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ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT

Solving the Water Problem in Kenya: A Case of Majiko.



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Abstract

To solve the issues and problems related to development in the developing countries, the development assistance given by aid agencies and organisations have long been the solution. However, the current development ideologies and focus of the global community might not be the best environment to conduct this type of assistance. The growing presence of businesses and companies in to the development arena with the purpose to boost the development makes up an interesting aspect where a new set of actors are emerging.

This thesis attempts to explore the effects of, the working methods and relevance of the development assistance in a time where the aid industry is being criticised for limited outcomes. Because of this, I have attempted to look at the alternative approaches to aid, to see if this might be a solution for the future. I have done this by examining the work of Majiko on water services as an alternative approach, and the work conducted by aid agencies and organisations, hereby represented by the Norwegian Church Aid. I have used qualitative methods during the collection of data in the field, and during the analysis process. The various aspects of the qualitative methods are emphasised, and how they relate to and might have affected my research. In the analytical chapters I discuss the fundamental weaknesses of aid in relation to alternative approaches, namely sustainability, participation and ownership. A special emphasis will also be given to how external factors such as donors and recipients, and the global community affects the work. I have also examined Majiko and how its working methods can be used by the aid industry to improve and optimise the development outcomes. The aspects of how they use one problem to target many development related challenges and payment for a service is considered as the major innovations of Majiko that the aid agencies and organisation can adopt.

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Abbreviations

AAA – Accra Agenda for Action

BNA – Basic Need Approach

DAC – Development Assistance committee

HAP - Human Accountability Partnership

IFIs – International Financial Institutions

NCA – Norwegian Church Aid

NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation

NORAD – Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation

OA – Official Aid

ODA – Official Development Assistance

OECD – Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PD – Participatory Development

PDAE – The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness

PPP – Private-Public Partnership

SAPs – Structural Adjustment Programmes

WB – World Bank

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1. Introduction

Background of the study

Since the beginning of the modern aid era there has been strong economic and political imperative for helping the developing countries. In the 1950s it was believed by economists that the way to generate growth was through investment in a country's factories, infrastructure and roads (Swanson, 2015). This development approach was seen as the key, both for the more well-off countries and for those hoping to become richer. The developed countries sent foreign aid to the developing countries, hoping that there would be a spread of market-based economies and the Western model of democracy. The countries that China and the Soviet Union could influenced were especially targeted (Swanson, 2015).

There is a general impression that aid might not work as much as proclaimed by those who advocate for foreign aid. Angus Deaton argues that the rich might be corrupting the nations governments and slowing their growth by trying to help the developing countries and their poor people (Swanson, 2015). Thus, "aid undermines what poor people need the most: an effective government that works with them for today and tomorrow" (Deaton, 2015). There is a risk that wealth gained through foreign aid can influence a weak government towards a corrupt system, and thus what should have been beneficial for the political institutions ends up being toxic (Swanson, 2015). Although Deaton is critical towards aid, he does agree that there are several development projects that have been successful. However, he is not sure that these projects can be implemented elsewhere or that they work on a larger scale. What he sees as the troubling issue is that the concept of 'what works' is highly conditional and contextual. There is no reason to believe that a project that works in Kenya, will work in India or England (Swanson, 2015). The World Bank (WB) and other advocates of aid on the other hand, have aggressively used research that states that economic development is the result of foreign aid. However, several economists have noticed that the inflow of foreign aid does not seem to lead to economic development. Rather, research has showed that the inflow of foreign aid tends to correspond with a decrease in economic growth (Swanson, 2015). The notion that more money does not lead to economic development and the help a developing country needs might seem strange. Still it has for a long time been observed by economists that countries with a large income and wealth from natural resources, such as minerals, tend to be less developed, more impoverished and unequal than other countries without the same resources (ibid.).

There is an increasing trend that aid is being used on the donors' terms and not the recipients'. The interest and priorities of the aid organisations and agencies and the recipients are often different and diverse. The fundamental issue is that aid organisations and agencies works in a way that will benefit themselves more than those who are thought of as the beneficiaries. This is done by satisfying the donors and host governments instead of those the aid is meant for. Aid is mostly used for administrative costs rather than addressing the needs of the intended beneficiaries. The result of this way of working can create more damage than good if it interacts with powerful local actors and their agendas (Keen, 2008). The actions of donors to promote their own 'selfish' interests, make the purpose of aid opposite of what it should be, namely as "a tool to lift sustainably out of poverty and strengthen countries' ability to lead their own development" (Byanyima, 2016). Even though both donor and recipient countries commits themselves to different kinds of conventions, such as the Accra Agenda for Action (AAA), it does not seem like they are succeeding. In addition, Deaton argues that it is not uncommon to use aid as a means to support commercial interest, strategic allies, the donors' morals or political beliefs, rather than the local people's interest. (Swanson, 2015). This tendency by donors such as the U.S. is quite alarming, since it is one of the greatest aid providers (OECD, 2017).

My interest in this topic comes from my bachelor degree in African Studies, and my current master programme in Development Studies – specialising in geography. Based on several courses that looks at the aid industry and how it works, I am a bit sceptical to the way aid organisations and programmes are working. My impression based on my knowledge from these courses, different articles and books, is that the aid given is not working as it should, and the interests of the recipients are hardly considered and recognised. This has created an interest to look deeper into the way aid organisations work, and to see if there is a need to find alternative approaches to their work. My main research objective is thus to see if there is a need for more alternative approaches, i.e. Majiko, to the development assistance, by considering the aspects of the donors-recipient relationship, participation, sustainability and ownership. I have conducted my fieldwork on Majiko in Kabati village, Kitui County Kenya.

Development assistance

Aid is recognised as an important factor for solving many of the problems the world is facing, such as extreme poverty eradication. For many, the working methods used by aid agencies and organisations might seem like the most efficient. However, these methods are problematic as they might not lead to actual improvements of the recipients' situation. Their focus might also

be shifted from what matters and is needed, to what someone wants. Thus, the aid does not help the recipients in the end. To me, some of the reasons for not achieving the development goals are due to the donor recipient relationship as well as the working conditions and context of aid agencies and organisations. The development goals have not been achieved because of not completely focusing on the needs of the recipients. The fact that these have not been achieved, although there have been some improvements, might work as an indication that aid may not be the way to go to achieving them. There is no doubt that aid can be very useful, especially when it comes to humanitarian aid, but the development aspect of it and the approaches and achievements might not be what are expected. These are some of the aspects I have looked at in my research regarding aid work and alternative approaches to development assistance. Throughout the thesis, I will use the description aid industry as an umbrella concept for the many aspects of development assistance, such as the different actors and working methods. Where aid agencies and organisations are used, they include those agencies and organisations that are conducting development assistance, whether they are governmental, non-governmental or a part of overreaching instances such as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

Majiko

Majiko is a business project which works on the transportation of water from the water sources in towns and villages to households in the rural areas. The aim is providing the local population with safe, clean water, without them walking long distances or using a lot of their time. The project is using the local population to conduct the work, so that they can get the possibility and means to improve their situation. Majiko is using bikes to transport the water from the water source in town to the customers in villages. The transporters wash and fill up 1 litre bottles, before transporting the water to the customers (see picture below). The customers pay a monthly fee to Majiko for the transportation of water, which include a delivery of 20 litres of water every day throughout the month. By removing the strain of fetching water for the customer, they can use their time to do other productive activities, such as working, going to school and taking care of their families. This will in the long run be a much more sustainable way of helping the communities compared to the way aid organisations and projects are helping (interview with the Managing Director, Majiko, December 2016). Majiko aims to find solutions related to what can be done where the project is, using those means and resources available. This is an important aspect since they want to use the local community and what it can offer, creating a multiplier effect that can benefit as many as possible.



Description 1: transporter filling 1 litre bottles with clean, purified water

Credit 1: Ingrid Varan

Aim of the study

The focus of this thesis is development assistance and alternative approaches. I will look at how Official Development Assistance (ODA) has changed through time, specifically since the 1940s and until today. I will use this as an argument for why development aid should consider the alternative approaches and their way of working. I use Majiko as a case study to demonstrate the alternative approaches, as an example for how aid organisations can change to increase their number of beneficiaries and to optimise their work as much as possible. By looking at Majiko I hope to identify elements that can be used by aid agencies and organisations to enhance efficiency and promote sustainability.

Problem statement

Aid work has a conflicting impression on people, on the one hand it seems like it is working fine and that it is one of the best ways of helping those in need. On the other hand, it seems like it is doing more harm than good. There has been debates regarding the effectiveness of the aid work, and the ways of aid agencies and organisations have been questioned by several experts

and scholars, as shown earlier in this chapter. Based on the impression I have about how aid organisations are working, and the debates regarding aid work, I want to look at how aid organisations are working, hereby considering the Norwegian Church Aid's (NCA) work. By examining its work, I hope to gain insight on how it relates to Majiko's working methods. I want to examine to what extent they are including the communities, and using the local's knowledge and consider their needs when they start up new projects. By looking at these aspects I hope to find more efficient ways of conducting aid work, and to see if there really is a need for foreign aid to develop countries, or if this can be done through other methods.

Main objective

The main objective for this thesis is to see if there is a need for development assistance and alternative approaches to aid, and if aid organisations should look at projects like Majiko to further develop and optimise their development work in the Global South.

Specific objectives

- Map the different elements of Majiko in relation to conventional aid.
- How the work of Majiko and aid agencies and organisations are affecting the local population.
- Look at how aid agencies and organisations has changed their work approach and what changes should take place.

Research questions

- How can changes made by the aid agencies and organisations be used as an indicator for further change of the ways aid are working?
- How are the local population and community used to gain knowledge to find solutions or the core of the problem?
- How is the Majiko project different from and/or similar to aid work?
- How can projects/businesses such as Majiko be used by aid organisations and agencies to develop and optimise its working methods?

Justification of the study

The growing criticism and lack of results in terms of economic development might indicate that there is a need to change the way aid organisations and agencies are working, or to lessen the

extent of ODA and Official Aid (OA) all together. These trends and developments outlined in the beginning of this chapter are all reasons why I believe that there is a need to examine this topic, and to see if there is time to find alternative approaches or ways of developing the aid industry. The need to find other solutions is also why I have chosen to look at Majiko, as they want to solve development problems and issues by using tools from the business world. According to Keen (2008), aid should adapt various codes of practices and standards to improve, this could be accomplished by “professionalising assistance and getting away from the idea that relief is a charitable act whose recipients should be grateful for anything they get” (Keen, 2008, p. 144). The impression that there is a general negative attitude or scepticism towards aid as a tool for development is what lays the basis for this study.

Structure of the thesis

The first chapter consists of the introduction to the theme of the thesis, with a short description of the current perspectives on aid, and the development assistance and Majiko. I also stated the aim of the study, my main and specific objectives, research questions, as well as a justification of my study.

The second chapter of this thesis focuses on the context of the study, namely the development of aid through history. In addition, I will in this chapter give a geographical description of my study area Kabati village and Kitui county, as well as a more thorough description of Majiko.

The third chapter will look at the theoretical aspects of the thesis. Here I will start reflecting on the definitions of development aid, and what can be qualified as ODA. I will also consider development theories that promote aid as a development tool, and provide critique of these theories. The underlying factors for aid, the donor-recipient relationship and aid effectiveness are also examined. Finally, I will examine aid through the analytical concepts of accountability, participation and sustainability.

The fourth chapter examines the methodology of the study. Here I explain what type of methods I have used and why. I will consider the preparation and execution of the fieldwork. There will also be a section about the challenges, limitations and handling of the data. Finally, I will outline the ethical considerations, positionality, reflexivity, trustworthiness and validity.

The fifth chapter considers the nature of aid and alternative approaches, and how the current development ideologies and global community are affecting the different approaches, and how they work to find solutions of the development issues and problems. I will also discuss how the relationship with donors and recipients are, as well as the underlying factors of aid. Finally, I will examine the similarities and differences between the two approaches in terms of working methods and the use of the local population.

In the sixth chapter I will discuss if there really is a need for aid. Here I will consider the different reasons for why aid is needed. Before examining the alternative approaches, and if they should take over for the aid industry in terms of development assistance.

The seventh chapter will focus on changes and the future. Specifically, what type of changes the aid industry has done to make it more relevant and to improve its work, and the different types of changes that should be implemented to increase the effect of the aid work. Lastly, I will look at the aid industry and the alternative approaches and what might be, regarding the future.

In the eighth and final chapter I will make some concluding remarks on the aid industry and its relevance in the developing countries, especially on the improvement and optimising aspects. I will conclude with looking at the alternative approaches and how it might be the future solution. I will discuss the multiplier effect, the innovation aspect and the new set of actors that businesses like Majiko represent.

2. Official Development Aid, Kenya and Majiko

In this chapter I will outline the context of the study. First I will look deeper into how ODA has developed up to and since 1950 until today, as this is seen as the starting point of the modern aid. Further, I will give a brief description of ODA, the water situation and water projects in Kenya, as well as short description of Kitui county. Finally, I will give a more descriptive outline of Majiko, here focusing on their thoughts about the nature of the problem, what their solutions are, and what the benefits and opportunities could be.

The development of aid through history

Up to 1949

The second part of the 1940s are often marked as the beginning of the modern era of aid. This is of course due to several events that shaped aid-giving for the next five decades. Such as the establishment of the United Nation Charter which made all countries commit to work for the promotion of economic and social progress and development, higher living standards, and full employment, through cooperation. However, before this both governments and voluntary associations provided aid earlier than what is thought of as the beginning of aid. The focus of the voluntary associations, who consisted mostly of churches and church-based agencies, was to provide key services to poor people (Riddell, 2007). The voluntary associations did also work on relief and distributed aid to the needy, in addition to development work. These associations were fully functioning before the creation of any bilateral donor agency (ibid.).

The 1950s and 1960s

The focus in the 1950s and 1960s was dominated by technical assistance and technical cooperation programmes. This focus on helping through easing skill shortages and address weak institutional capacity was seen as the best way for future development. During this period the voluntary agencies switched their attention from Europe to Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. At the beginning their activities was limited, because of a shortage of funds, skills, and poor information about the emergencies. Non-governmental organisation (NGO) aid and development assistance was until the early 1960s dominated by small-scale relief and traditional service delivery activities (Riddell, 2007). From the end of the 1950s to the second part of the 1960s the official levels of aid experienced a steady growth, including the economic growth rates of the poor countries. This period can in retrospect be seen as the “golden years” of development aid. The aid was provided in larger quantities by more donors, with a strong

support for aid, there was a broad agreement of how aid should be used. It seemed like the aid worked. However, the demand for aid was not matched by the expansion of ODA, and by the end of the 1960s the first wave of aid disillusion had set in (ibid.).

The 1970s and 1980s

When the 1970s began, the cumulated ODA expansion had come to a stand still and the “official aid had fallen to 0.33 per cent of gross national income” (Riddell, 2007, p. 29). The aid focus shifted from the technical aspect of development, to poverty in this decade. Both the International Labour Organisation and the WB concluded that there was a need to address poverty directly, and that this would require new methods, especially for dealing with extreme and absolute poverty. This shift in focus made a dramatic impact on the way of thinking on aid-giving. The donors now started to give aid based on more specific sectors and sub-sectors of aid-recipient economies, and through more complex development projects (Riddell, 2007). The role of the NGOs and churches also changed during the 1970s. They began to expand their activities, with a particular focus on credit and saving, rural development and non-school-based skill training. This led to a steady growth in NGO income (ibid.).

The 1980s experienced a new down-turn, with stagflation¹ forcing the industrialised economies to cut public spending. It was believed that the cause of this stagflation was big and interventionist governments in the industrialised countries, and thus also the reason for the lack of development in the developing countries. The solutions were to reduce the role and influence of the government through a reduction in aid funds. The result was a sharp fall in the ODA, and in the following years all the major bilateral donors aid budgets were cut (Riddell, 2007). As the 1980s went on there was an increased understanding among some donors that the structural adjustment policies did not work, and that it was an urgent need for more aid. The development in the world, and especially in the poorest countries, led to an increase in the public awareness of emergencies and the number of NGOs, humanitarian NGOs and Community-Based Organisations. This increase led to a growing income for the organisations, both from state and voluntary contributions, and private foundations. Although the NGO engagement with development assistance increased, there was varying results of their work (ibid.).

¹ Stagflation is a “persistent inflation combined with stagnant consumer demand and relatively high unemployment” (Merriam-Webster, N.D.)

The 1990s and 2000s

During the 1990s there was again a change in aid-giving, and especially in development aid. Even though the general idea about aid dependency started to be less of a focus, the ODA had a continuous fall and there was a more pessimistic attitude among the public prominence. However, as the ODA funds for development assistance fell, the ODA funds for humanitarian assistance grew. This was because an increasing number of people were caught in local conflict as a result of the Cold War ending, and because a greater number of people were affected by natural disasters (Riddell, 2007).

In the 1990s and 2000s, suggestions about reforming aid was introduced. Some of these reforms included: giving aid to areas where it was needed the most and could be used best; linking aid more closely to the recipients; using aid as a protection for poor countries against external shocks; and providing aid over a longer time period (Riddell, 2007). Other trends emerging in these decades were a move away from small discrete projects towards larger and less specific aid projects, or by providing budget support to those countries who had managed their aid in a good way. There was also a greater focus on conflict countries and their development problems, countries with a high conflict risk and countries emerging from conflict (ibid.). The interest in NGOs as development actors was their ability to directly address grass root issues and their direct access to the beneficiaries of aid. They were also preferred as they minimized bureaucracy within the state. The NGOs got three times as much from these donors when they were conducting the donors projects, compared to when they were doing their own projects (ibid.).

The 2010s to the present

The total ODA in 2015 was almost US \$ 147 billion, the highest amount of ODA throughout history. Compared to 2006 the ODA had increased by over US \$ 20 billions (OECD, 2016). The greatest sectors for the OECD/Development Assistance Committee (DAC) in this decade regarding aid has so far been health, education, democracy and peace. This focus could be because democracy and peace are seen as important factors for development and a way to deal with the poverty problem. This can also be the reason for the focus on health and education, as these two help increasing the population's knowledge and the general health situation. In addition, infrastructure, energy, the finance sector and humanitarian aid has also been targeted. The pressing issue of the global climate crisis and the international financial crisis has led to a much greater need for aid. Unfortunately, these crises has also led to a decrease in the foreign investments and remittances from migrants to their home countries. The main focus areas are

still Africa, which struggles with both economic and social development compared to the other continents, and some parts of Asia where poverty is prominent. The debate regarding whether or not aid is effective is ongoing, see chapter 1. Aid is often criticised for not having the results many expect with the amount of means it has given to countries since the 1950s (SNL, 2016). This is seen in the aftermath of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (PDAE) from 2005 and the Accra Agenda for Action (AAA) from 2008, two mechanisms for the improvement of aid impact and aid quality, which some argue that have not worked. If the PDAE is looked at in detail, it has not been able to assess aid effectiveness in a good way. This follows from too technocratic targets, which are not closely linked to the outcomes of real people. In addition, the measurements used were seen as weak, as well as not taking the country context into consideration when conducting the measurements (Guardian, 2011). These issues can also be applied to the AAA as well, as it was designed to deepen and strengthen the implementation of the PDAE.

Kenya: ODA, water and Kitui county

Development aid in Kenya

Kenya has since the 1980s had a flow of international aid which can be categorised as relatively unpredictable. The aid flows increased from 1980 until 1993, with an average above US \$ 1 billion each year, before declining. The period up to 2002 experienced two major episodes of 'aid freeze' and donor withdrawals, because the Kenyan government went back on its commitment to the donors. This led to several programmes collapsing and a general downward decline in the development programmes. Kenya's aid situation did not improve until 2003. Even though there were declines in the aid in the 1990s and early 2000s, Kenya's situation only reflected the general aid trends in the world (Mwega, 2009).

Approximately 70 percent of Kenya's total aid comes from bilateral donors. The bilateral aid has mainly been given as grants. Almost 80 percent of the multilateral aid to Kenya has been given by the WB, where most of it has been loans. There are several reasons why Kenya received large flows of aid in the 1970s and 1980s, such as developmental, commercial and political. In addition, the country had a relatively good economic development, and it performed better than most other countries in Africa. Kenya was also an attractive area for foreign direct investment for a longer period. During the Cold-War the country aligned with the West, which led to a steady flow of aid that were geo-politically motivated (ibid.).



Description 2: Kenyan flag

Credit 2: Ingrid Varan

Water situation in Kenya

Despite its location along the equator, Kenya faces extreme variations in climate due to its various landforms, particularly the Rift Valley. The varying climate brings frequent droughts as well as floods. Rainfall is unevenly distributed throughout the country, with less than 200 mm/year falling in northern Kenya (UNEP, 2009). Surface water resources are also limited, covering only two per cent of Kenya's total surface area (ibid.). Successfully storing and distributing the already stretched water resources has proven to be a challenge, leaving the sector vulnerable to seasonal variations. In addition, the erosion and sedimentation that follow Kenya's frequent flood events make improved catchment management difficult to achieve (UNEP, 2010).

In Kenya, the rural population makes up 78 % of the total population. Still it is estimated that only 38 – 52 % of the rural population have easy access to safe water, in comparison to 59 – 83 % of the urban population (Uwazi, 2010). In the rural areas, the access to safe water through improved water sources is low, and it is estimated that it would take 30 years for the access to

be defined as acceptable (ibid.). However, the percentage is slowly increasing. In urban areas, on the other hand, the access to safe water has declined (ibid.). Another water issue in Kenya, is the inadequate service from the water providers. The lack of a reliable service can lead to water scarcity in areas which usually does not experience such scarcities. The scarcity occur as a result of among other: corruption and inadequate maintenance. It is not uncommon that water shortages are staged by the water cartels, state and water company officials in order to increase their own benefits (ibid.). In 2009 a nationwide census was conducted by the Kenyan government to map the use of various water sources. In the rural areas, the water sources with the highest percentages were streams, springs, wells and boreholes, with a total of 73 %. In the urban areas, the highest percentages of the water sources were the piped water, springs, well and boreholes, with a total of 62.6 % (Kenya Census, 2009).

Water projects in Kenya

To deal with the persistent water problem in Kenya, many water projects have been established. The smaller projects are mostly operated by organisations and agencies, and the bigger projects like the Maruba Dam are operated by the government (Ministry of Water and Irrigation, N.D.). Most of these projects consists of the implementation of solutions such as rainfall catchments, construction of sand dams, wells, boreholes or springs. The type of project implemented is determined by the area in terms of population size, type of soil, amount of rainfall and so on. Factors such as geography and population need is also used as pointers for where and what type of project should be implemented (Charity: water, N.D.). The type of project is also determined by the type of organisation or agency, and their focus area. Organisations such as The Water Projects and Water.org uses the local population and local teams to provide the villages with clean water (The Water Project, N.D. a). In addition to using local partners and participants to find solutions and make them work, they are also working directly with in-country partner organisations (Water.org, N.D). Several of the rainfall catchment projects consist of putting up sufficient tanks, which can store enough water from the rainy season. These are often put up in schools, so that children can get clean water for drinking, eating and sanitation when they are attending school. This means that they do not need to bring with them water, or go without water the entire school day (The Water Project, N.D. b). In addition, they also work on building wells, dams and so on, is working with locals to find solutions that can solve the water problem. The organisations also educate the population regarding hygiene and diseases, and monitor the projects and their impact (The Water Project, N.D. a). There are several other examples of

Majiko

“Majiko will serve 1.2 billion people clean water daily so they can work themselves out of poverty. As a business, not by aid” (Majiko pamphlet, N.D., UP). Majiko was established in Kenya in February 2016, but the concept of Majiko was developed in June 2015. Majiko is one of Moonwalk’s companies (Moonwalk, N.D.), where the goal is to find solutions to problems shared by more than 1 billion people across the world. The idea is that tools from the business arena can be used to solve social problems. They believe that this way of working will create solutions which will be more helpful and sustainable than traditional aid programmes. Majiko’s method requires that the local population is willing to work to improve their own situation, get the results, and thus create a sustainable solution for the future. By paying for a service from the business the people are indicating that this is something they want and that it is helping the community (interview with the CEO, Moonwalk, December 2016).

Targeted market

Majiko’s targeted market is currently Kenya and Kitui county. However, on a larger scale, all people suffering from a lack of access to clean water is targeted. It is the off-grid rural households that are of interest. These households usually consist of a working man who provides an income, and where the women are supposed to take care of the children, house, getting water, growing crops and buying and selling goods at the market. Thus, the women’s time is very valuable for the household. By freeing up time for the women, they can be provided with the opportunity to improve their lives, the household, generate an income and provide schooling for their children (Majiko pamphlet, N.D., UP).

Choice of area

There were a number of reasons why Moonwalk and Majiko chose Kenya, such as political stability, access to market, many of the staff has either worked in Kenya or has contacts there, and there is a tax agreement between Norway and Kenya (Government, 2016). In addition, its geographical area is also of relevance, as it borders both Tanzania and Uganda which are thought of as future markets. The area of Kitui county and Kabati village was chosen because it has been given aid by Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD) through earlier projects, such as the Tuinuane Women Project (NORAD, 2015). This has given Norwegians and Norwegian organisations a good reputation. Kitui is ranked as the 10th poorest

county in Kenya, with Kabati as one of the poorest villages within it. Majiko and Moonwalk wanted to test their product in a market with low purchasing power, to see if the solution would work everywhere. There are also a lot of public water sources in Kabati, which makes it possible to operate without the need to build new sources. The high population of Kitui county also makes it possible to grow quickly, in terms of number of customers and expansion of the project, and since its location is near Nairobi it is logistically easier than other areas (interview with the Managing Director, Majiko, December 2016).



Credit 3: Jin Jin Yang

The problem

Across the world people use around 200 million hours on getting water for the household every day (Lamb et al., 2015). It is usually woman and children who have the primary responsibility in off-grid communities. It is estimated that up to six hours are used on this every day. Due to all the time spent on collecting water, valuable time is lost. When getting water, it is normal to use 20 litre cans (see picture below). These big cans can be unpractical and difficult to keep clean. This can lead to dirty and contaminated the water. However, clean cans can also be filled with contaminated water, which can lead to the spread of water borne diseases, such as cholera (field interview, October 2016). In many areas, there is also a chance that the governmental

water supply can be shut off for a longer period, without the population being warned about this. The water insecurity makes the water prices high, this cause insecurities and problems within the affected communities. These factors in addition to the fact that people need jobs and an income, are the main reasons why Majiko is working on finding a better and more sustainable solution to the world's water problems (Majiko pamphlet, N.D., UP).



Description 3: Woman filling 20 litre cans with water from the local water kiosk

Credit 4: Ingrid Varan

The solution

Majiko's solution to the water problem is to create a business, which consists of a water distribution system for the community. The Village Chiefs are recruiting unemployed locals as the Majiko transporters. Their responsibility is to deliver clean filtered water, wash bottles, clean bikes and to do marketing. Each transporter can deliver water to up to 24 households per day. The transporters are using custom-made bikes and trailers, that can transport 80 litres in rough terrain. These trailers have a cleaning, filtering and tapping system which guarantees 100 % clean water (Majiko pamphlet, N.D., UP). The customers pay a monthly fee of

approximately 800 KES² for the transportation of the water to Majiko. By having the water delivered at the doorstep the customers can use the time saved on other activities. This creates an opportunity for people to work their way out of poverty. The water is delivered in 1 litre bottles; these are recycled to minimise wastage. The choice of using 1 litre bottles instead of 20 litre cans are based on the feedback and insight of the customers. The smaller bottles make it easier for the customers to consume water where ever and whenever they like. This also reduces the risk of getting water borne diseases, due to the filtering system. The transporters clean the bottles before filling them with filtered, purified water. For Majiko to provide the customers with water daily, even when there is a water shortage in the area, it cooperates with both governmental and privately owned water sources. This is done by renting water tanks from a local farmer who also has his own borehole, this make it possible to always have water available even when the governmental water is scarce. The nature of the collaboration with the governmental water sources is through paying a small fee to the local water lady so that the Majiko transporters have priority when they come to fill up their water. In addition to the agreement with the water lady, Majiko also has an agreement with the local authorities regarding the use of the governmental water (interview with the Managing Director, Majiko, December 2016).

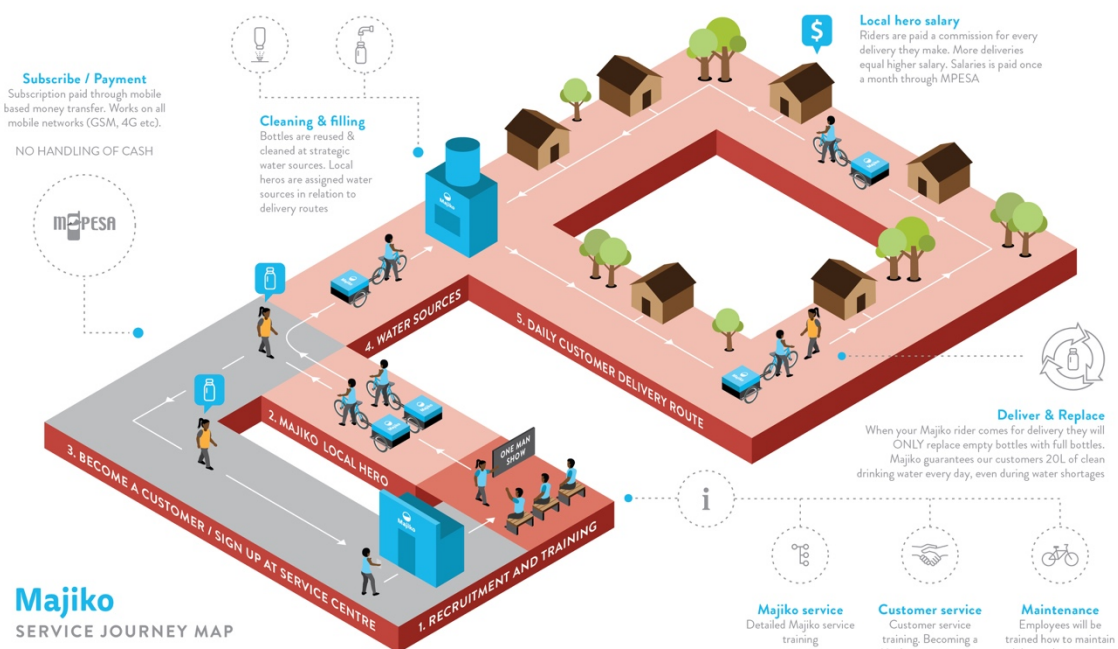


Figure 2: Majiko Service Journey Map (Majiko Pamphlet, N.D., UP).

² 800 KES equals \$ 8 per 20.01.17 (Valutakalkulator.net, N.D.).

The opportunities and benefits

The time used on collecting water, especially for women, deprive people from having the same opportunities as other who do not need to use several hours every day on getting water. Thus, their ability to reach their full potential is compromised and skills and knowledge can be lost. It is estimated that by giving women the opportunity to create an income for themselves, they will reinvest up to 90 % of their income in their family (Lamb et al., 2015). This is one of the reasons why Majiko targets rural households. Majiko believes that their project will lead to better health, create jobs, facilitate development in the local community and create a long-term solution without being dependent on governmental funding or short-term aid-initiatives. This belief is based on the ripple effect expected through the project, where the household's health will be improved by not needing to walk long distances or heavy carrying, or face the dangers that might be present along the way (Majiko, N.D.).

3. Theory

In this chapter I will consider various theoretical aspects related to the aid industry and what is relevant for my problem statement and research. First, I will define aid, before looking at different development ideologies that have and still are promoting aid as a development tool. Then I will go more specifically into the different underlying aspects of aid, namely accountability and participation, as well as examining the donor-recipient relationship, along with its different related issues. Lastly, I will focus in aid effectiveness, and some critique of aid related to ownership, sustainability and participation.

Defining aid

Aid is at the broadest defined as all resources that are transferred by donors to recipients. The aid donors can be governments, private persons and companies as well as aid agencies and organisations. The recipients can also be governments, aid agencies and organisations, as well as communities. Such resources are financial grants, loans, physical goods or skills and technical 'expertise'. However, this definition is too broad, and is almost never deployed. Narrower definitions are made up by those engaged in the foreign aid business, based on what interest and concerns the different actors have. These narrow definitions are often termed development aid or development assistance (Riddell, 2007).

DAC has done the most substantial work on making a set of definitions regarding what make up foreign aid. Its focus is the overall aid given by donor governments in the western countries to developing countries, which is called ODA. ODA is defined as the flow from official agencies, including state and local governments or their executive agencies, to developing countries and multilateral institutions. The donors must meet two criteria: it needs to be administrated in such a way that the economic development and the welfare of the developing countries are the main objective, and it must contain a grant element of at least 25 per cent and be concessional in character (ibid.). Since DAC only focuses on a specific aid, those aid funds raised and allocated from rich countries to poor countries coming from NGOs, private organisations or foundations, or individuals are not included (ibid.). In addition to the exclusion of the DAC's definition of aid, there is also a lack of an international definition of aid provided by non-governmental agencies where the focus is development or humanitarian emergencies. This has led to a confusion of what is ODA or OA and what is not, and how much of the funds have gone to DAC's main objective and what has gone to other means. The same goes for the

use of and meaning of foreign aid, which is usually used as a synonym for development aid or development assistance. These confusing conditions makes the lines between the different types of aid blurry (ibid.).

Development ideologies

Basic needs approach

In the 1970s, there was a general agreement between the international development bureaucrats that poverty was not necessarily eliminated by economic growth. In many countries, it seemed like an increase in absolute poverty went together with economic growth. As a response to this, the basic needs approach (BNA), favoured a more direct approach to the development strategies and poverty elimination, instead of the trickle-down effects expected by economic growth (Hettne, 1995). Development was under the BNA redefined as a broad-based, endogenous, and people-oriented process. This was also a critique of modernisation and a break with the past development theories (Elliott, 2014). The essential part of BNA is that the states governments and aid policies should focus on providing for the basic needs to the poorest people of the world (Willis, 2005). The programmes related to the BNA had a wide variety and focused on those practices designed to create a minimum level of welfare. The development practice involved distinct and regional planning, development solutions by targeting to overcome recognised inadequacies from the 1960s, and proliferating field bureaucracies (Elliott, 2014).

The BNA did a lot to put human needs, poverty and rights onto official development agenda. However, it has been suggested that the BNA agendas were reduced from strategies for change and empowerment into shopping lists aimed at the donors for implementation and normally more in line with the priorities of the donors' instead of the recipients'. In many countries, the government capacity to protect social and economic rights became weakened (Elliott, 2014). Even though many organisations and governments supported the BNA, there was still a range of implementation problems and critique. Some of the critique were based on cost issues, as improving public services is financially demanding, and many of the governments were either unwilling or unable to afford the expenses. Many also thought of BNA as a break towards rapid economic growth and that the poor countries would continue to be trapped in low value manufacturing and primary production. In addition, the improvements that the basic needs were supposed to assess was debated (Willis, 2005). The main weakness with the basic needs strategy was the top-down approach. However, despite this limitation debates regarding the meaning

and process of development and basic needs, development thinking and policy were led away from the earlier dualistic, Eurocentric and unilineal approaches of the 1950s and 1960s (Binns, 2010).

Alternative development

Participatory development

Due to a growing criticism regarding the limited benefits of aid projects and programmes, the participatory action research was advocated in the 1970s. This would create new learning environments, so people could achieve development and express their needs (Mohan, 2014). To achieve rural development, it was seen as necessary to put ‘the last first’ (ibid.). The strongest advocates of participatory development (PD) described ‘regular’ development as Eurocentric, top-down based and positivistic, which deprive the beneficiaries of a legal rights and/or privileges (ibid.). The focus of PD is the grassroots level; this gives the opportunity of realising several of the developmental goals in addition to giving the much needed self-determination. Participatory rural appraisal is the most widely used PD methodology. Its essences are change and reversals of behaviours, learning, relationships and roles. It seeks people’s diversity, without treating them as objects of development (ibid.).

Even though PD sounds like a good approach to development, it does have some interrelated problems. First is the problem of tokenism, where participation is only used as a rhetoric by some aid agencies and organisation, not as an empowering approach (ibid.). Second, communities are often treated as socially homogenous by PD. Although empowering the community might have led to improvements to unresponsive bureaucracies, there are cases where the resources meant for the community have been given to the elites (ibid.). Third, competition and overlapping between the local organisations can be created due to the emphasis on civil society. This usually leads to the aid channelled going to those organisations who are seen as better and/or more accepted. This leads to further undermining the organisations which are genuinely interested in the poor or those who are weaker (ibid.). The fourth problem is related to whether participation is the means to an end or an end in itself. If the poor are going to participate, there needs to be tangible benefits related to the process, although being able to participate is a major achievement from a democratic perspective (ibid.). The fifth and last problem is related to the causes of underdevelopment. Even though PD seeks to give more control to the local population, many of the processes that affect their lives are not unhesitatingly tackled at the local level. By emphasising the grassroots society important

structures can be left untouched and nothing is done to strengthen the states, or to make them more accountable towards their citizens (ibid.).

Structural adjustment

Aid donors have increasingly been involved in the internal economics and politics of their recipients' countries, and by the 1990s political reforms were added to the economic funding, called structural adjustment. This marked a radical shift in development assistance, which involved a move from believing that development assistance needed a certain economic and political precondition to work, towards thinking that aid in itself could create these preconditions (Goodhand, 2006). The implementation of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) are probably the most well-known aspect of neo-liberal development theory. The policies that make up SAPs were adopted by many national governments to continue their financial support from the IMF and WB (Willis, 2005). SAPs consisted of several government-led policies that aimed to reduce the state's role in running the national economy. This did not mean that the state was not involved, but rather would lead to greater power to the markets. The SAPs policies usually consist of stabilisation measures and adjustment measures. When implementing these measures, it was thought that the country would experience much greater economic growth and efficiency, and thus maximise the government income. Since many countries were heavily indebted, this solution sounded like a good way of helping with the development (ibid.).

In most of the countries where SAPs were implemented, the consequences were very serious. The measurements did not lead to the desired effects, and instead increasing poverty levels and unemployment, decreasing real wages and the costs of living rose was the outcome. Many of the most vulnerable was left without any security when the state safety nets were removed, which created severe human welfare costs (ibid.). Even though the SAPs had a devastating effect on most of the recipient countries, neo-liberalism still remains as the theoretical context shaping much of the international development policies, including national economy, and policies related to communities, individuals and households, today. The international financial institutions (IFIs) have since the late 1990s explicitly addressed poverty alleviation and social development more, yet the underlying philosophies regarding how to achieve development has not shifted. The increased importance of grassroots initiatives and focus on rights is a positive change to a more people-centred process and definitions of development. Yet it is still too much belief in the market as the key actor for development (ibid.).

The multiplier effect

The multiplier effect is a model explaining the economic growth theory, where it is believed that real investment is the key to growth. This investment should according to John Maynard Keynes be in new infrastructure projects, instead of replacement infrastructure projects. Through this investment, the outcomes would be a positive effect on the creation of jobs, which again would generate wealth and improvements in the community. Keynes believed that the investment would lead to direct job creation, increased local spending by the workers, indirect jobs, increased local demand for goods and services, and again further investment by either the government or the private sector (see figure 3) (Willis, 2005).

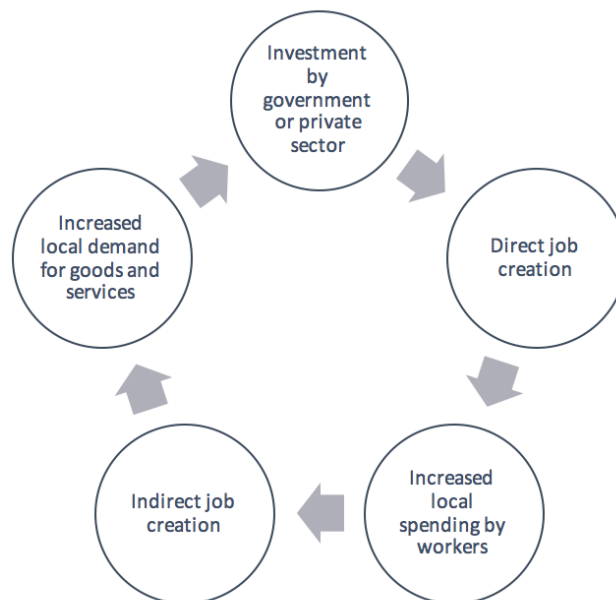


Figure 3: The Multiplier Effect Model (Willis, 2005).

The idea is that is the government or the private sector decides to invest in the expansion of for example the electrical network in a community. This will lead to job creation for those building the network, as well as those who are responsible for the supplies. The workers will then use their income on buying goods from the community, which again will generate profits for the companies they are buying goods from. These companies would then use their income on further investments in the community or country. Thus, the investment initially made by the government or private sector is seen by Keynes as a way of ‘curbing crises’. However, the

effects explained by the model can also work in reverse, where negative real investment would lead to economic crisis through in a downward spiral, (ibid.).

Underlying factors for aid

There are some underlying factors that should be present when someone is providing development assistance. The factors accountability and participation must be upheld to get the best possible outcomes of the development assistance.

Accountability

There are different types of accountability, where the main two are upward and downward accountability. Upward accountability is where the aid agencies and organisations should account for how they use their resources and demonstrate the effects and effectiveness of their work. If an aid agency and organisation is reluctant to show this, it will be damaging for their legitimacy and credibility (Goodhand, 2006). Normally they must account for their activities to both their trustees and the governments of the countries they are working in, and in some cases to their own government (Wenar, 2006). Although upwards accountability is important, downwards accountability must not be overlooked. Downwards accountability is the aid agencies' and organisations' accountability towards the beneficiaries of their programmes (ibid.). By making the recipients involved in the implementation and design of the projects, the outcome for the projects effect can be improved. Although this can be good for the project, the step towards giving the recipient the power to penalise bad performance is not easy for the organisations (ibid.), and downward accountability is often seen as the Achilles heel of most aid agencies and organisations, especially where they are dependent on official funds (Goodhand, 2006).

When it comes to performance, the aid agencies and organisations are not accountable for benefiting the poor in the long run. Neither are the aid agencies and organisations accountable to their recipients when it comes the long-term impact of their aid (Wenar, 2006). There are no sanctions towards those aid agencies and organisations which fail to help the poor effectively, nor is it normal for the aid agencies and organisations to release information about the effectiveness of their projects, and in some cases, they do not even collect such information. The reason for this, is that the donors do not want to be held accountable for their successes and failures if someone try to use it against them (ibid.).

Participation

In the broadest sense, participation includes openness, transparency a voice in the public and corporate setting (Stiglitz, 2002). Participation needs to include government officials and managers, as well as those who often are excluded, as they can be the key to strengthen the organisational and social capital (ibid.). A part of participation is the participation processes, which refers to those processes where decisions are made within national governments, as well as a broadly active civil engagement (ibid.). By striving to have an open, participatory and transparent process, the chance of having development work that will give long-term economic growth and sustainable development is enhanced. Even though an aid agency or an organisation or a country has understood the centrality of these factors, it does not mean that there are no risks or that it guarantees success. There are societies that do have a high participation percentage, at least in the formal structure, that have not succeeded to achieve development. However, this should not stop them from continue to strive for more openness, transparency and participation (ibid.).

If the mind-set needs to be changes to achieve development, then it is obvious that this must be the focus. However, such changes cannot be forced or ordered from outsiders, no matter how well-intended it is. To make such changes set in a society, it must come from within, where those it concerns participates in the process (ibid.). By making the society participate in the projects and programmes, they can provide relevant information about the society or the project or programme. Information the agencies, organisations and countries might not have. Their participation can also lead to commitment, which usually generates a greater effort by the population. Such commitment is required for projects and programmes to be successful (ibid.). To get a society-wide and fully effective development transformation, participation is necessary. This is also true for establishing a lasting transformation within the developing society (ibid.).

The donor-recipient relationship

Many issues related to development assistance is due to the relationship between donors and recipients. Without dealing with the issues which are both donors and recipient based, it will be difficult to make aid work as efficiently as intended, and to get the outcomes the aid agencies and organisations wants.

Donors based issues

Studies suggest that if ODA was allocated based on needs, then minimum three times the number of people could be lifted out of poverty (Riddell, 2007). The donors' interests and influences on the commercial, political and strategic aspects, are the reasons for the allocation of ODA. One issue is the inflated costs of aid due to ear-marking of the aid funds. When donors tie their funds, it is the donors' requirements that decide what the funds should be used on. Out of all ODA, up to 60 per cent is either tied or partially tied. Tying also increases the likelihood of recipients accepting aid which is not highly prioritised for the development, which again makes the potential for aid funds to erode further (ibid.).

The contracting accountability and culture revolution introduced by the donors has had adverse impacts on aid agencies' and organisations' practices. These include a culture of conformity, a growing competition between the aid agencies and organisations, a shift of risk-taking and innovation, and a tendency to hide their failures, and thus a failure to learn from practice (Goodhand, 2006). The competition between the donors about the funding of projects and programmes leads to similar projects and programmes being overlooked, as well as the lack of properly evaluating, creating, managing and monitoring their own projects and programmes (Riddell, 2007). The same issues are present when it comes to making decisions regarding aid. They are usually made without sufficient knowledge of the political environment, and with the growing practice of hiring consultants to do the technical work has led to further reducing the institutional knowledge of the agencies. This knowledge is critical for making decisions about how the aid funds can be utilised best (ibid.). This is also regarded as one of the reasons to the lack of effectiveness of aid at the national level, precisely because of deficiencies in the policy advice provided by the donors (ibid.).

Recipient based issues and problems

For aid to work at its best, it should be given to governments and countries that have a strong commitment and capacity to use it well, in addition to having accountable and transparent institutions and strategies and policies focused on poverty reduction. Governments which have been developed through participatory ways and are owned by both the country's citizens and government are seen as the best for gaining the most out of the aid given. The problem with this, is that most countries do not have these factors in order, and their context is highly varying. Poverty is manifested in all the aspects of a country, and the challenge for the donors is to

provide aid in the most optimal way when the context is less than ideal (Riddell, 2007). In most recipient countries, the potential impact of aid might be constrained by serious systemic or structural weaknesses. There are only a few poor countries that have an environment which is particularly conducive for efficient aid work in the long-term (ibid.). This is the case with stand-alone projects that are not integrated into or only loosely grafted onto the plans of the governments, and therefore likely to face long-term sustainability problems. Without rapid wealth creation, the recipients cannot rely on domestic revenue resources to meet the governments' expenditure, but must continue to rely on aid (ibid.).

The volatility of the aid provided is also problematic, as it makes it difficult for the recipients to plan ahead (ibid.). To make the most out of the aid given, there is a need to have a certain idea about how much aid is going to be given, and what it should be used on. Another influencing factor is the voluntary nature of aid giving. Much of aid is based on volunteerism, both in terms of resources and workers, which makes it difficult for the aid agencies and organisations to know how much they have to work with (ibid.). The explanation of why aid has failed to strengthen and build the capacities of state institutions, are because of the persistence of poor governance. Governance and commitment to governance are viewed as central concepts that accounts for almost all, if not all, the performances of aid. This includes both successes and failures. Thus, good governance and the commitment to making the governance better are the keys to making aid have a greater impact (ibid.).

Aid effectiveness

The business of doing good development is slow and complex, with the involvement of multiple actors. The key is to identify the needs, engage with local leaders and politicians, and secure local buy-in. However, this is a time consuming and long process, and even when all the factors have been accounted for, the results might still not be easy to foresee. Often, they are dependent on external factors which are impossible to predict (Guardian, 2016). Aid effectiveness can be defined as a way of determining if there is economic growth due to aid (Morrissey et al., 2007). During the last decades, a lot of research and attention has been given to aid and effectiveness of it, and despite the fact that billions of US dollars have given to developing countries, there has been little real per capita economic growth (ibid.). Studies on the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of aid show varying result, however this is depend on the different ways in which the study is conducted and what factors it has focused on. Since all countries have many different factors which affect growth, there is no wonder that there are varying results (ibid.).

According to Morrissey et al. (2007), several cross-country studies show that aid is contributing to growth, but that it is almost always conditional on other cross-country-specific factors. The effect is also viewed as small (Morrissey et al., 2007). However, the issue with cross-country studies is that they highlight the aspects which seem to be important in general. To figure out what is important, and how the growth process works, there is a need to conduct studies on individual countries. While such studies give a better understanding of the different issues a country is facing, it also raises new problems. Many of the factors that explain the variations in growth in cross-country studies might not be helpful when it comes to explaining variations over time in a specific country. This might be the unavailable data or that the changes in the variables over time are very slow, especially when it comes to institutions and governance (ibid.). This shows that one of the main challenges with assessing the impact of aid is that the data is not accurate. There are gaps in the data regarding the overall impact of aid, the growth which should be the outcome of aid, and the poverty trends over time. This challenge is present due to inaccurate data from the nations, different definitions of what poverty is, and that the aid agencies and organisations activities are not included in many analyses (Riddell, 2007). A worrying factor is that there are so few independent evaluations that look at the effect of the projects, and that there are so few donors which have a developed systemic evaluation of the projects and programmes. Of the hundreds of thousands of aid projects and programmes, only a small fraction has been formally evaluated (ibid.). Thus, it is not unusual for the aid agencies and organisations to highlight the communities' economic improvements as a way to show their impact on the communities. They use this as evidence that their aid has led to economic improvement. Even though there has been no analysis on the relationship between the aid provided and the improvements (ibid.). Although donors are concerned about how well their money is spent in achieving the objectives of the aid project or programme (Glennie, 2014), it does not seem that they are very concerned about the evaluations.

Another issue with assessing aid impact is that one cannot compare a country based on whether or not it has been given aid. The assessment should be made based on how the conditions were before compared to how they are after. In cases where there is a tangible product provided by aid, such as roads, the benefits or disadvantages of it is relatively clear. The problem of assessment occurs because a large portion of aid does not give very direct outcomes, such as health care education (Riddell, 2007). In addition, the effect aid has on a country is dependent on what type of aid is given. Grants are used to finance non-distortionary public spending and

thus contribute to growth. Still, there is only a small positive impact. However, this can be due to a relatively small amount of grants. In comparison to grants, aid loans seem to have a negative association with growth. The reason for this negative association is because loans are meant to be used on unanticipated deficits. These deficits are the reason why growth or income is reduced, rather than the adverse effects of aid (Morrissey et al., 2007). Riddell (2007) argues that the degree in which aid is effective is ultimately unknowable. This is because there is no sufficient evidence that can be used to make sound judgements about the wider outcomes of the development assistance, this is especially true if we look at the sectoral level and beyond (ibid.). However, Morrissey et al. (2007) state that even though aid might not have a direct impact on growth, it can through mediating channels have an indirect effect (Morrissey et al., 2007). For the sceptics to be convinced that aid works, there must be a continually narrowing of the gap between the effective and efficient use and that it is urgently needed (Riddell, 2007).

Critique of aid

Ownership

It is almost universally agreed that if governments or organisations do not have any ownership to the projects and programmes and if they are not committed to them, they will most likely fail. Without the ownership and commitment from the recipients, it is very difficult to form a partnership between them and the donors, which is what makes up the very basis for the aid relationship (Riddell, 2007). Ownership should be seen as a long-term process where those involved negotiate based on their interest. As it evolves, it either strengthens or loosens the alliance between the different groups. To see if there is truly an ownership present for the recipient, there needs to be formally agreed decisions, as well as an outcome which mirrors the interplay of agreements and actions from all parts. As with commitment, ownership takes a considerable amount of time before it is embedded (ibid.). For those who advocate for the sustainability approach, the need for local ownership must be present for projects to be implemented (Kramer & Miguel, 2008).

Aid can be seen as harmful to country-owned development, due to how it sustains the leaders in power from the irresponsible or short-term consequences the work has on the country (Booth, 2012). If country ownership is a precondition for development aid projects and programmes to work, then the most pressing issue would be whether or not the country is governed by people who have national development as their central objective. Thus, the most important question

about aid is then if it helps to make such development happen (ibid.). However, this suggests that the recipient countries are led by people who have national development as their central objective. This is an assumption that should not be made generally or without proper assessment, as in most cases this might not be true (ibid.). Since country ownership is recognised as a central part in successful development, it is important to find and recognise those who would most likely be the drivers of this development. These seem to be those leaders who have a long-term development vision and a machinery of good management and utilisation processes which are keys in the initial stages of capitalist development (ibid.). If external actors should have a role in identifying the challenges of country ownership and developmental leadership, either directly or indirectly, it should be by guiding the country actors towards the identified problems and addressing them (ibid.).

Sustainability

The benefits that comes from much of the OA is due to its success of addressing short-term, gap-filling needs. However, when it comes to longer-term sustainability, there have been major difficulties for many projects and programmes funded by aid. Although a large number of short-term objectives have been achieved, there are far less who have been successful when it comes to achieving or contributing to lasting outcomes or broader goals. It is also clear that some types of aid do not work, and that they are not able to achieve their immediate objectives. Some have been harmful due to adverse systemic effects (Riddell, 2007).

Even though there have been contributions to or achieved sustained growth and poverty reduction by aid in some countries, the country-level impact has often been disappointing. This is due to the failures of aid, and the external factors that have reduced the good impact of aid. In many countries, the poverty level has been consistently high, along with a consistently low growth rate, which raises questions regarding the effectiveness of aid, and the policy advice given. Many countries have been given bad advice based on the rigidity and narrowness of the leading IFIs. These advices have proven inadequate when it comes to address the long-term, complex and structural developmental problems they are facing. There have been tangible positive effects from much of the short-term technical assistance, but far less when it comes to lasting contributions, especially regarding capacity development and institutional strengthening. Although much of the efforts have been valuable in the short-term, a lot of ODA has not done much persistent good (Riddell, 2007).

On a general basis, aid is not uncomplicated. There are critical arguments regarding aid and its effect on local communities. Among other that it can cause dependency, as well as lead to the developed world dumping goods to the developing world, goods it neither wants nor needs (Sti, 2016). One example of this is from the company TOMS, where the main idea is that for every pair of shoes a person buys, one pair of shoes will be given to a child in need (TOMS, N.D.). TOMS as many other companies, are trying to provide help through their company has been criticised for their work. This critique led the company TOMS to hire a group of academics to research if their aid had a real effect on the areas it was implemented. The research consisted of 1578 children which got one pair of shoes, from 18 different rural areas in El Salvador. These areas were then compared with areas in which did not get shoes. If you overlook the fact that most of the children used the shoes, there was little positive change related to the aid given. The aim of solving the problem of lack of shoes was not accomplished, as those who got new shoes threw their old ones away. On the other hand, the consequences were neither significantly negative. The research showed that for every 20th pair of shoes donated, the number of shoes sold locally was reduced with 1 pair. The most troublesome aspect was that a considerably high amount of the recipients believed that it was the job of others to provide for their families, instead of themselves taking care of their families. The researchers hoped to find some positive effects of the aid, but the results showed that the shoes were welcomed by the children, but they did not have a transforming effect (Sti, 2016). This way of thought by the recipients show how the consequences of aid can affect the local communities in negative ways. For many pursuing sustainability in the longer term will lead to disillusionment among donors, failed projects and the search for the next development panacea. Developing-countries governments and organisations would be better off by evaluating their projects, rather than to pursue the illusion of sustainability. By rigorously evaluating, they can identify those projects with a high social return, and fund these on an ongoing basis (Kramer & Miguel, 2008).

Participation

When it comes to preserving or re-establishing social capital, i.e. networks, shared norms, values and understandings that creates co-operation among or within groups (OECD, 2007), the open, participatory and transparent processes can play an important role. The sense of community can be created through participation. Changes will be accepted if those they affect are feeling that they have had a meaningful participation in the decision making. However, if they do not feel this, they might as well oppose the changes, especially if they do not believe that their concerns have been accounted for. This can in turn lead to outcomes that are socially

destructive (Stiglitz, 2002). New opportunities and open, transparent and participatory processes have been made essential for long-term success through economic change and globalisation. Albeit they can provide new challenges for the comprehensive sustainable development. This applies both for the public and private sector (ibid.).

Decision-making processes does not always comport well with the principles of openness, transparency and participation. The negotiations are often not only conducted in secrecy, but the outcomes are not always fully disclosed (Stiglitz, 2002). This reinforces the perception that the participatory aspect is less than successful (ibid.). A country's policies have in many cases contributed to the problems within the country, undermining meaningful participation, and thus social cohesion has suffered a further breakdown (ibid.). Those basic rights that are seen as necessary for an effective participatory system, such as freedom of speech, a free press, and the right to organise so that common objectives can be pursued, are not present or barely present in many countries (ibid.). The participatory processes are fragile, and it is not uncommon to see that high levels of social disorder leads to the implementation of a strong or antidemocratic government (ibid.). Neither is it not uncommon that in many countries the participatory process is undermined by an absence of transparency and rule of law. Nor is the occurrence of rich and powerful individuals who use their influence to obtain favours and exemptions from the rules, in addition they influence the executive and legislative branches of the government to acquire regulations and rules in which will benefit them (ibid.).

Imperfect participation is also a danger when the local elites claim that they speak for the whole society. Especially when it comes to interactions with donors, participation can be used to legitimise the local top-down structures, and thus competing views and dissents can effectively be silenced (Flint & zu Natrup, 2014). Thus, existing structures can be re-enforced through participation (ibid.). In addition, the bottom-up approach by aid agencies and organisations have often been difficult, and sometimes almost impossible, to retain. This has led to the donors and aid agencies and organisations to determine the allocation and direction of the resources through a top-down approach. The participation by the local stakeholders has to some degree been present (ibid.). This is done even though there are available beneficiary participation and feedback. Most aid agencies and organisations still uses the method of putting aid experts in areas they might not be familiar with to provide on ground intelligence (ibid.).

4. Methodology

The initial purpose of my study was to look at conflict and development in the Global South, with a specific focus on organisations and their work on peacebuilding in a post-conflict setting in Rwanda. However, due to several complications and challenges during my time in Rwanda, such as not getting access to the data or participants, it was impossible to conduct my study. Thus, I had to change both my topic and study area. After discussing the different possibilities and options with my family, friends and supervisor, I ended up with doing a study of Majiko, and the development of aid work. Although the new topic is different from the old one, they are still similar in the way that they both look at organisational work and their effect. Thus, I still get to research the effect of organisational work through aid, and to compare it with an alternative approach.

In this chapter, the focus is to explain and reflect on how I chose to conduct my research and fieldwork in Kabati village and Kitui county, Kenya and Oslo, Norway. I will start with the justification of the type of research I chose for this thesis, with the following choice of data collection techniques; interview, observation and use of secondary data. I will follow up with an explanation of how the fieldwork was conducted, with a specific focus on preparation, choice of participants, challenges and limitations. Lastly, I will look at the different ethical aspects in a qualitative study, such as ethical considerations, positionality, reflexivity, trustworthiness and validity.

Methodological approach

I chose case study as my methodological approach, with the qualitative methods interview and observation as my main data collection techniques. According to Winchester and Rofe (2010) a qualitative research is concerned with explaining human environments and experiences within different conceptual frameworks (Winchester and Rofe, 2010). Within qualitative research there are two fundamental topics that concerns the researcher; social structures and individual experiences. Since the way people are behaving and experiencing things might be determined by the social structure, as well as their personal characteristics, this can be hard to unravel in practice. However, it is still a fundamental part of the explanation (ibid.).

As I wanted to know what people understand, experience and think about projects like Majiko and aid work, and how they affect the everyday life, the community and the population of

Kabati. I felt that the best way of getting this information was through interviews and observation, and thus also by using qualitative methods. I chose to use these two methods during my fieldwork as they would complement each other during my data collection.

Case study

A case study is defined as an intensive study of a single unit, where the purpose is to gain an understanding of a collection of larger units, often similar to the single unit (Baxter, 2010). The purpose of a case study is thus to gain insight of a phenomenon which can be used to explore the contextual influences, explanations of and in-depth nuances of the phenomenon. Often case studies are used to better understand phenomenon, and sometimes even as a means to resolve problems. However, the most important feature of case studies is to provide a detailed analysis of why explanations or theoretical conspectus does or does not fit within the context of the case (ibid.). An important aspect of case studies is that they have a more general aim than other more descriptive studies. Still, case studies can be used on studies that specifically targets to gain knowledge that points out the focus of the study (Thagaard. 2009).

Based on the definition of a case study, and what its purpose is, this methodological way of approaching the field and the data collection fits the project I am focusing on. As this project is situated within a specific context and are limited to only one area, it is a good way of studying how a project is working in comparison with aid projects with the same focus. By using the methodological approach that a case study is, I can gain a better understanding of how alternative approaches to development assistance in practise, and if it can challenge the more traditional development assistance approaches.

Data collection techniques

Interviews

Within the qualitative studies interviewing is often viewed as the primary means to collecting data, and thus gain a better understanding of the context and contents of the subject that is being studied (Crang & Cook, 2007). There are different types of interviews that can be used when collecting data. However, there is always some deviations to these types, and it can be blurry lines between them. The first is structured, which means that the researcher have a questionnaire where all the questions have been determined in advance. Here there is no room for alterations, not even when it comes to the order the questions are being asked. Secondly, there is the semi-

structured type, where the researcher has prepared some questions in advance, but is open to alterations and discussions with the participants during the interview. The third type is unstructured interviews, here the interview is more like a friendly conversation, and the research do not have any predetermined focus or questions (ibid.).

In my study, I felt that the semi-structured type was the best for me. It gave me the opportunity to have prepared some questions which I felt was important for the thesis, as well as having the opportunity to change, add, or leave out questions throughout the interview. The semi-structured format also gave me the opportunity to change the questions not only based on what information the participants gave me, but also based on the turn the interview were taking. If there was a situation or topic which made the participants uncomfortable it was not an issue to leave questions out, or end the interview if needed. I chose not to use the structured type as I did not know exactly what was going to be important for the thesis, and I also didn't want to restrict myself to predetermined questions. As for the unstructured type I felt that if I didn't have any predetermined questions I would not get the answers I wanted, and the interviews could easily have ended up with another focus without relevance to the thesis.

Observation

In addition to interviews, observation is one of the most common ways of doing qualitative research (Crang & Cook, 2007). The goal of conducting a participant observation is to gain an understanding of what is being studied through being a part of the everyday life (Kearns, 2010). Through this participation, the researcher develops a relationship with the members of the community. This relationship will give the researcher explanations of what is going on, and what different things mean to the people (Crang & Cook, 2007).

In contrast to participant observation, non-participant observation observes a culture through sitting-back and watching, detached from the activities that unfolds before the researcher, as if he or she was not present. This implies that the researcher wants to maintain a dispassionate, scientific objectification the communities, by simply recording the activities though drawings, field notes, photographs, tallies and such (Crang & Cook, 2007). However, the term non-participant is contested within social situations, as there is an impression that everyone is participating in some way or another, and that the researcher might unwittingly alter the setting the research is taking place (Kearns, 2010).

Thus, based on what is described as participatory and non-participatory observations, I would say that my fieldwork was more of a combination of the two. As I was present in what was happening in the everyday life of the different persons related to the project, and I was taking part of their daily task, I was in some ways doing a participatory observation. However, as I did not live with them or took part in their life outside work, it cannot truly be categorized as a participatory study. Neither would I say that it was truly a non-participatory observation as I was interacting with those I observed, and they were taking me into consideration if they were getting food, water and such. I felt the need for using observation as a way of gaining information about the project and the surrounding because it is a good way of getting another type of information that might not be said during interviews or other types of collecting information. It let me see and experience how the everyday was and how it is to do business in another country and culture.

Secondary data

The use of secondary data is a way of collecting data without doing the actual data collection. By using secondary data, the researcher can access and work on studies that are larger or otherwise inaccessible if he or she have had to do it himself or herself. This data can help answer research questions, but it can be difficult to apply the data if the research does not think about the different aspects and process the data have been through (O'Leary, 2010). For my part the secondary data have been helpful in giving insight to, and answer questions that have come out of the aftermath of my interviews. I have chosen to use secondary data as a method because my final fieldwork ended up being very short, and thus have some limitations to the amount of data collected.

Preparation and conduction of the data collection

Before going for my fieldwork, I tried to prepare as much as possible. I started with making the interview guides, based on the research questions, objectives and my knowledge about the topic.

Interview guide

I initially made three interview guides to cover the different respondents, one for the general population, one for the organisational workers, and one for the government officials. When I made the interview guides, I found it a bit difficult since I had never done it, and thus I also was

uncertain about which questions would be relevant or not. However, that is also the main reason why I chose to do semi-structured interviews, as this would give me the freedom to change the interview guides if needed.

Since I had to change the topic of my thesis, I also had to make new interview guides which would be relevant for the new topic. This time it was not as difficult to make the interview guides. The new questions were based on Majiko's goals, my impression of how aid work works, and on how the two different ways of working affects the community. However, as the time for the fieldwork was very limited, there was a concern that the new interview guides were not good enough or that I had to make a lot of changes for it to work. As I conducted my interviews it turned out that the interview guides were quite good, at that there only was some minor adjustments that needed to be done. However, there were some questions that was not as well formulated as I wanted, which made me explain and ask in different ways for the respondents to understand.

Data collection

During my fieldwork, most of my data was collected through observation, supplemented with some interviews and pictures and videos. Doing observations was in some part a bit difficult, as I did not always know what was relevant or not, and thus most of the times ended up with writing everything that happened. As my findings can be used by Majiko to improve their project, I naturally became very integrated into the group of workers. This might have made it difficult for the participants to understand that what they told me might not directly affect the project and their decisions, and that I was an independent actor and not a part of the actual project. However, my close relation to the Majiko workers got me a lot of information about the current situation, their plans and thoughts about the project and its progress. I wrote down the observations in two steps, first I wrote down everything in a notebook as it happened during my time in Kabati and with Majiko. Second, I wrote down everything that happened and thoughts about the events as I remembered them and reflected over them on my computer when I got back to Kitui. By doing it in two steps I think I ended up with getting a better image of what I had observed, and it also allowed me to start processing and reflecting on what I had seen and experienced. Another part of the observation I conducted was by taking pictures and videos of what happened, how the town looked and the different ways people had to transport water. By having pictures and videos of what happened I have extra supplements to the notes, and thus get a better picture of how life in Kabati is and how the project is working.

The other part of my data collection during the fieldwork was done through interviews. I was a bit nervous about this part, as I had never done any interviews before. I found it hard to know if what I was asking was right, if I needed to bring something, and how the language barrier would be. However, after I had done my first interview these, I was not as worried anymore. The questions I had prepared seemed to be fine, and not too difficult to answer for the participants, even though both the questions and the interviews were in English. The language turned out to be non-problematic, as the participants spoke English very well. If there was something they did not understand, I tried to explain it in a different way, and that usually did the trick. However, I did need a couple of questions to be translated into the local language, this was done by our driver as he knew both the local language and Swahili. Ideally, I should have had an outsider as the translator, but as I did not have time to find someone who could do this and since the language was not a problem, there was no need for a translator. Since the Majiko workers had been present in Kitui county from February 2016, they had several people they thought would provide useful information for my thesis which they could put me in contact with. Thus, getting participants for my interviews was not difficult. Albeit there could have been more interview, but as time was not on my side this was not possible

Choice of research participants

I wanted to have a plan of who to interview before doing the fieldwork, as I had limited time and it might make it easier for me to get those I wanted. It was important for me to get interviews from different people who were of different positions in the community and had different relations to Majiko, as they would most likely provide me with various aspects of the project and its impact. I also wanted to talk to someone within NCA, as it is an organisation that works on water issues and are present in several developing countries. I managed to get five interview in Kabati, and four in Oslo. See appendix 1 for a more thorough explanation. The participants I chose to interview was based on a wish for variety and those available at the time was in Kenya. The data I sought were related to how the Majiko project worked, how it affected the people and the community, the difference between the Majiko project and aid, and how aid organisations work, see appendix 2 for interview guides. During my fieldwork Majiko was only starting to pilot its activities, and thus it is difficult to get data related to the long-term effects of it. This is also the reason why I am only comparing the approaches of Majiko and NCA, and not the outcomes of their work.

The type of methods I have used to select participants are snowball sampling and convenience sampling. The snowball method allowed me to get suggestions of people who would be of interest to me and my study by the Majiko workers. Where the convenience method gave me the opportunity to interview those I had access to, which was important as I only had a limited amount of time. However, the nature of the convenience method could have affected my results in such a way that the respondents' information would not be relevant (Bradshaw and Stratford, 2010). Most of these suggestions were based on what kind of people I had told the Majiko workers I wanted to interview, on persons they had interacted with, and who were present and accessible.

Even though I was getting my contacts through the Majiko workers, I do not think that this had anything to say for who they recommended, as they were of the impression that both them and I would benefit from my interviews, and the information I collected. They could easily have affected the selection process in such a way that they would look better, or get only positive feedback. However, as I was the only one who knew exactly what I was going to ask and what I was considering, I believe that it would be quite difficult for them to affect this in a significant way. As they have been present in Kitui county since February 2016, they have gotten to know the community and key persons. I believe that this worked in my favour as they could help me with what I needed, and people were more willingly to get interviewed or taken pictures of. The information I got based on the selection of participants, I felt were relevant for my research questions as my interview questions were focused towards getting specific information. Since the participations were of diverse positions and had different relations to Majiko, I believe that they have given me good information with various perspectives.

Data handling and analysis

As a way of handling and start analysing the data I had collected during the fieldwork, I transcribed all my interviews, before coding them to get a better and clearer overview of the key topics. I chose to transcribe the interviews so that it would be easier to analyse my findings. According to Dunn (2010), it is almost impossible to analyse the interviews without transcribing them, as it would be too comprehensive to remember correctly. I started the transcribing as soon as I came back from the fieldwork, as I wanted it to be as fresh to mind as possible. During my interviews, I used a recorder, in addition to taking notes. This gave me a complete overview of the interview. The transcribing process helped me to once again engage with the data, and thus a preliminary form of analysis (Dunn, 2010).

For the coding, I followed the example from Anselm Strauss in Cope (2010), where I first put up four themes, which made up my focus areas. These four themes were; conditions; interactions among actors; strategies and tactics; and consequences (Cope, 2010). Then I found several subcategories to these themes, which could help me better categorise and analyse the data, such as geographical context, participation, life situations, outcomes and so on³. I found the coding to be very helpful, as it gave me good indicators on what my focus in the analysis should be and a better understanding of the data collected. I chose to follow the example from Strauss because his categories matched my research objectives, and the issues I am focusing on. In addition to being helpful with the analysis, the coding also helped me with understanding what is important to include in the context chapter, since it highlighted key components which laid the basis for the implementation of Majiko.

Challenges and lessons learned

When a researcher is conducting a fieldwork, and maybe especially in other countries, there are often challenges occurring which the researcher needs to face. During my time in Africa there were several challenges that I had to face, some bigger than others, but all still challenges in their own way.

Communication

Many of the challenges I faced was related to communication. Since I was in Norway prior to the fieldwork, I had to have all communication via e-mail. This in itself shouldn't really be a problem, as all of them had e-mails where I could contact them. However, most of these were general information e-mails, were the chances of getting an answer from the right person within a short amount of time was slim. It usually took several weeks before I got an answer from those I contacted, if they replied at all. When I got to Rwanda I started sending both e-mails and calling, as I did not always know who to contact. This approach was much more effective, and I usually got in contact with the person I wanted.

³ See Cope in Hay (2010), for more details.

Information

Access to information and given information was another challenge that I faced during the fieldwork. A lot of the information I needed early in the fieldwork process was not available or given until several weeks into the fieldwork. Most of the people I talked to about getting information and different requirements just took it for granted that I knew what was needed and did not bother to give me any guidance or additional information. This was especially the case for the affiliation. According to the website of the Ministry of Education, organisations can be used for affiliation (MINEDUC, N.D.). However, as I tried to get this affiliation from several organisations no one told me that this was not the case, and that only the universities that can provide an approved affiliation, even though they all knew about this, as the rules are well known. So, it was first after several weeks in Rwanda that this information was given to me, and then it was too late. Had this information been given to me earlier I would have known who to contact, and thus also gotten the information needed of what was required for the affiliation and the research licence.

Power relations/gatekeepers

A third challenge was that some of the higher-ranking persons, often did what they wanted when it suited them. Several times when I meet with the responsible person at the Ministry of Education, I felt that he made everything more difficult and complicated than what it needed to be. Even though I explained the situation, what my intentions was and so on, there was no room for understanding. The same issue also occurred in Kenya during a meeting with the Chief Officer of agriculture, irrigation and water. He did not want to be of any help, even though he initially agreed to what Majiko was asking for. Here the problem was again that he made up new requirements, and made things much more difficult than what it initially was.

Language

Since I initially was conducting my fieldwork in Rwanda, I had to do everything related to it in a different language. This meant that most people would speak either French or Kinyarwanda, two languages I do not know how to speak. However, in many of the organisations the personnel also spoke English, which made it much easier for me to make arrangements and meeting without needing to have a translator. Since I did end up doing the fieldwork in Kenya, an English and Swahili speaking country, I did not have a lot of troubles with the language as most of the people I talked to spoke English, such as with the interview where some of the questions

were written in a very Norwegian-English way, which made sense to me when I read them, but sounded confusing for the participant. Since there were times where the participants did not understand what I was asking, I had to ask the same question in a different way. This was a bit troublesome, as I had to change my way of thought and try to ask the question in a way that was more familiar and understandable for them.

Lessons learned

After all the challenges and experiences I have been through in Rwanda and Kenya, I have learned that it is important to be flexible. Doing fieldwork in another country and with other people can be unpredictable, and thus it is important to try to do the best out of the situation. In my experience, there are often new requirements when you talk to new people, which is usually hard to find online or written down somewhere. It can be wise to find the responsible persons, and ask them what is needed, how the timelines are, and if it would be possible to have everything ready before the planned fieldwork. This was the problematic part for me, it was hard to find the responsible person, the requirements, and to have things ready in time. Often people are taking their time and not prioritising your inquiries and questions, and this end up affecting the whole fieldwork process and experience.

Limitations

Since I only got to do one week of observations and interviews, there are some limitations related to the amount of data collected. Ideally, I should have done more interviews in Kenya, along with more observation of how the project was working and so on. However, as there was a lot of complications during my time in Rwanda and Kenya, there was only so much I could do in the amount of time and money available. Despite the fieldwork in Kabati being short, there are a lot of information about the project and aid work which I can use to supplement the lack of data. As I established a good relation to the Majiko workers, they were willing to help me with collecting more data from the field as they were staying on for a longer period. Thus, if I needed more interview or other information I had contacts which could help me to acquire this.

Ethical considerations

When one is conducting a qualitative study, there are some ethical considerations related to the close contact the researcher gets with his or her participants, and the personal information

collected through interviews and observation (Thagaard, 2009). These ethical responsibilities consist of an informed consent and the consequences of the participation in the study (ibid.).

Informed consent

For all studies where the researcher is planning to use participants to get information needs to use an informed consent form (Thagaard, 2009). In the studies where people are involved, the participant must give their full and free consent based on the information given on the research, and on what they are participating in, before it can start. This means that the participants are agreeing to be a part of the research based on their own decision, and that there has been no outer pressure towards their participation. The participants must also know that they can at any time withdraw from the research, without there being any negative consequences for the participants (ibid.).

Before starting my interviews, the participants got a brief introduction to what their participation meant for them and for me, in addition to reading through the informed consent, and agree on the terms either orally or written. As they all were very positive to the project, they were also positive to participate in my study and to be interviewed. I did not have any problems with unwillingness or scepticism towards giving me information. Everyone was willing to have the interview recorded, however, there was one participant who was curious on what it was going to be used to. I explained to him that the recordings were just so that I could get the answers as correct as possible, since writing is much slower and that I might not get everything he said. I also emphasised that I would be the only one listening to the material, and that it would be destroyed after I had used it for the given purpose. Based on this and the information given about the thesis he had no problem participating and being recorded.

Consequences

When a researcher is conducting a study, there are some consideration he or she needs to address. The researcher is responsible for avoiding that any harm or serious strains are put on the participants. The researcher shall respect the participants' integrity, freedom and co-decisions; thus, the researcher needs to think about what the potential consequences might be. As well as evaluate how the participants can be shielded form unfortunate consequences (Thagaard, 2009). Initially there should be no consequences for the participants' participation in my study, neither by being observed nor by being interviewed. However, there is always a risk that the participants will recognise themselves, and not like the way I have used the

information they gave me or portrayed them. Thus, I have tried to be as true to them as I can, I have not altered their information in a way that is untruthful or presented them with a view or in a way that is not correct. That is also one of the reasons why I wanted to record the interviews, as this would give me their correct answers, and thus avoid any misunderstanding or miswriting's from my part. As well as limiting the questions to being as non-sensitive as possible.

Positionality and reflexivity

Positionality

There are different types of positions which a research can inhabit, these are related to age, gender, nationality, race, sexuality, and social and economic status (Rose, 1997). How the researcher positions himself or herself might affect the type of information he or she is getting, and how the information collecting is going. In addition, how the researcher and the participants' positions each other are affected by their gender, education, occupation, position, and such. (Thagaard, 2009). Most people had the impression that I was a part of Majiko. Even though both me and the other Majiko workers told people that I was only writing about the project as a part of my master thesis, people could still understand this as me being a part of Majiko. Thus, this could affect the way they were answering my questions. Although, I did not get the impression that people was hesitant to answers as they wanted, or that they would have answered differently if I was asking about something else. Neither did I get the impression that people exaggerated much when they explained their situation or other issues to me.

Reflexivity

Hay defines reflexivity as a "self-critical introspection and a self-conscious scrutiny of oneself as a researcher" (Hay, 2010 p. 386). By using reflexivity, the researcher is showing a critical evaluation of its own research process (Cope, 2010). I have tried to be reflexive during my analysis of my findings is through being critical towards the way I have asked questions during my interviews, towards what questions I have asked and who I have interviewed. I was from the very beginning very clear on the fact that I wanted to have participants that where both customers, non-customers, and associates and non-associates of Majiko to get the best picture as possible. However, it is of course difficult to be as critical towards one's own work as with others, but to get the best result possible this is something I have strived to do.

Trustworthiness and validity

Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness can be related to if the questions about the research is conducted in a reliable and trustworthy way, and if it is done through a critical evaluation. The researcher needs to argument for its trustworthiness by explaining how the information have been developed throughout the research process. A way of making the research process clearer is through providing data which are concrete and as separated as possible from the researcher's interpretations. This also makes it easier for the reader to separate what is primary data and what is the researchers own evaluations. The trustworthiness can both be related to the quality of the information the project is based on, and to the evaluations of how the researcher uses and further develops the information collected in the field (Thagaard, 2009). I believe that my study and the information I have gotten through my fieldwork is trustworthy as I have been clear on how I got the information, and how I have processed and used it.

Validity

Validity are related to the interpretation of the information a research has collected. It is about the validity of those interpretations the researcher has come up with. It is possible to evaluate the validity of the research by looking at the results of the study is representing that reality which have been studied. When the results of qualitative studies have a goal to go beyond the purely descriptive, the analysis represents interpretations of those phenomenon that are studied. The term validity can be specified though asking questions about those interpretations the researcher has come to are valid in relation to the reality that has been studied. In addition, the research can strengthen one's own interpretations through showing that other alternative interpretations are less relevant (Thagaard, 2009). I feel that the validity of my study is strong, as I have gone critically through the analysis process and found the most relevant alternatives and perspectives related to my thesis.

5. The nature of aid and alternative approaches

Factors influencing the nature of aid

The nature of aid is determined by many different factors, such as the current and previous development ideologies and global trends, the relationship to donors and recipients, and the more underlying factors of accountability and participation. In this chapter, the focus will be on these factors, as well as the similarities and differences between development assistance and the alternative approaches to development.

Development ideologies and global trends

Throughout time the different development ideologies have emerged in response to key global trends, such as an increased globalisation, major demographic changes and increasing inequalities (UN, 2013). These have affected how aid organisations and agencies work in terms of what their focus is and allocation of funds. The implementation of the SAPs in the end of the 1980s and into the 1990s is a good example of how the global trends have affected the aid industry in a serious way. As outlined in chapter three, the effects of SAPs were by no means seen as positive and in some cases, they led to worse outcomes than before the SAPs were implemented. Many have criticised the changes implemented by the developing countries to improve their situation. The critique was due to inadequate changes that did not address the situation created by the SAPs well enough. The fact that it has been over 20 years since the implementation of neo-liberalism and the market-oriented approach towards development assistance should be seen as troublesome. This had created a challenging work environment for the development agencies and organisations. Many argue that the poverty eradication and gaps between the population have not decreased, but rather in most cases increased. In an interview with the Special Advisor Economic Empowerment at NCA, it was highlighted:

As long as the capital flows remains unchanged there will always be a need for aid (interview, February 2017).

The current capital flows and the global community is thus structured in a way that makes it difficult to reduce the role of the development assistance in the world. The current capital flows have some challenges related to it, such as being highly cyclical in nature, it is fickle, and it has made the developing countries vulnerable to global crises because of greater interconnectedness and integration in an unfettered global finance (UN, 2012). These challenges make it difficult for the developing countries to compete with the developed countries, as well as generate a

stable economy that can provide for the development within the countries. It also makes it difficult to reach the goal of minimising the dependency on aid.

The underlying factors for aid efficiency

As elaborated in the theory chapter, accountability and participation are important underlying factors for aid efficiency. The fact that aid agencies and organisations are not accountable to their recipients in terms of beneficiary outcomes and long-term impact, is highly problematic as this does not guarantee that what they are doing will lead to a positive development for those affected. The only way they would be accountable towards the recipients is if they want to do it themselves:

We are Human Accountability Partnership (HAP) certified. [...] It has regulations regarding ethics, participation and complaint mechanisms and so on. [...] The complaint mechanisms, it is important that it is always available, and that people can complain anonymous and that their complaints are being followed up on (interview with the Special Advisor Economic Empowerment, NCA, February 2017).

As long as there are no sanctions or incentives for those aid agencies or organisations that do or do not comply, then it most likely will not be given a lot of thought or effort. If the aid organisations or agencies do not feel the urge to be accountable towards their recipients, then the projects and programmes they implement into the communities might not very sustainable or long-lasting. This might be true for many projects, which could have been put up to with good intentions but did not address the real problems and dilemmas of the community, such as the TOMS example.

The other underlying factor, participation, is important to comply as it will lead to greater commitment within the community and local population, and thus also increase the chances of the project or programme to be successful in terms of the sustainability and long-term impact aspects. As Stiglitz (2002) pointed out, changes cannot be forced if those who are trying to implement the changes in a society wants them to be permanent (Stiglitz, 2002). To make something stay, whether it is a project, a programme or changes, the local population need to be a part of the process. Without participation, then the aid workers cannot expect the local population to show commitment to or interest in what they have brought with them:

The local comes with an idea to the local partners, which then have a dialog about their needs and ideas, before the partner come to us for a discussion (interview with the Special Advisor Economic Empowerment, NCA, February 2017).

The whole aspect of giving something to someone for free is problematic if the goal is to have increased commitment, participation and interest among the population. Since giving things without expecting something tangible back from those it is given to, might not lead to the outcomes wanted and expected by the aid workers. By having to give something back to those who are providing a service or implementing a project or programme into a community, this can be done through work or payment. With this type of commitment, the likelihood of the project or programme having greater effects is increased. When people are committing to something, then the ripple effect will most likely be greater as they will feel a sense of belonging and participation to the project and the contributions they make to the community. Thus, by having the locals take part in the decision making regarding what the projects or programmes should focus on, then both commitment and participation will increase and possibly the long-term effects as well.

Donors and recipients

There is no doubt that the relationship between the aid agencies and organisations and the donors and recipients are important aspects of what factors are affecting how the aid industry works. The aspects discussed in this section regarding the donors are insights from NCA, who have a long history in working with donors. One of these aspects is the issue of ear-marking funds, which can be very problematic for many aid agencies and organisations as it can limit their work in a significant way. Such as what focus they should have, which areas should be prioritised and in what way. However, in the NCA's case this has not been a huge problem. They have been quite lucky as the Special Advisor Economic Empowerment at NCA put it, as their donors, such as NORAD, have agreements based on themes and not projects. This makes it possible to use the funding on different projects and being flexible if there are unforeseen events or obstacles:

The context can easily change, due to external influences, i.e. natural crisis/disasters, political changes and so on, which can put a stop to the project. Many other foreign organisations do not give this type of flexibility, which can be harmful for the projects. [...] This flexibility is first and foremost good for those who work with and deliver the projects. It makes it easier for them to implement the projects in the best way (interview with the Special Advisor Economic Empowerment, NCA, February 2017).

Even though the NCA does not have a lot of problems regarding ear-marked funds, it does not mean that other organisations do not face these challenges. This can lead to increased competition among the agencies and organisations, a lack of flexibility, a shift in risk-taking and innovation, as well as the wrong focus regarding the recipient's needs.

Another pressing issue related to the relations with the donors, are the costs of the projects and programmes. Many of the donors have governments that are pressing them to keep the costs down and the results high, which leads to even greater pressure on the aid agencies and organisations. When it comes to what the donors' mandates and prioritises versus the recipients' wants and needs, consideration is always needed:

There is of course pressure from the donors when it comes to costs and the donors are affected by governments. We have to consider both the donors and recipients needs and wants. We always try to make these needs and wants to fit together so that it benefits the recipients the most. However, if there are no resources there are no projects. Usually this is not a big issue (interview with the Special Advisor Economic Empowerment, NCA, February 2017).

The need to show good results can also lead aid agencies and organisation to conceal their failing results, so that they will not suffer from decreasing funding and a bad reputation. To deal with this very pressing issue, the NCA have a lot of different donors:

It is important to have different donors and funders from different sources. This is because it works as a safety net if there are some sudden political changes which affect the amount of funds and resources given. This is also important so that we don't have to play by one pipe. We must always work based on the needs (interview with the Special Advisor Economic Empowerment, NCA, February 2017).

The fact that organisations feel the need to have many different donors and funds can be seen as evidence for the volatility of aid and lack of sustainability, precisely because they do not 'trust' the global political environment to provide a stable funding flow.

The recipient issues related to the volatility of aid is of course a huge issue for the recipients. As mentioned in chapter three, this makes it very difficult for them to have definitive plans regarding the establishment of projects and programmes. This is a problem for the recipient communities as well as aid agencies and organisations who are both dependent on donations. Since it can be difficult for the aid agencies and organisations to determine the aid flows from

the donors, it will be difficult for them to give a good estimate to the local recipients as well. This is not just an issue from the aid agencies and organisations part, but also from the country aid, such as ODA and OA, which represent a significant part of the distribution of aid to the developing world.

Volunteerism is another issue that is related to the aid agencies and organisations, which can create problems for the recipients in terms of unqualified staff and the number of staff. Many in the developed world have a desire to travel to a developing country and help them through different aid projects and programmes. In itself this is a good thought, however it also leads to having unqualified persons being involved into the projects and programmes:

Organisations they normally come with the people from the outside, and everything from there, they don't even depend on anything from around (field interview, October 2016).

This can thus lead to the projects and programmes not being completed in the best way, and the quality of the work done can be compromised. This could be seen as problematic as there is a lot of money, time and effort put into this work, and thus it should be taken with great seriousness. The same goes for the number of staff, this can be highly varying due to financial aspects, many of the donors and aid agencies and organisations strive to have as minimal administrative costs as possible. This can lead to understaffed projects and programmes, which will affect the quality of the work conducted.

Alternative approaches and how external factors affect the work

Like the aid industry, the alternative approaches are also affected by external factors. These factors consist of the current development ideologies, underlying aspects such as profit, and the influence of donors and recipients. These factors will be elaborated in the sections below.

Market-orientation

The focus on how to deal with the many issues in the developing world, has in most occasions been on development assistance, either through NGOs or ODA and OA. However, based on the impact of SAPs and the market led-growth ideology promoted through neo-liberalism, there is a need to consider alternative approaches. By having businesses and companies working on the development issues it seems like this is precisely what the promoters for the neo-liberal world views and systems would want to deal with such problems.

The market-oriented approach, such as the one pursued by Majiko, can be seen as more robust in comparison to the traditional aid approaches. Because it works with the current development ideology, which means that it would be easier to get support for their work. For many within the market-oriented community it might make more sense that the approaches that are closer to their orientation would be able to provide the needed development. The market-oriented approach might make it easier to get investors as well, because those who are investing in the different companies or businesses can end up getting some sort of profit from the work being done. The aspect of profit together with the possibility of more evident results does also make this approach seem more appealing. In addition, it helps boost the local community in terms of economic and social improvements:

It will create more jobs. [...] It will increase their living standards (field interview, October 2016).

Because of this there are several advocates of the market-oriented approach, such as international companies and businesses. Many of the reasons why this approach can be seen as more robust compared to the traditional aid approaches are also seen as advantages. The market-oriented approaches are focused on what the market demand and supply, thus there is a greater probability that what they come up with are more relevant for the market, i.e. the local population and community. Without this relevance, there is no need for what they are offering and thus no need for them. A disadvantage with this approach can however be that the focus ends up being more on the profits and not on the development aspect.

Another disadvantage is related to what the aid industry must deal with, namely the possibility of changing economic conditions. The world might experience new economic crises which can affect the purchasing and investment power. However, where the market-oriented approaches might differ from the traditional aid approaches is through the projects or businesses being able to continue even without external investment. This is because they are created in a way that should make them independent and be able to function on their own, whereas the traditional aid approaches are dependent on funds from donors to be operational.

Accountability, participation and the role of profit

The aspects of accountability and participation should always be the underlying factors in any type of approach to development work. This is especially true for the downward accountability

which is seen as a key factor for making the project, service or programme be an integrated part of the community. Without the downward accountability, it will be difficult to implement those changes they want and to generate commitment from the local community, as well as securing its sustainability. Together with accountability, increasing participation should also be something the alternative approaches are striving for. Participation can be created for example by making the population contribute to the project or programme through for example paying a small fee:

[When] they pay something small for that there are more commitment (field interview, October 2016).

This commitment is important to enhance participation, which again is important of securing the success of the project, programme or service.

In addition to these aspects, the alternative approaches also need to consider the role of profit. Those alternative approaches that follow a business oriented approach to development are to some extent dependent on profit. Without profit the project or programme cannot survive in the long-term. Which make this aspect very important for those working on the project or programme. Since profit is so important it can, and most likely will, affect the work that is being conducted, in terms of the ability to deliver a service or conduct a project to a larger number of people and the lifespan of the project or programme. Without profit it will for many be difficult to continue the project or programme, and often this would lead to it being shut down. The aspect of financial sustainability is crucial for any type of development project or programme, yet it might be even more crucial for the alternative approaches who might not have the same funding opportunities that aid organisation and agencies do.

The aspect of profit might also affect the relationship between the alternative approach and social value. It is a question of how much those implementing the project or programme are willing to do with little or no profit, and if they are willing to address the development problem or issue at all costs or if it is not worth it without getting any profit. The fact that the social value is given a price is something that might make the alternative approaches problematic, as there is a chance of the projects and programmes can be shut down even though the social need is still present because of lacking profits. However, this can of course happen to the aid projects and programmes, as they too are dependent on external funding. Another aspect of the business-

oriented approaches is related to problem identification and the development of solutions. Compared to the aid agencies and organisations and their work is in response to the supply and demand of the recipients which is seen as imposing solutions on the recipients, the business oriented approaches can be seen as better because of their innovation strategies that are used to identify problems and find fitting solutions:

The way the innovation is taking place in this is through making an ecosystem where the riders are self-efficient (interview with the Service and Product Designer, Majiko, December 2016).

Since most businesses have restricted resources in the initial phase, they need to come up with solutions that are affordable and that will generate an income that can keep the project or programme alive. This is visible in the case of Majiko, where they wanted to start their project in an area that would give a good indication of how it would work in most areas in Kenya, in terms of purchasing power and population size.

The donor-recipient relationship

Some of the issues that are pressing with the donors and the aid agencies and organisations might not be as pressing when alternative approaches are being used. This is because of the way the donors are affecting the aid agencies and organisation:

We are also not dependent on governmental funds to ensure operations (interview with the Managing Director, Majiko, December 2016).

This might be the case for other alternative approaches as well. However, companies such as Majiko are still reliant on investors to be operational, thus the same issue that the aid agencies and organisations have when they are reliant on funding from the donors. Without funding from investors, the projects and programmes will most likely not be able to operate in the very beginning. The advantage alternative approaches on the other hand might have, is that after they start up their projects and programmes can be operational due to the local commitment, in terms of payment for services and so on. Another aspect that separates the traditional aid approaches and the alternative approaches, is related to what the funds should be used on. For projects like Majiko, the investors do not decide how their investments should be used, rather it is the project or programme that pitch what they need funding for and use it where it is needed the most. The aid donors have more control on what their resources should go to and where things should be purchased. The only aspect where the investors can have some requirements

are with the results, but since it is a business project there is always a risk that the investment does not pay off and all investors should be aware of this before investing.

Issues regarding risk-taking and innovation would probably not be an issue for the alternative approaches, since their way of working is by using other methods and approaches to handle the problems. Of course, there is always going to be reluctance towards taking risks, no matter what type of approach is used. However, it might be easier to get investors to fund new and different types of programmes and projects than it is for governments and the more traditional type of donors to do the same. The innovation part of alternative approaches might be the aspect which is needed most to deal with the issues developing countries are facing, such as with Majiko who have looked at the issue with water from different perspective:

It is not the lack of water per se but the time usage on getting water (interview with the CEO, Moonwalk, December 2016).

This way of looking at the water problem is certainly innovating and different from the more traditional ways of thinking, such as the creation of different water sources. The creation of new water sources is more expensive, particularly in situations where financial resources are limited. The Majiko project is providing a solution that not only is cost effective but creates additional economic opportunities within the community. Thus, in their opinion a transportation system is still better because it frees up time. For those areas which already have established water sources, either governmental or private, this solution can be very helpful for the local population. However, in those areas where there is a lack of water sources, then the more traditional ways might be the initial solution, and the Majiko approach can be established after the water source is built. Majiko might not have the same resources or expertise in creating water sources, but the fact that they have found a different way of solving the water problem, reflects that they have a different background and they might not have the same belief in the traditional ways as the aid agencies and organisations does. The aid agencies and organisation might choose to continue with their working methods because they see that it provides the population with water, which is their main objective, and because their work is linked to donors and specific requirements that they need to uphold to continue their work.

Concealing failure might also be an issue the alternative approaches can face as they might not be willing to give up on their project or programmes even though they do not provide the

expected results. Both the alternative approaches and aid agencies and organisations are reliant on funding from either governmental sources or investors, and without results it would be difficult to generate the same amount of funding. This can thus be a reason for concealing results. However, it might be more difficult to maintain above the investors as they might be firmer when it comes to the financial accountability. The issue with increased competition among other alternative approaches might not be as pressing as with the aid agencies and organisations as the number of alternative approaches might not be as high. However, the competition between the alternative approaches and the aid industry might be present and difficult for some alternative approaches to deal with as the aid industry has a more grounded presence in most developing countries. This goes both to establishing a presence in the community the alternative approaches want to work, and getting funding from investors, governments and so on.

As with the many donors related issues, the recipient issues might not be an issue for the alternative approaches. This is especially true for the volunteer and the possibility of generating a relationship with unequal effort by the recipients and project workers. As with Majiko, the work they do is conducted either by employees from Kenya or Norway, thus they eliminate the aspect of volunteerism. Of course, they can also experience fluctuations of how many employees they have, but they would not have employees who do not have a relevant background for the project. This will thus make the projects and programmes in their way more structured and professional and should also generate better results and outcomes.

The volatility aspect however, might be a pressing issue for the recipients with the alternative approaches as well since many of the approaches probably will be dependent on investors to operate. The different projects and programmes can only to a certain extent know how much funding they will get and how long this funding would last, as with the aid agencies and organisations. What does distinguish the alternative approaches from the aid industry, is the fact that they most likely are operating at a smaller scale, such as with the Majiko project that:

Wanted to start our operation in small scale and with a population that represented the income perspective of the average Kenyan, more or less (interview with the Managing Director, Majiko, December 2016).

Thus, if the project or programme does not work out, those affected might not be as many as it would if an aid programme or project needed to end its operations.

Differences and similarities between development assistance and alternative approaches

The fundamental difference between aid and alternative approaches is their approach to development, where aid is altruistic, and the business approaches are motivated by profit and with the aim to always satisfy their paying customers. This determines their operational principles, for the business approaches this would mean a greater focus on their product or project and the outcome of it, whereas the aid agencies and organisations might have greater focus on the deed and the help it is providing at the moment. The different operational principles are visible in for example the use of locals and the working methods, which will be discussed below, where I will look at both the differences and similarities.

Use of locals

When it comes to the use of local people and communities, then there are some assumptions regarding the aid industry. The aid agencies and organisations have a reputation of not using the locals for what they are worth, and only implementing their own ideas, projects and programmes without properly considering the needs and wants of those the projects and programmes will affect. This is done in by the agency or organisation presenting an already finished blue-print to the community without the locals being a part of the process. In some cases:

The local community don't even know how to use the solution when the aid organisation leaves (interview with the Managing Director, Majiko, December 2016).

However, when the NCA are working with new projects and programmes, they make sure they do not implement them without working with local partners and the support of the local community:

It is the locals that decide what kind of projects they are going to start and implement. It is the people that are engaged and does the job. Many projects are started by having a participatory poverty analysis where the population themselves must reflect, and describe their situation, and what needs to be done to improve it. Usually they come up with the need for schools, medicines and so on because they do not have it. Thus, the whole village are taking part in deciding what for example the budget monitoring groups should focus on. They are taking part in defining and deciding part of what is the problem and what is needed to solve it (interview with the Special Advisor Economic Empowerment, NCA, February 2017).

This does show that the aid organisations and agencies might have more local representatives in their work than what is initially thought. However, it is important to stress that this might not be the case for all aid agencies and organisations, and that even though they on paper do have a particular focus on participation from the local population it does not mean that they do so in practice. Thus, it is good that there are institutions which work on certifying aid agencies and organisations based on a universal framework, such as the previous HAP and now the Core Humanitarian Standard (CHS):

The community primarily contributes with labour (interview with the Managing Director, Majiko, December 2016).

The use of locals in the research formulation of the projects makes it possible to meet the expressed needs of the community. In addition, the local employees, such as the transporters, are used continuously to improve the transportation methods and design of the trailers and water boxes. By having the transporters being a part of this process, the success of the project might increase as it is the transporters who are going to the work and secure potentially more customers and a good reputation. If the employees are not involved into most of the processes of the project it might not create the commitment that is needed to for it to be sustainable and have a long-term effect.

The research aspects are where the key factors lie in creating a project or programme. The way Majiko has worked is:

By listening to the community, they know their problems, and what they need the most, and build based on this response (field interview, October 2016).

It is important to do research as it can help secure a relevant project, this is however not always the case:

It is better that you start with the research, so you will know the people, the community need, what people require. You might put up some things that is not necessary, which is not important to them, and once you leave it, it becomes irrelevant. Which will be a waste. Making for the people using it, not just for the people who are doing it or making it. It should benefit the people who are using it (field interview, October 2016).

Based on this much of the approaches used by Majiko in the implementation of the project and use of the local population and knowledge, is also in part used by the NCA, especially in relation to the research process and development aspect. However, what separates Majiko from aid programmes and projects is the fact that it is present and that it is operating independently from the Norwegian employees' presence, whereas the:

Aid workers only come for a certain amount of time and then they leave (interview with the Service and Product Designer, Majiko, December 2016).

Although the NCA might want the same, the structure of Majiko and aid work might not make this possible. Another issue that affects the different approaches are the levels of bureaucracy. The governments might not create an environment where the aid agencies and organisations can have the same presence as Majiko might have. The government might see the economic benefits that a project such as Majiko might bring with it. With the continuing presence of the Majiko employees and employers, there might be a greater chance of creating a sustainable project, especially with the level of local participation. Even though the aid agencies and organisations might not have the same possibilities, it should not prevent them from working to foster sustainability through their projects and programmes.

Working methods and impacts on the community

The main difference in the working methods of aid agencies and organisations and alternative approaches, such as Majiko, is that the service Majiko is providing has a monthly fee, while the NCA and other agencies and organisations provide a service for free. This way of working, by using tools from the business arena, represent a new way of looking for solutions to the many social problems and issues that needs to be solved in the developing countries. The fact that Majiko does not provide the communities with a new borehole or a well, but a transportation system, amplifies the difference of not using the more traditional ways of solving problems in the developing counties.

The project is helping the community by providing them with jobs, increasing the purchasing power, and giving people a meaningful life:

Riders are getting an income, increasing their purchasing power and meaningfulness in life (interview with the Managing Director, Majiko, December 2016).

These possibilities enable the local population to increase their income as well as their life standards. One of the main reasons for why this project will work better than the more traditional aid methods are according to the Managing Director of Majiko:

The project is designed by African for Africans, it is designed to fit their needs. The aid industry very often targets short term solutions. [...] By being operated as a company, we also ensure high efficiency in all operations and activities (interview with the Managing Director, Majiko, December 2016).

Since the service is designed after the needs of the population and the project is developed for Africans, by Africans, then the outcomes of such a project, in theory at least, would be able to address the water issues that affects many of the developing countries. Also, the respondents saw similar benefits with the Majiko project:

[T]hrough Majiko, most of the youths will get employment and will get at least at the end of the day they will be able to put a plate of food on their table. So, I see it as a good project, which is enabling the common person, on the ground, and making them to be an important person. And a responsible person (field interview, October 2016).

In addition to creating jobs for the local population and increasing the purchasing power, the project also ‘creates’ time, so that the time the customers usually uses on fetching water can be used to get a job, go to school, care for the family and so on. Which is not necessarily something the more traditional development assistance methods does.

Another significant difference is that Majiko and Moonwalk chose to implement their project in an area that would give a good indication of how it would work in other areas, in terms of low purchasing power and size of the population. Whereas the aid agencies and organisations work on a principle of ‘need’, universality and impartiality when they implement their projects and programmes. Of course, they do have to make some consideration, but probably not to the same extent as the alternative approaches must. However, there are examples where the aid agencies and organisations should have tried out their project or programme in a smaller area before implementing it into a larger area. Such as with the distribution of malaria nets:

[A] local product in an African country. If a rich man/company comes in and provides aid organisations/agencies with the nets, it can lead to no jobs for the local populations, the business being bankruptcy (interview with the CEO, Moonwalk, December 2016).

The idea of providing malaria nets to those living in malaria prone areas is good, but the effect can be that a local producer of malaria nets might be unable to sell its product and in the worst case the producer is bankrupt:

Aid ruins an ecosystem. It should instead help to expand and provide them with the opportunity to help themselves (interview with the CEO, Moonwalk, December 2016).

Thus, the nature of aid and the alternative approaches have many influencing factors that affect their relationship with the donors and recipients and their working methods. Some of these factors might be difficult for the aid agencies and organisations and alternative approaches to do something with, and some might be easier. An overall factor that is seen as key for both the aid agencies and organisations and the alternative approaches to success is participation, and the ripple effect it has on the population. With sufficient participation, ownership and accountability is generated, aspects that are relevant for all types of projects and programmes. All the aspects discussed in this chapter will be underlying aspects for the next chapter, where I will look at if there is a need for the aid industry and the alternative approaches.

6. The need

The current development ideology emphasises the grounded need for development assistance. This need seems to be based on the impression that to help developing countries become modernised and developed, there must be aid agencies or organisations present. Since they are seen as the best way to solve and tackle the many issues and problems. However, is this really the case? Is the need for aid agencies and organisations as great as they portray it to be, or could alternative approaches do the same type of work with the same results? In this chapter, I will discuss the need for development assistance in relation to development challenges and problems, and try to see if there are aspects of it that the alternative approaches can take over.

The aid industry

Since there are and have been so few evaluations of the work the aid agencies and organisations have done, it is difficult to know exactly the effects it has on the communities and countries. It can thus be discussed if there really is a need for it, as it is difficult to gauge its effects and to compare it to areas given aid that have not been given aid. The reason why there cannot be a comparison between areas given aid and not given, is because it is impossible to know how a society would develop with or without aid, and even if there could be some indicators from fairly similar communities it is not given that they would develop or react aid in the same way. However, the fact that the long-term effects of aid is difficult to comprehend is what many use as an argument for not needing aid. This is not a bad argument, but it is difficult to use as the effects are unknown. If the aid were to be restricted to only comprehend humanitarian and emergency aid, the ripple effects of removing the support aid gives could be devastating. Of course, this would only be speculations as we according to Riddell (2007) simply cannot know how aid affects the recipients in the long run.

Still, the unknowable should not stand in the way of changing what is and what has always been. The result of minimising the role of aid when it comes to the development aspect can lead to a greater need for commitment from the governments towards its population and new ways of handling the issues and problems the countries are facing. Without the support from aid agencies and organisations, such as funding and infrastructure development, the governments would have to generate resources that could step in for the reduced support. This could then open up for the alternative approaches that use more business oriented ways of solving issues and problems. Although the result could of course be the opposite, with a government who do

not see or feel the need to step in and generate the lacking funds to keep developing and improving the country. For the first outcome to happen there is a need for an accountable government with a genuine interest and political will to help its population and develop its country in the best way. However, if we for example look at the African continent and its rulers, this is the exception rather than the rule. If this trend were to change, a drastic change in the mind-set of both the rulers and population would have to occur.

Why aid is needed

Weak states and their inability to meet the populations developing needs

Those issues and problems the aid industry focus on are often related to development projects and programmes that target basic needs and modernisation. These issues and problems are often pressing, as with the lack of adequate access to water. Yet, the governments are for various reasons unable or unwilling to address them. This can then be seen as a major reason for why there is a need for aid within the developing countries. If we look at the water problem, which is prominent in many developing countries, it is often due to droughts or floods, if not both (UNEP, 2009). Often these are reoccurring events, and in some areas, it might occur several times a year. This can make it difficult for the governments to deal with the situation such events create. The aftermath could be very problematic for the population, and in some cases catastrophic, as there can be huge outbreaks of diseases or starvation due to crop failure or water pollution. In those cases where the government is unable to deal with the problems, the aid agencies and organisations can be used to cover the work needed. This can be done by drilling wells, putting up water storage cans or building sand dams. Although these actions are meant to deal with the issues and problems both in short-term and long-term aspect, the effects these efforts has on the long-term aspect is unclear. This is something the aid agencies and organisations often are criticised for, as seen in chapter three.

Capital for development

Another reason for the need of aid is the current capital flows of the world. The way the political environment is structured and built up, has created a world where there are great inequalities, not only between the different countries but also within them:

Aid is needed as long as the capital flows are unchanged (interview with the Special Advisor Economic Empowerment, NCA, February 2017).

As long as these flows remain unchanged, then there will be a need for the aid industry and the work it is doing for the development. The capital flows reflect the current development ideology and the global trends where the market is considered the key to solving the many challenges the developing countries are facing. Thus, if these capitals flows are going to change, a lot of work has to be done politically. The political environment, in terms of how the world is structured with the favouring of the developed countries and their wants, must be changed to establish a more equal structure. A structure where the developing countries are being listened to, and where those governments who do not provide the needed help to their own population or uphold human rights will get repercussion even though they have resources the developing countries are reliant on.

For political change to happen and be sustainable, the local population must be a part of the process and feel ownership and a need for the changes. This might not happen if the aid agencies and organisations are more directly involved in the work. Without wanting the change or seeing the need for a change, it will be very difficult to make the political changes happen or persist, as well as securing the success of the development assistance. The capital flows and the current global trends also makes it less likely to deal with the poverty issues, which are the main focus at the moment, as the efforts needed to reduce the number of people living in poverty would not be equal to the returns, at least in a short-term perspective. Thus, those who are living in poverty are dependent on the help they are getting from the aid agencies and organisation.

Post-conflict recovery

Furthermore, the suggestions regarding reforming aid in the 1990s and 2000s also shows a new need for the aid given by agencies and organisations. The earlier trends of smaller and more specialised projects and programmes was changed with larger and more general projects and programmes. The focus shift towards conflict countries, countries with a high risk of conflict and those emerging from conflict (Riddell, 2007), can indicate that the developing countries were doing better than earlier and that there was a greater need to help the development in those countries more prone to conflict. The risk of getting involved in those countries that are more prone to conflict by companies and businesses would probably be too high for the efforts to be reciprocated. Without providing the resources needed to handle the situation, the chances of fostering development are small. Thus, the aid agencies and organisations can be a good way to provide the support needed. Since the aid agencies and organisations get funds from donors that should be used in conflict or conflict prone areas, they have an advantage that the

alternative approaches might not have. Although, the guidelines for what the funds should be used on are often very strict. This can make it difficult for the aid agencies and organisations to allocate the funds to those places that need it the most. However, this is dependent on what type of donors the aid organisations and agencies have, and the agreements that exist between them. For some organisations and agencies, such as the NCA, the agreements with the donors are more flexible:

We are quite lucky as for example NORAD has framed agreements which are based on themes and not projects, this makes it possible to use the funds on different things, and be flexible if there are unforeseen things happening (interview with the Special Advisor Economic Empowerment, NCA, February 2017).

This flexibility makes it easier to reallocate the funds according to what is needed the most at that particular moment.

Why aid is not needed

Limited impact

One aspect that might have led people to be sceptical to the need of aid has been the huge gap between achievements and expectations. Much of the ODA has not had a positive and durable impact on the various communities and countries (Riddell, 2007). What people expect and what they get are in many cases not coherent. This creates a pressure that might seem unrealistic and impossible to fulfil by the aid industry. A pressure that is not always based on knowledge about how such work is conducted or on the context the work is implemented in. However, one might argue that the amount of funds given to the aid industry should make it able to generate better results than what they are and to create long-term and sustainable solutions to the issues and problems in the developing countries:

My opinion and observation is that aid often comes short. Instead of working with the local community to come up with a solution, they often present a finished solution (interview with the Managing Director, Majiko, December 2016).

This is related to the issue of aid effectiveness, which is one of the main criticisms towards the aid industry. The need of aid has been questioned because of the lacking results. Of course, this criticism can be based on unrealistic demands about what effects aid would have on the communities and countries. Still, there have been several attempts to make aid more effective, such as with the PDAE and the AAA. These mechanisms, as we have seen earlier, have

generated less than compelling improvements. The fact that aid needs to be more effective and implement changes to improve their work, are for some evidence that the aid industry should be limited, or that it does not work. Even though it is compelling to conclude that it does not work based on non-effective outcomes, we should be wary of making hasty conclusions without knowing the full extent.

Limited ownership

Another factor that is important for aid to work is country ownership. Without ownership, the success of the aid projects and programmes would be limited, if not unsuccessful (Booth, 2012). The importance of ownership when it comes to improving the aid outcomes is related to the survival of a project or programme and the commitment made by the local population to it. If the local population does not feel any ownership to the projects and programmes, they are less likely to commit to it, and the project or programme is prone to fail. There must be a sense of ownership to the project or programme by the population, preferably in the form of participation:

We have experiences that when we use local knowledge we are welcomed. We also become a part of the community by providing work and labour for several more individuals than what we would if we brought the finished product from Norway (interview with the Managing Director, Majiko, December 2016).

Without a form of ownership by the local population, the aid agencies and organisation will have a hard time implementing what they want into the community with a long-lasting effect. Country ownership might not be present in many of the developing countries, due to for example poor commitment by the government. Therefore, it can seem pointless to implement aid projects and programmes, as the factor of ownership is seen as a precondition for aid to work. Thus, it might be a need to find alternative approaches to help with the development, or to shift the focus of aid agencies and organisations towards creating more country ownership and commitment instead of creating projects and programmes that work with building wells, schools and so on. However, again this assumes that the increased country ownership makes those in government responsible for actually building and executing those projects and programmes that the aid industry was responsible for earlier. This is of course not given, and most governments would probably not take responsibility for building and executing such projects and programmes, at least not to the extent the aid agencies and organisations do.

This would be more difficult compared to just continuing their current work. However, if the aid industry want the projects and programmes to have an impact in the longer term and to be more sustainable, they would need to put in the effort to support country ownership. Even if this is established, aid is not the solution according to Booth (2012). Aid can undermine the institutional changes needed to generate ownership, and thus it should not be present. He does however suggest that external actors could help identify the challenges and guide the countries in the problem identification and solution (ibid.). Thus, Booth believes that aid should be used in the more administrative way and not for the more traditional ways of aid. This can indicate that he does not believe that the need for aid is strong if it does not work on creating country ownership and identifying and solving problems the countries are facing.

Sustainability

The sustainability aspect also needs to be discussed in relation to whether or not aid is needed. Many of the projects and programmes have been criticised because they are not sustainable. For the aid projects and programmes to be needed there should be a requirement that they work in a sustainable way, such as using the local resources when producing products or local population for the building process, promoting and recruitment:

We are able to get great independent workers who are transporters, salesmen, marketers and mechanics. We are using the locals to manufacture our trailers. We tap into local water sources, both private and governmental (interview with the Managing Director, Majiko, December 2016).

If the sustainability aspect is not present then there is not really a need for it, since aid for development should have a long-term impact and be implemented in such a way that the local community can benefit from it in the future without compromising the area in a negative way. As shown in chapter three, the TOMS shoe project and its effects on the local community is a great example of how aid is not sustainable and does not use the local resources to help create improvements and development in a developing country. Compared to this the sustainability potential of Majiko can be considered greater as it uses the locals in the running of the business, as well as having ripple effects that provides the possibilities of earning an income, and providing the community with a business that benefits them in terms of water access. By creating something that is beneficial for the local population, that is useful both now and in the future, and that is based on the usage of the locals there is a greater probability that it will have

better long-term outcomes compared to projects and programmes that only provide a solution with a single beneficial side to it.

The feedback given from the local population regarding the expectation to get things sorted out by the aid agencies and organisation, instead of doing it themselves, is a strong indicator that the effect aid has on the attitudes among the locals is not always positive. In many cases, it does not help generate local commitment or willingness to put in the work to improve their own situation. According to Kramer and Miguel (2008), aid organisations and agencies and country governments would be better off if they did not pursue the goal of sustainability, as this in the long run will not work. Instead they should only fund those projects that give a high social return. However, this solution would most likely not lead projects and programmes to have a long-term effect on the communities.

Participation

The last, crucial factor that is needed for aid to work is participation. However, this is yet again a factor that can be difficult to comply and that can have serious consequences for the community. The way the aid projects and programmes can have damaging consequences is if they do not involve the local population and community into the planning and implementation of the projects and programmes. Without participation, projects and programmes can create changes that are socially destructive (Stiglitz, 2002). Thus, the aid agencies and organisations should strive to create participatory programmes and projects. Again, it can seem that if this is not fulfilled then there is little need for aid work. If there is one aspect that the aid industry says that they are complying, it is the participation factor.

There are several forms of participation, such as voting, that the population have a voice regarding decisions that affect them, an open dialog and civic engagement that is broadly active (ibid.). Willis (2005) also highlights appraisal, agenda setting, efficiency and empowerment. Ideally, all these aspects of participation should be present in all aid projects and programmes. In many cases the population have some sort of voice when it comes to how the project or programme should be conducted, as well as an open dialog where the aid agency or organisation tries to understand the local community. The involvement of the local population in the projects and programmes, i.e. efficiency, might also be fairly easy for the aid agencies and organisations to achieve. A broadly active civic engagement and a say in every aspect of the whole processes related to the projects and programmes might however be more difficult to fulfil.

Why there might be more difficult for the aid agencies and organisations to fulfil all these types of participation can be because they are unwilling, unable or simply find it too challenging to include the whole society. Still, the level and type of participation is dependent on the different agencies and organisations, and so are their reasons why. If there is a lack of participation in the aid work then it would be difficult to get the commitment and changes needed to develop the community. As well as creating projects and programmes that will be sustainable, have a relevance to those it is meant for, and have a long-term effect. According to Flint and zu Natrup (2014), it is normal for the aid agencies and organisation to have aid experts in the field. Even though they are experts on aid, it does not mean that they are experts on that specific area. The presence of experts can lead to the local population and their knowledge being ignored, which can affect the relevance of the project or programme (Flint & zu Natrup, 2014). Albeit there is evidence that the aid agencies and organisations are using the local population in finding out what is needed and what the community's issues and problems are:

Many projects are started by having a participatory poverty analysis where the population themselves have to reflect, and describe their situation, and what needs to be done in order to improve it. [...] Thus, the whole village are taking part in deciding what [...] [the different] groups should focus on (interview with the Special Advisor Economic Empowerment, NCA, February 2017).

Although the aid agencies and organisations state that they have local participation, the extent of this participation and what their initial contributions to the projects and programmes are, is probably highly varying.

Can alternative approaches be an option?

Clean water and employment

There are a lot of reasons why there is a need for the alternative approaches, such as Majiko. Some of these are related to access to water, the strain of fetching water and employment. One of the respondents highlighted some of these aspects when asked about why there is a need for projects like Majiko:

There is a lot of need in the community, not only in the village, but also in town. Because everybody needs clean water for health purposes. So, I see it good, and I buy the idea that Majiko has for the people, making sure they supply the community with the fresh water and making the work easier for us to access clean water (field interview, October 2016).

The project helps to provide the community with clean water, something that is important for all humans to stay healthy. In addition, the project removes the physical strain it is to walk or travel long distances, which for many is a daily task. This is one of the aspects that separates it from the aid projects and programmes, as the more traditional ways of solving the water issues within a community usually consists of building wells, storage units or dams. These solutions do not remove the time-consuming factor that fetching water is, neither does it remove the physical strain it is to carry many litres of water over longer distances several times a day. Other aspects the Majiko solution provides are employment; it maximises the already available water sources, as well as making the water source owners have an important role in the community. By using the already existent water sources, there is no need to build new sources which can put a strain on the environment, and it can be seen as a step towards better water conservation practices. This is something that the traditional aid approaches does not necessarily support with the building of new water sources.

Thus, it can be argued that Majiko has a multiplier effect that the aid agencies and organisations does not provide, and that this might be seen as a reason for why the aid industry might not come up with the best overall solutions. By looking at the problem in a different perspective, other underlying issues might occur and the need to be creative and innovative in finding possible solutions that can address these issues and problems is important. In the case of Majiko, the solution to delivering the water to the population, removes the time-consuming aspect of fetching water. This solution could be crucial in those areas that are prone to seasonal changes that affects the amount of water available, which is the case in many of the developing countries. By providing a service that can help with the water scarcity, in terms of having reliable sources, and time usage, many would get an easier everyday life without having to worry about the lack of water and insufficient time.

One respondent also pointed out that the water quality most of the population have access to is not as good as it should be:

The kind of water we get from the rivers, the streams, it is not very clean. And in the community, they might not have time to boil the water (field interview, October 2016).

Thus, if the water the population get from their sources is not clean and they do not boil the water before they use it, either because they do not have time or simply because they do not know that they need to boil it. There is a chance that they expose themselves to water borne diseases and thus weaken their general health. Since Majiko cleans the bottles and filter the water, this risk could be minimised and the general health within the community improved. Some of the solutions of the aid agencies and organisations does have filtering systems, however these are mostly based on nature's own filtering system which could be contaminated by natural hazards or vandalism.

The employment aspect was also highlighted by the respondents. Unemployment and the possibility of getting a job are important factors that is needed for the population to improve their life situation and help with the development of their community through purchasing power. The way Majiko is helping in this aspect is through hiring locals as transporters or as store managers, or through freeing time for their customers so that they could use their time on working and earning an income. The effects of the project are exemplified by the Managing Director:

Riders are getting an income, increasing their purchasing power and meaningfulness in life. One of our riders will be able to buy a house for his pregnant wife soon. Others are able to work, for instance one lady we talked to now have a job at a hotel because she receives water from us and can work every day, all day (interview with the Managing Director, Majiko, December 2016).

Sustainability and the use of private companies and industry

By creating a project or a programme which increases the possibility for the local population to get a job, then the long-term effects might be greater in terms of development and modernisation. The aim of creating long-term solutions is highlighted as an important factor for Majiko. A factor that separates the aid industry from the alternative approach that Majiko is:

Many think the water problem can only be solved by aid. However, aid often targets the short-term issues rather than tackling underlying problems that could promote a more sustainable economy and development. [...] Majiko provides a long-term solution to the water-problem in Africa, local development through employment and possibilities for value creation by freeing up millions of hours (interview with the Managing Director, Majiko, December 2016).

The alternative approaches, by providing the local population with employment either directly or indirectly through the projects and programmes, are a reason for greater implementation of

the projects and programmes of the alternative approaches, and a minimising of the aid projects and programmes. This view again reflects some of the critique of aid and its effects in the longer run, as seen previously in this chapter. The focus on finding long-term solutions that addresses the underlying problems are both the aid industry's and alternative approaches' aim, but it has been difficult to know if the many projects and programmes has had any effect on the recipient communities in the longer run. Since it has been so difficult to know the exact long-term effect of the aid programmes and projects, it will probably be just as difficult to know the effects of the alternative approaches. Even though they proclaim that they have solutions that will help in the longer run, many of the projects and programmes are relatively new and their impact is unknown. However, since the aid industry has gotten so much critique regarding the ineffectiveness in the long term, the alternative approaches can use this as an advantage and put an extra focus on achieving this through their projects and programmes:

Aid organisations are also reaching out to private companies to find new solutions (interview with the Managing Director, Majiko, December 2016).

This can be seen as an indication that the aid industry is coming to terms with that they might not have all the answers and solutions. A cooperation between the aid agencies and organisations and private companies and/or other types of alternative approaches can create better solutions and approaches to the issues and problems. By looking at the problems the different communities are facing in cooperation with the local community, the chances of implementing solutions that fit the community in terms of needs and wants, and that are innovating with new aspects of the situation and the context of the problem, increases.

Although there are several arguments for the need of the alternative approaches to deal with the many development challenges, there are some who are more sceptical towards the use of alternative approaches. Especially those alternative approaches who are related to private and governmental companies and businesses:

The trend now is that it is believed that the industry can stimulate development through their form of aid. However, I am a bit sceptical to this. The industry in the developing countries can help stimulate development in their own countries, yes, but the industry in the developed countries cannot help stimulate the same development (interview with the Special Advisor Economic Empowerment, NCA, February 2017).

Supporting the local industry

The most important aspect would then be to support the industry, i.e. the private and governmental companies, in the developing countries and the development they are doing, instead for supporting the industry that belongs to the developed countries and the work they are doing in the developing countries. The fact that the representative from the NCA is sceptical towards the developed countries and their development projects in the developing world, might be grounded in assumptions that the foreign companies might not include the local population into their work and the implementation of the business into the community. The local companies can thus be better at stimulating development in its country, and see the solutions needed for the local population to benefit from their work:

An example of this is from Somalia, where Somali electrical companies wants to supply electrical power to the whole country, so they are helping educate electricians with the right education, so that they are employable. They also make sure that those they educate are given a trainee position so that they have work after they are done with the education. This type of development and investment in such companies are better for the development in a country, compered to supporting for example Norwegian companies working in the same country with the same thing (interview with the Special Advisor Economic Empowerment, NCA, February 2017).

Thus, it can seem that the best way to help generate development within a developing country is through supporting the local companies and industry, and make sure they get resources or funds to succeed. The example from Somalia is indeed very good, and more companies should help make sure that their employees have an education and are trained in a way that make them relevant for other companies as well, and that there is a use for them in the future. Even though the local companies and industries might be better to support, it is still very common that they do not use the local community for what it is worth:

The problem which often occurs when the companies in the developing countries are supported is that they often do not use the local community to do the work, often they get someone from other areas. Such as Kenyan workers are used to work in Tanzania because they are better educated (interview with the Special Advisor Economic Empowerment, NCA, February 2017).

By employing non-locals and people from other countries, the issues of unemployment amongst the local population, which is pressing in many areas, are not solved. In addition, the usage of non-locals can also affect the quality of the projects and programmes in terms of having the right knowledge and insight, as well as understanding the context. The result can in the end be a lack of changes, economic development and stimulation of the local areas, which leaves the

areas in the same position it might have been if there were foreign companies responsible for the work and development.

It should not come as a surprise that those for the alternative approaches are those who work with non-aid projects and programmes, and those who are a bit more sceptical are those who work in the aid industry. However, their different perspectives and thoughts could be used by both to improve the already existing and the intended projects and programmes as both parties have strengths and weaknesses that can be learned from and used. Regarding the need for either the aid industry or the alternative approaches, it is dependent on how the international community is constructed and the current capital flows. Based on the discussion in this chapter, I will in the next chapter look at the changes done and changes that should take place for the aid industry to improve and optimise its work. I will also discuss the future of both the aid agencies and organisations and the alternative approaches.

7. Changes and the future

In this chapter I will first discuss the changes that have occurred in the aid industry as an effort to make their assistance more relevant and to have a greater impact on the local population and the development. Secondly, I will look at what type of changes needed, for the aid agencies and organisations to have a better working environment and to increase the effect of their work. Lastly, I will reflect over the future and what kind of roles the aid industry and the alternative approaches might have.

What changes are and have been taking place?

As seen and discussed in the previous chapters, there has been a lot of critique regarding the ineffectiveness of aid. As a reaction to this there has been implemented actions to increase the effectiveness of the development assistance, as well as a change of focus, such as the PDAE and the AAA. Although these actions have been unsuccessful and criticised for lacking country context, being unable to link the targets with the outcomes of real people, and using weak measurements. Despite the criticism, it can be said that the actions, even if they did not create the expected results, at least there was an effort to improve the impact and quality of aid. This criticism can be due to a lack of participation by the local population and too much reliance on the aid experts and what they see as fitting solutions.

The participation issue has increasingly been addressed by the aid agencies and organisations by involving the local population in the implementation processes of their projects and programmes into the communities:

We work via local partners and support the local community (interview with the Special Advisor Economic Empowerment, NCA, February 2017).

The fact that the aid industry is increasingly using the local population to either help implement the projects and programmes, or to find the solutions needed, can be seen as a step in the right direction. Especially in terms of enhancing participation aspect and fostering greater ownership. This can also be seen as deeper understanding of the importance of using and including the local population and community for the success of the projects and programmes. However, to what extent the local population are participating and given ownership, is another issue. The nature and the extent of the participation can be highly varying, and even if the locals are being involved in the early stages it does not mean that what they suggest and want is considered in

the final product. In addition to the type and extent of the participation, who is chosen as the participating parties in the projects and programmes also has an impact in terms of what kind of representation the local population gets. There is a risk that if local elites are used to create local participation, then the local structures can be reinforced, or those who do not agree are being silenced. Thus, the aid agencies and organisations should be wary of who they use in their projects and programmes, and to make sure that there is a high degree of representation of the populations' views, interests and needs. However, the risk of getting false representation by the participating parties should not make the aid agencies and organisations afraid of using the local population. Rather it should make them more eager to be more thorough in the selection process, as well as checking up with the community and how well their opinions and needs are being represented.

Another change the aid industry has taken on in the last years is related to the poverty aspect:

It is more focused on poverty. This is also the reason why it is not so much traditional aid, i.e. service delivery, [present anymore] (interview with the Special Advisor Economic Empowerment, NCA, February 2017).

The change of focus towards poverty is consistent with the trends in the global community and current development ideology. However, as the market is seen as the key developer, it can be speculated that the extent to which the aid industry is able to handle the many issues and problems related to development will be a difficult affair. This is especially true for those problems and issues related to poverty, as it is a very costly process to eradicate poverty and to achieve the desired development. There is a general impression that the market forces are more interested in the economic profits they can get from the developing countries, compared to the efforts it would take to help them develop and enhance global trade on equal terms. Although the overall poverty levels have decreased, the gaps between the poor and the rich are increasing. Thus, without any changes to the way the global economy is constructed, it will be difficult to minimise this gap. This means that the problems are not eradicated, but instead moved up on the social ladder. For the aid industry to help change these trends and to further the development of developing countries there is a need for further change, both in the way the aid agencies and organisations are working, and in the global economy.

What changes should take place?

Although there have been some changes within the aid industry already, there is still a need for further and more comprehensive change. Especially related to the overall global structure, the donors-recipient relationship, ownership, commitment and sustainability. Without these large overall changes, it is less likely that the aid industry will be affected.

The overall global structure

If we look at the larger picture, namely the current development ideologies and global trends, there is a need for these to change to create an environment that is more suitable for the aid industry and its goals. As the underlying philosophies have not changed since the 1990s, it is time to either find new philosophies or adjust the current ones so that it would address the current situation. The reason for the need for these structures to change is because it does not favour a global community where the aid industry can easily work with development assistance in their own way. There are too many demands and regulations that are affecting the way the aid agencies and organisations should relate to conduct their work. Some of these demands and regulations are related to the SAPs. The reason why there needs to be changes in the global structure is because of how the SAPs affected the many countries it was implemented in. As seen in chapter three, the SAPs have been less than successful and caused ripple effects which are hard to get rid of. Even though there has been an increased understanding related to the importance of focusing on rights and grassroots initiatives, it is still not enough to change the belief that the market is the key actor to create development:

The trend now is that it is believed that the industry can stimulate development through their form of aid (interview with the Special Advisor Economic Empowerment, NCA, February 2017).

As long as this is the case, the effects of aid would be very basic and minimal. To get the much needed and desired results of the aid work, there needs to be a drastic change of the mind-set of the world leaders and way of working with the many development issues and problems. However, it might be easier to change the development assistance conducted by the aid industry and its working methods. This can be done either by moving away from the aid industry and towards the alternative approaches, or through changing the ways, and implement more of a business approach to their methods, as a merged way between aid and the alternative approaches:

Aid organizations do not have the expertise in all fields. An aid organization is the best logistics organization, distributor and designer is highly unlikely. There is therefore no doubt that aid initiatives do need private partners, and should make private collaboration a part of their strategy (interview with the Managing Director, Majiko, December 2016).

Donors and recipients

For the aid industry to gain more results and be effective in terms of having an impact on the recipients through their projects and programmes, there needs to be some changes to the relationship between the aid agencies, donors and recipients. This is because of the power the donors have over their recipients:

The donor countries have a lot of power over the recipients. This makes it very difficult to for example change laws and regulations within a job sector (interview with the Special Advisor Economic Empowerment, NCA, February 2017).

There must be greater flexibility from the donors' part to the aid agencies and organisations when it comes to what the funds can be used on. In addition, the many requirements that the donors have regarding the funds needs to be less fixed. Those who require that the goods and services should come from the donating country should be more open to goods and services being found in the same country as the aid agencies and organisations are conducting their development work. By using the goods and resources within the same country as the work is being done, there is a greater chance that further development would take place, as it would increase local production and/or the number of jobs available for the public.

If the funds were not tied, it would also reduce the amount of non-prioritised funds that the recipients accept as a result of not getting relevant funds. The potential for the aid funds to erode would be less of a pressing issue if the recipients did not feel like they needed to accept non-relevant funds that does not address the most pressing development issues. It is of course understandable that the donors have an opinion regarding what the funds should be used on, since they provide a lot of resources to the different projects and programmes. What these funds are used on reflect the donors and how they are portrayed. However, by locking it to very specific themes it could potentially do more harm than good. It should not be the donors wants and interests that comes first when the funds are being allocated to the recipients, it should be based on what it needed the most and what would generate development in a sustainable way. Of course, this is not to say that the donors should not have any say in what their funds should be used on, but rather that they should allocate their funds to those areas which are the most

relevant for the recipients. By being a bit more flexible on what the funds should be used on, the aid agencies can move the funds between the various projects and programmes depending on the current situation:

The context can easily change, due to outside influences, i.e. natural crisis, political changes and so on, which can put a stop to the project. Many [...] foreign organisations do not give this type of flexibility, which can be harmful for the projects. I think that this flexibility is first and foremost good for those who work with and deliver the projects. It makes it easier for them to implement the projects in the best way (interview with the Special Advisor Economic Empowerment, NCA, February 2017).

Thus, there is a need to change the ways the donors determine the outcomes of the aid projects and programmes. The donors need to loosen their grip on what the funds should be used on, and be more open to giving based on overarching themes so that the recipients can allocate the funds to address recipient priorities.

Another issue that needs to be improved is the donors', and aid agencies' and organisations' knowledge about those areas they are implementing their projects and programmes in. Without this knowledge, the projects and programmes can end up being utilised in a less effective way, or in the worst case end up being irrelevant or unused by the recipients. Thus, it is important to use the local population and their knowledge in every part of the process. This should be done through strengthening the civil society, which is a key to help implement changes and foster participation and ownership to the projects and programmes. Since the civil society is seen as political ombudsmen, there should be a greater focus on it to and how to strengthen and use it to bring about changes that are seen as needed for development to take place and to deal with the many issues and problems the developing countries are facing. By having an increased knowledge about the areas, the aid agencies and organisations are assisting, the recipients might avoid having to accept funds that are not relevant and their real issues and problem might be addressed in a proper way, as well as increasing the chances of sustainability and help strengthen the civil society.

Commitment and ownership

As for the governments in the developing countries, there are some required changes for the aid projects and programmes to work in the most effective way and have a long-term sustainable impact. Such as establishing a government with a strong commitment to develop the country.

Since the country context has a significant effect for the success of the aid work, there must be commitments made by the government towards their population, so that it is the population who benefits from the decisions and changes being made. This is done by creating an environment that is beneficial for development assistance, and making it efficient in the long run, as well as providing the local population with the means to come up with solutions that would fit them. Although this might be difficult for some people, the government can create some suggestions that the local community can improve and adjust according to their needs. For this to work the government needs to help create an environment where the local population can speak their mind. The government must be willing to support the solutions with the means needed. Thus, the chances of generating results that the donors and sceptics are looking for might increase. However, these changes are difficult and extensive, and cannot be achieved in a short time. Thus, there is a need for increased commitment by the donors, aid industry and the global community to help strengthen the governments. The aid industry also needs to commit to those they are supposed to help with their assistance. Since there are no sanctions for those who are unsuccessful in helping the poor or who are not accountable towards their recipients. They need to show commitment towards their recipients through working to solve the issues and problems regardless of gaining something from it or what the donors want. However, it might be difficult for the aid agencies and organisations to create this commitment:

Sometimes when people get free things they are not committed (field interview, October 2016).

Thus, the aid agencies and organisations might need to expect something in return for what they are giving, this can be done through making the population do the work. The population also need to understand that if they are not contributing to the project it will not be successful and their situation will not improve. The aid industry might need to change their approach towards creating commitment, so that the population is truly committed to the project or programmes, also after the aid agency or organisation stop providing them with free things or are present.

The ownership aspect is what help generate durable changes, and it is crucial for making development happen within a country. Without country ownership, then there is a small chance of making the changes last and gain support by the population. This makes it very important to enhance the aspect of country ownership. This can be achieved through making the community have a larger role in the projects and programmes, where it is a part of all steps of the processes

and have voice in the decision-making. Another aspect that might not be present without country ownership is sustainability. If the country does not feel any ownership to the project or programme, it is less likely that it will survive in the long-run, as it would not put in an equal amount of effort into it, compared to other projects and programmes it feels ownership to. Thus, this aspect should be given much more focus by the aid industry. However, according to Booth (2012), there cannot be both country ownership and aid, at least if the country ownership is meant to generate development within the country. Thus, it would seem that the work the aid agencies and organisations are conducting should be reduced, as it compromises the country's own development work. Because of this, it is suggested that the role the aid agencies and organisations should take is that of problem identification and guidance, either directly or indirectly. Even though the aid agencies and organisations might be harmful for the development within a country in terms of not contributing to country ownership which is important for a country's development, it cannot disappear right away. As we cannot know how it will affect those dependent on the development assistance, and a drastic change of removing all development assistance should be done gradually. Thus, it should be a period where the working methods of the aid agencies and organisations work changes from development assistance towards a more consulting and facilitating role.

The sustainability aspect

Some of the critique towards the aid industry has been related to the lack of sustainable outcomes or broader goals, and that it is too focused on short-term objectives. This of course is a huge problem for the development aspect, as it should have a long-term impact that will benefit the next generation. However, as it is difficult to know the effects of the development assistance, we cannot assume that no development assistance will have a long-term effect on development. Yet, the overall impact the aid industry has had on development can be said to be less than sustainable or fulfilling the long-lasting outcomes and broader goals. One long-term effect of aid is that it can however lead to dependency and laziness, as seen in the TOMS example from chapter three:

People are growing lazy because of the free things they have been given by other companies which have been operating traditionally in Kenya. This brings the poverty that has been growing up, this is only because of the help they get from the other aid projects. Everything is given (field interview, October 2016).

This was also the experience the researchers had from the TOMS example, where the population took the help for granted, and “that it was others responsibility to take care of their family’s need, and not that the family should support themselves” (Sti, 2016, p. 54). Because of this critique, Kramer and Miguel (2008) suggests that the aid industry should stop pursuing the illusion of sustainability, and rather start evaluating the many projects and programmes and fund those that have the best effect of the recipients. As it seems like it is difficult to fulfil the sustainability aspect, there might be time to either do as Kramer and Miguel (2008) suggests and stop pursuing it all together, or to implement changes that makes the projects and programmes have more long-term effects and be more sustainable. However, this will most likely not be an easy process. The aid agencies and organisations would need to be more critical towards their own projects and programmes, and only fund those that will be the most likely to provide the recipients with long-term solutions and effects that gives high social returns, as well as being sustainable.

The future

When it comes to the future and what might be the more sustainable way of addressing the development challenge, it is difficult to know for sure. However, there are still room for suggestions based on what the theory shows and what the respondents think about the various ways.

The alternative approaches

When it comes to the alternative approaches and their role within the developing communities, there are reasons to believe that there might be more room for them in the future, if it is done in a proper way. The alternative approaches should be able to provide the local population with solutions that leads to development as long as their work is based on the underlying principles of accountability and participation. In addition to working to create projects and programmes that are sustainable and the local population feels ownership towards, some of the arguments for why the alternative approaches, such as Majiko, would be the better path to follow for the future are among other their use of locals:

Locals know more about the community than anyone (interview with the Service and Product Designer, Majiko, December 2016).

As well as how it affects the local community:

I do believe that the Moonwalk way of solving problems is creating more value for locals, and I hope that aid companies will turn towards such methods in the future (interview with the Manager Director, Majiko, December 2016).

The respondents highlight the importance of participation by the local population, and what type of effect it can have on the community. The aspect of participation is upheld by Majiko in a good way, since they implement the local population into their work and execution of the project.

Education is seen as one of the social returns generated from Majiko:

They are educating our youth (field interview, October 2016).

The nature of this type of education is related to the training the transporters get; the importance of clean water and cleaning the water bottles; customer service and marketing; and the technical aspect of the bikes and trailers. As well as increased knowledge about the community and its issues and problems. This kind of education is not similar to the one you get at school. However, this type of education does help with the general knowledge about the importance of clean water, as well as an increased self-esteem through the work they are contributing with in the community. In addition, this type of project can also provide outcomes that will affect the population in the long-term:

The outcomes will be to spend the time they use to get water to do other things, like the children who come from the poor families where we supply the water, they are going to have the opportunity to go to school. And I know and I am sure that when you have brightened your future for education you can have many opportunities, job opportunities, and more money and get better living standards (field interview, October 2016).

The innovation aspect is a different reason for the use of alternative approaches. As the alternative approaches who are trying to find solution that are different, to the many development problems and issues, as there is a lot of competition from the aid industry. For example, how they look at the problem or issue and what they see as the actual problems or issue, or in the way they choose to solve the problem or issue. For Majiko the innovation aspect is related to creating something greater than just the project itself:

The way the innovation [aspect] is taking place in this [project] is through making an ecosystem where the riders are self-sufficient (interview with the Service and Product Designer, Majiko, December 2016).

The use of the alternative approaches to the development aspect can thus lead to new and various ways of solving a problem, that in addition might lead to the recipients being more self-sufficient in the sense that they are the ones responsible for conducting the operations and most of the work related to the project. The experience from Majiko is that those involved in the project are becoming responsible for their own life, and their families.

The aid industry

As for the future of the aid industry, there are several ways in which it can go. One alternative is to find solutions to the development problems and issues through collaboration as suggested by the Managing Director of Majiko:

There are several aid companies looking to collaborate with private partners. Aid organizations do not have the expertise in all fields. That an aid organization is the best logistics organization, distributor and designer is highly unlikely. There is therefore no doubt that aid initiatives do need private partners, and should make private collaboration a part of their strategy (interview with the Manager Director, Majiko, December 2016).

This type of collaboration is called Private-Public Partnership (PPP), where the public and private instances go together to provide a public asset or service on a long-term basis (World Bank, 2015). In the case of Majiko, it is the government that provides the water sources in the selected areas, while Majiko is increasing the coverage through creating a distribution system. For problems related to water in countries such as Kenya, this solution can be very useful as it provides the local populations with water without the need to build new water sources. In times where the governmental water sources are scarce, there is also the possibility of collaborating with local private water sources. By being able to distribute water to the population, they would not need to use a lot of time on fetching water which is a very time consuming activity. This approach can be very useful, because it can be used to compensate for the shortcomings of the development assistance. In addition, if there was a partnership between the private businesses and companies and the aid industry the number of people being helped would increase as well as the effect of the aid provided. However, this type of partnership might be difficult:

The 'problem' with the Moonwalk method is that it destroys the aid's value chains. They should need us [and our methods] if they really wanted to solve the [development] problems (interview with the CEO, Moonwalk, December 2016).

The problem, as indicated by the CEO of Moonwalk, is that the aid industry's self-interest in being present will make PPP difficult, and probably not happen any time soon. Still, if this is the case then it reflects an unwillingness to do what it takes to solve the development issues from the aid industry's side, and that they are not that open to new approaches as they should be.

The alternative is to change the focus area of the aid industry. This could be to focus more on the humanitarian aspect, and especially in times of crisis where there clearly is a great need for the aid agencies and organisations:

I see the need for aid in crisis situations etc., however I hope they collaborate more with private players in the future, and that social enterprises becomes the new standard for developing communities (interview with the Managing Director, Majiko, December 2016).

Although the advocates of the alternative approaches would like to see that their way of dealing with the development issues and problems should be the new norm, the massive changes that would need to take place for that to happen might make it less desirable for those who would be responsible for implementing the changes.

Even though there are ambiguous results regarding the effect of aid on development, there is a general understanding that there will still be a need for aid in the future:

Aid is probably going to be needed for many years to come. I do however hope and believe that more resources can be used to stop the capital flows. And I want aid to stop. The paradigm shifts go in circles, especially when we talk about development theories (interview with the Special Advisor Economic Empowerment, NCA, February 2017).

Again, it seems like aid will continue to be relevant as long global structures remains the same. However, it would not be surprising if those involved in the aid industry are sceptical towards the use of the alternative approaches to handle the many issues and problems found in the developing countries. Since the aid agencies and organisations have been the main actors in this arena the last 60 years or so, it is understandable that they believe they have the expertise and

routine to solve the issues and problems. Yet, as many reports and studies have shown, the aid industry and the effect it has had on the developing aspect is still vague. Thus, for aid to be more effective and withstand the eventual changes in the future, there might be a need for the aid industry to be more innovative and seek to other ways of solving the development issues and problems of the developing world. Such as trying to see the problem in a different light, like Majiko has done.

Since the chance of there being any huge changes in the global structures in the nearest future, the level of influence the aid industry has on the communities and countries might not be any different from how it has been, if not more limited. Thus, the effects of the development assistance might not be as great as the aid industry like to believe. This is not due to a lack of trying, but rather how the global economy is constructed. Where the aid agencies and organisations might come short, the more alternative approaches could take over. The business-like approach the alternative approaches can have, could be a more fitting way of trying to solve the many challenges the developing countries are facing.

The next chapter will draw concluding remarks regarding what has been discussed in the previous chapters. The focus will be on the aid industry and the aspects of improving and optimising its assistance, as well as the alternative approaches and its relation to the multiplier effect, innovation aspect and the new set of actors that Majiko represents.

8. Conclusion

The aid industry

There is no doubt that the intention behind the development assistance are good. However, as long as the aid industry is reluctant to take needed measures to improve their work, there is going to be limited results. When the truth is that the effects of the development assistance is unknowable, then it is time to do some changes. If it is still impossible to know the overall effect of aid work on development after more than 60 years then it is time to change the working methods or at least start doing thorough evaluations of the work being done and find ways to improve it. Some might argue that 60 years or so is not a long time in a larger perspective, but I would argue that it should be enough time to at least get an indication of the impact the work has had. While, there are data missing from the earlier years of the development assistance. Yet, this does not make it impossible to evaluate the projects and programmes afterwards. There are most likely some who still lives in the same area where the project or programme was implemented, and if not there should at least be some sort of records that have details about where and what type of project or programme was implemented. Based on such records, it should not be impossible to conduct some sort of research, where the effects of it are investigated. Albeit this is something that will take time and cost money, time and money that the aid agencies and organisations most likely would prefer to use on other more pressing projects and programmes. However, without this type of investigation the outcome is that the aid agencies and organisations end up continuing their work with the belief that it works, when the case could be precisely the opposite. I would thus argue that if the aid industry intends to continuing their development assistance in the future, they either need to use time and money on such investigations or they should open up for more cooperation with alternative approaches.

The aid industry, at this moment in time, has a place in the developing countries with the type of work it is doing, but for the future there should be a shift for the aid agencies and organisations. Either through changing their working methods so that the work they are contributing with in the developing countries can generate better outcomes and be more sustainable, or through slowly withdrawing themselves from the developing countries and let their work be conducted by using other approaches. Both these approaches will take time, but it is needed for the vast populations that are in desperate need for better developing methods and assistance. It is however important to remember that in this case it is the development assistance that the aid agencies and organisations are providing and not the humanitarian

assistance or the assistance given during crises. That type of aid work is still needed and will probably always be needed, as those areas or countries that are affected by conflict, war or crisis might not have the means to deal with the situation they are finding themselves in for different reasons. However, the amount of development assistance needed are very dependent on how the international community is organised and the capital flows.

The scenario where there is no need for development assistance in the future, or that is the near future, is highly unlikely as discussed in chapter six. Yet, with a more long-term perspective there might be a time where there is no need for development assistance. Since there are many factors that need to be addressed for development assistance to be unnecessary, it would be more correct to aim for a more decreasing role. This would of course be done gradually, and in a way that does not compromise the recipients and their situation. For the ultimate goal of making development assistance unnecessary to be achieved there needs to be taken steps towards reducing its role and replacing it with other forms that can enhance the development. This development however must not be based on providing help for ‘free’, but rather providing a service, project or programme that the recipients either must contribute to themselves or pay a small fee for. These types of approaches must contribute in a way that makes it sustainable and possible for the population to take advantage of it. Without such requirements, there would be no need for the alternative and the aid industry could keep continuing with its work.

Improving and optimising the development assistance

If we look at the how the aid industry has developed since the 1950’s, it is obvious that the way the world is constructed and the political and economic situations affects what the general focus of the aid agencies and organisations as well as the donors. Like the development ideologies BNA and PD have done, and SAPs are continuing to do. It would then be fair to say that these factors will continue to affect the aid industry in the future as well. Thus, if there is not going to be a change in the current development ideology in the near future, it would seem that the way the global community is structured might not change either. Even though the focus areas of the development assistance might change, as it has done previously with the type and size of projects and programmes promoted. Again, it is a question of adaptation or reducing the role of the aid agencies and organisations, and what might be the best solution for the future and the recipients. Despite the long history and experience of aid agencies and organisations in supporting development it does not mean that they have found the perfect way of solving the development issues and problems. If this was the case then there would not be a need for neither

the aid industry nor the alternative approaches, and as we have seen throughout this thesis there is still a need among the developing countries. Thus, the aid industry should use some of the working methods that the alternative approaches use to improve and optimise their work. Some of the things the aid industry could use to improve their work is greater participation processes, which include the design, implementation and monitoring activities. This can be done through the same processes as Majiko has done with conducting research before setting up a project as well as doing a pilot to check if what they plan on implementing is working or not, as seen in chapter two.

A cooperation, through PPP between the new actors and aid industry and governments, and the use of alternative approaches might not be a bad idea. Although the recipients might end up paying a small fee for what is provided by the aid agencies or organisations and the alternative approaches. This is something that the aid industry might not want to put on the local population, as they would rather that their assistance does not lead to any expenses. As the population is probably struggling to make ends meet in the first place. However, this fee should not exceed the cost of similar products or services, and it should provide the local population with more than one positive aspect. Such as with Majiko who is not only providing a water service, but which also removes an everyday strain such as the time spent on fetching water. By offering something that has more than one aspect, the product or service would be more attractive for the local population and thus also cause a ripple effect that can lead to better and more sustainable development compared to the conventional methods.

For the future, the best way to address the development challenges would either be to change the working methods of the aid industry so that their projects and programmes are more relevant and have a better effect on those it is meant to help, as well as being more sustainable. Or it would be to gradually reduce the role of the aid agencies and organisations and make room for the alternative approaches. However, as discussed earlier in the seventh chapter, both these approaches are comprehensive and will take time to achieve. Yet, without any changes to the current situation, we cannot expect huge differences in the results or the effects of the aid work conducted.

The alternative approaches

Based on the theoretical aspects and the data from the respondents' interviews, it would seem that there is a need for the alternative approach in the developing countries. Since there has been little tangible evidence of either positive or negative effects of the development assistance, it could not hurt to move towards more alternative approaches. The alternative approaches might provide more sustainable solutions that have a multiplier effect on the local community, such as helping with a pressing development issue or problems such as provision of water and creating employment. The fact that the alternative approaches has a different approach and rooted in principle of neo-liberalism compared to the aid industry, can help make it easier to get through their projects and programmes in terms of investment. A new perspective and working method might be exactly what is needed in the developing arena. With the alternative approaches, there might also be established businesses which can benefit both the local population and the community through increased purchasing power and increased abilities to improve livelihoods and welfare.

The multiplier effect

As mentioned in chapter six, Majiko can be seen as having a multiplier effect due to the various impacts it has on the local population and community:

By providing jobs we are increasing purchasing power, by freeing up time we are giving away opportunities for people to work them self out of poverty. We are also improving health. By providing a solution where we are affecting several people in the community and giving them what they need, either it is clean water or employment, the community is developed much more than with one single component (interview with the Managing Director, Majiko, December 2016).

The investment by the private sector, i.e. Majiko through the implementation of its project, has led to direct job creation such as the transporters. The effects of the direct job the transporters get and the service they provide to the local population leads to time being freed up. This time can then be used to get a job, where their income is again leading to an increasing purchasing power. This purchasing power can generate indirect job creation in the sense of an increasing need for workers. The only part where the effect Majiko has on the local population and community that might not fit with the multiplier effect model is the assumption that the increased demand for goods and services by the local population will lead to further investment by either the government or the private sector. However, since it is still early in the process

regarding the effects and extent of the project it is difficult to know if there will be a further creation of investment or not.

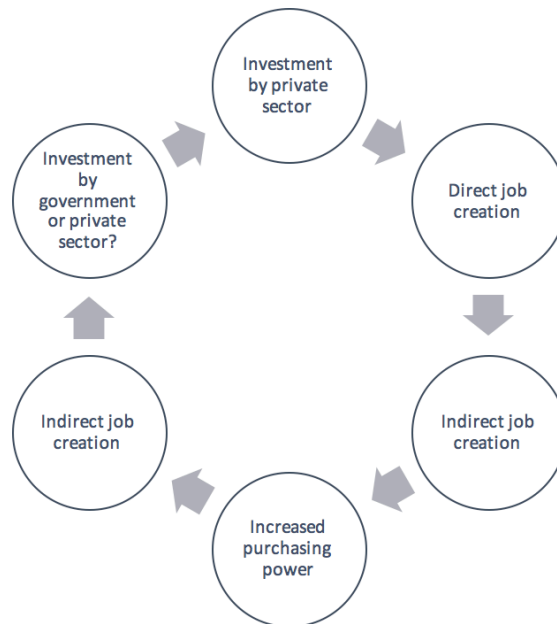


Figure 4: The Multiplier Effect Model Adapted to Majiko

The multiplier effect is meant to create development through the investment of the local community and the ripple effects that comes with this investment. This is the case with Majiko, where they are putting up a project where they use the local population and their resources to build the different equipment they need for the project to be operational. Their project is helping to develop the community and improve their water situation, as well as it creates jobs or the opportunity of spending time on work instead of fetching water. Although the creation of direct job opportunities might not be as great compared to other larger projects funded by governments or larger private sectors. However, their project does open up for a lot of indirect jobs, such as an increased demand for welders for the trailers, or through the removal of a time-consuming task.

Innovation

The innovation aspect that the alternative approaches might bring with them, as with Majiko and their view on what is the underlying water problem in Kitui county, is something that the aid agencies and organisations might not have. Thus, for them to either hire someone with a different background than the regular aid employee or to use the local population more broadly

and more consistently during all their stages of the projects and programmes, might give them another perspective on things and what might be the solution to the problem or issue. Often if someone has worked on the same issues or in the same area for a long time it might be difficult to find new methods and see beyond what is thought of as the main issue or problem. Still, this is probably what the aid industry needs to make their projects and programmes more relevant and more sustainable. In a time where sustainability and the environment is such pressing issues, it should be required by the aid agencies and organisations to find solutions that are both sustainable and that do not put a strain on the environment. Although some projects and programmes does need some sort of building that can affect the environment in a negative way, the aid industry should always aim to be as sustainable as possible and to make sure that what they are implementing into an area does not cause harm to the environment. By finding alternative solutions to the challenges and alternative usage of the already existing solutions there might not be a need for building new things. Again, this is dependent on the type of development issue or problem the alternative approaches and aid industry is trying to solve, but in relation to the water issues approaches, such as Majiko's, it might be the way to go. By using already existing water sources and using transportation methods that does not need fossil fuels to work, the effect on the environment in terms of emissions will also be less harmful.

A new set of actors

The alternative approaches might bring with it a new set of actors, actors that cannot be classified as NGOs or as purely businesses because of their approach to the current development issues. Actors such as Majiko falls in to this category, as its main objective is to find solutions to the most pressing issues and problems in the world by using elements from the business arena. These actors are trying to balance social need and profit. These types of actors can be seen as actors of the future as they work based on the same goals as the aid agencies and organisations, but they are also conducting this work to generate profit for themselves. These actors that are mindful towards the needs of population in the developing countries, but also are determined to create a solution that is practical and affordable as well as beneficial. By establishing projects, programmes or businesses that will benefit both them and the local population these actors might be successful in creating something that fosters sustainability and ownership, as well as the local population are participating through direct or indirect jobs.

Actors such as Majiko might be a more optimal solution since they have to implement a well thought through project or programme, where all obstacles and challenges has been addressed.

This is because their donors or investors are supporting the project or programme on the basis on their belief in the idea. The investors might not have the same funding opportunities as the aid industry's donors. Thus, they might be more sceptical and thorough regarding what they are investing in. By having to be 'more' convincing, the new actors might get an advantage when it comes to the planning of all the different aspects that needs to be considered for the project or programme to succeed. Of course, the new set of actors can be problematic, as with the purer business actors, when it comes to the profit aspect. However, as they are truly interested in solving the development issues and problems they will most likely put in the extra effort needed to ensure that they can generate the amount of profit required to be operational.

Concluding remarks

Throughout this thesis, I have tried to examine how the local population and community has been a part of the different projects and programmes in terms of participation and ownership. It is safe to say that the local population is regarded as an important actor for the success of the projects and programmes, however the extent of their participation might be somewhat wavering. The use of the local population is also one of the areas where the similarities and differences between the aid agencies and organisations and Majiko have been highlighted, as well as their working methods. I have used the data on how Majiko works as a way of considering if it can be used to develop and optimise the aid industry. The feedback from the different respondents have in most cases been positive, with a general attitude that Majiko's approach can and should be used by aid agencies and organisations. However, some were sceptical towards the use of companies as developing actors. Since the theory on development assistance states that the effects are unknown and in some cases insufficient, I have tried to examine the changes made by the aid industry and the changes that should be made to improve and optimise the work. I have used these changes as indicators for the future. Based on my findings and the theory, I would say that for the moment there is a need for development assistance. Still, this does not mean that there is no reason that other approaches can take over in the future, or that it is the best approach to develop the developing countries.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: List of research participants and their characteristics

Participants in Kenya:

Name	Position	Connection to Majiko
Alex	Business man: owner of the local welder shop.	Business associate: responsible for the building of the trailers and other parts needed for the project to work.
Anaciatam	Salesman: selling water to the local population through a kiosk.	Business associate: provides the project with water, as well as using the kiosk as a commercial for the project.
Benedict	Transporter from the local community.	Employee at Majiko: one of the transporters responsible for the transportation of the water to the Majiko customers.
Jacob	Computer “wizard” from the local community.	Business associate: used by the Majiko employees for computer services.
Rodger	Banker, farmer and a member of various boards in the local community.	Business associate: provides back-up water for Majiko. Private water source.

Participants in Norway:

Name	Position	Connection to Majiko
Kenneth Winther	CEO of Moonwalk.	CEO of Moonwalk: the inventor of Moonwalk Tomorrow where Majiko is created and started.
Jane Vogt Evensen	Special Advisor Economic Empowerment at the Norwegian Church Aid	No connection to Majiko, other than representing the aid industry and the projects Majiko are trying to outperform.
Jin Jin Yang	Service and Product Designer at Majiko	Service and Product Designer at Majiko: responsible for the design of bikes and trailers and so on.
Synne Støhlmacher	Managing Director of Majiko.	Managing Director of Majiko.

Appendix 2: Interview guides

INTERVIEW GUIDE MAJIKO

Background information:

- What is your position?
 - How long have you had it?
- What are your duties?
- How did you get involved in this project?
- Can you describe the way the Moonwalk method works?

Majiko:

- Can you describe what Majiko is?
 - How is it organised/structured?
- How long has the project been going on?
- What stage is it in?
 - Alex described it as grass root.
- What are the broader goals of Majiko?
- What does the project provide?
- What is the community contribution?
- What is the target group/beneficiaries?
 - How are these selected and identified?
- What agreements exist between Majiko and its partners in Kenya?
- Why is there a need for this kind of project?
- How does this project affect the local population?
- How is the project meeting the needs of the community?
- How has the project been received?
 - Sceptical population?
- How do you feel that the project is helping the local community?
 - Can you see any changes?
- How long time did the locals use on getting water every day?
 - How far did they need to go to get it?
- How long does it take to get water by bike?
 - How much water is being transported by the bikes?
 - How many families/households does this include?

The future of aid:

- Based on the Moonwalk method, do you feel that this way of providing a solution/alternative to aid is more sustainable than the traditional aid methods?
 - Why/why not?
 - How is this different from the traditional methods?
- In the long run, do you think that by using local value chains that the communities will benefit more than by providing them with aid in the traditional way?
- How important is it that the local population and values (knowledge, materials and labour) are being used in aid and other similar projects now, and in the future?
- Do you think that this method is the future of aid, and/or maybe the start of the abolishment of aid as we know it?
 - In terms of the innovation aspect.
- Why do you think that this approach is better than traditional aid?
- What disadvantages come with this type of innovation programme?

INTERVIEW GUIDE LOCAL POPULATION

Background information:

- How long have you lived in this area?
- What is your position?
 - How long have you had it?
- What are your experiences of living in this community?
- How did you get involved in this project?

Majiko:

- Do you know of the project Majiko?
 - If so, what do you think of their work?
 - If not, are there any reasons why not?
- Do you feel that there is a need for this project?
 - Why/why not?
- Do you feel that Majiko is making a difference?
 - Why/why not?
- What kind of difference?
- Do you think this project helps create jobs?
 - If so, how?
 - If not, why not?
- Do you think this project gives women and children more time to do other things?
 - If so, how?
 - If not, why not?
- Do you think that Majiko should be implemented in other areas?
- Are there anything that you think should be changed with the project?

The future of aid:

- Based on this project, do you feel that this way of providing aid is better than the traditional ways?
 - Why/why not?
- In the long run, do you think that by using local value chains that the communities will benefit more than by providing them with aid in the traditional way?
- How important is it that the local population and values are being used in aid projects now, and in the future?
- Do you think that this way of providing aid will give better outcomes than traditional aid?

INTERVIEW GUIDE MOONWALK

Background information:

- What is your position?
 - How long have you had it?
- What are your duties?
- How did you get involved in Moonwalk?

Moonwalk:

- Can you describe the way the Moonwalk method works?
 - How is it organised?
- How did this idea come up?
- What is the purpose of Moonwalk?
- Why is there a need for this kind of work?
- How does this work affect the local population/community?

The future of aid:

- Based on the Moonwalk method, do you feel that this way of providing aid is more sustainable than the traditional way?
 - Why/why not?
- In the long run, do you think that by using local value chains that the communities will benefit more than by providing them with aid in the traditional way?
- In what ways are the project using the local knowledge and social norms?
- How important is this for the project?
- Do you think that this method is the future of aid, and/or maybe the start of the abolishment of aid as we know it?

INTERVIEW GUIDE NORWEGIAN CHURCH AID

Background:

- What is your position?
- How long have you worked at NCA?

NCA:

- What is the overall goal of NCA?
- Why do you believe that aid is needed?
- In what ways can aid be problematic?
- How is the relationship between NCA and the donors?
 - Who are you donors? Are they mostly Norwegian or is it a mix?
- How is the relationship between NCA and the recipients?
- Have NCA experienced any problems regarding the implementations of their projects?
- How does NCA work to make the projects sustainable and long-term?
- How does NCA affect the population? Is it mainly positive, or negative or a mix?

Aid:

- What is the best approach or way of conducting aid?
- What do you think of when it comes to alternative approaches to aid?
- What kind of changes are happening in the aid industry?
- Do you think that aid will disappear in the future, or will there still be a need for it?
- Are there any methods that can help make the aid more effective?
- What do you think of aid tying and how it affects the projects and programmes?

Appendix 3: Informed consent form

INFORMED CONSENT FORM - RESEARCH STUDY ON:

Sustainable aid and the use of local value chains

RESEARCH PURPOSE AND PROCEDURES:

The study is part of a research project my master thesis in Development Studies from the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. The project will end on the 10th of May 2017. Participating in this study involves answering some questions that I have. This will take you approximately 20 to 40 minutes. Answer the questions the best as you can.

RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS OF THE RESEARCH STUDY:

There should not be any, or minimal risk, or discomfort following the participation of this study. Risks here refer to any physical, psychological, social, or economic risks.

POTENTIAL BENEFIT OF THE RESEARCH STUDY:

Your contribution will help strengthen the study and its outcome.

CONFIDENTIALITY AND ANONYMITY:

All information given will be kept confidential, only to be viewed by my research assistant, my Norwegian supervisors and myself. You have the right to stay anonymous, involving not using your name in the final product. The information will be deleted and or anonymized by the end of this project.

VOLUNTARINESS IN PARTICIPATION AND THE RIGHT TO WITHDRAW PARTICIPATION:

Involvement and participation in this study is voluntary. You will not receive any penalty for not participating. You have also the right to withdraw your participation at any time without any penalty.

CONTACTS FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:


If you have any questions about the study or want to withdraw your participation, please contact:

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sarah.khasalamwa@svt.ntnu.no
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Date/place: _____

Thumb Print:



Name: _____

Witness signature:

Signature: _____

Wish to stay anonymous:

Personal details from this form is obtained for administrative purposes only, not used in the study.