differences in how aid and philanthropy live together in the world. On one hand we see Uganda being one of the countries that 'give' most in the world - among the top 10 and is also among the top ten recipients of aid in Africa and with significant volumes being given to Uganda as shown on Figure 3 below in 6th position as a recipient of ODA.

It is apparent that there are significant aid flows to Africa as well as large amounts of philanthropic flows especially by foundations from the global north and yet we also see significant levels of generosity happening within Africa. These contradictions are not accidental. They are rooted in a long history of foreign aid and the realities that emerged from the post-colonial development models and choices that Uganda decided to embrace. In the sections that follow we present a broad brush historical evolution of these systems.

**2.1.1. Top 10 ODA receipts by recipient**  
USD million, net disbursements in 2019

1	Ethiopia	4 677	8%
2	Nigeria	3 277	6%
3	Kenya	3 173	6%
4	Democratic Republic of the Congo	2 810	5%
5	Tanzania	2 126	4%
6	Uganda	2 030	4%
7	Mozambique	1 841	3%
8	Mali	1 816	3%
9	Somalia	1 720	3%
10	Egypt	1 709	3%
	Other recipients	32 494	56%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>57 673</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source:  
OECD Brochure: ODA to Africa Summary



# 04 *History of Development Paradigms* in Uganda

To come to terms with some of the contradictions, it is important to situate them within the political economy of Africa and Uganda. This paper will present a short history of development paradigms in Uganda and how Uganda ended up where it is. The focus is not so much to find fault but to situate the discussion on aid and philanthropy within a context where progressive partnerships can be forged, anchored in understanding the nuances and contours in the Uganda's development experience.

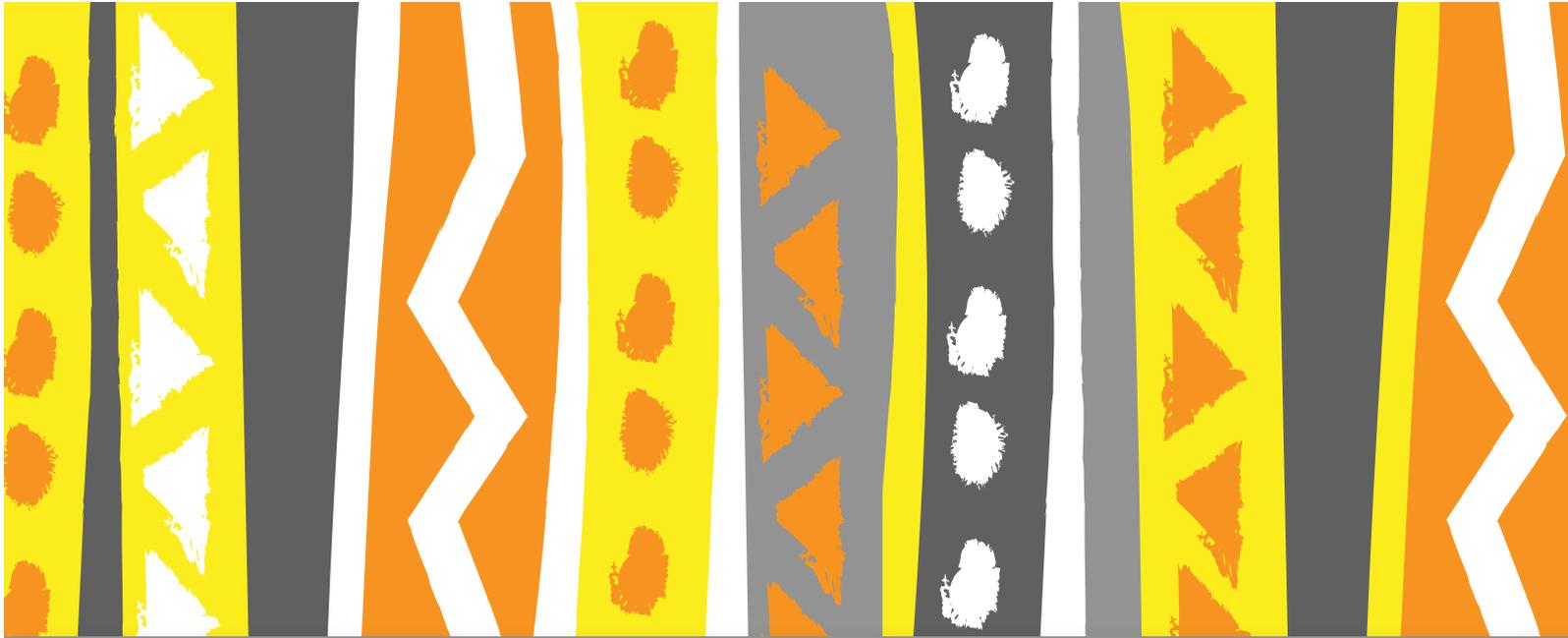
For most countries in Africa, the aid journey can be traced back to the period that witnessed the end of the colonial era. This is when many countries in Africa came up with new agreements with their erstwhile colonial masters to support their development interventions. While in Europe and America we trace foreign aid to the 1947 Marshall Plan, in Africa it is very much a recent phenomenon that comes with the post-colonial state and the rise of national development planning as part of the decolonization and institutionalization of state-led development models.<sup>12</sup> The matrix below summarizes the major historical moments and the implications for philanthropy.



**Table 1: Trajectory of Development Paradigms and Implications for Philanthropy**

Years	Development Paradigm	Implications for Philanthropy
1962-1979	<p><b>State-led development era characterized by:</b></p> <p>Independence laid the foundations of self-determination and national development planning.</p> <p>National development after independence celebrated as true nationalism</p> <p>The emergence of the debt trap as Uganda frantically at former colonial master to bolster the ambitious development programs</p> <p>Huge budget of the post-independence states</p>	<p>Philanthropy support was existing independently from the state - given through charities from UK - like Boy Scout, Girl Guides, Salvation Army and several such formations and support to vulnerable people's homes.</p>
1979-1995	<p><b>Structural Adjustment Era characterized by:</b></p> <p>Macroeconomic imbalances that had emerged during the early post-colonial period of state-led development</p> <p>High levels of indebtedness and debt-servicing costs, balances of payments deficits and budgetary deficits</p> <p>SAPs coincided with the end of the Idi Amin's military regime. The Idi Amin regime had put an end to the economic experimentation of the 1960s. What Amin stood for was what was referred to as an 'economic war' where he ushered in an era of political and economic chaos.</p> <p>Period (1971-79) also coincided with severe international economic disturbances: the oil shock of 1973, the international recession which followed, and fluctuations in the terms of trade for commodity exporters.</p>	<p>Philanthropy support continued as support to independent actors</p> <p>The rise of NGOs as recipients of philanthropy that got invested in humanitarian work to mitigate the effects of the 1979-1986 wars.</p> <p>Large NGOs became prominent players in development consistent with the Washington Consensus idea that the 'state was an inefficient vehicle to deliver social and economic investments'.</p>

Years	Development Paradigm	Implications for Philanthropy
1995-2008	<p><b>Poverty Reduction Era characterized by:</b></p> <p>Early economic reforms did not address poverty as they were largely geared towards stabilizing and rehabilitating an economy that was torn apart by war</p> <p>The Era was touted as a result-oriented poverty reduction approach based on Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper prepared by the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC)</p> <p>Reforms included arrangements such as Alleviation of the Social Costs of Adjustments (PAPSCA), Rural Farmers Credit Programme and seed-capital “entandikwa”</p> <p>Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) was developed in 1997</p> <p>The fight against poverty became Government’s major priority area.</p> <p>Poverty eradication became a bureaucratic and technocratic trope for state building.</p> <p>Globally this is the era of the Millennium Development Goals</p>	<p>Philanthropy was largely absent from or the local policy discussions and continued as support to the International and Local NGOs</p> <p>Expansion of advocacy and rights NGOs in Uganda with support from philanthropic foundations</p>
2009 to date	<p><b>‘New Development Planning Era’ characterized by:</b></p> <p>Development plans resurfaced mostly because of the push back by government officials who argued that the failure of SAPs and PRSPs could be associated to the lack of long-term plans.</p> <p>Uganda developed a Vision 2040 document that aims to transform the Ugandan society from a peasant to a modern and prosperous society</p> <p>The country is implementing its third National Development Plan in a series of six NDPs.</p> <p>These are supposed to ‘guide the nation and deliver the aspirations of the people of Uganda, as articulated in Uganda Vision 2040.’</p> <p>Globally the SDGs were officially endorsed by the UN in 2016</p>	<p>Philanthropy foundations supporting NGOs mostly</p> <p>Some Philanthropy foundations start working with Government – e.g. Bill and Melinda Gates support to the health sector, Gavi and Global Fund for HIV, Malaria and Tuberculosis</p> <p>At the global level philanthropist became prominent actors in partnership with multilateral bodies like the UN (Bill Gates) and regional bodies like the African Union through (Strive Masiyiwa)</p>



## **05** *Emergence of the Philanthropy- Development Cooperation Nexus*

Philanthropic giving has therefore existed side by side with all other forms of development financing albeit travelling on parallel tracks.<sup>13</sup> What has been absent is a sustained and ongoing discussion between philanthropy and development assistance. The early 2000s witnessed a rise in what has been called private development assistance supplementing ODA funding. This marked rise in philanthropic giving towards development can be traced back to the 2008 recession that saw governments significantly cutting their budgets for development finance and ODA as global economies went into recession.<sup>14</sup>

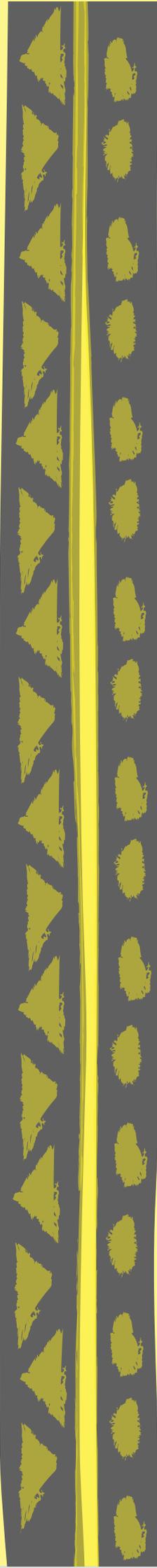
For instance, in the consultations leading to the 4th High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness, held in Busan, Korea (July 2012), African countries placed great emphasis on the need to shift from aid effectiveness to development effectiveness. This resulted in the Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation's renewed focus and expanded perspective toward development cooperation and the attendant diversity of financing options. This new global development cooperation agreement was crafted broadly to accommodate other forms of development resources!<sup>15</sup>



During this period the global community worked closely with both private sector partners and philanthropic foundations to find resources and solutions to the global challenges that the world is faced with. The United Nations and other development actors have been seen expanding the role of High-Net-Worth Individuals on development committees focusing on different aspects of development.

However, while these connections are continuing to be made, a study on philanthropy and development noted some challenges relating how philanthropy engages with development cooperation. This found out that in most cases philanthropic foundations do not know how donor ecosystems operate and even how philanthropy should get involved.<sup>16</sup> On the side of government, they always preferred all development partners to channel resources through 'country systems' - a debate that has been very much part of the aid effectiveness agenda from the days of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness. These differences in approach to supporting and financing development has been a source of significant disconnect between the two traditions of giving. Furthermore philanthropy foundations also have no culture of transparency in terms of publishing how they finance like what government and donor agencies do. Some of the foundations finance areas that may not be amenable to the state institutions.

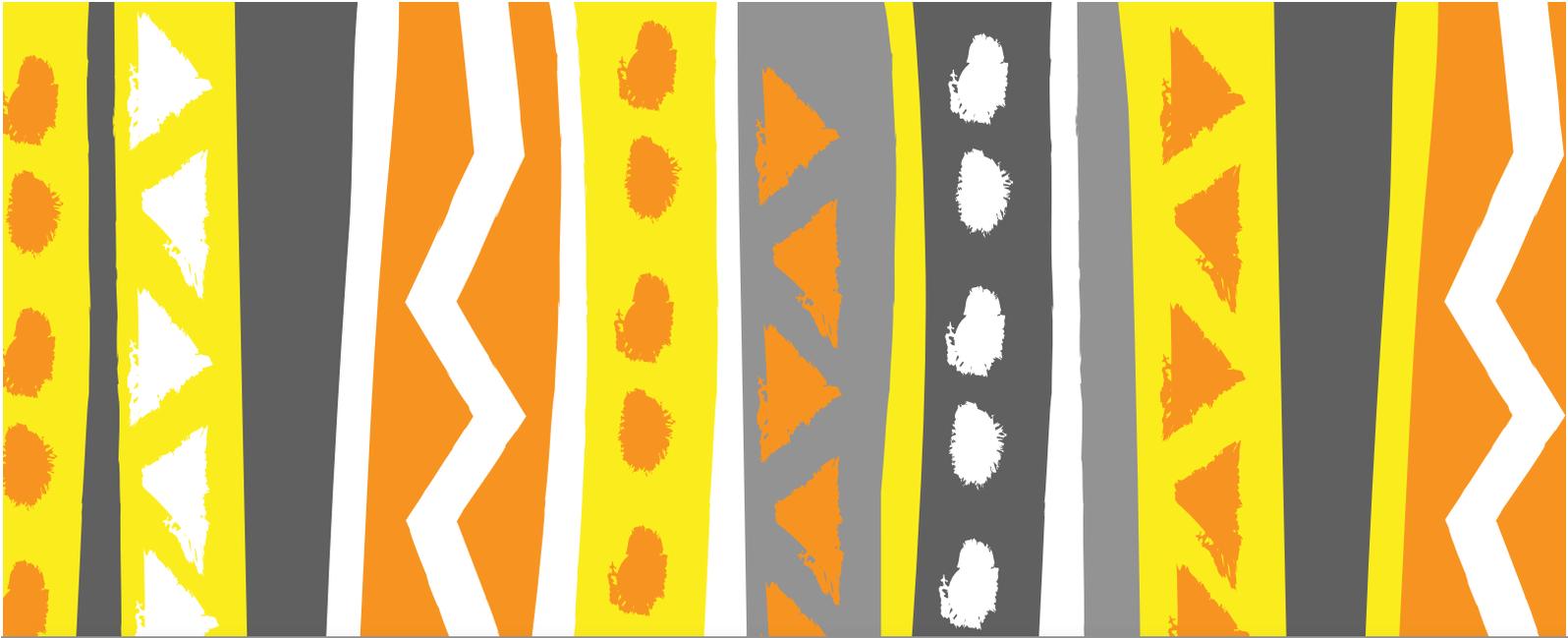
When philanthropic foundations support areas like human rights and governance, they are not always seen favorably by government.<sup>18</sup> For example, foundations like Open Society Foundation supports individuals and organizations across the globe fighting for freedom of expression, accountable government, and societies that promote justice and equality. The foundation's founder has been under intense criticism with some governments alleging that their resources are funding uprising and other forms of resistance.<sup>19</sup>

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On their part, philanthropic foundations have countered these criticisms by showing that philanthropic organizations are active in delivering development assistance and tend to stress long-term goals rather than fill in short-term needs. The range of activities of foundations can be as wide as those undertaken by official development agencies or non-government organisations, but each foundation develops a special focus based on preference and research to help formulate policies for delivering targeted assistance. Two distinct features of private foundations are: their flexibility and speed in decision-making; and their freedom of choice in engaging in activities they deem appropriate and timely, without having to obtain approval from official sources. This degree of independence has often caused difficulties in coordination between foundations and official development agencies.<sup>20</sup>

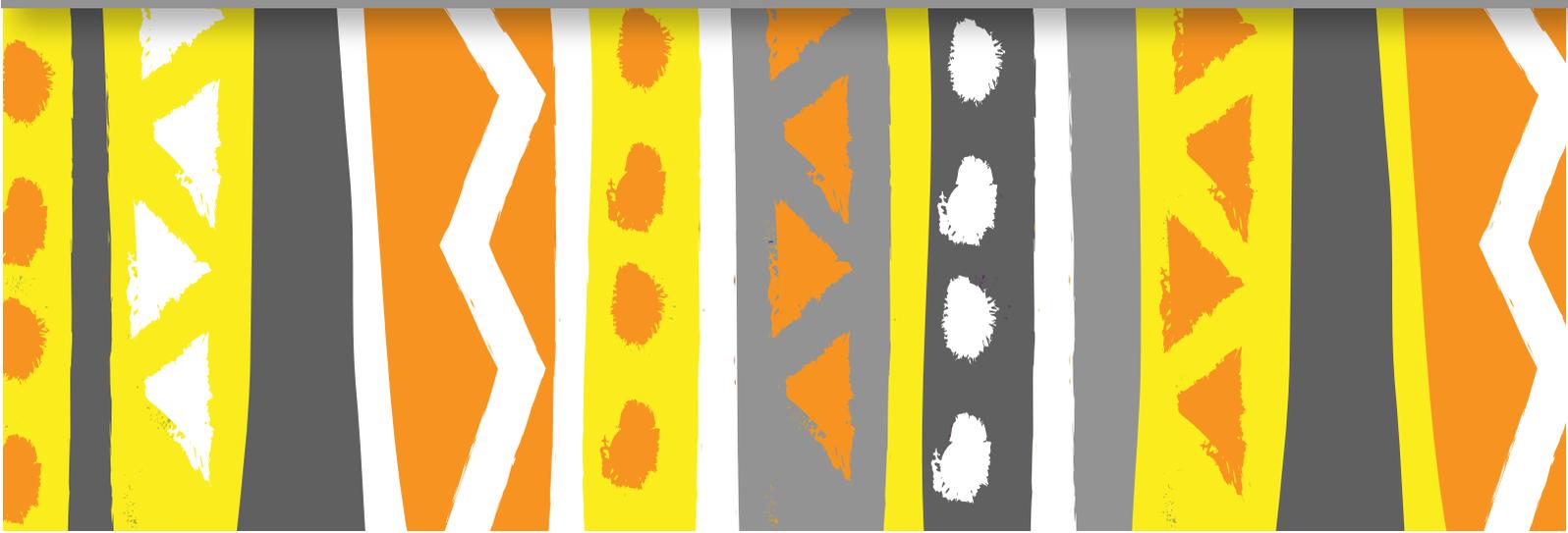
The contradictions in the global economic outlook have also been a contributory factor in the rise of philanthropy in development work and financing. For example, while the economic recession of 2008 brought significant challenges to the world, the same period witnessed a dramatic growth in wealth. From 2008 to 2020 - philanthropic giving and the number of foundations contributing to development have been growing significantly. One important milestone during this period has been the high-profile recognition of some of the super-rich and prominent individuals that are not in mainstream government to lead or become members of global development advocacy.

One example that was prominent during the era of Millennium Development Goals was the appointment of the MDG Advocacy Group that included philanthropist like Bill Gates of Microsoft and Yunus Muhammad a Nobel Peace Prize winner and founder of the Grameen Bank and pioneer of concepts of microcredit and microfinance by the UN Secretary General.<sup>21</sup> Such actions paved way for the participation of philanthropists in mainstream development work. Today we continue to witness the participation of High-Net-Worth Individuals in several global and continental initiatives. In Africa, Strive Masiyiwa is playing an important role in the Covid pandemic response on behalf of the Africa Union and other roles with governments across Africa and globally with multilateral organizations.<sup>22</sup>



# 06 *Leveraging Philanthropic Support for Development Work in Uganda*

There are many roles that philanthropic foundations have been able to play in this 'new-found' relationship with the development assistance and aid community. These include roles like foundations being designers of programs, implementers, funders, conveners and contributors. Across Africa, philanthropy foundations have played these roles variously. One of the most visible and significant roles is being funders of development.



## 6.1. Philanthropy as Contributors to Development

African philanthropic foundations are starting to take center stage in development work in several countries. For example, in 2009, the government of Liberia established the Liberia Philanthropy Secretariat – a platform for linking national priorities with philanthropic resources. This was an innovation in leveraging philanthropy resources for development work. It was a model of philanthropy focused on improving the lives of Liberians by encouraging collaboration between government, philanthropists and foundations from all over the world to coordinate their efforts.<sup>23</sup>

In 2015, the African Union also launched the African Union Foundation to mobilize voluntary contributions in support of the Union's Agenda 2063. This was launched to implement the proposal of the High-Level Panel on Alternative Sources of Financing the African Union. Its key priority is to advocate for partnerships with the private sector that will see inclusive economic development and growth, the growth of African business, intra-African trade and shared prosperity.<sup>24</sup>

Another continent-wide initiative is the sectoral investment in infrastructure – the Africa50 Fund. It was established by the African Union to support the infrastructure funding gap across Africa by facilitating project development, mobilizing public and private sector finance, and investing in infrastructure on the continent. Africa50 focuses on medium-to-large-scale projects that have development impact and offer an appropriate risk-adjusted return to investors.<sup>25</sup>

The rise in philanthropic financing and associated forms of support is an area that has drawn significant attention to philanthropy for development. Several studies show that there are huge amounts of money from high-net-worth individuals, foundations and private sector that flow from and to Africa. It is estimated that Africa gets between US\$1.25 billion and US\$3 billion from philanthropic activities.<sup>26</sup>

In several regions of Africa, the idea of leveraging philanthropy has been spreading. In the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region there was a proposal to establish a SADC Foundation as a platform for mobilising resources from the private sector, philanthropic foundations and individuals. The idea was that this foundation could be used as a fundraising instrument for the proposed SADC Regional Development Fund.<sup>27</sup> A number of studies were commissioned by the SADC Secretariat that concluded that Southern African Development Community could access a huge pool of resources available in the region if it adopts some or all of the six options on alternative and innovative sources of funding which included; introduction of an export and import tax; a tourism levy; a financial transaction tax; a lottery system; philanthropy; and regional events.<sup>28</sup>

In Rwanda the government developed a strategy to engage philanthropy in implementing Rwanda Vision 2020 with recommendations to develop a Philanthropy Board in the country.<sup>29</sup> In South Africa, the National Treasury and Department of Science and Technology have conducted studies mapping current collaborations between philanthropy and government, mainly in areas of education and health; the result is the development of a mechanism or strategy for government to formally collaborate with philanthropy in a coherent way.

In 2015, Kenya also collaborated with the United Nations Development Programme in its Post-2015 Partnership Platform for Philanthropy to establish their own philanthropy platforms.<sup>30</sup> A similar platform was also established in Ghana.<sup>31</sup> There are significant strides being made across Africa, for countries to leverage the advantages and opportunities of philanthropy for them to support development interventions at country level.

While there have been no known initiatives in Uganda, a comprehensive study that maps out philanthropic collaborations could be helpful. This would produce evidence of the different mechanisms and practices of philanthropy and known strategies. Such a study will also be helpful in developing a regulatory framework to support the development of a distinct philanthropy sector.

## 6.2. Philanthropy as Funders of Global Development

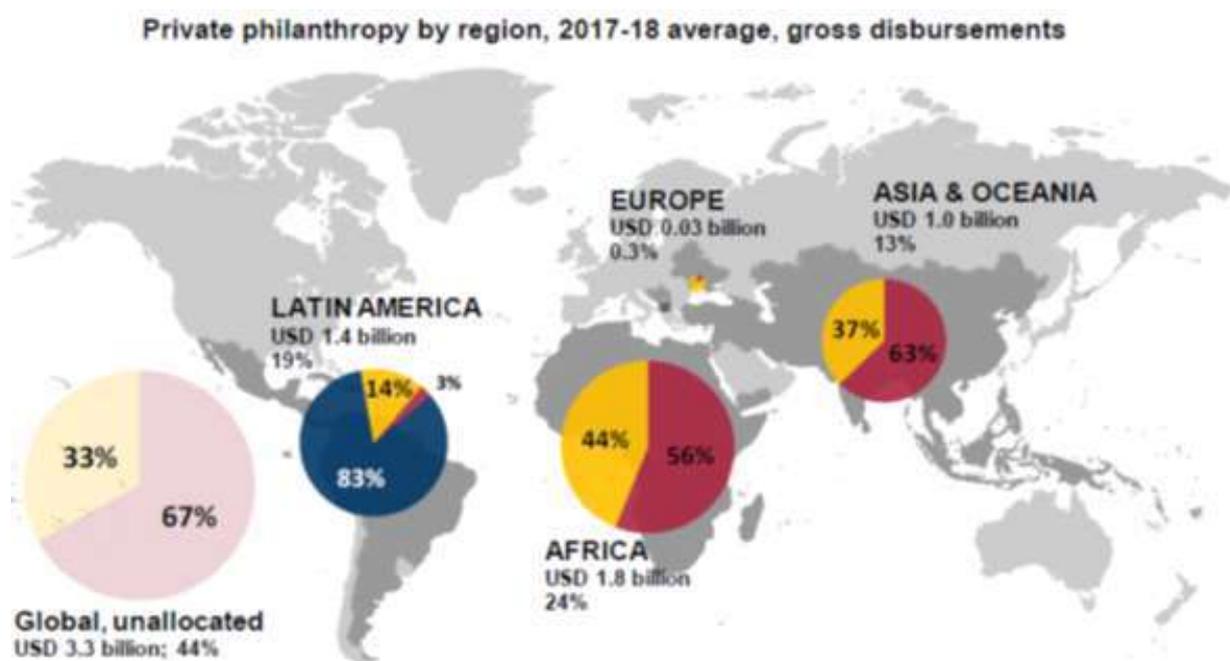
The adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) by the United Nations Member States in New York, September 2015 put philanthropy on the global agenda as one of the mechanisms for supporting the implementation of the SDGs. In the lead up to the 76th Session of the United Nations Assembly, many countries were buffeted by global economic and geo-political forces. Governments were acutely aware of the declining volumes of ODA and the slow recovery from the economic recession.

Alternative forms of financing like philanthropy were emerging as a solution to fund vital services. However, at the same time, other aspects of globalization, particularly the proliferation of communication technologies, eroded governments' ability to limit dissent and dissatisfaction by citizens. Philanthropy positioned itself as both a vehicle for calling for greater freedoms and an important example of that freedom. This put philanthropy sometimes in crosshairs of governments keen to allow donors to support public services but hesitant to loosen control over the national moral and political narrative. However, as a result, many governments were willing to accommodate the participation of philanthropy in the shaping of global development and encourage nations to introduce policies and practices that encourage donations to service-based causes.

Although in some cases that came with restrictions of philanthropy that supports advocacy and campaigning activities. Overall, the SDG era has given birth to a new dynamic that is now even encapsulated in the 17 SDGs and 169 SDG targets. SDG 17, target 17.3 is 'mobilize additional financial resources for developing countries from multiple sources.' Philanthropic foundations have used this indicator as an entry point to engage with the SDGs.

The SDG Philanthropy Platform affirms the newfound place of philanthropy when it states that support of the Millennium Development Goals by philanthropy was over \$6,623,378,079 that was invested in Sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>32</sup> According to the Foundation Centre, the total foundation SDG Funding worldwide in 2016 has reached over USD \$112 billion<sup>33</sup> These figures did not include resources invested in other areas outside the MDG target.

If all philanthropic giving was captured, the amounts would have been much higher. For instances, community philanthropy (not recorded in the official statistics) continues to be very supportive to the attainment of both national and global goals for most countries in Africa. However, data collected by the OECD surveys shows that Africa remains the most targeted region for philanthropy as can be seen in the map below:

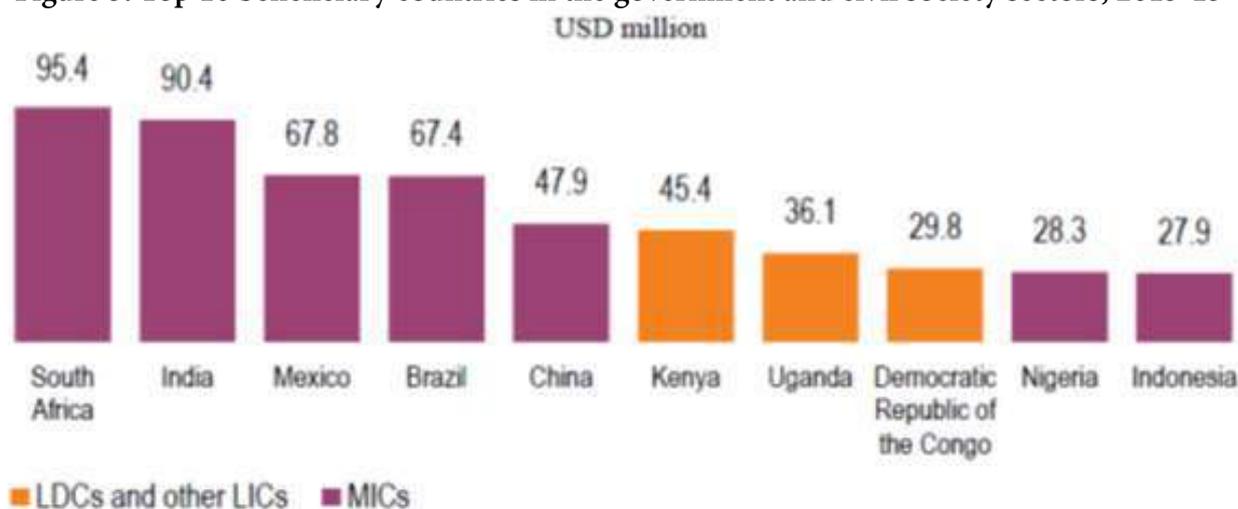


Source: OECD (2020) *Private philanthropy for the SDGs: Insights from the latest OECD DAC statistics*

Statistics also indicate that Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation gave 56% to Africa and were the biggest philanthropy supporter to Africa and to SDGs. The total amount of resources that flowed to Africa was nearly \$1.8 billion in 2017-18. The SDG Philanthropy Platform also estimates that \$651 billion in philanthropic giving for the SDGs could potentially be unlocked by 2030. It says that achieving this increased goal in SDG giving will not be an easy task and has already required significant efforts by many to support policy, shift donor thinking, unlock capital and educate on the SDGs. Philanthropic dollars can contribute to funding and if enabled in the right way, can unlock, and leverage additional funding sources, ensuring money is genuinely catalytic in nature.<sup>34</sup>

According to the OECD survey on philanthropy, Figure 5 below shows that Uganda is one of the countries that receive most philanthropic support that goes to the sectors of government and civil society.

Figure 5. Top 10 beneficiary countries in the government and civil society sectors, 2013-15



Source: OECD 2018 Survey

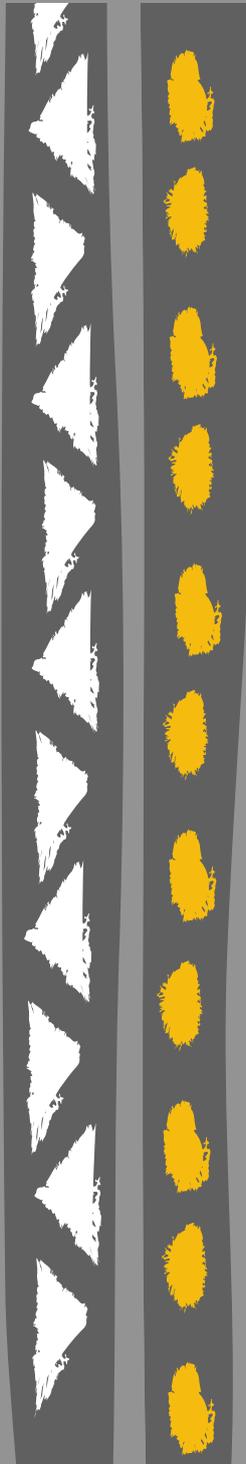
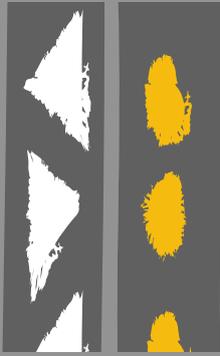
The volumes of financing in Figure 5 indicate that Uganda was in 7th position as a country that received significant volumes of funding for sectoral support. The study established that most of this funding (\$36.1 million) was geared towards areas like support to women’s equality organizations and institutions as well as to ending violence against women and girls.<sup>35</sup>

While the numbers look promising for Africa, development financing by philanthropy is still challenged by the way it is given. Studies indicate that international giving to Africa is mostly from the US. Africa was the main beneficiary region of ODA flows and philanthropic giving alike (42% of region-allocable total ODA flows and 51% of region-allocable philanthropic giving). Ethiopia and Kenya also belong to the ten countries targeted by both ODA providers and private foundations.

In relation to the sectoral giving trends, SDG 4 on inclusive education was the second largest sector supported by philanthropic foundations in the years 2013-15, with 2.1 billion (9% of the total) provided by more than 100 foundations. However, there have also been significant investments to areas like the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria; agriculture, water and sanitation, women's empowerment, young employment and education<sup>36</sup> An interesting trend though is that more than 75% of US foundation funding to Africa is administered by intermediary organizations headquartered outside Africa.

As the global giving trends change, African giving is also increasingly being expressed through corporate, family foundations, trusts, individual giving, voluntarism and community philanthropy. On the increase are entrepreneurs such as; Folorunsho Alakija, Liya Kibede, Aliko Dangote of Dangote Foundation, Strive Masiyiwa of Higher Life Foundation, Tony Elemelu. In Uganda we have also witnessed the growth in the number of foundations. Examples include the Ruparelia Foundation<sup>37</sup> and the Patrick and Carol Bitature Foundation<sup>38</sup>. Studies show that the population of Africa's High Net Worth Individuals increased by 5.2% in 2014 to 7.0% in 2020.

Total private wealth held in Africa amounts to approximately USD 2.0 trillion as at December 2020. The "Big 5" wealth markets in Africa are: South Africa, Egypt, Nigeria, Morocco and Kenya - together these five countries account for over 50% of Africa's total wealth. Mauritius remains the wealthiest country in Africa, in terms of wealth per capita and Africa has the fastest growing market of HNWIs in the world. It is further projected that Africans with assets more than US\$30 million will double by 2025 - a growth of 59% over the next ten years compared to 34% of the global growth.



Coupled with the above is the emergence of continental and global platforms that are harnessing the power and developmental value of philanthropy. These include national, regional and global philanthropy platforms, such as the Africa Philanthropy Network (APN), East Africa Philanthropy Network (EAPN), Africa Grant Makers Affinity Group (AGAG), CivSource Africa and national philanthropy platforms in Kenya, Egypt, Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda and South Africa among others.

The SDG Philanthropy Platform has also helped create a global knowledge and data base regarding philanthropy's significant role in development cooperation. These trends and other developments place philanthropy at the center of this decade's developmental discourse. We see a trifurcated dynamic represented by: growth in institutions, growth in beneficiaries of philanthropy and growth in literature on philanthropy in Africa.

### 6.3. *Philanthropy as Development Innovators*

In articulating the role of philanthropy as innovators in development, reference is made to a path-breaking global commitment that endorsed this role - the Addis Ababa Action Agenda (AAA). The AAA was an outcome document emerging from the Financing for Development process of the United Nations. The Financing for Development Conferences started in 2002 and the first International Conference on Financing for Development was held in Monterrey, Mexico. It is famed for signaling a turning point in the approach to development cooperation by the international community. This is because it was the first conference of the United Nations where countries discussed issues relating to the financing of development.

While this initiative was famed as path-breaking, the first Monterrey Consensus did not acknowledge or mention the role of philanthropy. Yet the Monterrey Consensus was famed as 'reflecting a landmark global agreement between developed and developing countries, in which both recognized their responsibilities in key areas such as trade, aid, debt relief and institution building.'<sup>39</sup> A follow-up conference to review the Monterrey Consensus was held in 2008 in Doha, Qatar and it produced the Doha Declaration.<sup>40</sup> This declaration recognized that mobilizing financial resources for development and the effective use of all those resources was central to the global partnership for sustainable development. This conference was held at the height of the global financial crisis and also examined the impact of the world financial and economic crisis on development. A year later the United Nations Conference on the World Financial and Economic Crisis<sup>41</sup> was held to identify emergency and long-term responses to mitigate the impact of the crisis.

The Addis Ababa Third International Conference on Financing for Development<sup>42</sup> was therefore important as an opportunity to review the progress made in the implementation of the Monterrey Consensus and the Doha Declaration and address the emerging issues.

The spirit of the AAA - to rethink development assistance - was therefore timely as the development community explored different ways in which development can be financed. The outcome document set a new tone in development partnerships when it officially included the role that ought to be played by philanthropy foundations. The AAA stated that:

*We welcome the rapid growth of philanthropic giving and the significant financial and non-financial contribution philanthropists have made towards achieving our common goals. We recognize philanthropic donors' flexibility and capacity for innovation and taking risks, and their ability to leverage additional funds through multi-stakeholder partnerships. We encourage others to join those who already contribute. We welcome efforts to increase cooperation between philanthropic actors, Governments and other development stakeholders. We call for increased transparency and accountability in philanthropy. We encourage philanthropic donors to give due consideration to local circumstances and align with national policies and priorities. We also encourage philanthropic donors to consider managing their endowments through impact investment, which considers both profit and non-financial impacts in its investment criteria. (UN: Addis Ababa Action Agenda, p21) [bold emphasis mine]*

An important part of the statement above was the recognition of philanthropy's capacity to innovate. While philanthropy foundations were referred to as 'philanthropy donors' - a formulation that is contestable, it was clear that there was a strong recognition of philanthropy actors as development actors - 'in their own right'. An important point made in this declaration was the place of philanthropy and innovation. The place of innovation and flexibility in the work of philanthropic actors was acknowledged.

Evidence from several studies has shown that innovations by philanthropy are diverse. They also follow several different typologies, but these are well encapsulated in the definitional formulation by the Oslo Manual on innovation. The manual defines innovation as:

*An innovation is a new or improved product or process (or combination thereof) that differs significantly from the unit's previous products or processes and that has been made available to potential users (product) or brought into use by the unit (process).<sup>43</sup>*

The manual also points out that the key components of the concept of innovation include: the role of knowledge as a basis for innovation, novelty and utility, and value creation or preservation as the presumed goal of innovation. The requirement for implementation differentiates innovation from other concepts such as invention, as an innovation must be implemented, i.e. put into use or made available for others to use.<sup>44</sup> Several philanthropy foundations in Africa and across the world pride in the work they do in developing and rolling out innovations across the continent of Africa. Some outstanding innovations have been rolled out in sectors like health delivery and education improvement in Africa.

For example, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation – which occupies the first place in terms of volume of giving to Africa – is known to dedicate significant philanthropic investments to solving social problems in a limited timeframe, generally by supporting a single organization or ecosystem of actions. The foundation has been an avid supporter of the Grand Challenge initiative in Africa and supports scientists within local innovation ecosystems through fellowships like the Calestous Juma Fellowship by providing five years of support that focuses on leadership development for researchers. This initiative is part of the foundation's investments in the 'Global Call to Action, a 10-year program that sponsors cutting-edge science to advance priorities in global health while providing the long-term resources that teams in low- and middle-income countries need to lead high-impact projects.' The foundation has committed an initial US\$50 million.<sup>45</sup>

Initial focus areas of the initiative include data science, such as mathematical modeling to inform national malaria control programs; digital health services for pregnant women; and innovations to close gaps identified by current programs for eliminating neglected tropical diseases. This example illustrates the 'big bet' type innovation where a philanthropy foundation dedicates significant amount of resources – in this case \$50 million in a specific time frame to deal with a defined intervention – in this case working to develop Research and Development and leadership skills of scientist in targeted localities across Africa.

In Uganda Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation has supported projects in health including one between Johns Hopkins University which received \$4.97 million grant from the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation to undertake the initial phase of a unique program aimed at improving health outcomes in Uganda and East Africa, in coordination Makerere University College of Health Sciences in Kampala, Uganda.

The faculties of medicine, nursing, and public health at both schools will developed an institution-building relationship to further extend the educational capacity of Makerere University, Uganda's largest university. The Foundation also supported the Stronger Systems for Routine Immunization (SS4RI) project at district level, to provide timely, high-quality immunization services to protect eligible children and women from vaccine-preventable diseases.<sup>46</sup>

Another example comes from Hewlett Foundation. This foundation has been a big player in improving the quality of education in Africa. In 2007, the foundation invested in researching big trends in primary education in the developing world and concluded that what they saw was tremendous progress in getting kids into school, but also emerging evidence that they weren't learning once there. There was a recognition that education donors and governments, focused on students' access, had achieved massive increases in enrollment in a short time.

However, while these unprecedented gains constituted a major advance, they were only part of the story. The foundation then invested significant resources over \$10 million to develop an innovation in assessments of progress in education that would take place at the household level. A nonprofit educational organization called Pratham in India that was collecting data on a large scale to measure the extent of children's learning in India, found very low levels of mastery. Hewlett Foundation came together with partners from India and Africa to innovate a children's learning assessment idea that became an East Africa wide initiative known as the Uwezo.<sup>47</sup>

In Uganda the project was incubated at Uganda National NGO Forum for 3 years before becoming an independent organization. The initiative focused on assessing education of children and raising awareness of the learning. This initiative went on to influence the work of the World Bank and Global Partnership for Education which revised or launched strategies that focus on learning.<sup>48</sup>

In the above examples and many more from foundations across the Africa we see the explosion of innovations in systems change led by philanthropy organizations. Systems change innovations are those that focus on change in policies, processes, relationships, knowledge, power structures, values or norms of participants within a system that affects a social issue.<sup>49</sup> In this case and many such cases across Africa we see the emergence of philanthropy as influencers of policy practices.



## 6.4. *Philanthropy and Multi-Stakeholder Partnership for Development.*

As acknowledged in the AAA Declaration, which says; 'we recognize philanthropic donors' flexibility and capacity for innovation and taking risks, and their ability to leverage additional funds through multi-stakeholder partnerships' - this is a role many actors are undertaking. Multi-stakeholder partnerships are hailed as a vital new element of development cooperation. These are seen as important partnerships in dealing with issues of deadlocked intergovernmental negotiations, ineffective treaties and overly bureaucratic international organizations.

In the context of the Agenda 2030, that recognized the role of philanthropy in development, multi-stakeholder partnerships have been promoted through the enactment of high level panels that include philanthropist and development partners as members. Within the UN system over the past quarter of a century, high-level panels have become an ever more popular change management process. Successive UN Secretaries-General have increasingly relied on the work of such panels to push for institutional reform, drive policy adaptation and promote normative development in virtually all the UN's mandate areas.<sup>50</sup>

At the global level this is a model that has been embraced by some of the key philanthropists. Some of the prominent names like Bill Gates are now household names within the UN systems. Some of Africa's High Net Worth Individuals have also joined these multi stakeholder partnerships. For example, Strive Masiyiwa a prominent businessperson from Africa was named as the African Union Special Envoy and coordinator of the Africa Vaccine Acquisition Task Team (AVATT) which is high level panel of the Africa Union.<sup>51</sup>

In a sense, multi-stakeholder partnerships are now ubiquitous. While they are promoted variously at the global and national level, there are some criticisms. Some observers view the new emphasis on multi-stakeholder partnerships as problematic since voluntary public-private governance arrangements might privilege more powerful actors, in particular "the North" and "big business," and consolidate the privatization of governance and dominant neo-liberal modes of globalization.<sup>52</sup>

Also, some argue that partnerships lack accountability and (democratic) legitimacy. Yet others see multi-stakeholder partnerships as an innovative form of governance that addresses deficits of inter-state politics by bringing together key actors from civil society, government and business.<sup>53</sup> For the proponents of multi-stakeholder partnerships, they are considered as important mechanisms to help resolve a variety of current governance deficits. It is in this light that philanthropists have expanded their reach.

While historically, philanthropy foundations have worked primarily with civil society and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in multi-stakeholder partnerships, this has changed. With the growing influence of the big foundations, their influential leaders have also become influential figures on the international development scene.

To live up to their reputation, ambition and mission, they recognize the need to scale up their financial contribution by capitalizing on other resources. Philanthropy foundations are now cultivating networks with other foundations, governments and the ODA donor community to enhance their footprint and impact. Such partnerships have helped foundations influence policy and develop innovative, cross-sector solutions to address social and environmental problems.



Within the context of the Agenda 2030 – there is a global consensus that achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) will hinge on multi-stakeholder involvement. This would mean mobilizing resources from a range of groups across the public, philanthropic and private sectors, as well as civil society with the context of SDG 17. At the country level, the additional basis of these collaborations is that philanthropic financial resources must be paired with the knowledge and work of in-country philanthropists, who can tap their existing networks to achieve real and sustainable outcomes. There are several examples of partnerships and below are examples of multi-stakeholder partnerships with a strong presence of philanthropy operating in Africa:

### *The Gavi Alliance:*<sup>54</sup>

This is a public-private global health partnership with the goal of increasing access to immunization in poor countries. In 2016, Gavi channeled more than half of total donor assistance for health and most of the donor assistance for immunization, by monetary measure. Gavi supports the immunization of almost half the world's children. Gavi has helped immunize over 760 million children, preventing over 13 million deaths worldwide, helping increase diphtheria vaccine coverage in supported countries from 59% in 2000 to 81% in 2019, contributing to reducing child mortality by half. It also seeks to improve the economics of vaccines, negotiating bulk prices, supporting price discrimination and reducing the commercial risks that manufacturers face when selling vaccines to the poor and developing countries.

It also provides funding to strengthen health systems and train health workers across the developing world. Gavi's approach to public health is anchored with a business-oriented and technology-focused model, using market-oriented measures and seeking quantifiable results. Gavi follows a model termed the "Gates approach" or US-type approach.<sup>55</sup> It contrasts with the approach typified by the Alma Ata Declaration, which focuses on the effects of political, social and cultural systems on health. Gavi works with donor governments, the World Health Organization, UNICEF, the World Bank, the vaccine industry in both industrialized and developing countries, research and technical agencies, civil society and private philanthropists led by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. Gavi also has observer status at the World Health Assembly.

But GAVI has been criticized for giving private donors and philanthropists more unilateral power to decide on global health goals, prioritizing new, expensive vaccines while putting less money and effort into expanding coverage of old, cheap ones, harming local healthcare systems, spending too much on subsidies to large profitable pharmaceutical companies without reducing the prices of some vaccines and its conflicts of interest in having vaccine manufacturers on its governance board.<sup>56</sup>

However, with all these downside challenges, it still represents one of the largest multi-stakeholder partnerships in health. At the onset of the Covid 19 pandemic, Gavi has become a key player in the Covax initiative which is the vaccines pillar of the Access to COVID-19 Tools (ACT) Accelerator. The ACT Accelerator is a ground-breaking global collaboration to accelerate the development, production and equitable access to COVID-19 tests, treatments and vaccines.<sup>57</sup>

Uganda is supported variously by Gavi including the comprehensive multi-year plan (cMYP) which is a single plan which consolidates several immunisation activities in the country. Gavi is also supporting Uganda in the fights against the Covid pandemic by supporting the Covax vaccines delivery.<sup>58</sup>

## *Global Partnership for Education:*<sup>59</sup>

GPE works to transform education systems holistically, based on a deep understanding of country context and evidence. Strengthening government-led education systems. GPE promotes policy dialogue to identify key education priorities that have the potential to unlock system-wide change. GPE also works to align external support to these priorities and jointly monitor, learn and adapt during implementation to build evidence and enable course-correction.

As a partnership, GPE brings together donors, multilateral institutions, civil society, teacher representatives, philanthropic foundations and the private sector behind partner country governments' plans. It was launched in 2002, originally known as the Education for All – Fast Track Initiative. It was launched to accelerate progress towards the Millennium Development Goal of universal primary education by 2015. In 2016, Robyn Rihanna Fenty an artist, entrepreneur and philanthropist from Barbados became GPE's first Global Ambassador. In her role Rihanna encouraged world leaders and policymakers to boost their support for global education and education emergencies through GPE.<sup>60</sup>

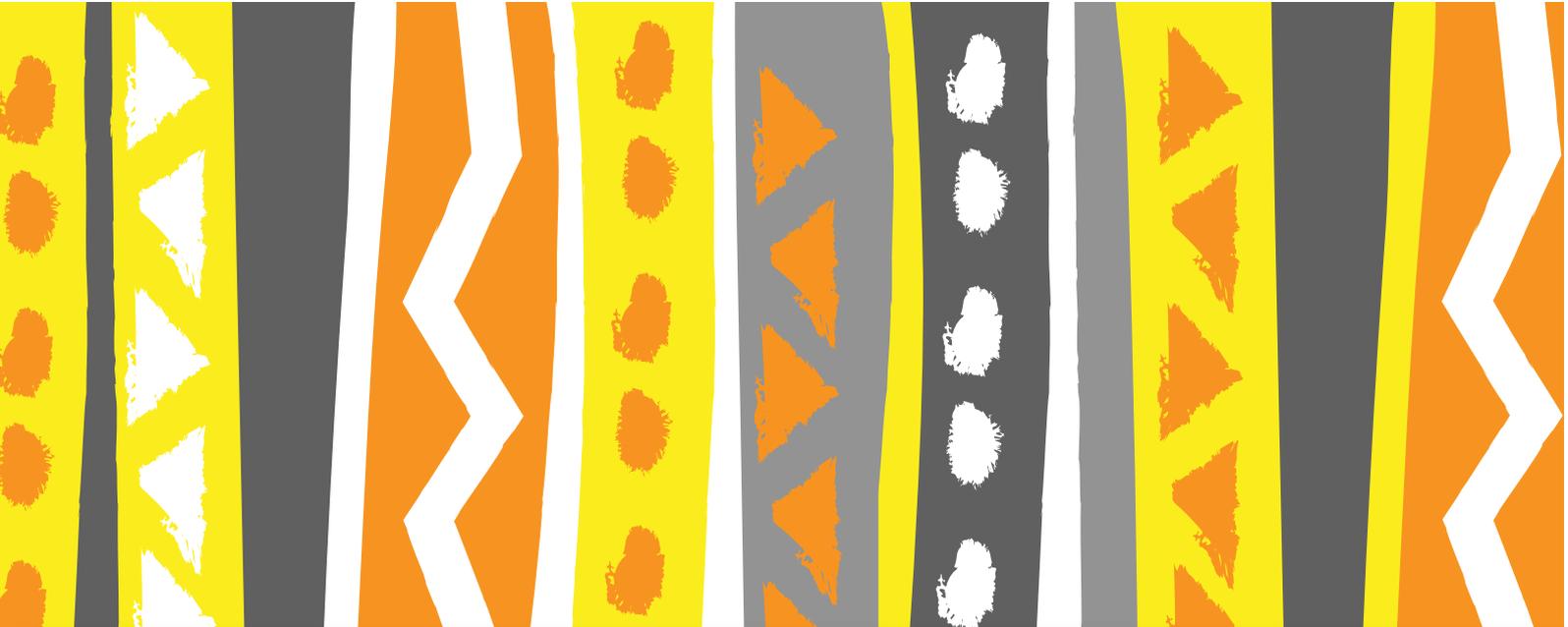
Since its inception, GPE has grown from partnering with 7 developing countries in 2002 to close to 70 countries in 2019. GPE leverages the financial support of donor countries, international organizations, the private sector and philanthropy and encourages partner developing countries to allocate 20% of their national budget to education, with a significant proportion (45%) for primary education. Since 2003, GPE has received US\$5.7 billion from donors.<sup>61</sup>

Uganda has continued to benefit from this GPE facility since 2011 with a total grant of \$116,049,666 coordinated under the Embassy of Ireland to Uganda and UNICEF. During the Covid pandemic an additional US\$15 million COVID-19 grant has been extended to Uganda to support student learning during school closures, safe reopening of schools and re-entry of students, vulnerable and disadvantaged groups through large print and braille materials, radio lessons saved on memory cards and TV lessons with interpreters for students with hearing impairment.

GPE also set up a remedial program for at risk girls and a re-enrollment campaign to reach girls and children from vulnerable populations and strategies to support the continued learning of students, teachers, activities to improve coordination among various stakeholders and building capacity of systems of education at all levels.<sup>62</sup>

Overall, we see strong multi-stakeholder partnerships emerging between the philanthropy and development community as indicated in the preceding discussion. What seems clear is that philanthropy has joined the center stage of development cooperation discussions as one of the additional sources of financing, innovation and partnership in development cooperation. The uphill challenge that remains is that Africa's philanthropy actors are not well represented in the global engagements as contributors to these partnerships.





# 07

## ***Gender, Development Cooperation and Philanthropy***

Wealth and power are two critical variables in development work. In the development community, we have seen the emergence of the wealthy as powerful contributors to development cooperation, and they have also shaped the direction of global development policy. What is evident in the literature on philanthropy and development is the absence of the documentation on gender and philanthropy.

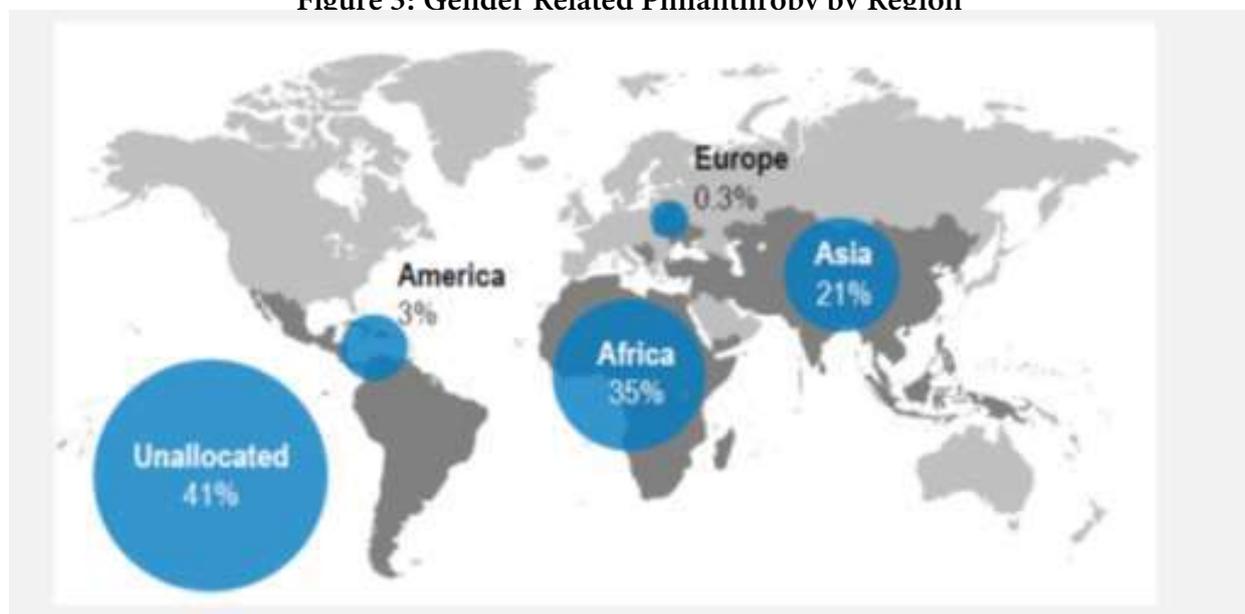
There is a visible absence of women in philanthropy discussions. While some research is available on philanthropy for gender equality, there is still no work that clearly shows the level and contribution of women to philanthropic giving in Africa that focuses on challenging the excesses of patriarchy that is very much the face of wealth - both globally and on the African continent. However, it is worth noting that there are important developments on the continent that need to be explored, studied and further documented.



A study by the OECD indicates that private philanthropic giving for gender equality in developing countries has been on the rise. Some foundations are entirely focused on women and girls and have made it their core mission to achieve gender equality.<sup>63</sup>

Others are increasingly acknowledging the importance of weaving gender issues into their existing programming while recognizing that gender equality is indispensable to achieving development across all dimensions. For example, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation's (BMGF) approach to transforming agriculture is premised upon greater investments in gender equality. The study found that 28% of the total giving for gender targeted Africa, followed by Asia (19%), America (5%) and Europe (1%). The five of the top ten recipient countries were from the African continent and they included Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria and Uganda. Figure 3 below shows that volumes of gender related philanthropy by region.

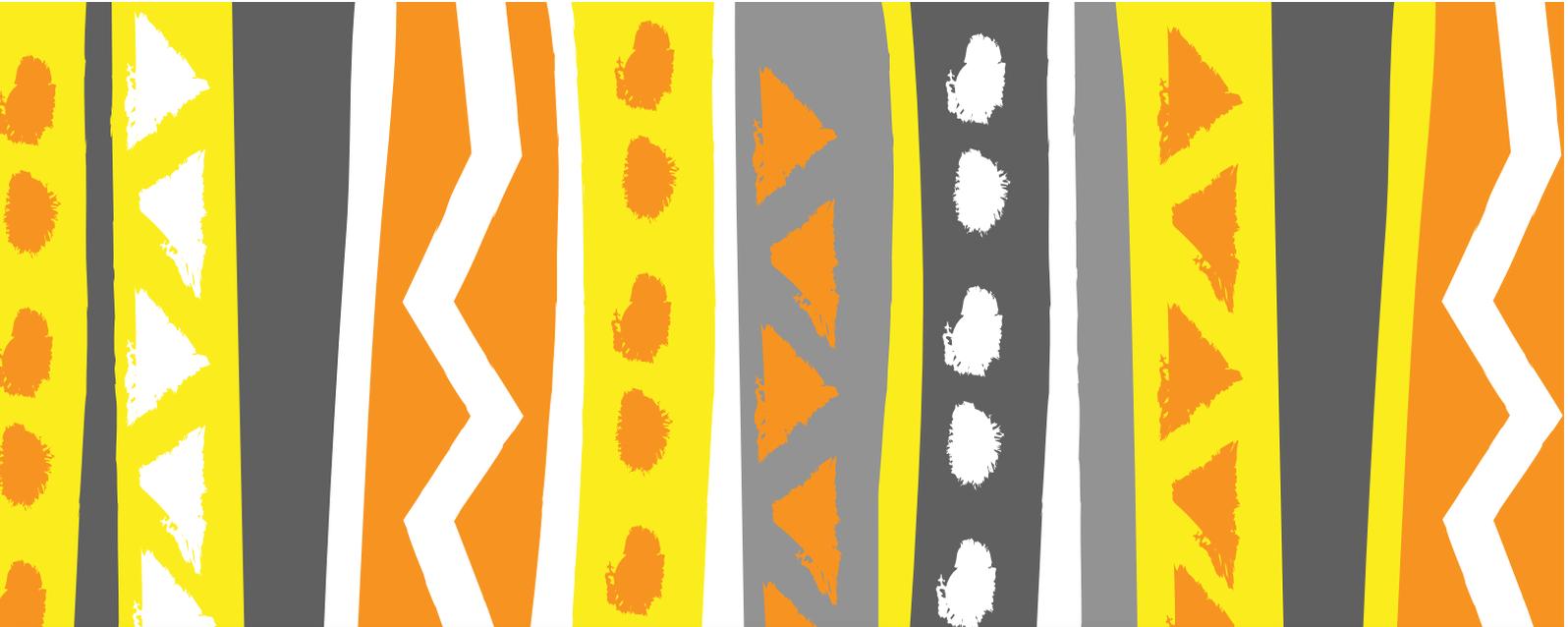
Figure 3: Gender Related Philanthropy by Region



Source: OECD (2019), "Insights on philanthropy for gender equality"

There are a lot more examples that need to be documented to ensure visibility and recognition of the role of female philanthropist in Africa and the revolutionary giving informed by - sisterhood, feminist approaches and challenge to patriarchy - that are happening on the continent. The examples above are just indicative of the wealth of giving that may still go unnoticed and needs to be better documented. In the next section we reflect on some of the key recommendations to strengthen the role of philanthropy in development.



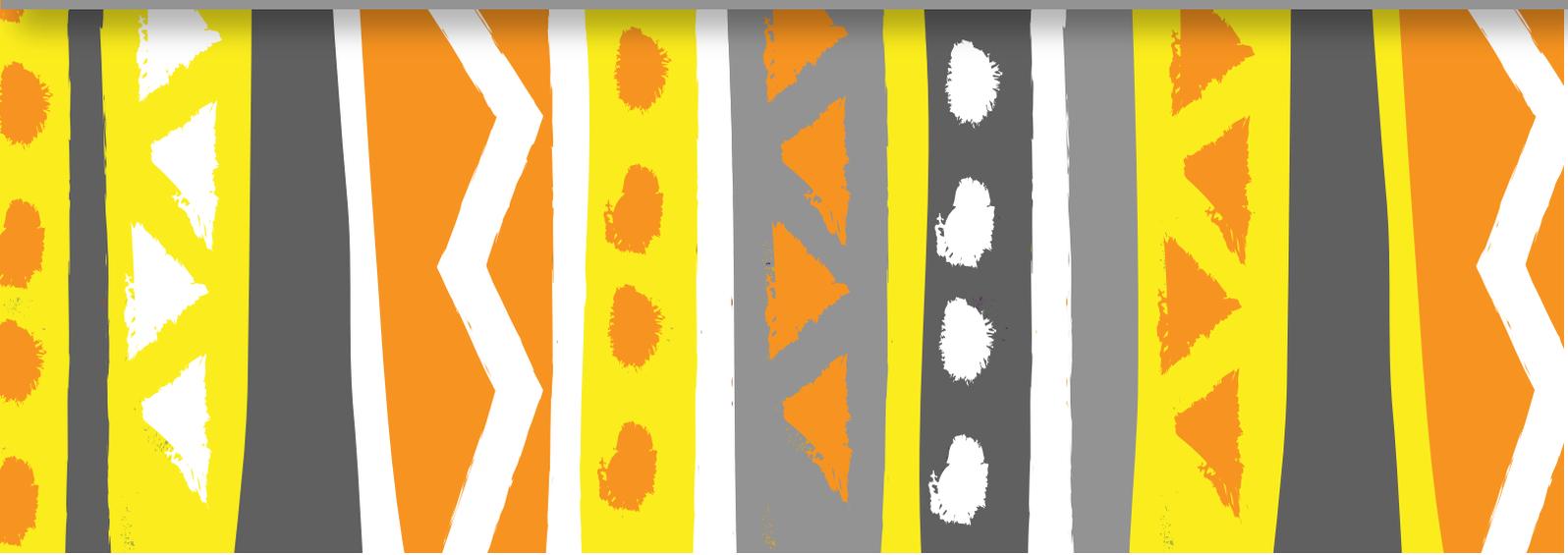


# 08

## ***Recommendations***

### *for deepening the nexus*

As evident from this paper, countries in Africa are taking a diversity of actions and demonstrating keen interest in philanthropy. It is not yet clear how Uganda intends to deal with issues of philanthropy as a provider of development resources. To further leverage the benefits of philanthropy in development cooperation work, more needs to be done by the various actors involved in development work. Below are some broad recommendations that could inform further process.



### *a. Create an enabling legal and operating environment at country level:*

Uganda should consider developing a clear law to guide philanthropy. This law needs to make a well-defined distinction between philanthropy organizations and Non-Governmental Organizations. The law could also explore creating clear tax incentives and financial regulations that make it possible for foundations to receive funding without any encumbrances and this funding be protected by law to allow foundations to carry out their mandates in a manner that will grow the sector in-country.

### *b. Strengthen Country Level Coordination and Knowledge Sharing:*

There is limited evidence of knowledge sharing between foundations, government, donors and civil society. In most cases philanthropy partners work on their own and only interact with government when they have an interest to pursue and with civil society when they are funding CSOs. Putting in place a strong coordination mechanism will be critical for the growth of philanthropy so that there is continuous knowledge sharing that allows all parties to understand the mechanics of each other's work. This will ensure that philanthropy efforts are mutually reinforcing, mindful of national development strategies and complementary rather than duplicative or extractive.

While many foundations pride themselves to being 'learning organizations' learning within foundations themselves must have the potential to inform other foundations or partners operating in the same sector.

Thus, sharing lessons learned about the effectiveness of innovative approaches, but also developing assessment tools and approaches (e.g., due diligence and impact audits) within trusted groups of peers could help foundations better manage risks in selecting partners or investing in risky projects and environments. In Uganda today we see the proliferation of conditions that could be described as shrinking civic space and in such situations many of the funders are not sure what should be the best way to continue playing their role. Investing in social analysis, political economy analysis and scenario building will go a long way in ensuring foundations stay relevant and connected to country conditions in the places they work.

### *c. Create dedicated philanthropic dialogue platforms:*

Uganda needs a government-promoted dialogue platform for philanthropy. It is important that philanthropy continues to stay in constant dialogue with government. A dedicated policy space for institutionalized dialogue could provide a more stable and sustainable base for ongoing cooperation. This, in turn, would allow engagement to continue beyond the short lifecycle of personal relationships between the government and foundation staff. These dialogue platforms can also identify relevant entry points for partnership between foundations, CSOs and governments as a way of creating strategic intersections that are indispensable first steps to any solid partnership.

Uganda has a history of developing "Partnership Principles,". In 2003 as part of its Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP), the Government outlined its "Partnership Principles," detailing policies for development cooperation.

Since 1995 Uganda and all its Development Partners have signed international agreements to enhance the impact of aid notably as part of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness in 2005 and the Accra Agenda for Action (AAA) in 2008, Busan Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation, the Addis Ababa Agenda for Action on Financing for Development, Agenda 2030 on Sustainable Development and the Africa Union Agenda 2063. All these frameworks are a justification for an inclusive partnership principle.

#### *d. Build a strong Gender and Philanthropy Portfolio:*

While philanthropy foundation investments in development have been known to target gender issues, a lot more work needs to be done. Beyond financing, female philanthropist's work and contributions need to be documented and amplified and made visible across Uganda. Because of the deep intersections between wealth, power and patriarchy, it is important that the philanthropy foundations and development partners pay particular attention to how they are contributing to creating more egalitarian and gender transformative societies that both challenge patriarchal power and build empowering outcomes for women and girls in all funding portfolios.

This kind of endeavor needs be anchored in the appreciation that gender issues are an integral part of all forms of marginalization including; including Youth, Person and Disabilities and other societal categorization.

### *e. Build local capacities:*

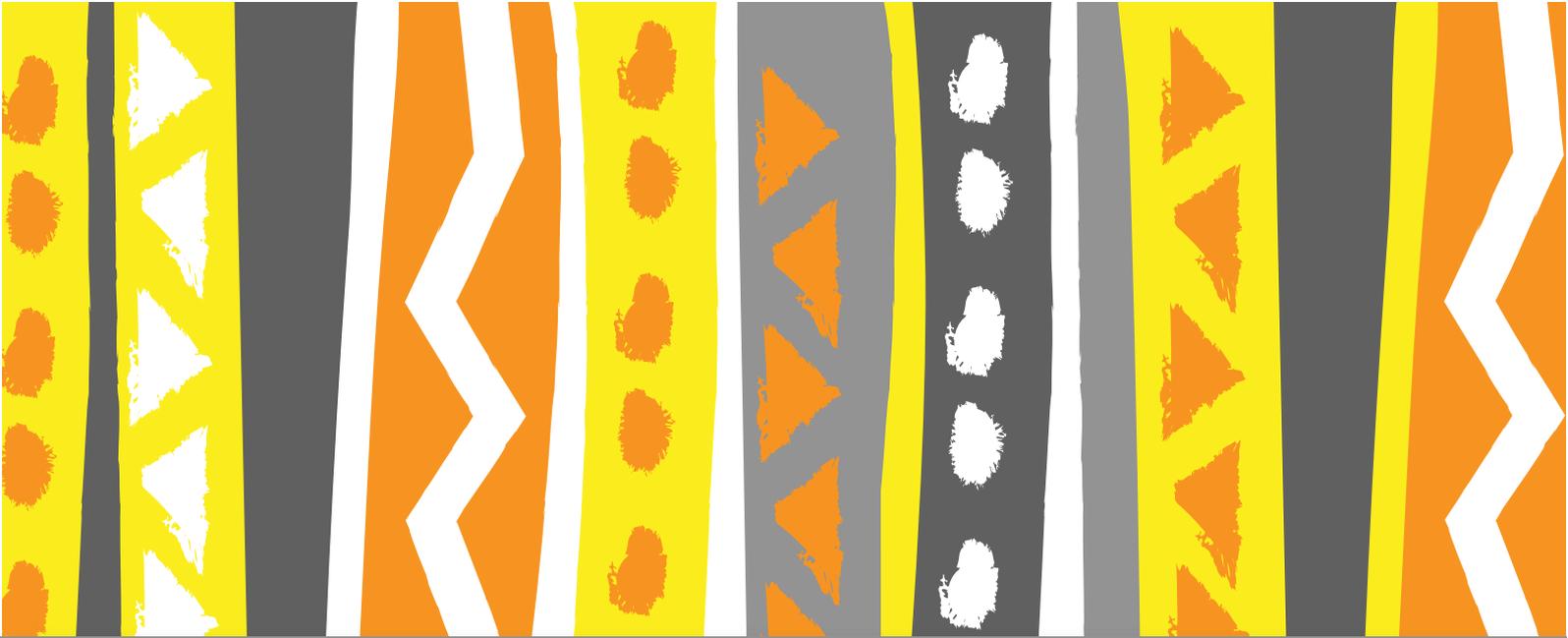
For organisations with more modest means, “strengthening the front line”, i.e., supporting local NGOs and social entrepreneurs at the local level, would help build local capacities. This, in turn, would diversify the range of implementing partners even if at a cost (more due diligence needed) and the risk that some organisations will not necessarily deliver to the highest standards. It is important to note that expanding capacity in any field in which philanthropy works will go a long way in ensuring more impact of the investments of foundations and other development partners and create sustainable models in development cooperation work.

### *f. Develop a solution-focused approach to philanthropy and development:*

An important paradigm shift that needs to happen is shifting from a “culture of failure” to a culture of learning. More foundations need to invest in trying new approaches, documenting results (as well as possible failures) and investing further on that basis. Long due-diligence processes are also not always needed when testing partnerships and investing very small amounts to test an idea. Testing new approaches could also be done together with other funders to limit each organization’s own risks. Learning-as-you go needs to be the way to go.

The world has experienced significant shifts in development thinking and very few models can claim to fit all sizes hence investing in a process of learning from success and failure is critical.





# 09 *Conclusion*

For years, philanthropists have worked closely with development actors but not always overtly. They have pooled their resources and knowledge to grow the number of investments in charitable causes. In the process, they have built organic forms of collaboration and achieved high levels of impact. But now is the time to enhance that collaboration and build closer relationships with local philanthropic counterparts, CSOs, Government and providers of Official Development Assistance.

A generational shift is therefore required - with the new generation of philanthropists ready to disrupt the development cooperation sector. Founders of philanthropic foundations are often successful entrepreneurs who decide to devote part of their wealth to philanthropic causes, after making a fortune in business. In today's world there are many who have started their ventures at a younger age than the historical philanthropists like Andrew Carnegie who divided his life into two parts - one to make the money and the other to give it away.

For the new generation of philanthropist, they may want to make an impact during their lifetime. They are often looking for ways to create value rather than funding long-standing institutions and giving out grants, they have come up with new approaches. They are hands on people and are doing a lot in the world. The work of these philanthropists needs to therefore be more nuanced, so it ensures greater connections with the realities of Africa today and connected both globally and locally. It is in this spirit that a sense-making paper like this aims to make a modest contribution.

## End Notes



- 1 See <https://www.effectivecooperation.org/content/mexico-high-level-meeting-communiqué> for detailed communiqué
- 2 This Global Partnership for Effective Development Co-operation (GPEDC), formed in 2012, as an association of governments
- 3 and organisations that seeks to improve practices of international development. It has 161 participating countries and 56
- 4 major organisations concerned with development. See <https://www.effectivecooperation.org/> for details. Uganda was a
- 5 Co-Chair for this partnership for the years 2017-2019 represented by the Minister of Finance, Planning and Economic
- 6 Development - Hon. Mathai Kasaija
- 7 The discourse of Aid Effectiveness was part of the Paris Declaration commitments that focused on ensuring that Overseas
- 8 Development Assistance was managed well when it was given to Development Countries. The Development Cooperation
- 9 Discourse is about mobilizing all financing for development and also ensuring that ODA and all other financing are effectively
- 10 managed and deliver results for the intended beneficiaries. Philanthropy was recognized with the context of the
- 11 Development Cooperation agenda.
- 12 See the full letter here - [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The\\_Gospel\\_of\\_Wealth](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Gospel_of_Wealth)
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- 34 See <https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2017/12/soros-philanthropy/547247/>
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**philanthropy**   
FOR **development**

# The Shadow Side of Philanthropy

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**Giving  
For Change  
Alliance**



The Shadow Side of Philanthropy  
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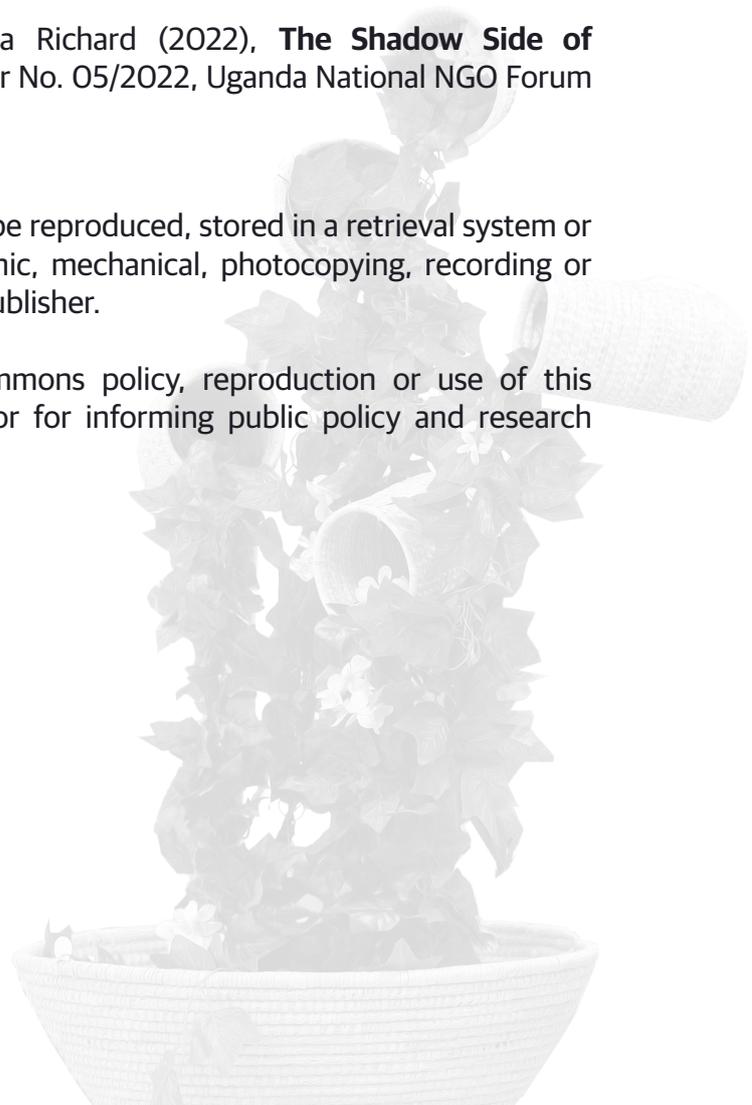
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# 01 Introduction

This is the last paper in a series on the question of philanthropy and development in Uganda and beyond. This paper focuses on the shadow side of philanthropy. The paper analyses some of the areas practitioners in the philanthropy sector should apply their minds to and avoid in the journey of building a progressive philanthropy ecosystem that works to serve the aspirations of those who give with good-will and those who receive the good-will gestures.

In the analysis on the dimensions that sometimes cast a shadow on giving, the paper shows that this produces mistrust, frustration, exploitation, abuse and misfortune among several other negative ramifications. In this paper we shall point out areas where challenges and excesses exist for purposes of supporting boundary-setting actions in the practice of philanthropy.

The paper is divided in three parts. The first section sets out the context in which philanthropy happens in Africa - locating it in the state-society relations within the colonial and post-colonial context. The second part looks at some selected pitfalls in philanthropic practice and the last part offers some forward-looking recommendations and conclusion.



## **02** *Africa and the Philanthropy Experience*

Africa arrived in the world of philanthropy in various ways. The African cultural forms and practices of giving which have existed for centuries and shaped African societies are just getting some recognition in philanthropy literature in the last three decades or so! For long, the African philanthropy experience was dismissed and marked as backward Africa, anti-modern and other attendant relegations of the African traditional experiences.

With this backfoot experience, traditional forms of giving and generosity continue to struggle as authentic expressions of philanthropy. On its part, contemporary philanthropy discourse proceeds with a western hegemonic identity that is rooted in white world views, privileging capitalist modes of giving. These renderings continue to expand both in discourse and deployment of philanthropy.

The ongoing tensions and fight for space for African philanthropy as opposed to philanthropy in Africa is now both an intellectual exercise as well as a political exercise.<sup>2</sup> Scholars and researchers are even rejecting some concepts like – philanthropy and giving arguing that the true ethos of philanthropy in Africa is not about giving but about gifting.<sup>3</sup> This idea is being propagated as an intellectual and epistemological standpoint to baptize

African philanthropy appropriately and sanitize its boundaries. The reality of African philanthropy existing in the shadows of western philanthropy have also meant that the shadow side of philanthropy gets deployed quite conveniently within and on Africa.

The discussion of the dark side of philanthropy, this paper will therefore focus on the dark side as manifested in an African and Uganda experience but also make references to the global linkages where they exist.

As a sense-making enterprise, this paper will therefore proceed by first interrogating the historical state-society relations in Uganda and by implication in Africa and the associated linkages of the shadow side of giving. The reason why the state in Africa is an important enterprise to interrogate emanates from preposition that the influence of the state and its associated governance embellishments have shaped the character of African societies and the character for pro-social behaviors including giving, gifting and generosity. This is a matter that will be illustrated variously through an analysis of some of the authoritative African scholars on the state in Africa but all the time illustrating the linkages of these scholars to the philanthropy shadow sides. We start with a glimpse into the colonial Ugandan state.





## **03** *Colonial State of Uganda and Gifting Practices*

This paper is acutely aware of the limitations of preceding any analysis on Africa with colonialism. Sometimes it is seen as an exercise in scapegoating the colonial encounter or in explaining away Africa's weaknesses. However, it is important to note that far from it, the colonial experience was also very much a societal transformation exercise with the clash of values and social systems in everyday life being a reality.

Be that as it may, Uganda, like many of the countries in Africa was colonized. Colonialism disrupted lives in many ways but also reconstructed lives variously. The disruptions were resisted, and the colonial period was characterized by the rise in associational life and citizen and their organizations organized to resist the excesses of colonialism. There were the elite civil society groups that invested in fighting the colonial governance system and working to replace it with African self-determination and African rule. These used civil and elite methods like petitions to the colonial masters to try and point out injustices of the colonialist.<sup>4</sup> These elite groups of the time did not pose any significant threat to colonial rule as they were using civil means that did not destabilize the colonial power base.

On the other hand, the militant groups often comprising the trade union and farmers' association leaders with their political base in the peasantry and unionized workers focused on changing the status quo through organizing protests and strikes. These groups focused on demanding for higher commodity prices, better conditions of work and eventually political independence. On its part the colonial state "sought to control the evolution, content and impact of associational life in Uganda... in order to prevent drastic challenges to the hegemony of the colonial state."<sup>5</sup>

An important and sometimes ignored practice of these early citizen organizations was how they were sustained by giving by their own members. To sustain these local struggles against colonialism local people came together and practiced philanthropy in different forms. For example, the civil society formation - The Young Buganda Society which included many of the best-known men in Buganda's office-holding elite in the 1940s, as well as men well placed within the protectorate's administration were also involved in several prosocial behaviors. As Summers Carol (2005) writes:

*Members met occasionally, listened to speakers, wrote letters to the newspapers and government officials, and supported initiatives they considered progressive, such as syphilis treatment and school funding. (emphasis mine in bold)*

The support to syphilis treatment and social funding was undertaken as philanthropic projects of the elite - giving back to society. But while for some of the elite this was seen as a good gesture, other parts of society viewed these practices as servicing the colonial project by not resisting colonialism but by existing within it and politically massaging the social ills of the colonial project through the mentioned philanthropic gestures. It is this kind of critique of the African elite in the colonial administration that led to the rise of leaders like Ignatius Musaazi.

I. K. Musaazi is remembered to have formed the Federation of Partnerships of Uganda African Farmers (FPUAF) union following the banning of the Uganda African Farmers Union. He gave up his job as a teacher at Makerere University College, in order to help African farmers to oppose the prevailing unfairness in trade, especially for cotton. Cooperatives are fondly remembered in the colonial history of Uganda for having pooled resources through collective generosity and sent Ignatius Musaazi to London in 1950 to lobby the British Parliament for support of FPUAF aspirations.

For the elite that refused to be part of the colonial establishment like Musaazi, what sustained their struggles was giving of the members who believed in the independence of Uganda and the need for fair prices as well as fair trade for African farmers. The giving of farmers to the leaders of the resistance to colonialism was at the time viewed as financing subversive activities. Clearly civic organizing was challenging in the colonial times, but it was also alive on the margins of society and in many ways was sustained by philanthropic efforts of members who participated variously.

Another key feature that accompanied the colonial project was the institutionalization of exploitative giving. Institutional giving was part of the mechanisms that were used variously in the colonial times. In societies where there was indirect rule, the Chiefs who had hitherto been part of the gifting life cycle, the Chiefs became collectors of tax on behalf of the colonial government and extractors of treasure from communities completely negating the gifting ethos in their new configurations as accomplices in the colonial project.<sup>6</sup> These instances created a new dynamic with gifting rapidly being reconfigured into other types of giving that included taxation and other exploitative and oppressive dues that were given to the state.

Another key feature of the colonial times was the encounter and gifting between Ugandans and Europeans in the late-nineteenth century and even beyond. It was performed as part of diplomatic encounters and political settlements.<sup>7</sup> The Monarchs in Uganda were known to have been very generous when they gave gifts to colonial agents as a means of negotiating their monarchy's diplomatic relations with the colonialist. In the literature the gifts are presented as a tool for negotiating and seeking favors or bordering on bribing the colonial agents. For example, Bennett (2018) writes about the gifts acquired by Frederick Jackson a colonial agent in East Africa thus:

*Jackson ranked the gifts that he received. The gifts of Mbaguta, the Katikkiro of Ankole, featured particularly highly in his assessment. Like Kaggwa, Mbaguta carved a strong diplomatic reputation for himself in the 1901 Ankole Agreement which Jackson administered in his role as Acting Commissioner. Jackson described with pleasure how Mbaguta had loaded up his caravan with “curios of the finest workmanship” during a visit.<sup>8</sup>*

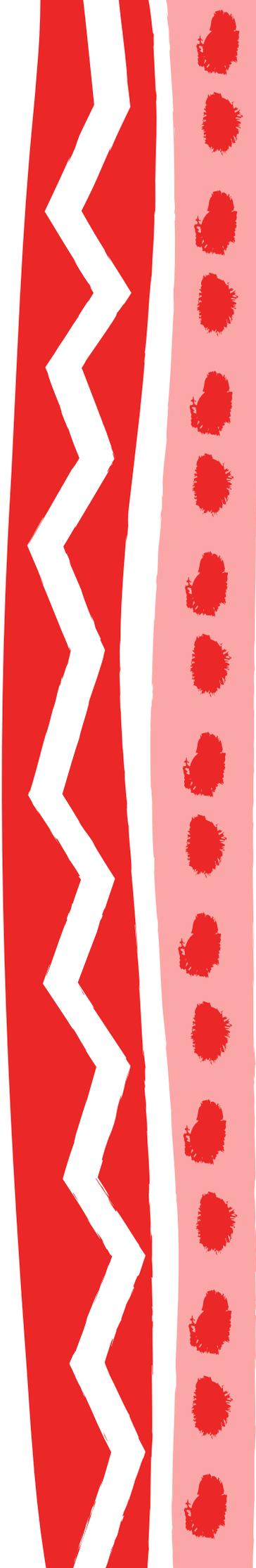
It therefore follows that the attendant discourses around gift-giving and other prosocial behaviors are important in understanding the economy of affection in the colonial period and beyond.

The arrival of Christianity and Islam also reframed the narratives of giving with new forms of giving that included giving to the church for Christians and giving Zakat for the Moslems. As mentioned earlier, traditional gifting was sometimes demonized as part of the uncivilized customs of the natives. Giving to the various deities and gods of war, gods and famine, and gods harvest and giving to ancestors – which were very much part of the gifting economy were rejected as non-Christian, non-Moslem and anti-modernity. The exchange of gifts in marriage ceremonies was sometimes then constructed as buying of brides which further complicated the notion of familial-affectionate exchange during the marriage ceremonies.<sup>9</sup> A study by MIFUMI (2009) noted that bride-price had cemented families together in the pre-colonial period and had not been regarded in acquisitive terms as a 'price', but as a custom to build and strengthen communities and families.<sup>10</sup>

In another context in traditional Buganda, girls could also be sent to the King's court as potential wives, or at least as servants to court women. This process transferred the child to the court either through a process of kusenga or kisiga. The child transferred through kusenga was different from kusiga because kusenga was voluntary, and the child could leave the patron if s/he wanted to. However, people were afraid of kusiga because of the danger of being killed by the King. A story is told how some families tended to give slaves instead of their own sons to the court – just in case they were killed and this went on until Kabaka Mutesa turned the tables on them by making a slave the heir of the man who had sent him to court as a page. He said 'You told me he was your son. Well then he can be your heir.'<sup>11</sup>

The gifting that happened during the rites of passage as young boys were becoming men and young girls becoming women were also negated to the realm of fetish-performances and imbued with devilish innuendoes that had to be firmly rejected by the modern African.<sup>12</sup> In this case the 'native' who was being modernized was encouraged to give in other forms – either through the church or the mosque. Gifting and giving - while they were pro-social behaviors were also imbued with all kinds of subtexts in the pre-colonial and colonial times as has been illustrated thus far.

The point is this extended rendition, is to illustrate the complexity of the pro-social practices of giving, gifting and generosity in the colonial and post-colonial era. This makes it possible to appreciate the contemporary dark side practices and also acknowledge that some of them are not only a current phenomenon but one that is rooted in history. The fact that these phenomena are rooted in history therefore suggests that any prepositions of how to deal with them requires a more nuanced and informed discussion at both policy and practice level.



In the next section we focus on how philanthropy was shaped by the nature of the state in Africa. To discuss this dimension, we refer to the writing of two influential African authors who discuss a particular framing that is alive in the political history of giving and gifting and that is; the 'two publics' in Africa, as Peter Ekeh called it or the 'bifurcated state' as Mahmood Mamdani calls it.





## 04 *The Two Publics and Economy of Giving*

Several authors on Africa have documented the various ways in which African communalism and giving has been exploited. Peter Ekeh's seminal work of 1976 is instructive here. In his thesis of 'two publics in Africa',<sup>13</sup> he argues that colonialism in Africa left two kinds of publics - a civic public and a primordial public. He submits that while individuals pretend to uphold the virtues of the civic public (brought by colonialism) they also remain loyal to their primordial public (rooted in tradition).

This clash of norms and interests according to Ekeh generate tendencies that have come to be known as tribalism and corruption with public officials stealing and looting and giving as philanthropic individuals to their clans and villages. According to Ekeh, morality is the foundation of both the private and public realm. The two publics in Ekeh's work have different standards of morality yet linked to each other. Ekeh classified primordial as private and associated civic with colonial administration which is not private. Even though these two are different, politicians operate both in primordial and civic publics.

In building his argument, Ekeh took us back to how the war of independence in Africa has little to do with the needs and rights of the common people. It is a struggle for power between the African bourgeoisie and the European bourgeoisie. They used the fact that they acquired western education as a basis for being the legitimate replacement of the colonizers. After independence Europe continued to remind Africans of their presence by making African leaders look like them. It is this ability to speak and act like the colonizer that African bourgeoisie used to mobilize the common people to fight. Ekeh called it "ideologies of legitimation".

The use of negative ideologies by colonial administrators against Africans later affected African politicians. According to Ekeh, the primordial public has no economic reward. It is only used to gain respect and security while the civic public is for economic gain, and one is not obligated to give back. As such morality is not highly regarded in the civic public.

According to Ekeh, Africans are members of the two publics. His argument is that educated Africans use civic public to gain financially so that they give through philanthropic gestures to their communities. This activity helps them promote and sustain their primordial public. As such, it is legitimate to be corrupt in order for one to strengthen the primordial public. They work hard to promote their primordial public and less on their civic public. This loyalty to primordial public is crippling African politics, he argues. Accordingly, the civic public is starved of morality and politics without morality is destructive.

Another influential scholar focusing on the African postcolonial experience is Professor Mahmood Mamdani. In his award-winning book *Citizen and Subject*, Professor Mahmood Mamdani argued that the bifurcation of power in Africa results from the continent's distinctive colonial experience. The configuration of colonial rule in Africa led first to the institutionalization of two systems of power under a single authority: one urban, based on civil power and rights, excluding the colonized on the basis of race, the other rural, where tradition and culture incorporated the colonized into the rule of custom.

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Second, colonial rule in Africa led to the privileging of state-ordained and state-enforced traditions that had least historical depth and were monarchical, authoritarian, and patriarchal, so that customary power and law became an integral part of a decentralized despotism. Finally, with custom becoming the language of force, colonial rule led to rationalizing the appropriation and management of land and the mobilization of labor under the colonial rubric.<sup>15</sup>

This bifurcated state power, civil and customary, crystallized as "indirect rule" in British colonies including South Africa, where apartheid represented the last attempt at reorganizing the state structure to incorporate the "native" population in a world of enforced tradition. The bifurcated power according to Mamdani mediated racial domination through tribally organized local authorities, reproducing racial identity in citizens and ethnic identity in subjects. The challenges confronting African countries in the struggles for independence and after were to democratize the state and particularly customary power, deracialize civil society, and restructure unequal external relations of dependency.

These two authors point to an important idea of how colonially instituted governance systems were instrumental in shaping both social and public life in Africa. A pro-social behavior of giving became firmly ingrained in the post-colonial ethos as it structured issues of morality in the publics in Africa. We see this continuing when corrupt persons in public office are also known as the best philanthropist in their communities. Giving has therefore been turned into a tool for patronage. In the section that follows, we look at the different ways the shadow-sides of giving manifest themselves in contemporary Africa.





## **05** *Dominant Shadow-sides of Philanthropy*

### *a. Commercialization of Life and the Practice of Philanthropy*

Commercialization of life in Uganda is a big issue. Everything has a price. The implication of this is a significant challenge for philanthropy as a practice. But where did this commercialization come from and what are its ramifications. Commercialization of life is a phenomenon that has its roots in years of deceptive government investments. The colonialist worried more about investing for extraction from the colony and not for development of Uganda, the post-colonial government spent all the time fighting to maintain their grip on power and not caring about the citizen and service delivery.

Today what Uganda has reaped is a total collapse of public services that even the post-1986 government has failed to fix. Children continue to go to school and learn very little and many drop out along the learning journey. For instance, Uganda enrolls one million and five hundred children every year and graduates five hundred thousand in

At parliamentary level, the study found that candidates from the mainstream constituencies spent UGX 458.2 million while female counterparts running for affirmative action, district women's seats spent UGX 496.4 million over in both primary and general elections. The factors driving the amounts of political gifts and handouts include; challenges of public service delivery at the local level, weak enforcement of campaign rules, lack of civic consciousness among the electorate, parliamentary emoluments and privileges acting as an incentive and the way that patronage politics continues to characterize the multiparty dispensation<sup>30</sup> This study echoes the similar sentiments from other studies that cite huge expenditures during the electoral process.<sup>31</sup>

Generosity is sometimes infused in patronage politics and this clouds and creates a challenge for genuine philanthropist who are viewed with a dose of skepticism. The politicians may think of philanthropists as competitors wanting to unseat the politician from their political seat. At the same time community members may interpret all acts of generosity as transactional. They wonder; if the politician wants votes what does the philanthropist want? Patronage politics is therefore a shadow-side of philanthropy that should be watched carefully in a country where patronage is still very dominant in the social psyche of the country.



primary seven after seven years. Official statistics indicate that the national average for the transition from primary level to secondary level of education stood at 58.95% as of 2016.<sup>16</sup> One million children fail to make it through seven years of school. In the area of learning, research by a citizen-led assessment of learning code-named 'Uwezo' - for the last 10 years of doing annual assessments found that across the country eight out of ten children in primary three cannot do primary two work - meaning that they are below their levels of capacity.<sup>17</sup>

In the health sector, mothers continue to die on hospital floors, with fifteen mothers dying every day from preventable complications!<sup>18</sup> The poor roads continue to claim the lives of numerous Ugandans as the statistics of carnage on roads is one of the highest in Africa and 15th globally.<sup>19</sup> This breakdown in public service delivery has meant that most services are now privatized - and citizens have to get them for a fee. Parents struggle to pay for good education in private schools, citizens pay for all kinds of health care services, water is paid for, those who can afford have to find a generator to substitute for electricity from the national grid or install solar panels. Everywhere one turns, public services are under stress and for a price. This has left citizens that cannot afford in even more worse conditions.

The commercialization of life has produced the attendant growth in transactional lifestyles. Everything is for sale - from justice to education to health and to a host of other services. Those who do not have find themselves having to ask from those who have and those who have what to give will then give it in return for a benefit or a service.

The politician gives to get votes, the nurse gives health services in exchange for a fee to meet their own access to other public services and the traffic police officer may ask for a bribe to get his children to a good school. This crisis eventually leads to complications in the practice of philanthropy, as all giving gestures and related pro-social behaviors must negotiate this maze of transactional relationships.

Yet, as Uganda did all this, very few economists thought about the need to understand how business relations actually play out in a liberalized market economy. There was an assumption that the market will fix itself when it got challenges, that indeed the basic economics of demand and supply will lead to healthy economic activity and healthy business relations, high revenue and reduction in poverty levels.

What seems to have emerged over time is the birth of brutal business relations laced with violence, corruption and destruction. While at the global level, neoliberal economics has been put to death by the credit crunch and questions on business morality were being asked about leaders who actually earn bonuses when their companies are making losses, these stories were deemed distant. But these economic episodes have since led to the question of moral principles in economic life and if indeed government and citizens as economic actors should have some norms, rules and values that shape economic cultures.

Research on business relations has given some clues of the challenges that lay ahead. In Uganda, the poverty studies back in early 2000s had come up with disturbing evidence when it pointed to the horrendous relations between business actors and local traders. Some classical examples included an example in a poverty study by Ministry of Finance in a market in Jinja where a private tender-holder had introduced market dues which included: a fine for 'quarrelling' in the market, a fine for 'cooking' in the market, a fine for wearing slippers in the market, a monthly 'mabugo' by all traders and a host of other dues.<sup>23</sup> While these dues were patriarchal in nature – targeting mostly market women, they were also deeply immoral.

In another study in a tea factory, tea-pickers reported how they were not allowed to shout when they saw a snake lest the other tea-pickers runaway and the private enterprise loses a day's income. In a sugar factory in Eastern Uganda, there were stories of how sugarcane cutters from West Nile would drink themselves to death after realizing that they will never be able to make enough money to go back home.<sup>24</sup> These stories seemed distant at the time, but they spoke volumes about a neoliberal economy that had ran amok with immorality. The neoliberal economy had created a certain type of moral economy that totally disregarded human relational values in the hot pursuit of private gain and primitive accumulation was the order of the day.

In a book on entitled Neoliberal Moral Economy, Jörg Wiegratz<sup>25</sup> researches this practice and puts neoliberalism in Uganda on trial. Like other authors before him, he argues that the destructive nature of neoliberalism in Uganda instead of delivering growth, has increased inequality and fraud. Wiegratz suggests that 'fraud [or trickery] is in various ways a manifestation of the new 'neoliberal moral order' and embarks on exploring its effects on Uganda's economic sectors. He explains how the adaptation of this new thinking and practice in Uganda since 1986, the year that the National Resistance Movement under Museveni assumed leadership, has brought about a moral restructuring that undermined old norms, values, orientations and practices. He asserts that the new neoliberal moral order has given rise to an unscrupulous practice down the chain of economic interaction affecting how profitability is orchestrated.

The implications of this neoliberal moral economy is an acute sense of acting out of self-interest with an aversion to collective action. This has squeezed Uganda's farmers, with ever lower profit margins eaten up by a variety of unscrupulous middlemen, all looking to maximize their individual benefits. The ruling NRM party's self-enrichment (dubbed the 'National Robbers' Movement' by many Ugandans) has entrenched a system of rapacious capitalism, promoting short-termism, opportunism and low regard for others and displacing 'older values of honesty, trust, hard work and respect'<sup>26</sup>

Such popular complaints about a shift in values and the self-enrichment of a political-military elite (the 'fish rotting from the head') can also be observed in many other African countries, including those that have not explicitly embraced a neoliberal restructuring of the economy. However, with one of the highest per-capita levels of Western development intervention in the 1990s and 2000s, it is the NRM's alliance with the World Bank and IMF that has made this change so toxic and pervasive in Uganda, Wiegratz argues.

A neoliberal market logic has, regardless of its economic outcomes, promoted profound changes to norms, values, orientations and practices that promote rather than curtail fraudulent practices. This book is eminent because it expands the debate on neoliberalism beyond the standard political-economic perspective on the study of capitalism to include the role of socio-cultural and moral views. This book is instructive for philanthropy practice since what it describes as shadow sides of neoliberalism – are the same shadow sides that philanthropy has to deal with.

### *c. Politics of Patronage and Giving*

When the Covid 19 lockdown in Uganda was announced a number of events were set in motion. People were required to stay home as part of the Covid 19 mitigation measures. Most urban dwellers in Uganda complained about the fact that they had nothing to feed their families on since they were away from work. Some of the first people to respond to the effects of the lockdown were politicians.

In many parts of the country politicians handed out as gifts, small packages of maize flour which they distributed to their constituencies. Some marked the packets with their names and others invited journalists to witness their acts of compassion. The President responded to this giving gesture by accusing the politicians of 'spreading' Covid 19 and being insensitive to the community members as they encouraged them to gather to receive their food relief instead of staying home. In fact, one Member of Parliament was arrested and badly beaten.

These incidents sparked debate in the public arena. One of the issues raised by various commentators was the fact that some of the politicians were exploiting the tragedy to gain political capital since this was the year preceding a general election and many of them saw it as an opportunity to increase their public popularity. On the other hand this same period of the Covid 19 lockdown is famed as one of the memorable moments when Ugandans exhibited the greatest forms of generosity.<sup>28</sup> Ugandans gave variously in ways not seen before. But unfortunately, political giving while it was prevalent, in some circles it acquired an aura of skepticism around it as - giving that is exploitative and selfish.

This skepticism to political giving was associated with the role of gifts and handouts in politics and elections in Uganda. Studies on politics in Uganda report that a significant amount of money is spent in politics as gifts and handouts.<sup>29</sup> One study estimates that in 2016, politicians in Uganda - through political gifts and handouts spent on average 465 million Ugandan shillings (UGX) or 136,084 US dollars (USD) for parliamentary candidates, and UGX 237.5 million (USD 69,505) for Local Council V (LCV) chairpersons.

## *b. Neoliberal Moral Economy and Crisis of Generosity*

There are several researchers on the economic history of Uganda that offer insights to these challenges. For example, in 2001, two renowned World Bank Economist, Ritva Reinikka and Paul Collier edited a book on Uganda entitled; *Uganda's Recovery: The Role of Farms, Firms and Government*.<sup>20</sup> In this book they praised Uganda's economic recovery as a major turnaround for Africa.

The fact that Uganda had sailed through years of political tyranny to times that many considered political freedom and economic liberalization was seen as one of the best experiments in post conflict economic recovery in Africa. At the time any questioning of Uganda's policy choice of economic liberalization as a macro policy was akin to questioning the recovery of Uganda from political tyranny. Indeed, Ugandans all kept quiet and let things go by as the country implemented some of the boldest economic liberalization reform policies. The net-effect since then included positive aspects like arresting capital flight which stood at over 60% in 1986 to a situation where remittances from Ugandans abroad were a substantial part of the economy.

Recent data shows that remittance flows to Uganda declined by 26 per cent, from US\$1.4 billion in 2019 to US\$1.1 billion in 2020. Yet despite the decline, Uganda was ranked among the top ten recipient countries in sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>21</sup> Trade liberalization also led to the eradication of export taxation, coffee liberalization, privatization of public enterprises, introduction of an investment code to attract foreign direct investment and of course a generous foreign aid regime. The basic argument at the time was that a private sector led economy was good for development and government should roll back its participation in business since government was a 'bad businessman'. The country was awash with examples of serious economic defects in government business enterprises; from a defunct Uganda Airlines at the time, to a collapsing Coffee Marketing Board and several other defunct government parastatal enterprises.

## d. The Global Growth of Philanthrocapitalism and its Shadow Side

As discussed in earlier Sense making Papers<sup>32</sup>, a new form of philanthropy has closely followed in the heels of the 'gospel of wealth' idea and that is – philanthrocapitalism.<sup>33</sup> The key features of this type of philanthropy is that it is associated with donors who made their fortune at a relatively young age, mostly through the IT and finance industries. These Philanthrocapitalist have started foundations which they manage and direct into the future. These include famous personalities like Bill Gates and Mark Elliot Zuckerberg. Bill Gates is the owner of one of the biggest tech companies (Microsoft) and Mark Zuckerberg (Facebook).

The modern philanthrocapitalist are considered quite influential globally and are successful capitalists. This is what Edwards (2016) refers to as the 'Silicon Valley Consensus' – related to the use of technology and markets for solving social problems. He goes on to argue that:

*This approach is quite explicit about the use of market mechanisms, technology and 'big data' to guide decisions, like rates-of-return on investment, enforced competition to weed out the weak, close supervision over the organisations you support, and standardized outputs as indicators of success – an entrepreneurial results-oriented framework that emphasises leverage, personal engagement and impatience.<sup>34</sup>*

We have also witnessed other initiatives by these philanthropists. One influential one is the new umbrella - Giving Pledge - championed by personalities Warren Buffet and Bill Gates to build a movement of philanthropists who commit to giving the majority of their wealth to philanthropy or charitable causes, either during their lifetimes or in their wills.<sup>35</sup> The success of these philanthrocapitalist has even led to the thinking that they are better placed to tackle and solve the world problems - than governments and NGOs.

Today we see their influence the United Nations community and even in the tackling of the global pandemic – Covid 19. They are at the forefront, giving lots of money and providing institutional leadership to the Covid 19 vaccination campaign and associated relief packages to their countries and around the world. Another important feature is the valorization of the philanthrocapitalist's business acumen as personalities that have the aptitude, skills, contacts, drive, and other features which made them successful in business, and that they can apply these same strengths to philanthropy. Some enthusiasts refer to these philanthrocapitalist as:

*hyper-agents: individuals who have the abilities, persona or contacts to leverage large amounts of political or financial support for a cause, 'individuals who can do what it would otherwise take a social movement to do'.<sup>36</sup>*

While there is a broad consensus that philanthrocapitalism has done some good, there is also a lot to ask about its limits. Many wonder, if the global problems like global poverty and climate change, which may require institutional change, should be solved by billionaires who are often the source of these very issues.

While the philanthrocapitalist may not want to admit it or own the problems created around the world, the footprint of their capital both in creation of global inequality, polluting the world or even causing serious online suffering for young people are all gaping at us like, fresh wounds. Yet it is the same personalities that are at the forefront of solving or appearing to solve these problems. When government give front seats to renown philanthrocapitalists both at the national and global level this creates a deep sense of privilege for those who have. As Edwards (2015) says;

*In Silicon Valley culture everything is solvable, so all problems can be fixed through markets, technology and the drive of the entrepreneur – without recourse to the messy realities of collective action, democracy and struggle and avoiding the unforeseen effects of any human intervention.<sup>37</sup>*

An interesting insight is that, the signatories of the Giving Pledge<sup>38</sup> include Joseph Craft, Vladimir Potanin, and Mark Zuckerberg. These three men are CEO of; large American coal company, another is a founder of the controversial loans-through-shares program as well as responsible for severe environmental pollution in the Arctic, and another the overseer of a major global data leak.

Countless of the Giving Pledge donors invest and run companies and conglomerates that contribute to excesses like worker exploitation, environmental degradation, and wealth inequality. It is worth considering whether instead of giving back some of their wealth through their investment in their own foundations, the ultra-wealthy should rather pay their fair share. Edwards creates a compelling conclusion when he suggests that:

*Money lies at the heart of inequality in market-based societies because it is used as an instrument to concentrate wealth, centralise power and subvert democratic choices, as well as to fight against these things by funding work for social change. That is why the debate over the future of philanthropy is so important. Who owns and controls philanthropy, and how other forms of influence become attached to it, are questions that lie at the heart of any transformational agenda. Recognising and acting on this fact is vital, rather than pretending that money is somehow neutral or separated from the broader processes in which it is accumulated, expended and exchanged.<sup>39</sup>*

From the discussion it is clear that the concept of philanthropy continues on a long and audacious journey negotiating its attachment to capital, to politics and to neoliberalism. However, authors have also argued that presenting and positing philanthropy as the approach that will solve humanity's problems is deceptive since philanthropy has existed for over two centuries and yet the world's problems have continued to also exist. Philanthrocapitalism contributes a lot of good to society but needs to pay attention to the dimensions of its shadow-side as articulated above.

## *e. Gender and the Philanthropy Shadow Side*

Traditional philanthropy (here understood as funding agencies of philanthropists) at its core is hierarchical in nature. There are distinct relational divisions between the funder and grantee. The funder usually has more power than the grantee. This power is mostly rooted in the fact that funders have resources to finance ideas of grantees and grantees need resources to finance their ideas. This dialectic power relationship sometimes produces power imbalances, with funders having significant influence over the direction of the projects they fund and for how long the projects will be.

This power dynamic is acutely explicit when it comes to issues of gender and philanthropy. In the first instance, patriarchy as a system of control and male privilege, is very present in philanthropy. Most of the influential philanthropy foundations in Uganda were historically associated to male owners – this includes all the big US based philanthropy foundations operational in the country.

The implication of this ownership structure is that sometimes funding is not rooted in feminist ideals or women's interest. While some of these funders may finance women's projects, the way these projects are financed is not to challenge the status quo but to continue integrating women's concerns into the status quo. The implication of this integration of women concerns into the status quo is that this may lead to more subjugation of women who are marginalized than empowerment of the marginalized.<sup>40</sup>

When short term grants for example are made to issues like teenage pregnancy and domestic violence without questioning the origins of teenage pregnancy – this is problematic. This is because, a lot of investment may be spent on dealing with the abused while the abuser continues scot-free with their crimes against women and girls.

In several instances funding for some of these programs is also not supporting the building of feminist movements that should break the patriarchal structure that allows men to control and abuse women's sexuality – this will limit the attainment of gender equality through philanthropy. It is therefore imperative that philanthropy looks at this shadow side so that philanthropy does not end servicing oppression through piece-meal emancipation.

On the other side, philanthropy funding sometimes focuses on individual empowerment models rather than movement building. For example, there are several instances where funders have invested in projects like giving a cow to a woman in a household at community level or microloans for women or support to women's agriculture and several other such individual projects.

Some of these individual projects face challenges that are rooted in the unequal access to land for women or unequal decision making and power relations at community level that allow men to become disruptive if they see these projects benefiting and empowering women. It therefore seems that the need to build movements that disrupt patriarchy and empower women simultaneously is critical. This is because to end oppression and build empowerment models requires working at the intersections of individual life as well as recognizing that the 'personal is political'.

There is also a significant challenge that needs to be negotiated in the area of gender and generosity practices. In a research paper by Mills and Ssewakiryanga (2002) the authors argued that the types of gender awareness promoted by academics, the UN, the state and non-governmental agencies have visibly politicised (and sometimes polarised) female-male relations in Uganda. This process has been accelerated by the popular media. Words and phrases like 'feminism', 'gender equality', 'affirmative action' and 'women's emancipation' have irreversibly entered every aspect of 'Kampalan' public culture and debate.

This research showed how influential individuals were attempting, from the viewpoint of an elite university culture, to insist on an 'African' understanding of gender in relation to this circulation of ideas. The authors concluded that;

*Whilst not suggesting that such negotiations over the values and appropriate behaviour of a 'proper' man or woman are new, we see the importance of attending closely to the particular sites and discourses within which debates occur at any particular moment. Both men and women were of the view that 'Western' models of change were inappropriate in a Ugandan context. Rejecting what they perceived as the conflictual aspects of feminism, nearly all saw consensus between genders as 'Ugandan' and therefore desirable.<sup>41</sup>*

Giving, gifting and generosity are intertwined with the practice of relationship building between women and men and negotiations of what it means to be a woman or man in Uganda. Women in many parts of Uganda are sometimes deceptively presented as recipients of men's benevolence. Bride price as a culture has been twisted from being a gesture of cultural gifting and gratitude between families to a commercial enterprise relating to the transacting of women in marriage relationships.

There are also several other gestures of giving that are presented as transactional relationships that present women in a dangerous life as exploitative recipients of men's benevolence. These practices that posit giving in this manner create wrong and risky impressions that expand those transactional relationships between women and men and therefore smear those pro-social behaviors of gifting.

There are other shadow sides of philanthropy that could be discussed in this paper, but the above 'big five' present significant challenges for the practice of philanthropy. They do have far researching implications for the funders as well as the recipients of philanthropy. It is therefore of significant importance that awareness is built around these shadow sides as a way of ensuring that progressive and responsive approaches to philanthropy are built.





## 06 *Recommendations*

There also several important steps that can be undertaken to negotiate these shadow sides. The following ideas could be explored.

### *1. Pay Attention to Power Dynamics:*

Giving and pro-social behaviors associated with philanthropy have emerged as very powerful practices. As have been discussed in this paper – for Africa and Uganda in this case, the colonial and post-colonial experience did restructure how philanthropy looks like as a social practice as well as an individual act. When traditional pro-social behaviors were rejected by colonialism – these were practices of power to rename what constitutes good and bad practices of gifting and generosity. When the colonial system created the two publics – it was very much a consequence of the clash of moral practices.

It will therefore be important that practitioners in the philanthropy eco-system understand and appreciate these nuances as a way of practicing better forms of philanthropy. Acknowledging that the power imbedded in philanthropic practices is a pathway out of the shadow side of philanthropy.

## *2. Promoting the idea of – 'from generosity to justice':*

Two books by Rob Reich and Darren Walker have focused on the idea of promoting a 'justice' outcome for philanthropy. In his book, *From Generosity to Justice*, Darren Walker articulates a bold vision for philanthropy to ask and offer answers to a vital question: If there's a continuum between generosity and justice, how do we push our work closer to the latter? The book reinforces the point made by Rob Reich in his book *Just Giving* where he argues that charity and justice are conceptually distinct. Justice represents the effort to provide a set of institutional arrangements to meet the basic needs of people, to ensure that people receive that to which they are entitled, and charity represents the effort to try and provide direct services to people. Reich argues that in that respect, charity is a good thing – it provides people things that they might deserve or need. But it doesn't get to the root source of the problem.

Both authors point to the need to work towards self-liquidation of philanthropy by working to ensure that we eliminate the social conditions that render philanthropy necessary. This is a pathway that will allow for a more progressive philanthropy that is not crowded by issues of commercialization of life or the immorality of neoliberalism.

## *3. Need for Public Policy on Philanthropy:*

The French physiocrat, Anne Robert Jacques Turgot was the founder of the ideology of progress, the idea that basing political authority, social organization, and public policy on reason would bring about constant improvement, that humans and civilization were capable of steady betterment.<sup>42</sup> This idea is at the root of social policy. Philanthropy today is a ubiquitous and universal phenomenon, it is shaped and structured by social norms and public policy. The design of institutions, formal and informal, matters a great deal for what counts as philanthropy, how philanthropy is practiced, who its beneficiaries are, and how it relates to the state.

Uganda has no policy instruments designed to structure philanthropy. It is important that policy discussions of these shadow sides become part of the philanthropy policy development process as a means of ensuring that an egalitarian policy that amplifies the voice and preferences of citizens and not the wealthy is in place.

#### *4. Promote a Growth Mindset of Philanthropy:*

Philanthropy is a growing field. In Uganda it is unregulated, but it happens in all kinds of places. At community level, through traditional practices and within the civil society and private sector. Giving is happening to ameliorate the diversity of challenges that Ugandans are faced with. However, for philanthropy to thrive and grow, especially at a community level, requires a deeply transformative approach rooted in a growth mindset and not a fixed mindset. As society changes so do the pro-social approaches to giving.

This paper has shown that with that growth also comes several shadow sides. For example, to engage with the question of commercialization of public life, philanthropy will require a change of attitude at community level and a deep awareness about what constitutes philanthropy and how communities should approach the diversity of approaches to philanthropy. In a country with a plethora of deficits in public service delivery, there will be significant challenges but these will be overcome by the type of mindset that is developed within society.

#### *5. Deal decisively with gender dimensions of philanthropy:*

It is important that the number of women funds and foundations built on feminist principles are expanded. A progressive and egalitarian society should be one where power relations that produce inequality are resisted in all its forms. For Uganda, it is important that we strive to build a strong portfolio of organizations that finance the women's movement and gender equality over the long term and not in piece-meal episodes of short-term projects. This will promote significant growth in the number of gender sensitive philanthropy groups and also lead to better ways in which societal excesses of patriarchy are fought.



## **07** *Conclusion*

This paper has covered several epochs in Uganda's history that have sharpened the diversity of generosity gestures. The paper has put the shadow sides of philanthropy in context - exploring the historical challenges as well as the contemporary shadow sides. Recommendations on what needs to be done have been shared. What this paper has attempted to achieve is clarity in understanding that while philanthropy at its core is about doing good in society, it is also laced with elements that can create a dark side. This paper is therefore an attempt at surfacing these dark sides, not so much as a judgmental exercise but rather an awareness creation endeavor.

## End Notes

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**philanthropy**   
FOR **development**

# Philanthropy & Mindset Change

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**Giving  
For Change  
Alliance**



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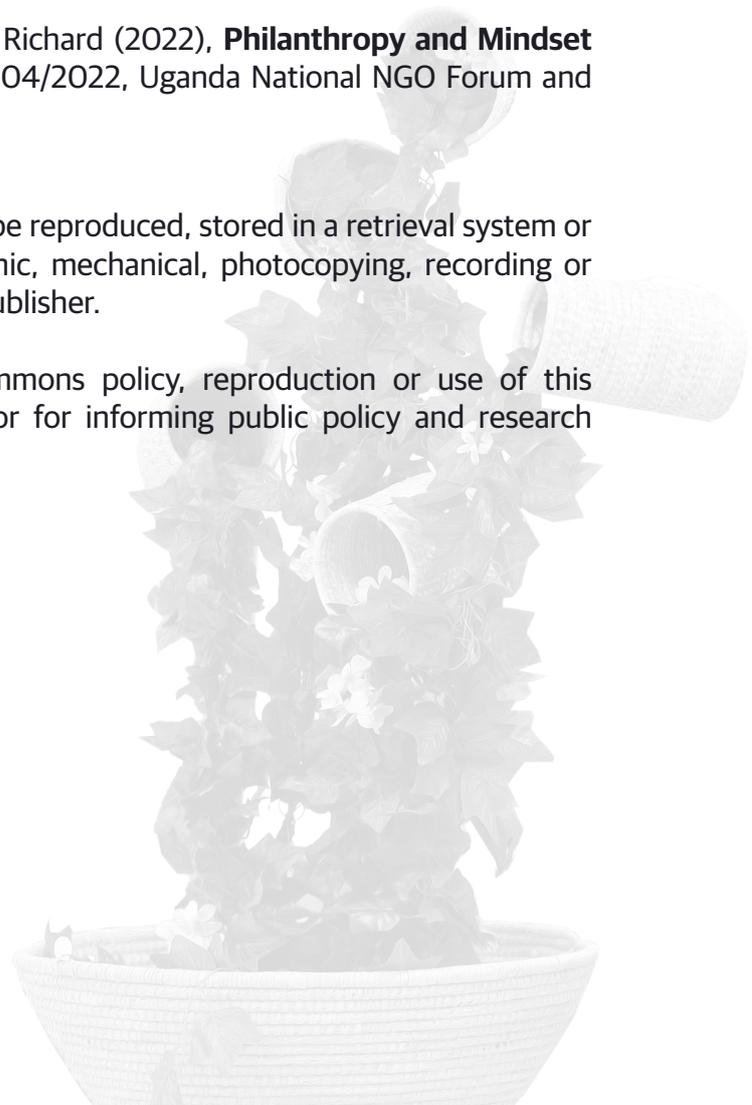
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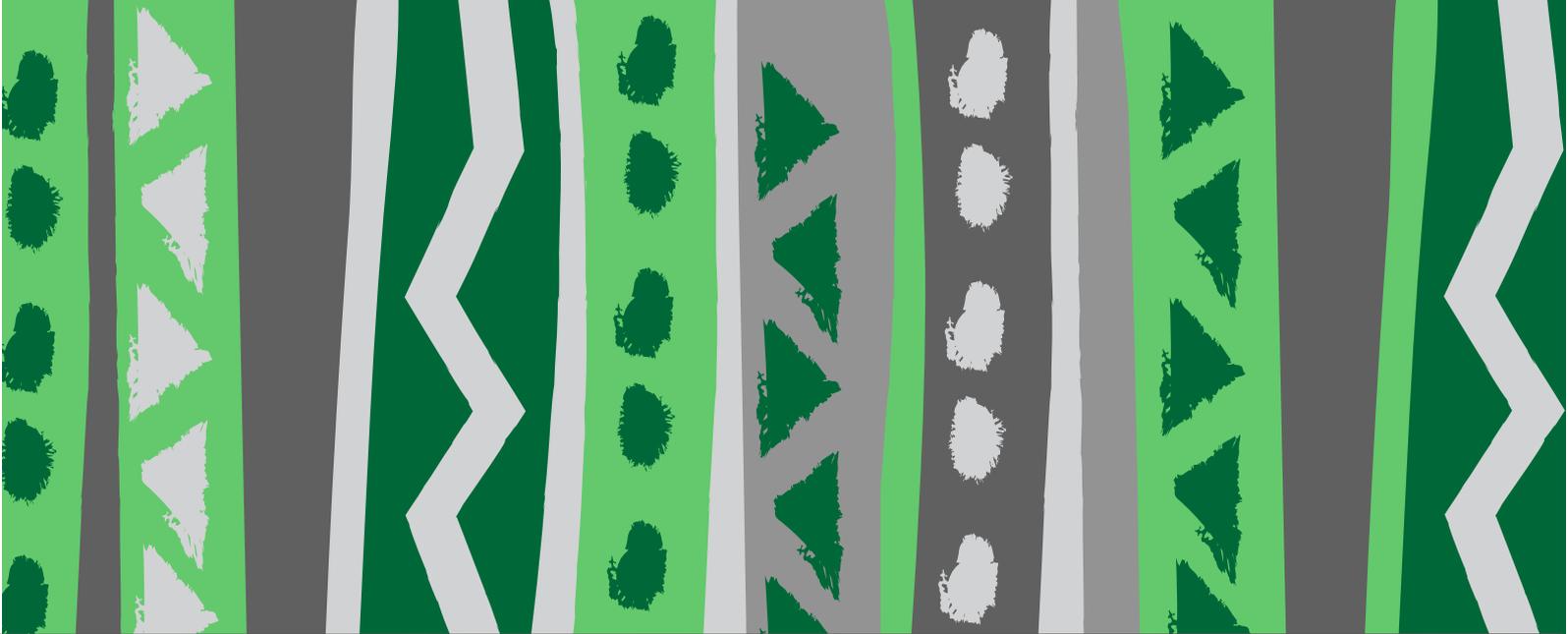
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# 01 Introduction

*“To give away money is an easy matter, and in any man’s power. But to decide to whom to give it, and how large and when, and for what purpose and how, is neither in every man’s power-nor an easy matter. Hence, such excellence is rare, praiseworthy and noble.” (Aristotle 384–322 BC)*

The words above come from the writings of Aristotle the Greek philosopher and polymath who lived during the Classical period in Ancient Greece. The statement (although gender insensitive) is instructive. It refers to the ease of giving and the difficulty of choosing what cause to give to – a situation many philanthropists find themselves seized with. Indeed, the struggle to decide who, what, where and how a philanthropist should give is an issue that presents itself variously in the field. This can even be traced in the conceptual complications that have surrounded the term philanthropy since the beginning.

The word literally means “love of humankind,” but it has come to encompass the wide range of ways people can share their time, talent, treasure, and ties to advance the common good. Today philanthropy includes charitable, “giving with the heart,” as well as more strategic, “giving with the head.” It includes giving by institutional foundations

and individual donors; small givers and large ones; private foundations, family foundations, donor-advised funds, giving circles, community foundations, corporate foundations and many more.

This paper focuses on exploring the issues around the mindsets (and orthodoxies) that inform philanthropy and giving. A mindset has been defined by scholars as a set of beliefs that shape how you make sense of the world and yourself.

Mindset influences how one thinks, feels, and behaves in any given situation. These mindsets or what some writers call 'orthodoxies' are deeply held beliefs about how things are done that often go unstated and unquestioned. These mindsets are not only individual traits, but they can be found in a host of places. Mindsets can be individual or they can be embedded in protocols of organizations and even in practices of an entire industry or different sections of society.<sup>1</sup> The military may have its mindset, just as the church may also have its own mindset. Mindsets are in themselves conventional wisdoms and help create standard practices that support people and organizations to function efficiently. Mindsets are also known to stimulate both productivity and unproductive resistance. Words like "that's not how we do things around here" can sometime be mentioned to defend a certain mindset.

Researchers on mindsets have distinguished mindsets into two types - the 'growth mindset' and the 'fixed mindset'. In the fixed mindset, people or institutions believe that their qualities are carved in stone. As Dweck (2006) writes, this fixed mindset creates an urgency to prove yourself over and over. For a person, if you have only a certain amount of intelligence, a certain personality, and a certain moral character, then you'd better prove that you have a healthy dose of them.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand is the growth mindset, is based on the belief that your basic qualities are things you can cultivate through your efforts, your strategies, and help from others. The passion for stretching yourself and sticking to it, even (or especially) when it's not going well, is the hallmark of the growth mindset. This is the mindset<sup>4</sup> that allows people to thrive during challenging times in their lives.

Mindset is a combination of one's attitudes, one's thoughts and one's beliefs. Other scholars create another cluster of mindsets: the magical mindsets - such mindset will perhaps leave everything to chance and hope things will happen in some miraculous way. Then there are narratives of positive versus negative mindsets.





## 02 *Changes in Society and Mindsets*

As society changes mindsets change. For example, in the history of the telecommunication, there was a time the dominant fixed mindset was that a telephone had to be a static piece of equipment that could be used in one place. Today nearly all telephones are handheld.

In the same way in the banking sector, it was thought that one could only withdraw money from the bank or from a bank branch that has a person behind the bank till who hands over the cash. The arrival of the ATMs and online banking as well as mobile money services have changed these mindsets completely.

So, what does all this have to do with philanthropy? As the quote from Aristotle suggests, the decision to decide how to give could be more difficult than just giving. The decision to give is rooted in the realm of a person or institution's mindset. Scholars like Kant talk about giving as a moral obligation and others see it as an element of having a good standing in society and yet others see giving as an action to 'make good on past injustices' even if the giver is unconscious about that type of giving.<sup>5</sup>

It is evident therefore that the field of philanthropy has for long been influenced by certain dominant modes of understanding and mindsets on what motivates people and institutions to give.



## 03 *Mindsets and Philanthropy*

In philanthropy discussions, the debate is still alive especially among African scholars on what mindset constitutes the motivations of generosity and giving in Africa. Scholars and policy discussion on philanthropy in Africa make the case that giving is part of the lifeblood of African societies. It is argued that giving in Africa possesses a much strong moral outlook since it is about gifting which is a high moral imperative than giving generally.

As discussed in Sense-Making Paper 1<sup>6</sup>, the idea of giving that goes beyond the household to also encompass the community is very prevalent in Uganda and many parts of Africa. Authors like Fowler have argued that there is a need to make a distinction between 'giving' and 'gifting' because the two are motivated by different kinds of mindsets. This distinction is driven by the assertion that giving usually falls into two major categories – giving that is transactional and giving that is relational. As Fowler et. al. (2019) says;

*[...] a more substantive argument for use of gifting is that, from an ontological point of view, it is preferable because of its place in the evolution of the human behavioural repertoire that is cooperative rather than competitive. It is a type of transaction that co-determines the collaborative nature of the social order to be found within and across all societies. There is an implied 'altruistic' morality in gifting, analogous to modern philanthropy...<sup>7</sup>*

The gist of this framing is that there is a different mindset that informs giving in Africa vis-a-viz giving in the west - with the term "gifting" instead of "philanthropy" capturing the plurality of pro-social transactional practices in African philanthropy. The mindset that informs giving in the African context is also one that lends itself more to the idea of community philanthropy.

Community philanthropy here understood as a process of gaining the support of community members or creating a growth mindset at community level, leveraging community resources, and determining the use of external resources in that community to better address challenges or to improve the quality of life in a community.

Globally and historically, philanthropy has largely represented itself as giving by High-Net-Worth Individuals (HNWI) to causes that they deem important to them. For influential philanthropists like Carnegie, his writing in the Gospel of Wealth<sup>8</sup> represented a fixed mindset about the idea of philanthropy. He was very influential in shaping the discourse around philanthropy and what it constitutes.

In the Gospel of Wealth, Carnegie argued that extremely wealthy Americans like himself had a responsibility to spend their money in order to benefit the greater good. Such philanthropists can be said to believe in the theory of utilitarianism - a theory of morality that advocates actions that foster happiness or pleasure and opposes actions that

cause unhappiness or harm. Utilitarianism would say that an action is right if it results in the happiness of the greatest number of people in a society or a group. In other words, the richest Americans should actively engage in philanthropy and charity in order to close the widening gap between rich and poor.

While there were several criticisms to this "Gospel" by influential leaders of the time like Reverend Hugh Price Hughes, a Methodist minister, who writes in 1890, that while he was sure Carnegie was "a most estimable and generous man," his "Gospel" represented a "social monstrosity" and a "grave political peril"<sup>9</sup>, these words did not stop Carnegie from continuing to propagate his fixed mindset about philanthropy. There were also other influential critiques like William Jewett Tucker, a professor of religion who wrote that what the "Gospel" advocated for was "a vast system of patronage," and nothing could "in the final issue create a more hopeless social condition."

In the discussions above we see that contestations around philanthropy mindsets have always been around and have significantly shaped the face of philanthropy.



### *3.1. Fixed and Growth Mindsets in Philanthropy*

From the debates about what constitutes philanthropy and why philanthropy should be in place, we do recognize several aspects that are critical in developing a strong growth mindset in philanthropy. With the contemporary era of extravagant wealth and extraordinary displays of generosity, it is important that return to a discussion on mindsets in philanthropy and the role of these mindsets in shaping the direction, philosophy and practice of giving. The world now watches in awe as we witness the extravagant wealth and almost as extravagant displays of generosity and Africa has not been left behind. Philanthropy foundations are spreading across Africa quite rapidly.

Studies have shown that several foundations have been formed by the emerging club of High-Net-Worth-Individuals across Africa. Such Foundations are mushrooming as many high net worth individuals consider this as the route of leaving an indelible legacy or bequeathing something to the generations to come. As of December 2020, the total private wealth held in Africa was approximately two trillion U.S. dollars. The amount was accumulated by 125 thousand millionaires, 6,200 multimillionaires, 275 centimillionaires, and 22 billionaires.

A study by Trust Africa/UBS on giving habits of approximately 40 HNWI spread across the African continent found that these HNWI were actively giving within their extended families (19%), communities (12%) and beyond (26%). Moreover, they do not only give through their foundations but also through informal channels. Their giving is also embedded in particular mindsets, beliefs and cultural practices.<sup>11</sup>

For example, Foundations of HNWI have been accused of being 'playthings of the rich', allowing them to impose their own particular mindsets, preferences and priorities on society. In many societies giving is encouraged by tax incentives, and thus the average taxpayer subsidizes the whims of the wealthy – it is argued. While in their defense HNWI have argued that rich people have the right to spend their money as they choose, and charitable giving is for public benefit, so society is the winner<sup>12</sup>; it is important that there is strong awareness of the power that HNWI play on the continent and with that power the mindset that HNWI propagate.

It can be argued and rightly so that this giving by HNWIs is without doubt transactional as it is motivated by the private gain of tax subsidies. The exponential growth in the number of private foundations across Africa and the world and the rise of initiatives like the Giving Pledge<sup>13</sup> signed by Bill Gates, Warren Buffett, Michael Bloomberg, Larry Ellison, and more than a hundred and seventy other gazillionaires who have promised to dedicate most of their wealth to philanthropy, is the new “Gospel” stripped down and updated.

This paper will therefore use two lenses to look at the nuances and critical challenges relating to philanthropy mindset. In one part we shall present the societal shifts in the world that need to be watched and analyze their influence on the philanthropy mindset and the second part will present some of the predominant mindsets that need to be debunked as we explore ways in which a ‘growth philanthropy mindset’ can be promoted.

While Carnegie may have the luxury to claim that “wealth is the inevitable possession of the few” today the attendant ethical question about the distribution of wealth versus redistribution of wealth informs the philanthropy mindsets.





# 04 *Societal Shifts* *Influencing Philanthropy* *Mindsets*

The world has seen a growth in several significant development challenges and societal shifts. The climate change crisis that the world is experiencing, the health crisis represented by several pandemics including Covid19 and Ebola in parts of Africa represent a significantly changing world. For countries like Uganda, hosting record numbers of refugees from neighboring countries and the conflict in the Great Lakes region are all issues to contend with.

All these societal shifts have implication to the field of philanthropy as they do for any other field in development. While it could be argued that HNWI philanthropy is sometimes insulated from societal shifts happening around the world especially because HNWIs have large permanent endowments that have been bestowed on their philanthropic organizations, it is evident that the world of philanthropy is not immune to the ramifications of the tectonic shifts happening around the world. Further the demographic structure in Africa is not only changing the populations but also changing the population's mindsets.

As we shall discuss later – millennials and their view and participation in philanthropy is very different from the practices of 'baby-boomers'.

For instance, acts of generosity during the Covid 19 pandemic in Uganda were at an all-time high. The "Generosity During the Time of COVID" reports clearly highlighted the outpouring of generosity in Uganda and that people gave variously of time, treasure to talent.<sup>14</sup> Philanthropy foundations supporting civil society in Uganda quickly launched emergency response funds, increased their spend-out rates, relaxed grant reporting requirements, and converted programmatic funds to general operating support expenses. Their reactions demonstrated just how quickly mindsets can change in a crisis.

Pandemics are a pathological intersection of social, economic, political and biological processes - thus have a cardinal bearing on mindsets. Pandemics often handcuff social policy and the immediate responses from people is to see how to cushion each other.

In thinking about the future of philanthropy and the attendant changes in mindset, we need to be inspired by the words of Winston Churchill's - 'we cannot let a good crisis go to waste'. In presenting the societal shifts and their implications to a philanthropy mindset we are inspired by the belief that the current disruptions of the status quo will help to rethink long entrenched systems and practices of philanthropy and support the acceleration of change. Below are some of the societal changes that may influence the philanthropy mindset in Uganda:

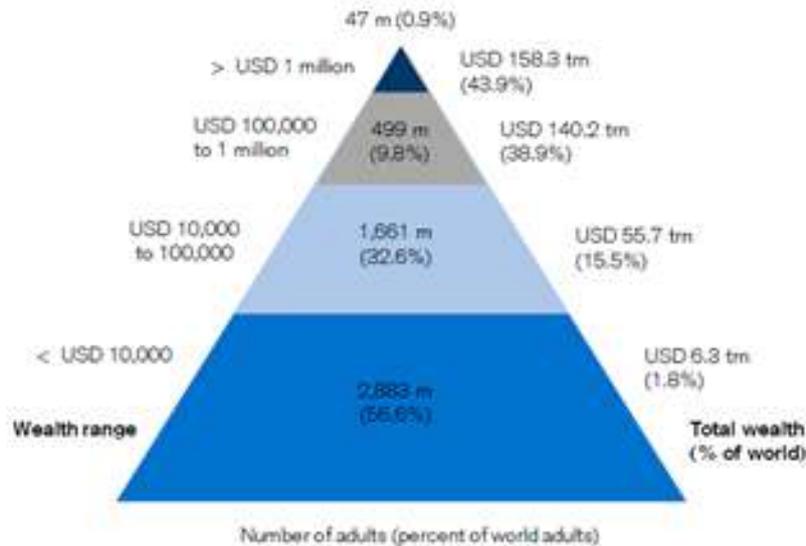
## 4.1. Economic Inequality Influencing Philanthropy Mindsets.

In Uganda, inequality levels have continuously increased. The Gini Coefficient (GINI index) stands at 37.6% in 2018 and has been at the same level for several years.<sup>15</sup> High and increasing inequality, combined with increasing poverty risks are straining social cohesion. Figure 1 below, shows that Uganda's inequality (Gini coefficient) dipped slightly between 2009 and 2012. It then rose again between 2012 and 2016. In comparison to its neighbors - Kenya and Rwanda, whose inequality levels have steadily reduced between 2005 and 2016; Uganda needs to do more to reduce inequality.<sup>16</sup>

While the economy has grown and poverty levels have fallen, income inequality has increased as mentioned above. Studies indicate that the richest 10% of Uganda's population enjoy over one third (35.7%) of national income, and this proportion has grown by nearly 20% over the past two decades. Additionally, the richest 20% claim just over half of all national income, this proportion having increased by almost 14% over this period.<sup>17</sup> Economic inequality produces a situation where inequality in income and wealth is in the hands of a few mostly because of the concentration of economic power. is strong awareness of the power that HNWI play on the continent and with that power the mindset that HNWIs propagate.

The variation in average wealth across countries accounts for much of the observed inequality in global wealth. The Global Wealth Report 2019 produced a wealth pyramid which shows wealth differences among adults and it reveals that an estimated 2.9 billion individuals - 57% of all adults in the world - have wealth below USD 10,000 in 2019. The next segment, covering those with wealth in the range USD 10,000 - 100,000, has seen the biggest rise in numbers this century, trebling in size from 514 million in 2000 to 1.7 billion in mid-2019. This reflects the growing prosperity of emerging economies, especially China, and the expansion of the middle class in many developing world!<sup>18</sup>

Figure 2: Global Wealth Pyramid, 2019



Source: Global Wealth Report, 2019

The story of inequality is also reproduced as gender inequality. This is the most significant of all identity-based disadvantages, and women are invariably more marginalized than men. Some of the key active barriers to gender inequality include personal and public beliefs as well as practices that generate biases against gender equality. Gender inequality is also about intrinsic imbalances in power. Many areas where there is an observed unequal distribution like access to land, capital or even information are related to gender inequality.

A study on inequality in Uganda does point out that while women are the most employed in the agricultural sector, constituting over 70% of the agricultural workforce, they own only 7% of the land. In waged jobs in the public sector, the average pay for women is 40% less than it is for men<sup>19</sup> These dimensions of inequality present themselves as shackles of patriarchy, the unending burden of misogyny and the mask of toxic masculinity which continue to be a big challenge for Uganda.

Economic inequality is quite perverse. It produces significant new challenges and needs in communities across the country. The rich are becoming richer the poor are becoming poorer. This is a situation that has ramifications on the ways in which people view the world and engage in any practice including philanthropy. Countries including Uganda are creating massive fortunes for a few that can bolster philanthropy at extreme scales but there is also a growing acute awareness of the divide and interconnection between the haves and have-nots. This situation is creating all kinds of disparities and visible forms of public backlash against the severe concentration of wealth that is fueling much of today's philanthropy.

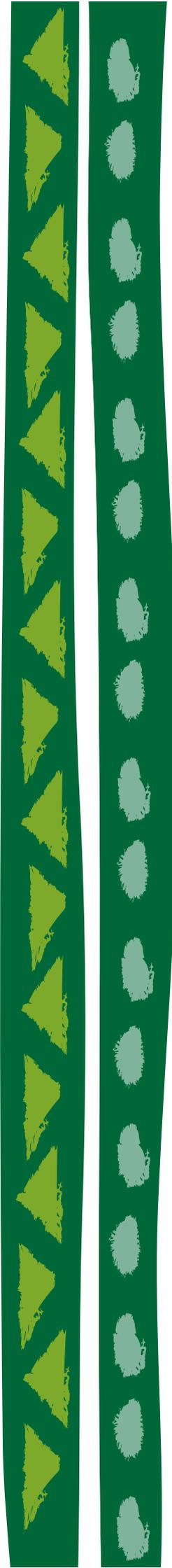
This reality cannot be wished away as it produces several types of mindsets. The wealthy may assume that what matters is to give to the poor and that will solve their problems, but the poor and other social justice citizen formations are also engaging in self-reflection about the origins of this economic inequality and the reasons behind it. Many people are starting to speak out against this Robin Wood mindset of stealing from the rich so as to give to the poor. It's the poor starting to challenge the Robin Woods of this country. This is a societal shift that will influence how philanthropy is positioned and the roles that different players can play in leveraging the role of philanthropy in development. If wealth creates inequality and suffering, will the same wealth eradicate inequality and suffering? This is an existential question that faces the HNWI who thrive to become philanthropists in a world where the wealth they have accumulated is part of the problem and therefore cannot be the entire solution.

## *4.2. Shifting Demographics influencing philanthropy Mindsets.*

Uganda, like many other parts of Africa, is faced with a significant demographic challenge. More than 75% of Uganda's population is below the age of 30 years. The country has a very high youth unemployment rate of about 13.3%.<sup>20</sup> About 400,000 youths are released annually into the job market to compete for approximately 9,000 available jobs. About 30% of the youths who are institutionally qualified in Uganda are unable to find jobs, and the situation is even worse for semiskilled and unskilled youths.<sup>21</sup>

Youths who remain unemployed or underemployed and do not exploit their full potential, are often associated with high incidences of drug abuse and gambling and several other vices. But while there are all these problems young people in Uganda are also making the mark on the country. Young people are the new digital natives leveraging the potentials of the internet and other forms of digital technologies to reshape the world they live in including their outlook on philanthropy.

While no empirical study has been conducted specifically on youth in Uganda and philanthropy, findings from other studies are indicative of the mindsets of many young people across the world. A study by Fidelity Charitable found that the very idea of a philanthropist is undergoing a transformation for young people. Younger donors interviewed show a marked shift in their idea of what philanthropy means. Nearly three-quarters of Millennials would call themselves philanthropists – compared to only 35% of Baby Boomers—illustrating the younger generation's more inclusive definition of philanthropy.



Millennials' broad self-identification with the term indicates that they are rejecting those traditional associations and understand the term to apply broadly to anyone giving time, talent or treasure to make the world a better place.<sup>22</sup> The same trend was observable in the studies conducted by CivSource Africa during the Covid pandemic lockdowns. Open Space Centre has also led campaigns of young people giving for good. Young people of all ages participated in giving to ameliorate the suffering faced by many during the lockdowns.<sup>23</sup>

In a country of many young people this demographic trend cannot be ignored as it deeply influences the young people's mindset, view and attitudes towards philanthropy. As the study on Millennial donors says, they are fueled by their belief in their own ability to be a force for good and their desire to contribute to social change.<sup>24</sup>

### *4.3. Digital Transformation and Influencing Philanthropy Mindsets*

The technology revolution is shaping philanthropy mindsets in significant ways. The ease by which information travels means that people can easily communicate and connect with one another. This means that people have a diversity of opportunities to understand what is going on around the world and access diverse perspectives as well as share data. For example, the number of internet users in Uganda has increased from 13 million in 2015 to 18.8 million in 2017 translating to a penetration rate of 45.4% and 297 government services have been automated, 71 of these are being provided online.<sup>25</sup> While there are still challenges in access, digital transformation has also changed lives of many people.

While there are only 6% of households that have access to a computer, 99% of internet access is through mobile phones.<sup>26</sup> In this case the mobile phone has become an important enabler of information sharing and this is creating new possibilities for generating impact, but also new challenges that philanthropy will need to address in its work. Use of digital Apps which enable sharing of data and airtime without doubt shape mindsets on sharing / giving and thus philanthropy.

## *4.4. Democratic reversals Influencing Philanthropy Mindsets*

The Global Democracy Report 2021 indicates that more than a quarter of the world's population now lives in democratically backsliding countries. Together with those living in outright non-democratic regimes, they make up more than two-thirds of the world's population. In East Africa, democratic backsliding is also a challenge that citizens are engaging with. While the region has been experiencing more than a decade of consistent economic growth there are still many social and democratic deficits in the region. Large scale poverty continues to prevail, and the region remains among the most deprived in the world.

As discussed earlier, inequality is still an issue and the gap between rich and poor extremely wide, justice systems are often not fully accessible for the poor; rights and entitlements are still a challenge to many people. Civic, socio-economic, and political rights are in constant flux and therefore frequently flouted especially during electoral periods and conflict is still rife in the region with rebel incursions and terrorist attacks. The pandemic has added another layer of complications. In Uganda the schools have been closed for two years, there has been a night curfew for two years and several businesses are still not open and yet even in the pandemic state institutions like Parliament never closed. The pandemic has therefore provided additional tools and justification for repressive tactics.

In the Covid pandemic times, while citizens have demonstrated significant levels of generosity both to the state and to fellow citizens, the pandemic has made it easier to justify excesses of the state including arrests of political opponents, manipulation of media, and increasing restrictions on Civic rights. These developments have got important ramifications on philanthropy as they are both a catalyst and inhibitor of generosity in the population.

## *4.5. Environment and Health Crises influencing Philanthropy Mindsets*

Climate change and the politics around it is a critical issue in shaping the mindset of philanthropy. The Covid-19 pandemic was instructive in making the connection that health and environmental crises, as well as human-made ones, can exacerbate existing problems or swiftly and unpredictably trump the existing agenda of any community or funder.

The current environmental challenges around the world are a wake-up call for all communities to depend more on the power of togetherness and generosity to build resilience at the community level. Local and international disasters are significantly changing how communities come together and their mindsets toward generosity and solidarity. While Covid 19 has been evenly distributed, the vaccines have not. The vaccine inequality is making people especially in the Global South re-think their engagement terms with the North.

Many people now think we are on our own and so this new mindset has a bearing on solidarity and generosity. This is an important individual and collective variable that effects mindsets significantly.

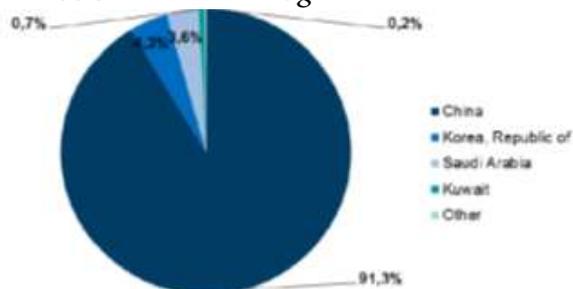
## *4.6. The Blending of Profit, People, Passions influencing Philanthropy Mindsets*

The resources that are financing development have significantly widened globally. While governments like that of Uganda have for long been involved in debt servicing because of the huge debt burden, the number of stakeholders that are investing in development have widened. There are several new countries that are now providers of development cooperation money. The rise of countries like China, Russia, Brazil, India, South Korea as providers of development assistance have reshaped the discourse on development cooperation.

Today development cooperation is no longer a preserve of traditional providers in the global north, even countries that are in the global south are supporting each other. These countries are using new principles of partnership that are built on the ideas of solidarity, mutual accountability, south to south cooperation and not on traditional donor conditionalities. In some cases, these new providers are supporting countries with business loans that focus on business interests and not on political conditions in the recipient country. Also the development financing from traditional donors has been tweaked from being purely development assistance to trade enablement. Bilateral donors now play a dual role of promoting development and trade.

Studies on Uganda indicate that South-South cooperation in Uganda is largely dominated by China, which provides about 91.3% of all south-south funds, according to data compiled by UNDP. South Korea, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait are the next most important south-south partners, providing about 4.3%, 3.6%, and 0.7% respectively. The remaining partner countries, encompassing 16 countries which provide altogether about 0.2% of all south-south flows. Between 2000 and 2014, 91% of Chinese support came in the form of loans (81%) and grants (10%) to support infrastructure development projects. Figure 2 below provides an overview of the main providers of SSDC to Uganda.

Figure 2: SSC Providers to Uganda



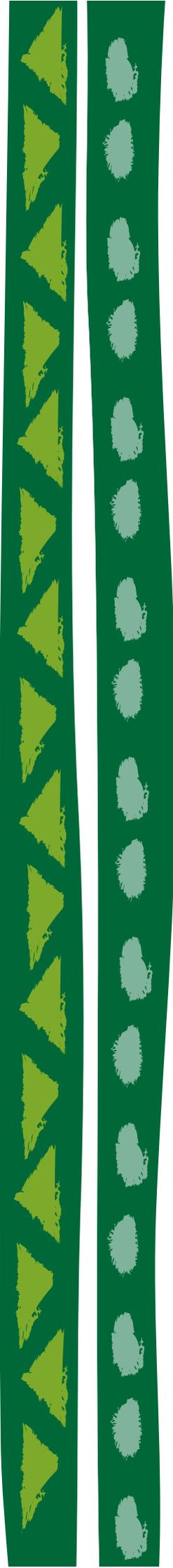
Source: DFA 2019

While South-to-South Development Cooperation may be motivated by principles of solidarity in pursuing partnerships, if left unprotected, it may slowly evolve into new forms of inequalities and underdevelopment.<sup>29</sup> It thus becomes imperative to enhance the accountability and monitoring of SSDC policies and practices according to the widely accepted SSC principles, if it is to effectively

contribute to the eradication of poverty and inequalities as well as sustainable development in developing countries. This process has huge implications of the corporate mindset of philanthropy and calls for building of a strong growth mindset that can look at the opportunities that emerge from these new partnerships.

On the other hand, the number of non-state donors is also expanding. The growth in giving by foundations is at its all-time high with foundations providing in the excess of billions of dollars to causes that they identify with but also to causes that governments and citizens are aligned with. MacKenzie Scott who owns 4% of the shares of Amazon has through her foundations provided some of the biggest unrestricted grants globally.

In Uganda, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation is providing significant funds to combat challenges in the health sector and agriculture sector. Locally foundations by local private businesses like Madhvani Foundation, Kabaka Foundation and many other are working innovatively to contribute the much-needed resources to deal with community challenges in Uganda. All these providers are creating significant shifts in philanthropy mindset.



These changes are important in as far as they relate to mindset around philanthropy. This is because each of the issues raised above have got both positive and negative impacts on society. Resultantly, the effects of each of these societal shifts will create a different type of mindset. Some of these will reinforce already existing fixed mindset about philanthropy, while others will promote a growth mindset around philanthropy. However, the directional influence of each of these shifts will depend on the assumptions held.

In the sections that follow we present some of the major orthodoxies and fixed mindsets that are sometimes held in the area of philanthropy that need to be debunked in order to create room for the flourishing of a growth mindset.



# 05

## **Fixed Mindsets** *influencing Philanthropy*

Just like the global economic recession led to a debunking of hegemonic economic theories about how development happens, the recent Covid-19 crisis is in many ways inviting us to interrogate the mindsets around philanthropy. When the Covid-19 pandemic hit the globe all countries responded. In Uganda we witnessed individuals, families, and grassroots groups rising to the occasion by responding variously to the crisis. Communities across the country came together and offered help to those negatively impacted by the pandemic. This ranged from giving out food, to delivering medication for HIV/AIDS patients, offering a sympathetic ear and a safe haven and shelter for women and girls experiencing domestic abuse in many homes and families.

Philanthropy was called into action on a major scale around the world in and in Uganda. This experience of the outpouring of philanthropy was well captured in the Generosity Reports by CivSource.<sup>30</sup>

What exactly is the role of philanthropy in society at times like this? This is a question that has been on so many people's mind. Whilst philanthropy is not meant to replace the government, it can play a role that transcends what we might expect from the government. In a democratic society, philanthropy should in fact complement government action and resources. Therefore, the mindsets that get formed as a result of the experiences that the world is going through are crucial. For young people across the world who are defining themselves as philanthropists, they are not waiting to die to give away their money.

## *5.1. 'We only support success stories – failure should be avoided at all costs' mindset*

Organizations that receive resources from philanthropy foundations are sometimes faced with this challenge. Philanthropy funders sometimes see themselves as stewards of scarce resources and look to ensure that their grants are always very successful. They want to ensure that the communities they are helping are served as planned and that there are no flaws in the design of programs and assumptions made.

This isn't a bad thing, but over time, this mindset can lead to recalcitrant and risk-averse organizations only funding "sure things." On the side of the receiving organizations the pressure to report only success stories can become an obsession that ends up pushing any organization's failures under the carpet, falsifying impact and indeed leading to less impact than more impact. But this kind of mindset also leads to some funders deliberately carving out a portfolio of their work to fund higher-risk, higher-reward ideas and innovations that could have outsized and overblown impacts which sometimes succeed but also sometimes fail.

It is therefore of absolute importance that the philanthropy community learns from both failure and success and supports organizations to have honest assessments and reporting of their work. Failure stories are equally important to shape the trajectory of development in communities and so Foundations / donors need not only pay attention to successful and replicable stories.

## 5.2. *'We work with only NGOs only mindset*

While for a long time, grant-making to non-profits has been a major part of philanthropy, this trend and mindset is changing. Some philanthropy foundations are starting to work in a more hands-on way with private businesses and local governments to deliver social services and improve communities. While there is a critique that this will 'crowd-out' the NGO sector, it is also true that some of the philanthropy foundations and partners are realizing that they need to expand the network of partners, approaches to community development and even who participates in a given investment.

Another perspective that has implications for this mindset is the current challenges that Uganda is faced with. Currently the country is going through an unprecedented civic space moment which makes it hard to work exclusively with NGOs. For the first time in decades NGOs were closed on account on not following the NGO Act, civil society leaders have been harassed, jailed and threatened. The biggest Development Partner Basket Fund supporting governance and rights work has been closed for now close to a year and not allowed to spend any of its resources for programme related work. This current scenario is one that was never anticipated by many political economy analysts.

The implications of all this is that supporting civil society in Uganda can no longer continue in a business as usual fashion. If indeed civil society cannot find the resources to do rights and governance work and civic actors are being muzzled, how can development partners and philanthropic funders continue to support and stay in solidarity with the sector? With This crisis one would argue that this should act as a catalyst for doing things differently and finding ways in which NGOs continue to push back on the excesses of the state and support citizen engagements in ways that will build alternative forms of civic organizing across the country and the East African region.

The growth mindset to build therefore is one that could consider options like, expand support to traditional forms of civil society beyond NGOs. It is a time to work more intentionally with labor unions, cooperatives, cultural institutions, women's groups, faith-based organizations and informal 'cause-inspired' groups that come together on particular issues. Supporting such organizations is possible in a constrained civic space moment because they are legitimate and cannot easily be closed since they have a defined agenda and constituency, and it will be politically risky for them to be harassed in ways NGOs are harassed.

This is not to say that NGOs are illegitimate but to make the point that that particular configuration of some of the group helps them navigate constrained civic space. This will require mapping of such entities and working out how that support can be given. Currently some of these are doing commendable work. The cooperative movement in Uganda has once again been embraced by the same government that closed it three decades ago, the cultural institutions are working on several social and economic rights issues that affect their constituencies.

The labor unions are regrouping, and several informal labor organizations are emerging as different sectors like market women, boda-boda riders and such informal groups are coming together to secure their livelihoods through saving and investments but also protect their business interest from capitalist takeover as we witness the struggle between 'big capital' and 'small capital' in many parts of the country. The faith-based organizations are also exploring how to engage with changes in society, with many young people challenging the value addition and practices of mainstream faith-based organizations. These developments are indicative of the need to debunk the notion of working with the non-profit sector exclusively.

### 5.3. 'Endowed Permanent Philanthropist is the 'Norm' mindset.

While the power of endowed foundations cannot be disputed and for long they have marketed themselves as the default face of philanthropy, this mindset is being contested by the new generation of young people and how they relate and engage with philanthropy. The foundations that have made a name across history include organizations like Rockefeller Foundation, Open Society Foundation, Carnegie Foundation, Ford Foundation to mention but a few. Foundations such as these, have a widespread footprint across the world through their investments in a diversity of social and political causes. However, we also see the growth of foundations whose founders are still living and they are investing huge sums of money across the world.

The most recent names include foundations like Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation that has in the recent past been one of the 'biggest spenders' investing billions of dollars across the world. MacKenzie Scott has now taken the number one spot as the biggest spenders in the world. As reported by Forbes, she has funded over 780 organizations in under a year – part of the \$8.5 billion that she has given away since July 2020. As Forbes reports:

*Scott's made quite the impression on the world of philanthropy as a result, even while shunning the spotlight and not talking to reporters. She doesn't appear to have an office or even a mailing address for her philanthropy, instead working through nonprofit firm Bridgespan. While Scott publicly announces each round on Medium, the blogging website, she does not appear to speak directly to the nonprofits. In each post, Scott includes a short essay explaining her view on philanthropy alongside the list of groups receiving funds. Her latest round on June 15 2020 was \$2.7 billion distributed to 286 groups.<sup>31</sup>*

As reported by research comparing Baby Boomers and Millennials, while the Baby Boomers' philanthropy is more likely to be motivated by the nonprofits they support and how the cause resonates with them, the Millennials' motivations are tied back to their strong social conscious and how they see themselves as philanthropists. Both generations believe they have a responsibility to give back but Millennial donors are also fueled by their belief in their own ability to be a force for good and their desire to make social change core to how they live their lives. This type of mindset is insightful and one that needs to be understood and appreciated and the ways in which it is influencing philanthropy across the world.

## 5.4. 'Philanthropy Organization's Cardinal Role is 'to lead' mindset.

The amounts of funding available to the traditional philanthropy organization is a lot. This money has come with significant power. Today several organizations are wielding significant power in the global economy as well as the philanthropy world. There has now emerged a new form of philanthropy that blends its works with the practices of capitalism known as philanthrocapitalism<sup>32</sup> This is an idea that has been promoted by authors like Bishop (2008) who argue that since these philanthropists have been successful business leaders, they can use the same methods used in business in philanthropy to become leaders on 'smart philanthropy' that uses business models.

There are many influential names that have embraced this type of leadership and have started well-endowed global foundations. These include personalities like; Bill Gates and Mark Elliot Zuckerberg. Bill Gates is the owner of one of the biggest tech companies in the world (Microsoft) and Mark Zuckberg (Facebook) own the biggest social media platform in the world. As Edward (2008) has argued; these approaches are relentlessly donor-centric, emphasizing the assets and ideas that funders bring to the table, instead of building the agency of those who are doing the work on the ground.

As a result, it is increasingly common for foundations in the US to close their doors to unsolicited applications and simply select the groups they want to implement the programmes the foundation has designed<sup>33</sup> Edwards ends up calling for this debate on the leadership of money to become even more pronounced. As noted, that the debate on future of philanthropy is so important because;

*Who owns and controls philanthropy, and how other forms of influence become attached to it, are questions that lie at the heart of any transformational agenda. Recognizing and acting on this fact is vital, rather than pretending that money is somehow neutral or separated from the broader processes in which it is accumulated, expended and exchanged. And that means that questions of money must be integrated into the search for social transformation so that modes of funding can challenge pre-existing inequalities instead of reproducing them, as the new philanthropy tends to do.<sup>34</sup>*

It is worth noting that philanthrocapitalism has become a very attractive model even for philanthropist in Africa. Most of the foundations started by successful capitalists like Dangote, Elumelu and Madhvani are modeled on approaches that privilege the use of business approaches to philanthropy. Telecom Companies and Banks are all starting up Foundations and while these are branded as part and parcel of their Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), they are indeed an epitome of philanthrocapitalism



## 5.5. *'We are the best vehicle for community philanthropy' mindset*

Philanthropy foundations have for long seen themselves as benevolent providers – sometimes with a mindset that they know and can accurately define the problems at community level. This mindset does not pay any attention to the subsidiarity principle – the one closest to the problem has the solution. This kind of mindset has been criticized in development work for long with the birth of the participatory development movement. Participatory development has sought to engage local populations in development projects and has taken a variety of forms since it emerged in the 1970s, when it was introduced as an important part of the "basic needs approach" to development.

Most manifestations of public participation in development seek "to give the poor a part in initiatives designed for their benefit" in the hope that development projects will be more sustainable and successful if local populations are engaged in the development process. Today it is common practice that participation by those affected by the community need should be at the center of the development interventions being proposed.

It is therefore still perplexing to see that in the field of philanthropy, foundations still use the approach where they dominate the design, development, and execution of intervention with the financial muscle being the only justification of this way of working. It will therefore take a lot of unlearning for 'big spender' philanthropists to embrace participatory philanthropy which should have the beneficiaries at the center of all programs.

The growth of community philanthropy as a movement is therefore a welcome addition to the field. While sometimes there is a quick association of community philanthropy with community foundations, it should be noted that there is a clear distinction. Some of the literature also assumes that community philanthropy is philanthropy that targets specific communities<sup>36</sup> This is also a bit of a misnomer. Community philanthropy should

not be equated to a specific organizational form of geographical scope. This is because community philanthropy is a universal practice. In Africa, what is being understood as African philanthropy is rooted in the ideas of community philanthropy. When communities come together to help each other in community experiences associated with terminologies like; Ubuntu, Harambee, Obwaseruganda – this is community philanthropy at work. The main thread of this type of philanthropy is that it is rooted in social norms and values, such as: reciprocity, solidarity, social cohesion, self-reliance, and interdependence.<sup>37</sup>

The use of mutual funds, community digging groups in rural Africa, burial groups, brigades that transport the sick and exchange of gifts for a diversity of lifecycle functions from birth to death are all important ways in which community philanthropy has existed for centuries and expanded and grown. For community philanthropy to thrive there will be a need for a meeting of minds and change of mindset. Philanthropy foundations built on western models will have to unlearn their models and be open to accommodate community priorities in their philanthropic missions in a manner that responds to specific needs. This will be challenging but it could be the revolutionary growth mindset that will ensure that 'baby boomer' and 'millennial' philanthropists are at a confluence that will expand the scope, relevance and reach of philanthropy in new ways.

It is evident today that with the rise of new billionaires, this has been followed by a rise in community problems that require new thinking and new engagement. It is possible that this is the liberative discourse and space that will reframe philanthropy at community level.

There could be several other mindsets not known to the authors that need to be interrogated and debunked, but in this sections presented above, focus has been on the dominant and influential mindsets that influence the sector of philanthropy.





# 06 **Recommendations** *towards Building a Growth Mindset in Philanthropy*

So where do we go from here? It is clear that there is a need for significant change to happen in and around the mindsets that define and influence that structure and character of philanthropy globally and in Africa. Below we offer some recommendations that can stimulate debate and appropriate pathways that will support to development of a growth mindset in philanthropy.

## *6.1. Develop strong collaborative multi-stakeholder partnerships for mindset change*

There are several changes happening in society, including changes in the long-trusted partners of philanthropy – NGOs. The tectonic shifts that NGOs are undergoing are creating new challenges. Trust in the NGO sector is at an all-time low especially because of the negative public comments by some state officials, the claims of absence of significant impact 'on the ground', the small, projectized and short-term funding to the sector and the sheer lack of strategic long-term funds that can support the growth of the sector.

Yet the same NGO sector still accommodates some of the best brains in community development work. On the other hand, the philanthropy sector still enjoys a lot of trust and may be the most trusted sector today. Governments are ready to work with the philanthropy sector, NGOs get financing and are historical partners with the sector and multilateral institutions are also starting to work closely with the sector.

At the heart of all these partnerships is that all major sectors in development are working to effect lasting change on the root causes of the world's most intractable problems. What remains absent are efforts that build strong partnerships that facilitate cross-sectoral learning and support towards a growth mindset. It is important for all partners to appreciate that in development work they are all but just one piece of the puzzle in the collective work of building a better society for humanity from actions relating to protecting the environment, ending hunger and protecting the rights of communities and much more.

If all development sector partners collaborate, they can share lessons learned and share the risks of taking on these problems. Each institution needs to promote the use of its unique strengths whether it's funding, community development expertise, logistical infrastructure or institutional influence to address our biggest challenges through a mindset that embraces transformation and learning from each other through multi-stakeholder partnership is critical to the entrenchment of a growth mindset.

## *6.2. Leverage the Convening Power of Philanthropy Foundations*

Since philanthropy foundations are one of the most trusted sectors, the foundations need to use this role even more strategically. While there are many concerns and challenges relating to the positioning of the philanthropic sector in the development community, it is still possible for philanthropy to position itself as an important convener who can bring the other major institutions together to create vital partnerships.

There are many examples today to support for a bigger role for philanthropic organizations in development and this has been seen in such areas like vaccines for Covid-19, campaign for education around the world and in the work on SDGs. This collaboration and convening role is an opportunity for philanthropy to step into the role of a supporter of innovations and convener of innovators experimenting with new solutions to find out what works and then partnering with the public sector and CSOs to take those solutions to scale. This is an important part opportunity in building a growth mindset that refuses to use only 'old school' solutions but is available to do more to create a world that works for all by leveraging the convening power of philanthropy.

### *6.3. Recognize, Amplify and Expand 'Value Driven' Philanthropy as the 'New Normal'*

Africa has got a burgeoning population of young people. Nearly three quarters of Africa's population are millennials. As discussed earlier, studies show that millennials are embracing philanthropy in new and different ways.<sup>38</sup> When millennials participate in philanthropy, they are more attached to their values than they are to specific institutions.<sup>39</sup>

One study notes that 'righteous actions' are becoming increasingly important as a form of giving. Young people are making purchases from socially conscious firms, investing in funds in philanthropic organizations that support equality and environment causes and supporting organizations that promote economic or racial justice are gaining traction. This is what has been called the "next wave" form of philanthropy. These new forms of giving are being embraced by young people. The evidence shows that while 7 in 10 philanthropists, overall, believe it is important to work for an organization that engages in socially responsible actions, Millennials, at 87%, outpace other cohorts.<sup>40</sup>

It is clear that this generational mindset shift in relations with philanthropy needs to be embraced. For Africa it is not a luxury anymore to embrace and work with this new mindset - as millennials outstrip all population categories.

## *6.4. Fragmentation of giving practices requires a new mindset*

Traditional organizations like NGOs and the big philanthropy foundations that have supported them will not disappear anytime soon. But the wide array of ways in which philanthropic giving is happening means that philanthropy is spreading widely and giving practices are becoming diversified and fragmented especially institutional philanthropy. In Uganda as in other parts of Africa, community and traditional giving has been invisible as a distinct category of philanthropy and generosity.

With the additional impetus and focus on 'giving-a-name to giving,' at community level, it is clear that more needs to be done to understand the diversity and fragmented ways in which giving is happening. For institutional philanthropy, funders now do not just focus on who to give to but also on how to give. For NGOs this fragmentation may translate into competition for funds with non-traditional formations that may be delivering on causes dear to the hearts of some donors. Further, with the government in Uganda restricting funding to the NGO sector, this may require a mindset that expands the types of partnerships that NGOs need to build in order to continue receiving funds.

At community level, fragmented philanthropy is also coming alive with the new impetus towards making community philanthropy more visible. All these developments require a new type of mindset – approaching philanthropy with the attitude of – 'letting a thousand flowers bloom' and celebrating the diversity of giving and generosity instead of worrying about the implications of this fragmentation for one sector or another.

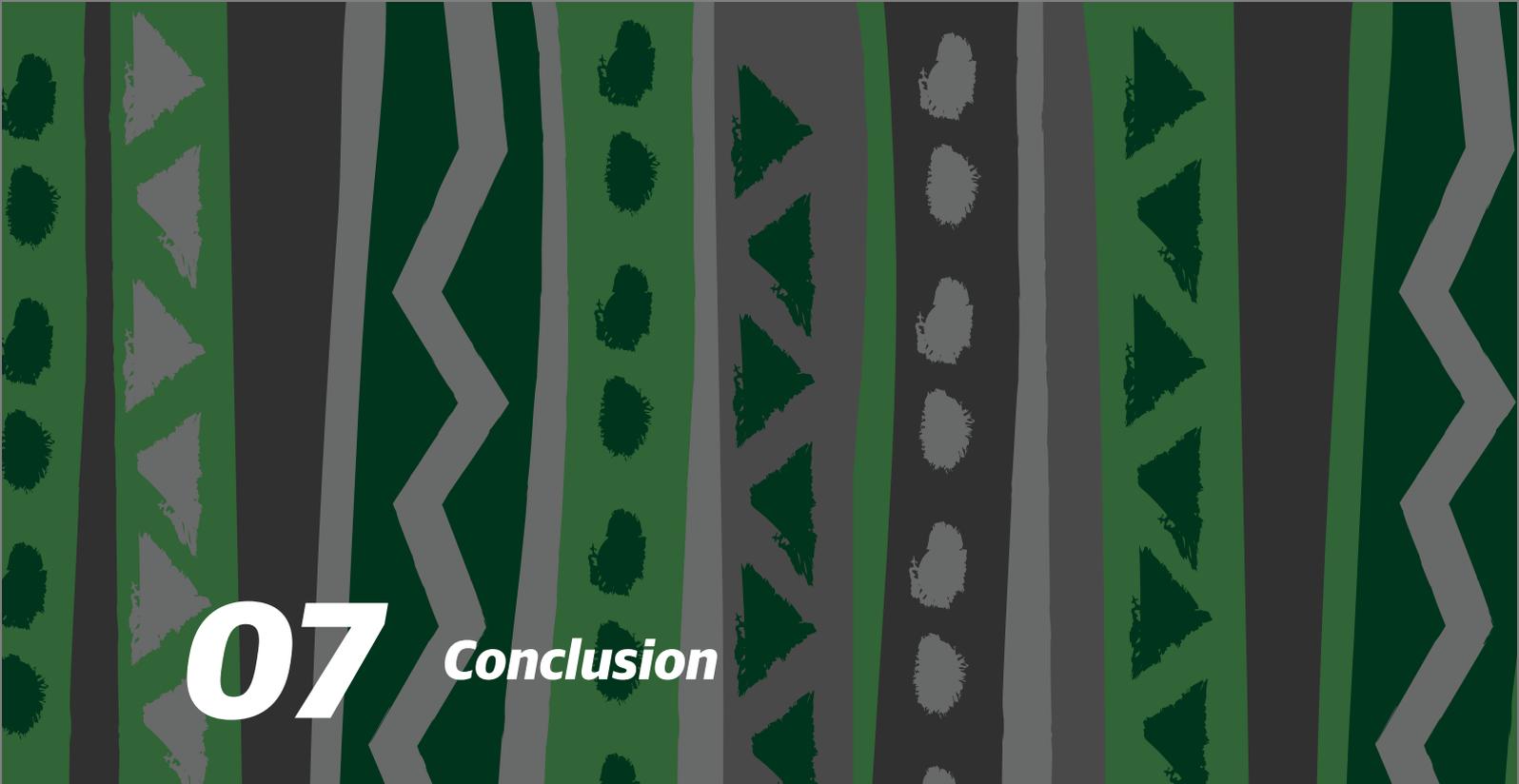
## 6.5. *“Do well by doing good” – is the new growth mindset*

The debates doing good with doing well were awash in the pre-covid times. The Covid-19 pandemic shock the world to its core. It created one of the biggest economic recessions that the world has seen since World War 2. But with this significant shift in societal relations, we have seen the unprecedented rise in generosity and the unprecedented rise in innovation. Private sector companies in Uganda and across the world have recognized that it is possible to do well as well as do good.

These discussions about the importance of the ‘bottom-line’ and pleasing of shareholders at the expenses of displeasing the communities in which companies invest, have been restructured through the effects of the pandemic. Businesses, communities, philanthropy foundations and individuals have come together in all types of formations across many societies to respond to the clarion call that doing good and doing well is possible.

For private companies, many of them have been further incentivized to engage in social good at community level and new types of cross-sectoral conversations are happening. We have seen examples like a luxury brand company that repurposed its perfume production lines to make hand sanitizer, to hotels that converted otherwise-empty buildings to quarantine facilities and much more. Businesses, in short, understood they needed to lean in to protect themselves by protecting others. Over the next five years they will need to go further, looking beyond their own profit and loss in order to promote broad economic growth and thus create shareholder value.

For civil society organizations, while the pandemic led to a shift in programming and a decline in funding for some of their programs, the pandemic also led to new conversations and ways of looking at the world that were different. As the private became public – with homes being repurposed as offices and funds being relocated to emerging community needs – mindsets of all stakeholders not only changed but continued to lean toward growth than fixed mindsets. This is a trend that should be embraced and continued.



# 07 *Conclusion*

This paper has focused on the idea of shifting philanthropy mindsets from the predominant fixed mindsets and orthodoxies to a growth mindset that builds opportunities for transformation. However, it is important to note that we should not expect the philanthropy community to magically embrace this new mindset.

There will be a need to continue providing opportunities, incentives and external pressure to philanthropists to embrace the transformation necessary to reshape systems. Surfacing these issues is a first step to ensuring that philanthropy continues to expand and to engage in a manner that promotes the growth of the sector and the expansion of a progressive mindsets.

## Foot Notes

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- 39 Ibid, p.10

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