GROWING GIVING...
IN KENYA, UGANDA AND TANZANIA

February 2020

AGA KHAN FOUNDATION

CHARLES STEWART
MOTT FOUNDATION®

COMMUNITY
FUND

CAF
Charities Aid Foundation

CONTENTS

FOREWORD

It is a pleasure to present CAF's dedicated report into giving cultures across three unique countries in East Africa. This important piece of work was borne of a desire by partners in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda to delve deeper into the obstacles and opportunities to grow charitable giving – and in the process understand factors mirrored in so many emerging economies around the world.

We live in a time of tremendous potential as more economies are transformed and more people enter the middle classes. In doing so, they bring with them the power to both fund and shape a strong and healthy civil society, with roots in the societies they serve, the power to innovate and the resources to make a difference.

Vast changes in economies and societies bring with them an unprecedented opportunity to transform support for civil society and build movements that can help realise the ambitions of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and go further, to create the means to solve economic, social and environment challenges and forge a bright future for millions.

Sir John Low
Chief Executive
Charities Aid Foundation

The opportunity is there to help bridge the resource gap needed to deliver the SDGs, provide a domestic alternative to foreign aid and overseas NGO (non-governmental organisations) funding, but also to engage people in civil society and make it a powerful advocate for change, for openness and for democracy.

CAF first identified the potential of the world's growing middle classes to help support civil society back in 2016. But we also realised that encouraging giving to civil society could not happen without a strong understanding of the giving cultures already in place.

In their own way, each of these East African nations serve as microcosms of several global trends, with countries seeing the freedoms and flexibility of civil society being restricted by at-times wary governments, and a lack of public trust in large institutions. At the same time governments are revisiting budgets for overseas development assistance, while international NGOs and multi-lateral agencies still generate most of the non-government funding for development work.

But with those risks come opportunities to grow support to allow answers to local challenges to be determined locally. To get there, we needed to know more. Some of the findings here will ring familiar to many of us, regardless of where we live and work, such as a reluctance by donors to fund so-called 'charity overheads', while others reflect very specific practices, notably the deep-rooted culture of informal support for families and neighbours.

We are grateful for the chance to undertake this research in partnership with the Aga Khan Foundation, CS Mott Foundation and the UK National Lottery Community Fund. I am, as ever, humbled by the generosity that exists – particularly among those with the least to give – and take inspiration from the scale of giving captured in these pages. I hope it proves helpful in your work. At CAF, we view this as a starting point on a journey to grow giving in all its forms.

ABOUT THIS REPORT

This report from CAF (Charities Aid Foundation) in partnership with the Aga Khan Foundation, CS Mott Foundation and the UK National Lottery Community Fund, looks at individual giving, the enabling environment and challenges for civil society in three East African countries – Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. It complements the international research into giving that CAF has conducted for decades, including our renowned CAF World Giving Index[1] which celebrated its 10th anniversary in 2019.

Some years ago, CAF identified a once in a lifetime opportunity to harness the growth of the middle classes in emerging economies into contributing more to civil society[2]. Our Groundwork for Growing Giving paper estimated that with as many as 2.4 billion people set to join the world's middle classes by 2030, it is crucial that we ensure that the groundwork is put in place to support and encourage mass giving; movements in support of civil society. We estimate that if the world's middle classes were to give just 0.5% of their spending – less than the average UK household and about the same as people in the Republic of Korea – that could amount to $319 billion in resources for civil society organisations (CSOs) annually by 2030.

Harnessing the power of mass giving could release unprecedented resources to achieve the SDGs and tackle poverty, disease and many other social and environmental problems. But it would do much more than that. Growing domestic giving means giving money but it also means volunteering, sharing skills and advocacy. It would produce essential unrestricted funds for domestic NGOs, a healthy balance between local, regional and international organisations, and public engagement which would strengthen organised civil society, and strengthen democracy with it.

Following on from Groundwork for Growing Giving, we identified a need to understand more about current giving behaviours in key countries. In partnership with the Aga Khan Foundation, CS Mott Foundation and UK National Lottery Community Fund, we were able to commission the research agency Ipsos MORI to conduct a three pronged research programme, augmented with input from sector practitioners and experts through workshops in London and Nairobi, and desk research by CAF.

This is the consolidated report covering these three East African countries and individual reports on each of the three countries will follow in this research series, along with a report into individual giving, the enabling environment and challenges for civil society in South Africa. These reports include the findings of the Ipsos MORI research as well as policy context and recommendations by CAF.

We hope you find this report both interesting and useful.

If you have any questions on this research, we would love to hear from you and can be contacted at: research@cafonline.org

---

1   CAF (2019) World Giving Index 10th Edition. https://www.cafonline.org/about-us/publications/2019-publications/caf-world-giving-index-10th-edition
2   CAF (2017) Laying the Groundwork for Growing Giving. https://www.cafonline.org/about-us/caf-campaigns/campaigning-for-a-giving-world/groundwork-for-growing-giving

ABOUT CHARITIES AID FOUNDATION

Charities Aid Foundation is a leading international charity registered in the United Kingdom. We exist to make giving go further, so together we can transform more lives and communities around the world. We are a champion for better giving, and for over 90 years we've been helping donors, companies, charities and social organisations make a bigger impact.

CAF is a founding partner of the CAF Global Alliance, a leading international network of independent and locally-led organisations working at the forefront of philanthropy and civil society. The CAF Global Alliance includes partners from Australia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, India, Russia, South Africa, United Kingdom, and the United States.

We are CAF and we make giving count.

GLOSSARY

AML – Anti-Money Laundering

CAF – Charities Aid Foundation

CAPI – Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing

CBOs – Community Based Organisations

A public or private non-profit organisation that represents a community or a significant segment of a community and works to meet community needs.[3]

CSOs – Civil Society Organisations

Formal or informal organisations that are not part of government and are self-governing. They can be private or non-profit and include a range of actors such as advocacy groups, development agencies, community-based organisations and more.[4]

DENIVA – Development Network of Indigenous Voluntary Associations

DFID – Department for International Development

FBOs – Faith Based Organisations

Religious, faith-based, and/or faith-inspired non-profit organisations which may be registered or unregistered.[5]

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

IMF – International Monetary Fund

INGOs – International Non-Governmental Organisation

LGBT – Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender

MOU – Memorandum of Understanding

NGOs – Non-Governmental Organisations

Non-profit and/or voluntary organisations that are organised on a local, national or international level. NGOs perform a variety of services and humanitarian functions, bring citizens' concerns to Governments, monitor policies, and encourage political participation.[6]

NORAD – Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation

SDGs – Sustainable Development Goals

UN – United Nations

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

UNICEF – United Nations Children's Fund

USAID – United States Agency for International Development

VAT – Value Added Tax

WHO – World Health Organisation

---

3   AIDSInfo (2018) Glossary of HIV/AIDS-Related Terms 9th Edition https://aidsinfo.nih.gov/contentfiles/glossaryhivrelatedterms_english.pdf
4   The International Journal of Not-for-Profit Law, Volume 8, Issue 1 (2005) Toward an Enabling Legal Environment for Civil Society, Statement of the 16th Annual Johns Hopkins International Fellows in Philanthropy Conference, Nairobi, Kenya.
5   UNFPA (2009) Global Forum of Faith-based Organisations for Population and Development https://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/global_forums_fbo.pdf
6   UN Civil Society Unit (2020) "About us". https://outreach.un.org/ngorelations/content/about-us-0

KEY THEMES FROM THE RESEARCH
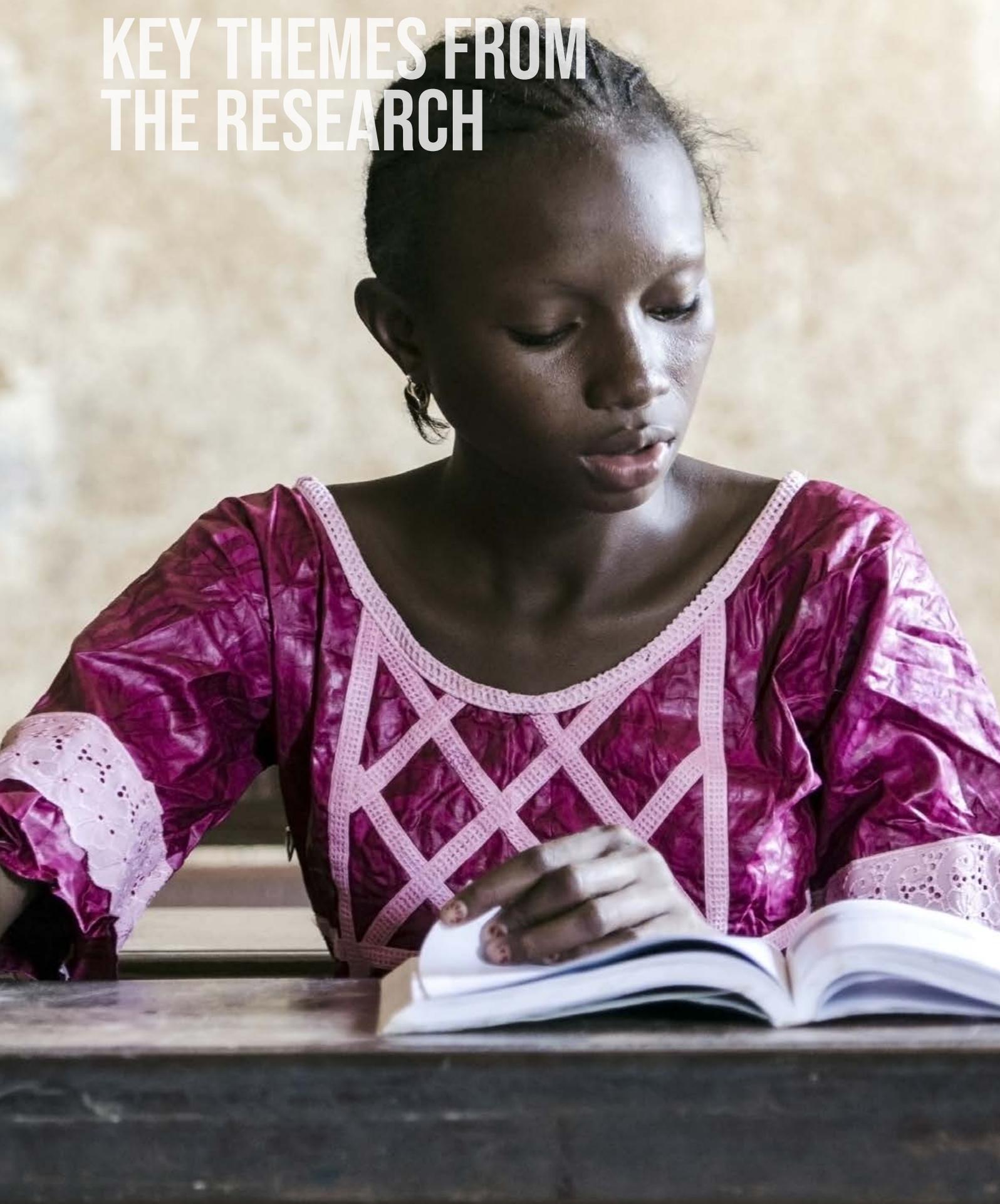
KEY THEMES FROM THE RESEARCH

The view from individuals

A strong culture of generosity exists, but it is predominantly informal rather than to CSOs. Survey data across all three countries showed that engagement with mass giving is common practice already. This is mainly 'informal' giving to individuals (family, kinship networks, friends, neighbours and wider communities) and takes various forms. While partly an obvious finding, this needs to be recognised as an essential part of the wider giving environment and social fabric, often providing a safety net. In-kind support (goods and volunteering) was quite prevalent for both giving to individuals and CSOs, with the suggestion in focus groups that a lack of trust of where the money would be going led to more in-kind rather than financial support for CSOs.

Religion as a strong driver for individual giving was present across all three countries. Religion was ranked as the second-highest motivation for individual giving and faith-based organisations (FBOs) were consistently ranked highest in terms of how positive survey respondents felt about a particular type of organisation. Partnerships and collaboration with churches and religious institutions was prevalent among CSOs, even when they are not faith-based.

A mixed picture emerged when it comes to the use and role of technology. Cash was the most prominent way to give by far, followed by mobile payment services. Donations by SMS/text and over the phone using credit cards were also mentioned but to a much smaller degree. Online giving and contactless was significantly less prevalent in comparison. While focus groups mentioned online engagement and use of social media in particular by CSOs (Facebook, WhatsApp), social media usage to find out about charitable organisations was not high among survey respondents.

The view from civil society

Aid dependency of CSOs and the potential of individual giving. Aid dependency was still prevalent among CSOs, whilst at the same time we see a small proportion of reliance on individual givers which presents an opportunity for additional and alternative sources of sustainable funding. Although investments in philanthropic and civil society infrastructure to drive domestic resource mobilisation took place in most countries, it remains relatively small and not prioritised by the donor community and requires further investment over time given a decline in aid. The huge level of generosity across all countries demonstrates a strong culture of giving and a potential to grow mass participation in civil society.

Trust and making the case to local populations for support remains an issue for local CSOs. CSOs are key to reaching many of the world's poorest, and tackling core societal issues and inequalities. A nexus of issues comes into play in regards to the lack of trust in CSOs. One is the perception by local populations that they are and should continue to be externally funded. For example, medical institutions and disaster relief are the least supported causes by individuals. Survey data shows that people agree with CSOs being effective in solving societal problems and supporting local communities, but effective usage of donations, that they are well managed, overall trustworthiness, as well as independence from government are ranked lower in comparison. Local organisations are seen as least positive consistently across all three countries.

Mission-drift, short-termism of international funding and competition around resources (domestic CSOs but also increasingly with INGOs) is a re-occurring but still prevalent topic over time. CSO participants in the research expressed a key funding challenge on covering non-project costs, and most notably administration and infrastructure costs. The lack of understanding of the need for core costs for CSOs impacts levels of trust by local populations, affects local ownership of causes and limits the sector in being strategic and sustainable.

Partnerships, in particular with the corporate sector, and corporate giving are under-utilised. Forms of cross-sector collaborations, including government, is taking place but not widely prevalent. There are few examples of partnerships and campaigns specifically targeted at domestic resource mobilisation and engagement with mass giving – in particular with corporate partners who can play an important role in reaching the masses – but they seem to be sporadic in nature.

The role of government

The closing of civic space and wider recognition of CSOs as an independent voice remains an issue across all three countries. While governments seem to recognise CSOs as service providers, their role as advocates is widely challenged, in particular when it comes to human rights and the rights of minority groups. CSOs receiving foreign funding are often targeted to tarnish the reputation of individual organisations as being 'foreign-driven'. Government affects CSOs' ability to raise awareness when their issues and causes are seen to be salient. Government tarnishing the sector's reputation also spills over into negative media portrayal of CSOs.

Regulation of CSOs is a complex and administrative process open to abuse to target individual organisations or the sector as a whole. Across the countries included in this research regulatory schemes are described as complex, and processes for registering CSOs are burdensome and unclear. In some cases CSOs have experienced increasing scrutiny of their work. A period of improvements in regulation has now been followed by a period of legal stalemate, inaction or changes to existing regulation limiting the scope for civil society action.

Tax incentives for individual giving and CSOs are mostly in place but very few survey participants were aware of them. Incentives for giving and philanthropy are often limited. They include rules that mean CSOs are not being granted tax-exempt status automatically after having registered to gain charitable status. A lack of awareness for both individuals and CSOs undermines the take up and utility of tax incentives. Across the region there are also disparities in allowable deductions and forms of tax relief for donors and charitable organisations (in particular whether individuals can claim a tax relief for charitable donations), diverging definitions of types of organisations and charitable purposes that qualify for tax-exemption, and a lack of a simple and accepted system for registering trusts and foundations.

LESSONS FOR GOVERNMENT, CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE WIDER WORLD

This research shows the potential of giving by people to have a transformative effect and to strengthen their role as active citizens in their community. However, international partners, regional and national governments, and civil society need to help put the right conditions in place for unlocking mass engagement with individual giving to local CSOs. This is CAF's view on steps needed from each:

- **Recognising the importance of giving in building civil society resilience** is essential to reforming the international aid system. Individual giving, formal and informal, financial and non-financial, needs to be seen as the foundation for civil society resilience and key to delivering on the SDGs. Although there are significant levels of informal giving happening, there is an opportunity to grow individual giving to CSOs. This is integral to their credibility and legitimacy; and more broadly to civil society's role in protecting civic freedoms, holding government to account and underpinning stable societies.

- **Sector and funder leadership:** strengthening local cultures of giving requires an open discourse around power dynamics that exist between large institutional partners and less powerful parts of local civil society. Many INGOs and multilaterals are also gearing up to tap local giving in countries in emerging economies. This can be at odds with empowering local actors and can potentially undermine solidarity in the sector and upset the social safety nets underpinned by informal giving. INGOs should work to support local CSOs and be an active participant in growing a local eco-system for civil society.

- **Funding civil society infrastructure to mobilise mass engagement in giving:** investing in local infrastructure and alternative financing models for CSOs to limit their aid dependency. Local infrastructure is a network of institutions and platforms that provide crucial services upon which civil society and giving to good causes can flourish. It is present across the region but needs further investment. This infrastructure can take on many forms, such as fundraising portals and CSO validation services, philanthropy advice, sector representation, standard-setting bodies and self-regulation, or research and capacity building, as well as sector-specific financial services.

- **Building on local cultures of giving:** by supporting a shift in the working mind-sets of local CSOs. The culture of support for family and community that exists in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania is powerful, and a foundation upon which to build. While local CSOs often focus on the requirements of external partners, they can work differently. However, CSOs could address this by diversifying their funding models to include local income generating activities and individual giving in particular in their funding mix.

- **Telling the story:** communicating the value of local civil society. This requires investment in campaigns for local resource mobilisation that highlight the value of civil society, and story-telling by CSOs that connects people with their causes and explains their impact and added value to communities and individuals, using language that empowers people to understand the causes that they are supporting. This will help to motivate them to continue their giving journey and deepen their engagement with civil society.

- **Fostering an enabling policy environment:** strengthening local cultures of generosity requires an enabling environment for mass participation in giving and civil society. Inconsistencies in each of the countries in the way civil society is regulated need to be addressed, and incentives for giving known and utilised by the public and CSOs, and policy development should account for impacts on the giving environment. Civil society should also be considered in the wider policy environment to minimise indirect or unintended impacts.

KENYA, TANZANIA AND UGANDA IN CONTEXT

This section of the report is based on desk research conducted by CAF.

Middle class growth and the opportunity this brings

East Africa is marked by opportunity. High growth, rapid economic development and a boom in the middle classes open up a future of relative prosperity for many, and the chance to look beyond family and the immediate community. Indeed, East Africa is currently seeing the highest rate of economic growth among African regions, with gross domestic product (GDP) growing by an estimated 5.7% in 2018[7].

Increasing numbers of East Africans entering the middle classes is driving strong domestic demand, and could create regional opportunities for a new mass of people with the disposable income to help strengthen civil society.[8]

With as many as 2.4 billion people set to join the world's middle classes by 2030 there is an opportunity to encourage mass engagement in giving and grow local generosity movements. CAF has estimated that if the world's middle classes were to give over just 0.5% of their spending, that could amount to $319 billion in resources for CSOs annually by 2030.

Specifically relating to the countries in this report, Uganda's middle class population has increased from 1% in 1992 to 8.4% in 2012[9], which as a proportion is growing faster than the population as a whole. 5.5 million Tanzanians are considered to be middle class,[10] with the country aiming for middle-income status by 2050.[11] The African Development Bank estimates 9% of Kenyans are lower middle class and 5% are upper middle class, and Kenya's middle class is expected to continue to grow. The World Bank has also recently ranked Kenya as a lower middle income country.[12]

Challenges facing CSOs

CSOs globally are facing significant structural challenges such as financial instability, an over reliance on foreign funding, shrinking civic space due to onerous legal and regulatory measures; and a perception that they are ineffective, poorly governed and not reflective of local values. Together, these factors adversely affect civil society's

---

7   African Development Bank Group (2019). East Africa Economic Outlook 2019. P. 1. https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/2019AEO/REO_2019_-_East_Africa_.pdf
8   African Development Bank Group (2018). East Africa Economic Outlook 2018 P.1. https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/2018AEO/African-Economic-Outlook-2018-East-Africa.pdf
9   Ayoki, (2012) Uganda's Emerging Middle Class and its Potential Economic Opportunities. https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/78843/1/MPRA_paper_78843.pdf
10 Tambwe, M. (2015) Tanzania: Growing Middle Class Bracket Offers New Opportunities. https://allafrica.com/stories/201509220924.html
11 The East African (2017): An inside look at Tanzania's grand plan to attain middle-income status by 2025 https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/business/Tanzania-growth-plan-middle-income-2025/2560-3787686-6a5d6o/index.html
12 World Bank (2020): Kenya country profile. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTKENYA/Resources/A_conversation_about_Kenya_s_Economy.pdf

ability to effectively address local, social, environmental and development needs. In the face of such challenges, a major opportunity is for fast growing economies to encourage mass giving. With increasing numbers of East Africans entering the middle classes and CAF's research finding strong existing local cultures of generosity, the rise in disposable income could underpin a growth of individual giving which would provide greater unrestricted income to local CSOs.

Growing mass public engagement and the effect on society

Growth of mass public engagement in civil society and active citizenship could also provide greater domestic accountability and stronger independent voices to counter restrictions on and increasing threats to civil society in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. It could also enhance civil society's ability to hold government and others in positions of power to account and represent the needs of vulnerable groups. With many instances of political turmoil surrounding elections and state repression of critics, East Africa has seen the constriction of freedoms of speech and assembly despite CSOs' often vibrant organising and engagement with legislative processes.

Growing mass public engagement and the effect on CSOs

Such mass movements are crucial to addressing the challenges and opportunities in the present funding landscape across East Africa. CSOs' financial viability has deteriorated, with a lack of income diversification and poor internal fundraising capacity. Reliance on external funding sources leads to a regional trend of 'mission-drift' in CSOs, where strategy is donor-driven and short-term objectives are prioritised. Public confidence in CSOs is hampered by governments labelling advocacy organisations as unpatriotic and foreign-driven, and the issue of institutional trust is further compounded by internal governance and accountability shortcomings.

Indeed, a recent USAID report on facilitating financial sustainability argues that as international funding decreases, domestic resource such as individual giving must become part of CSOs' funding mix, with a healthy ecosystem which involves "not only strong local mechanisms through which funding can be channelled, but also provides local CSOs with the necessary structures to connect with and manage this funding."[13] Despite CSO coalitions and philanthropy networks offering support services and driving some self-regulation, a lack of robust apex bodies remains another key challenge.

Cultural traditions

In the context of these financial challenges faced by CSOs, our research into giving trends in East Africa builds on recognition of cultural traditions such as *harambee* and *ubuntu* that underpin horizontal forms of philanthropy – peer-to-peer giving or assistance within communities based on reciprocity, solidarity and cooperation – which have long been practised in the region. In recent years, the African continent has seen a strong improvement in its CAF World Giving Index score, especially around volunteering and helping a stranger. Over the past decade, many African countries have risen up the rankings with three of the top ten most improved countries coming from Africa, specifically led by Kenya.

Impact of technology

With technological growth, digital financial services in East Africa have made more traditional fundraising easier. However, the scale of online giving remains small. Mobile money and mobile phone-based transactions are widely used for giving, however increased use of digital lending apps, in Kenya for example, is also escalating levels of individual debt, which could have a negative impact on levels of disposable income and ability to give.[14]

---

13 USAID, Foundation Center, Peace Direct, LINC (2018). Facilitating Financial Sustainability: understanding the drivers of CSO financial sustainability. P. 27.
14 Ndung'u, N. (2019) Africa Growth Initiative at Brookings. *Taxing mobile phone transactions in Africa: Lessons from Kenya*. P. 2

Tax incentives

While there are varying levels of tax incentives present for giving in the different countries, arduous exemption processes act as a deterrent and there is a widespread lack of awareness or guidance around tax regimes. In recognition that Africa may not be where most economic growth is going to occur, in contrast to the Asia Pacific region, our research highlights the potential of non-financial forms of giving which are critical for civil society to thrive.

Regulation

Legislation exists, recognising different types of CSOs across the three countries, most using a single government agency, but across the board regulations are complex and bureaucratic, and often exploited to increase scrutiny and control of the sector. For example, in Kenya the more liberal Public Benefit Organisations Act of 2014 remains unimplemented, in Uganda NGOs must go through a detailed, multi-level registration process and are subject to a registrar with wide powers, and in Tanzania recent changes to the law mean NGOs must re-register and face difficult reporting requirements.[15] A movement of individual givers could grant greater domestic accountability, independence and voice to empower the sector.

Closing space for civil society

The space for civil society is not guaranteed. The Human Rights Watch World Report 2019 found clear patterns of government repression across East Africa[16]. In Kenya security forces cracked down on protesters during the elections in late 2017 with over 100 killed, in Uganda security forces also violently dispersed protests, at times torturing journalists and opposition members, and Tanzania has seen sharply declining freedoms since President Magufuli's election in 2015, along with human rights abuses.[17] In 2019, more than 12,000 Ugandan CSOs were shut down, with critics claiming the regulatory crackdown effectively amounted to a 'purge'.[18]

While legal environments regulating the non profit sector are tolerant of civil society activity to varying extents, the space for CSOs' activities rely on them being socially and politically acceptable to government. Despite positive examples of mobilising and partnerships, such as the Third National Plan for Open Government Partnerships launched in 2019 in Kenya and Ugandan CSOs spearheading reform of electoral laws, many service-providing CSOs walk the narrow boundary between partner and critical evaluator of the state.

Summary

East Africa exemplifies global trends: closing civic space declining trust in institutions and very low levels of humanitarian funding channelled directly to CSOs in the global South[19]. However, the growing numbers of people entering the middle class in these emerging economies represents an opportunity to grow a new mass movement of giving with which to resource a strong and healthy civil society.

A cautious approach is necessary: many observers have pointed to the vulnerability of Africa's emergent middle class due to volatility in personal income[20]. Any formalisation of local giving must form part of a wider reorientation in the international development sphere whereby funds are channelled directly to CSOs. While acknowledging informal systems of mutual aid, one must not overestimate the 'poor philanthropist' as a panacea to development

---

15 K4D (2019). Legislation on non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, Rwanda and England and Wales. P. 2

16 Human Rights Watch (2019). East Africa: Civic Space Shrinking. https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/01/17/east-africa-civic-space-shrinking

17 Ibid

18 The Guardian (2019). Uganda bans thousands of charities in 'chilling' crackdown. https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2019/nov/21/uganda-bans-thousands-of-charities-in-chilling-crackdown

19 Walton, O. E., Davies, T., Thrandardottir, E., & Keating, V. C. (2016). Understanding contemporary challenges to INGO legitimacy: Integrating top-down and bottom-up perspectives. VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Non-profit Organisations, 27(6), 2764–2786.

20 Westcott, N. (2019) Royal African Society. The African Middle Class? https://royalafricansociety.org/the-african-middle-class/

performance,[21] nor cannibalise resource transfers in communities. Individual giving also sits in the wider context of vast diaspora remittances: World Bank data shows that East African countries received $17.38 billion from their citizens living abroad between 2013 and 2018,[22] another important resource into which further research is necessary.

The research contained within this report aims to fill some data gaps and move us towards developing informed solutions that will enable us to answer questions such as:

- How do we make the most of this opportunity?

- How do we better understand existing cultures of giving?

- How do we support and encourage the middle class to embrace all that civic activism is about and proactively engage in giving?

---

21 Wilkinson-Maposa, S., Fowler, A., Oliver-Evans, C., F.N. Mulenga, C. UCT Graduate School of Business (2005). The Poor Philanthropist: how and why the poor help each other. P. 9

22 Trade Mark East Africa (2019). East Africa's Diaspora remittances hit $17b. https://www.trademarkea.com/news/east-africas-diaspora-remittances-hit-17b/

RESEARCH APPROACH

CAF commissioned the research agency Ipsos MORI to conduct a broad, mixed-methods landscaping study of civil society and individual giving in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda (as well as South Africa, which is detailed in a separate report).

Objectives

The research was developed with CAF's key objectives in mind, to understand:

- the enabling environment in these countries, including how and why people give and what causes they give to, as well as obstacles and challenges in giving;
- what would make the public engage with civil society and social issues; and
- the challenges faced by the civil society sector and the impact of these challenges on civil society's ability to address local needs.

Method

Ipsos MORI's research combined both qualitative and quantitative methods in each of the three East African countries:

- qualitative, semi-structured interviews with CSO leaders – c.10 in each country;
- focus group discussions with urban, middle-income adults – one focus group in each country; and
- a face-to-face survey with urban, middle-income adults – c.500 in each country.

The rationale for this was that qualitative research is best suited to answer some of the research questions: the focus on understanding behaviours, motivations, barriers, and attitudes necessitated the more open, discursive and generative nature of qualitative research. Compounding this, the need to draw out narratives of individual giving, and to explore how civil society is understood and viewed by adults, required participants to be given space to give testimonials, and for researchers to follow emerging lines of inquiry and probe for more information. However, to understand the landscape of giving and the extent to which charitable giving takes place, a quantitative approach was more appropriate.

These research activities were coordinated centrally by Ipsos MORI's Social Research Institute in the UK, who had overall responsibility for research design and analysis. Research was managed by Ipsos Uganda and undertaken in the field by Ipsos Kenya, Ipsos Tanzania and Ipsos Uganda. All research tools were reviewed by staff from Ipsos Kenya, Ipsos Tanzania and Ipsos Uganda.

Complementing these activities, the CAF policy team also undertook a separate strand of desk research to understand the current landscape in terms of broader issues facing civil society in these countries, including the regulatory environments. Prior to finalisation of these reports, the CAF team also conducted a series of workshops in London and Nairobi with key people, to seek further perspective on the results as they were evolving. Some insight from these workshops is included in the narrative of this set of reports.

Full details on the research objectives and the research approach can be found in Appendix 1.

THE VIEW FROM CIVIL SOCIETY

THE VIEW FROM CIVIL SOCIETY

CSO internal practices

Organisational structure

Around 10 CSO participants were interviewed in each of Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya representing a range of organisation sizes and staffing structures, from organisations with no paid members of staff and relying exclusively on volunteers, to those with more than 100 paid employees.

Of the 24 CSOs which disclosed their annual budgets, these vary from approximately USD 3,300 in Uganda to USD 3.4 million in Kenya. More specifically, nine have an annual budget of less than USD 50,000, while three have a budget of USD 50,000-100,000. Four have a budget of between USD 100,000-200,000, while two indicate a budget of USD 200,000-400,000 and six of over USD 400,000. CSOs in Tanzania and Uganda indicate comparatively lower annual budgets than those in Kenya.

The vast majority of CSOs interviewed were created more than ten years ago, with only two having been founded in the previous five years, and four between five and ten years ago. Nevertheless, several CSO participants identified a delay—sometimes of many years—between the creation of the organisation and its formal registration.

Across all three countries, the ratio of paid staff to volunteers varies widely; however, across nearly all organisations, the role of volunteers is integral to the functioning of the CSO. As explored further below, this sometimes was considered to translate into an over-reliance on volunteers and seems to be particularly problematic in Uganda in comparison with Tanzania and Kenya. For instance, one CSO in Uganda working in the area of disability had fifteen volunteers and two paid employees. For the large part, these volunteers are community members; however, a limited number of organisations also mentioned having volunteers from abroad or university students working as volunteers.

Nearly all CSO participants, irrespective of the size of the organisation, explained that their organisation operates under some form of structured or semi-structured management, be it in the form of a management board, a board of directors, a leadership board, or an advisory committee. Several have more complex layers of management, for instance with a secretariat, a chairman, and a disciplinary board.

For the most part, the role of the management among these CSOs is to oversee and steer the organisation's strategy (notably through the establishment of five-year plans); however, other tasks were attributed as being the management's role, such as drafting proposals to receive funding, publishing reports about the organisation's activities, or organising annual meetings.

> "
> *On top we have the founding members followed by Directors, Management and staff; that is the structure. We have an AGM where members sit annually to go through different information and agendas from the board. In the management, we have different departments, but for us we have three main departments; Programs Department, Capacity Development Department and Business and Partnership Department. We also have the departments of Finance and Operations, Monitoring and Evaluation and Evaluation and Research whose work is to help the three main departments, and the Managing Director.*
> CSO leader, Tanzania

Organisational strategy

Most CSOs in Uganda, Tanzania, and Kenya explained having a strategy in place for determining the organisation's activities over the medium to long-term. Key to the establishment of this strategy are consultations with community members and beneficiaries, in order to establish the needs of the community and look back at what worked and what did not in previous projects. Some participants also explained devising their strategic plan with input from other CSOs working on the same themes and with relevant government bodies, in order to avoid the duplication of effort.

Some CSO participants also explained that their organisation establishes five-year plans, into which they integrate planned donor support (financial and material) and determine shorter targets (e.g. annual goals).

There were nonetheless some exceptions to this process. For instance, a few organisations explained that their strategy is notably determined by which geographic areas have not yet been reached and are easily accessible, because they lack the means of transport which would allow them to reach more distant areas.

There are members who determine to do something voluntarily especially when that activity is near to them but when it is far, sometimes we cancel and say this one we can't because of mobility and the like, you find it becomes harder.
CSO leader, Uganda

One organisation in Kenya also explained that their strategy is determined at a national level, because they are a branch of an INGO.

Communications

CSO participants across Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania described more or less developed communication strategies, which rely to varying degrees on technology and social media platforms. Many participants use local television or radio stations to raise awareness of their work, and some mentioned having in the past received free air time from these media outlets. However, results from the quantitative survey amongst individuals suggest that the radio is far from being a key channel by which the general public hear about CSOs. In Uganda, 10% of individuals who have recently supported the work of a charitable organisation say that they found out about the organisation through the radio or on television, while the corresponding figure in Tanzania and Kenya is even lower, at respectively 4% and 2%. Conversely, word of mouth is a far more common method of communication, with 58% of individuals across all three countries saying that this is how they found out about the organisation they have most recently supported.

In terms of social media usage, several CSOs explained that they use WhatsApp and Facebook to promote their work, try to leverage donations, organise meetings, and communicate with their members, donors, and beneficiaries. A few also mentioned having a website and using Twitter.

Nevertheless, there were some limitations around social media usage. Participants felt that such platforms are primarily useful in reaching a young, urban demographic. Furthermore, reliance on social media seems to vary by country, with less use of such platforms in Uganda than in Tanzania and Kenya. Indeed, in Uganda, communication strategies seem to rely more on offline channels, such as networking.

CSO participants who rely on networking strategy explained that it enables them to connect with potential partners and other stakeholders, and source experts for specific projects. Some of the networks they mentioned being a part of include Greater Alliance, the Uganda Coalition for Sustainable Development, the Uganda NGO Forum, or the regional networks of Dodoma (Tanzania) and Eldoret (Kenya). Organisations working on disability cited being part of disability-specific networks, such as the Uganda Action on Physical Disability and the Uganda Albinos Association.

If we were not collaborating, we would not have got funds. We were a small organisation as you know but through networking with other CSOs, they have linked us to other partners.
CSO leader, Uganda

Other forms of offline communication methods mentioned by CSO participants include distributing newsletters and using suggestion boxes.

CSO resource mobilisation

As mentioned earlier, the annual budgets of CSO organisations varied widely, ranging from approximately USD 3,300 to USD 3.4 million, with most having a budget of below USD 200,000, and many below USD 50,000.

Sources of funding

Sources of funding mentioned by CSO participants are wide ranging, but can broadly be categorised into foreign, domestic, local, and internal.

In terms of foreign funding, participants cited receiving funds from the following sources:

- International non-government organisations (INGOS). These are key donors for many CSOs and include organisations such as Care International, Amref, Comic Relief, World Vision, and Plan International. In particular, these were very prominent for organisations working in the area of disability, who explained receiving funds from foreign charities working to support people living with disabilities around the world. For instance, some organisations cited include the Kilimanjaro Blind Trust, Christian Blind, Abilis Foundation, the Disability Rights Fund and Sightsavers. In line with this, some CSO participants cited foreign foundations as sources of funding, such as the Open Society Foundations.

- Foreign government aid agencies, such as DFID, USAID, NORAD, as well as embassies including those of Denmark, Switzerland, Austria, and Sweden.

- Although discussed by fewer participants, UN bodies such as UNPD and UNICEF were also brought up as sources of funding.

Participants also cited receiving funds from the following national sources:

- Relevant government branches (e.g. municipal governments and urban councils), which were mentioned more frequently in Tanzania and Uganda than in Kenya. CSO participants explained that this support was not only financial, but sometimes also material, for example through the provision of office space or land.

- National development agencies or foundations, such as the Uganda National NGO Forum and the network DENIVA (Development Network of Indigenous Voluntary Associations) in Uganda; the Kenya Institute of Organic Farming and the Kenya Community Development Foundation in Kenya.

- Private corporations, notably banks and telecoms companies who support CSOs as part of their Corporate Social Responsibility programs (including Standard Chartered Bank, Safaricom, and Nairobi Sports House).

- Income-generating activities, individual donations, and collection of membership fees.

Fundraising strategies

Most CSO participants explained that their organisation relies on a combination of many, if not all, of the different types of sources cited above. This being said, CSOs in Uganda seem to rely more heavily on foreign sources of funding than their counterparts in Kenya and Tanzania, while Kenyan CSOs seem to receive more corporate funding than organisations in Uganda and Tanzania.

"

We get depending on the strategies we create, for example we can envision that this year we need a certain amount to achieve a certain goal according to the memorandum of understanding so they will agree and release the money at an agreed time after some things have been done.
CSO leader, Tanzania

In general, CSO participants explained that they receive donor funding by submitting proposals to donor agencies, or that they receive funds from organisations they are partnered with, usually through a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU).

Several challenges were raised around donor financing. In particular, some CSOs explained that the demands for accountability and restrictions on how funding can be used were too constraining. Others cited administrative problems, and in particular, difficulty in writing successful proposals because they lacked expertise in this area. Compliance with the documentation requirements set by donors was also a challenge:

Donor instability and delays in transferring funds were also mentioned as problems.

In terms of income-generating activities, many CSOs explained that they run a business alongside their charitable work in order to sustain their charitable activities, such as renting out function rooms or through the sale of goods. For instance, one CSO participant in Tanzania explained that they run a training programme for local youth, where they teach technical skills (such as carpentry and how to dig and maintain wells) in exchange for a fee. Another organisation in Kenya runs two bakeries as well as selling hand-woven bags, which contribute towards funding the CSO's activities.

Donors ask for paperwork (e.g. financial statements, employee manuals, salary structures etc.) which [we] struggle to provide because [we] don't have the ability to employ an administrator to do these tasks. [We] are also supposed to write audited reports but cannot afford an external [administrator.]
CSO leader, Uganda

We set our zone as an enterprise, we make products like this, these gift bags and sell them to get money. So instead of sitting and waiting for donors to come we have opted to make gift bags. We also have a bakery [...] where we bake cakes. We also have these [pouches] for carrying medicine. We also make packets for carrying sugar, salts. So, you know through hardship we had to be somehow creative to come up with income generating ways [...] Donors or no donors we will still carry on because we realised that accessing local donors is very hard.
CSO leader, Kenya

Individual giving to CSOs

CSO participants also discussed individual donations as a source of funding; however, some variation is evident across countries when it comes to prominence of this source. Although this is generally a small source of revenue, CSOs in Kenya and to a lesser extent Tanzania seem to draw more funds from individual donors than those in Uganda.

In Kenya, CSO participants explained using a range of methods to leverage individual donations. Several mentioned organising fundraising events, while others stated that they use platforms such as MChanga and Global Giving. Others mentioned raising funds from the local community, notably through social media and radio campaigns. These individual donations are received primarily through mobile money payment options such as M-Pesa and Pay Bill, and this method of payment was mentioned by CSOs of all sizes.

In Tanzania, leveraging individual donations did not seem to be a consistent point of focus, though several CSO participants did say that they receive individual donations from members of the local community. These are primarily sourced through harambees, or charity fundraising events.

In Uganda, most CSO participants explained that they do receive individual donations, but do not necessarily seek to do this. Those that do seek donations tend to be smaller organisations, and they do this through fundraising drives and by collecting donations from churchgoers. These donations were received either in cash, via mobile payment, or through the internet (using PayPal on the CSO's website, or GoFundMe). Some CSOs mentioned wanting to explore this revenue source further in the future.

Finally, in all three countries, CSO participants also mentioned making use of membership fees or subscription fees to fund their activities. In some cases, this means raising fees directly from the organisation's own beneficiaries, such as through organised groups at local levels.

CSO participants cited several reasons for their difficulty in leveraging individual donations. One such reason was the lack of awareness of CSO needs, and a misperception that CSOs don't need funds, notably if the public see that the organisation receives support from abroad. This was also a common theme discussed in the Nairobi workshops conducted by the CAF team.

Alongside this is the issue of accountability and trust. Participants explained that they want to see what their donations are used for and are wary of corruption. Several CSO participants across all three countries considered this a reflection of "individualism," and explained that giving is not a strong part of the culture of these countries; however, the quantitative survey suggests otherwise, as discussed in the individual giving section of this report.

CSO participants from organisations working in the area of disability explained that they faced specific challenges. In particular, the general public lack awareness of what specific needs these organisations have, and furthermore, stigma and discrimination against people living with a disability are important obstacles in leveraging individual donations.

Another sector-specific challenge around leveraging individual donations came from advocacy organisations, who felt that because their activities do not result in concrete, tangible outcomes, they are less appealing to individual donors.

> *Because we are also looking at membership as one way of contributions and sustainability, members pay some membership to the organisation. But remember, if we go everywhere collecting membership fees from each individual it will not be fair, so we encourage members to register within the clusters in their region. Then it's from the regions that they form small groups and that is the chain.*
> CSO leader, Uganda

> *Contributions from different people is small, almost negligible because these non-profit organisations have one problem, our people when they see a person from abroad coming to the organisation and you work with him or her they believe the person to have a lot of money therefore when you present the idea of getting help, they wonder saying, "you have white people and still want contributions".*
> CSO leader, Tanzania

> *Honestly, we have not tried, we have not approached any individual and told them what we do so that they can support us, I think it is one of the sources of funds that we have never tried in our life but I think it is because of the culture in Kenya, the individual wants to be seen doing something.*
> CSO leader, Kenya

> *Trust is little because of the mindset that disabled people cannot do activities successfully like other people, that's why if our members even approach banks and other institutions for a loan, there's laxity to give them it because of their disability, they don't believe that they will utilize the money well and that is a very wrong perception hence we are not able to be competitive like other organisations.*
> CSO leader, Tanzania

Giving in kind

While for the most part, individual donations were not a key source of revenue for the organisations interviewed, CSO participants did explain that the local community plays an important role in supporting its work, and notably through the provision of gifts in kind and volunteering.

In terms of volunteering, CSO participants explained that community members provide all sorts of support, be it by running certain activities that rely on their skillset, such as doctors giving their time to provide medical support to beneficiaries, technical support, legal support, and evaluation services. In some cases, these volunteers are university students, while several organisations also explained receiving volunteers from partner organisations. This reliance on volunteers represented a double-edged sword for CSO participants, who explained that on the one hand it allows them to reduce their staffing costs, but on the other, means that they must cope with the challenges of high volunteer budget, training requirements, and volunteer turnover.

Gifts in kind were also an important part of community support. Gifts received from the public include school materials, clothing, food, tree seedlings, livestock, computers, wheelchairs, and free air time from radio stations. While these also represent an opportunity to reduce project costs, participants explained that there are also challenges associated with this. In particular, these gifts in kind do not always correspond to what the organisation actually needs. One CSO participant, from a disability organisation, gave an example of a logistical challenge posed by gifts in kind as quoted on the right.

While CSO participants did not specifically make this link, leveraging individual donations could serve as an effective solution to the challenge of restricted funding posed by other sources of financing.

> *Projects which get launched, these are always on the news and who supported it, that is what they want to see, nobody wants to say that this community has been empowered on their rights or this community have been able to engage with the government because of the intervention, they don't see that as an outcome.*
> CSO leader, Kenya

> *For now, we don't have that program of involving individuals [for donations] but there are people who support in their own time. When we go to teachers, parents, village leaders, school boards, they bring what is needed for a project like they contributed fertilizer which is a good support we get in terms of individuals not in terms of cash but through available resources that they have as a community and through their own strength.*
> CSO leader, Tanzania

> *Recently we got someone to give us 100 wheelchairs but when you tell a parent to come and get the wheelchair, they will say they don't have money to come pick it up. Sometimes the donors bring [the wheelchairs] here but the parents don't have money to come and yet they need it, so we have to find a way to getting it to them.*
> CSO leader, Uganda

CSO capacities, challenges and opportunities

Organisational strengths

CSO participants across Uganda, Tanzania, and Kenya viewed their organisation as having strengths in a wide array of areas. Many considered themselves to have strong internal practices, notably in terms of the organisation's leadership, management (including long-term strategy and financial management and accountability). Other internal strengths that CSO participants raised included having dedicated staff (including those willing to work unpaid), and strong expertise in the sector, particularly among organisations working around disability.

In terms of external strengths, many CSOs considered collaboration to be one of their organisation's strong suits. They stressed that collaboration is key to their organisation's success and explained that they are effective in working in partnership and maintaining close ties with other CSOs, government ministries, donors, and beneficiaries or members. Likewise, several organisations explained that their strength lies in their visibility, reputation, and transparency despite a general perception of a climate of mistrust around charities in these countries.

Capacity limitations

CSO participants were asked to identify any capacity limitations facing their organisation. A consistent theme across all three countries is that CSO participants feel that their organisation is limited in its capacity as a result of insufficient and unpredictable funding. Funding issues were seen to have numerous consequences on CSO capacity, particularly in terms of ability to hire and retain the necessary staff, and the organisation's scope of work. In conjunction with limited funding, CSO participants explained that funding often fluctuates, which adds a further level of complexity to the above.

The other strength is we have people who are committed to this cause because 80% of the staff are persons with disabilities. So, when we talk about rights of persons with disabilities it's not something that we have to be trained about, it's a lived experience. No one is going to tell me that you can't take stairs because I know what it means. Nobody is going to tell me I need an interpreter because I know what it means for a deaf person to sit in a place without an interpreter. So, we have staff who are persons with disabilities themselves but also who are committed to the cause. They are also beneficiaries in a way so if you pass a good law for persons with disabilities even me, I benefit from it because I am a person with disability.
CSO leader, Uganda

Our communities and the social movements that we have, we have huge masses behind us and that is our strength. Two, we have proper structures as an institution which are working, I am talking about the leadership structures that I explained earlier and that we have a very effective finance management system which is accompanied by accountability by the money that we use and that is our strength. The other thing is that we are compliant to all legal requirements, we pay our taxes at our individual and organisation level, we submit all the returns and we have never defaulted and [...] I think we have the best staff in this organisation.
CSO leader, Kenya

Key challenges

CSO participants raised a number of other challenges around funding. One such challenge was covering non-project costs, and most notably administration and infrastructure costs.

Another challenge related to funding was around the constrained scope of work of CSOs, and inability to provide support to as many beneficiaries as desired. Several participants also felt that their scope of work is constrained by donor stipulations on how funds should be used.

Another funding-related issue, which was raised by participants in all three countries but seemed more prevalent in Uganda, was the lack of means of transportation, which limits CSOs' ability to reach beneficiaries and network with stakeholders further afield.

In terms of staffing, participants explained that a lack of sufficient and sustainable funding makes it difficult to hire the staff required to run projects and contributes to an over-reliance on volunteers. Specifically, participants explained that they lack employees with specific skillsets, such as proposal-writing, financial management skills, fundraising, administration, computer-literacy, and monitoring and evaluation. The inability to hire such people causes organisations to outsource these duties on an ad hoc basis or to rely on volunteers or partner organisations. Lack of funding also results in an inability to provide adequate training to permanent staff and volunteers. In addition to posing problems on a day-to-day basis, these staffing issues were also considered to hinder the organisations' ability to successfully bid on tenders and lead to inefficiencies in management.

Hand in hand with the issue of over-reliance on volunteers due to a lack of funds for full-time tasks, CSO leaders faced challenges related to volunteer management, either struggling to find volunteers to complete specific tasks they need support with, or simply lacking the HR capacity to organise and coordinate volunteer action. Several participants explained that while they have a large support base of volunteers, these often want to do the same hands-on tasks, and do not necessarily fill the gaps which the organisation actually needs

> *Most partners don't want to contribute towards administration and at the end of it all you wonder. You are giving a lot of money to the organisation, you want the activities to be implemented but who is going to implement the activities? At the end of it all the staff is going to carry that money, go to the field but they are not paid so that is a big challenge from all partners. I don't know why it's like that because even our accountant, some partners say we are not paying the accountant; we are just contributing airtime to the Executive Director yet at the end of it all you want financial records. Who is going to prepare them? I think really partners should revise and see. However much they want to help the community, they cannot help the community minus the staff therefore we need that contribution towards administration.*
> CSO leader, Uganda

> *Right now, the programs we are implementing they are only serving orphans, vulnerable children due to HIV/AIDS. Now you find that we have other types of people in the community who are vulnerable, maybe they are from very humble backgrounds, we have children who are maybe mentally challenged, who have various disabilities, or there may be others who are vulnerable in terms of their conditions maybe they are living in slums, and maybe their parents are drunkards but you see we cannot serve these children because this money from the donor we have is for these vulnerable children. So sometimes you find that we also have other people who are suffering but we are limited because of the agreement with the donor that we are going to spend the money specifically on this line.*
> CSO leader, Kenya

> *Someone [from the CSO] wants to go and talk to the Red Cross or Build Africa but because of the issue of transport, they cannot go there.*
> CSO leader, Uganda

support on. Most CSOs do not seem to have a deliberate volunteer policy or management system in place, though this was not brought up as being a challenge.

While CSOs' primary difficulties revolved around funding and staffing, several other challenges were raised:

- In Tanzania, several participants mentioned the government's CSO registration as being an issue. They explained that the process for registering their CSO lacks clarity, and it is often difficult to know which documents were required by whom. They also explained that this is not done on a national level, and requirements vary locally. The fee required to register a CSO was seen to be too costly when considering the fact that these funds could otherwise go towards helping beneficiaries.

- Organisations working around disability explained that they struggle with the social stigma association with disability, and that this notably has repercussions on leveraging support from both donor organisations and individuals.

Key support needs

In line with the key challenges explored above, CSO participants across Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania explained that the main support they would like to receive would be the provision of resources, primarily through funding but also through material goods, skilled staff, or infrastructure.

Several other support needs were consistently brought up across all three countries. One of these was the promotion of collaboration and partnerships between relevant stakeholders in the sector and the government.

Other support needs discussed were training and subject-specific education, as well as for the media to play a greater role in promoting CSO work and painting a more positive picture of the sector. Finally, participants across all countries expressed a desire to receive more support from the government, in terms of facilitating legal processes and relaxing laws which restrict CSO activities.

"

We are expected to start from the ward for registration, and you won't know where the registrar sits and what documents are required. For regional and national level, you must go to Dodoma for answers because the lower level officers don't have information. Another thing is that you can take your information to Dodoma and they ask for information from all levels; there is no universal system on government's operations.
CSO leader, Tanzania

Then the other thing is the attitude from those offices where they go. You know people have the mentality that every blind person is a beggar. You could have gone there for a discussion but when they see you, they think you are begging and someone will pull out a 1,000 UGX to give you, yet you are there to discuss something that concerns people in the community. But the first thing this person thinks is that you have come to beg for money, and someone gets the courage to pull out a 1,000 UGX or 2,000 UGX and gives you and then goes away.
CSO leader, Uganda

I think we really need to team up and join other movements for one common goal, learning from each other and strengthening each other, exchanging ideas and knowledge and making sure that we all are serving a common goal.
CSO leader, Kenya

The external environment

Policy and regulatory environment

Across the region, CSOs were largely divided about the relationship between government and civil society, although views were particularly negative amongst CSO participants in Uganda and among CSO participants working on politically sensitive issues in Tanzania and Uganda. In Kenya and in Tanzania, CSO participants held mixed views, with some saying the government helps civil society, and others saying support varied. Across the region, the complementing of CSOs' and government's work were noted, and some CSOs suggested that there were opportunities for the two sectors to collaborate better together.

In Kenya and in Uganda, there were some instances of government providing in-kind support and funding to CSOs as well, which was positively received, although the inconsistency of such support was problematic. Examples of in-kind support provided in Kenya include provision of government workers to staff public facilities owned by the CSOs, supplies, training, introductions to international donors, and policy support.

However, a variety of challenges in relation to government were also evident across the region. Consistency of regulation and a sense that regulation was punitive or unfair were cited as issues. Government scrutiny that felt burdensome or unfair was cited in Kenya and Uganda; CSO participants in Uganda cited restrictive legislation and raiding of CSO offices as issues, while in Kenya, regulations that restrict foreign funding and the number of board members were mentioned as challenges.

Government thinks their work is to fight civil society. But like I said in the beginning if we could all learn that we are all complementing each other there would be no fights and things would run smoothly and actually if government would support CSOs, I think we would be doing much better.
CSO leader, Uganda

The government has been working very hard to regulate CSOs in bad faith... the government is really trying to squeeze and make sure that the CSOs can't effectively do their work.
CSO leader, Kenya

Of course, you know we have been struggling with this whole regulating of CSOs and some of the laws that have been passed are not actually friendly to CSOs. I think there was a tendency to curb down CSOs [...] who address issues that are political. It can be very difficult for CSOs to actually push through.
CSO leader, Uganda

Some CSOs in Tanzania felt regulation was not imposed consistently and fairly, although others disagreed, and some felt the CSO registration process was complicated. In Kenya, it was less clear to CSOs whether the government seemed to be intentionally trying to stifle the work of the sector, although regulatory complexity at federal and local levels were noted as a challenge.

CSOs working in the areas of advocacy and human rights, or on politically sensitive issues, such as LGBT rights, or those aiming to hold government to account, faced tensions with government. CSOs in Uganda even noted that the government tried to obstruct their work. Advocacy organisations therefore felt that they had to be particularly careful to avoid punitive action from government such as freezing of funds. For example, one CSO participant in Kenya described how the government does not like to be held to account by advocacy groups and is suspicious of their activities.

Philanthropic infrastructure, knowledge and support services

CSO participants across Uganda, Tanzania, and Kenya explained that collaboration with other CSOs is widespread and plays an important role in their organisation's work. Most CSOs explained that they are part of several different networks, and collaborate with other CSOs, academia, institutions, and the government. These collaborations enable capacity-building, training and the sharing of sector-specific research, insights into funding sources, a space to share best practices, and service delivery. These collaborations are both formal (for instance working with academia or donor organisations to receive training) or informal (such as collaborating with other CSOs to avoid the duplication of effort).

In Kenya, many CSO participants explained having previously collaborated with the private sector, through which they received goods and services as well as technical support. This type of collaboration did not appear to be as common among CSOs in Uganda and Tanzania.

CSO participants across all three countries generally considered the church and religious organisations to play a positive role in the charity sector, though levels of collaboration with these institutions varied by country. In Kenya, most organisations had close working ties with a church, which played a role in disseminating information, providing support to beneficiaries alongside the CSO, and providing financial or material support. A similar picture emerged in Tanzania, with most CSO participants reportedly collaborating either formally or informally with churches or other religious institutions.

In Uganda, however, none of the CSO participants were actively affiliated with the church, despite generally being positive about their impact on society. In particular, CSO participants were positive about the work of the church in empowering and educating communities, encouraging social mobilisation, and providing a meeting space for the community and local CSOs. Only one participant viewed the church negatively, explaining that they played a role in perpetuating negative perceptions around people with disabilities.

> *We are restricted to involve ourselves in politics; we are to do what our CSO's goals and aims are. So, leave politicians to do their politics.*
> CSO leader, Tanzania

> *We were a small organisation as you know but through networking with other CSOs, they have linked us to other partners.*
> CSO leader, Uganda

> *At certain times we work by using pastors for example when we speak about gender-based violence projects, we welcome the elders of the church and the influence of elders in the society. We cooperate together so that when they go to homily or in their local meetings they can be able to deliver the message.*
> CSO leader, Tanzania

Role of social movements

Awareness of, and involvement with social movements differed by country. CSO participants in Uganda seemed the most aware of local social movements underway, regardless of whether or not they chose to be involved in these. Some participants specifically mentioned preferring not to be involved in social movements, notably to remain apolitical, while others explained having in the past taken part in (or even organised) social movements, such as to promote LGBT rights or those of people with disabilities.

In Tanzania, CSO participants seemed to have very little awareness of social movements and did not comment on their impact on the charity sector. Similarly, in Kenya, CSO participants did not seem to take a role in social movements, although some expressed having positive views on their impact on the charity sector, notably around issues of housing and health.

THE VIEW FROM INDIVIDUALS

PEN PORTRAITS

Kenya

The supporter of individuals

I like to give to individuals, like my family, my community, and even people I don't know. I give because of my personal connection to them, because my religion teaches me to give, and because I want to give back to those who are less fortunate than me. I give a lot, but I would be more likely to support charities if there was more transparency in the sector, and maybe if I knew more about the organisation or through my church. In general, I do think donating to charities makes an important difference in society, but I worry they wouldn't use my donation effectively.[23]

"I bought clothes for my friends' children. I even paid school fees for them. I have a friend who could not pay the rent; I have [a] house and she is staying there as we speak until she stabilises. With some family members, I give them money and even some food stuffs to the lady who does laundry for me; sometimes, you see that she is in need."[24]

---

23 This pen portrait was based on the responses of survey participants who gave any form of support to strangers in the last 12 months. The three most common motivations for giving were personal attachment to a cause (57%), their religion (57%), and a desire to give back to the less fortunate or society (52%). The three most common factors that would make the participants more likely to give to charitable organisations were more transparency in the sector (51%), their religion or faith (47%) and knowing more about the organisation (44%). When asked their attitudes toward charitable organisations, the statement most frequently agreed with was that donating to them makes an important difference in society (75%) and the statement least frequently agreed with was they generally use donations effectively (41% agree).

24 Focus group participant.

The charity supporter

I give to charities every few months. I'm motivated to give to charities because of my religion, and I support charities when I feel a personal connection to the cause. I want to give back to those who are less fortunate than me. I would give even more if I felt the sector was more transparent and because of my faith. In general, I do think donating to charities makes an important difference in society, but I'm not really sure they have a strong influence over government policies.[25]

"Compassion [motivates me to give]. Sometimes I give. There is this program [...] where we buy sanitary towels, they were asking me to at least buy sanitary towels for the girls in need so I would say [I am] compassionate because if I can afford to buy that for my daughters, then even for another girl I will."[26]

The charity sceptic

I haven't given any support to CSOs in the last year. When I give, it's because I feel a strong personal attachment to someone. I would give money to the charity sector if there was more transparency in the sector, and if I had a better understanding of how the money would be spent and knew more about the organisation. I don't give money to charities because I prefer to give them other forms of support like food. I can't always afford to give to charitable organisations, and I'm not sure they would use the money well. I think that donating to them does make an important difference in society, yet I'm not sure they use those donations effectively.[27]

"When you are giving to an individual, you have some measure of control because like if you would want someone to take a child to school you can actually come back tomorrow and question why is the kid not going to school, but you see now when you donate [to] organisations, once you donate you have no idea of what will happen."[28]

---

25 This pen portrait was based on the responses of survey participants who gave any form of support to CSOs in the last 12 months. Of these, 14% give more than once a week, 34% about once a month, and 20% about every two to three months. The three most common motivations for giving were personal attachment to a cause (60%), their religion (61%), and a desire to give back to the less fortunate or society (50%). The three most common factors that would make the participants more likely to give to charitable organisations were more transparency in the sector (53%), their religion or faith (52%) and knowing more about the organisation (44%). When asked their attitudes toward charitable organisations, the statement most frequently agreed with was that donating to them makes an important difference in society (76%) and the statement least frequently agreed with was they have a strong influence over government policies (46% agree).

26 Focus group participant.

27 This pen portrait was based on the responses of survey participants who did not give any form of support to CSOs in the last 12 months. The most common motivation for giving was personal attachment to a cause (56%). The three most common factors that would make the participants more likely to give to charitable organisations were more transparency in the sector (42%), having a better understanding of how the money would be spent (40%) and knowing more about the organisation (39%). The most common reasons stated for not giving to CSOs were a preference to give other forms of support like gifts in kind (45%), being unable to afford to give to CSOs (33%), and not trusting that the organisation would use the money well (23%). When asked their attitudes toward charitable organisations, the statement most frequently agreed with was that donating to them makes an important difference in society (70%) and the statement least frequently agreed with was they generally use donations effectively (34% agree).

28 Focus group participant.

Tanzania

The supporter of individuals

I like to give to individuals, even people I don't know. Having a personal attachment to someone and my religion really motivate me to give. I would donate more to charities because of my faith, if I knew more about the organisation, and if the sector was more transparent. I wouldn't say I'm familiar with the activities of civil society, but I think they are generally effective in solving existing problems in society and that their work supports my local community. [29]

"I have in the past helped a student who went to school with me and we cleared secondary school together, and we later met and she had family problems. So I lived with her in my house and found something for her to do. She now has two children. Most of the time I help the disabled by giving them learning equipment. I have gone to [the] school for the deaf and I have also gone to [...] a school for the disabled [and] college for the deaf [...]. Mostly I have helped disabled children but for now I am educating two disabled children, one is female and blind and the other is a male who is physically challenged. I help them with school and health services."[30]

---

29 This pen portrait was based on the responses of survey participants who gave any form of support to strangers in the last 12 months. The two most common motivations for giving were personal attachment to a cause (80%) and their religion (65%). The three most common factors that would make the participants more likely to give to charitable organisations were their religion (48%), knowing more about the organisation (41%), and more transparency in the sector (36%). When asked their attitudes toward charitable organisations, the statements most frequently agreed with was that CSOs are effective in solving existing problems in society (68%) and that their work supports their local community (68%); the statement least frequently agreed with was that they consider themselves familiar with CSOs' activities (40% agree).

30 Focus group participant.

The charity supporter

On average, I give money to a charitable organisation every three months or so. I like to give because I feel a strong personal attachment to the area in which the organisation works, and because my religion tells me to give. My religious beliefs play an important role in how much I choose to give. I feel that I would happily give more money to charitable organisations if I had more money, and if I knew more about the organisation. I wouldn't say I'm familiar with the activities of civil society in general, but I think they are generally effective in solving existing problems in society. When it comes to the charities I support, I feel it's important to know how my donation is used.[31]

"These community organisations bring success because they touch on development and the community directly and sometimes they volunteer and intervene if the government can't do certain things."[32]

The charity sceptic

I haven't supported any charities in the last year. What motivates me to give to individuals is my personal attachment to them and my religion. My religious beliefs would make me more likely to donate more to charities, along with a better understanding of the organisation and having more money. If I were to give to charities, I would rather give them support like food or gifts in kind rather than money.[33]

"When you contribute to individuals, you know that this one has a certain problem, but for the community organisations, you are not sure who it will reach."[34]

---

31 This pen portrait was based on the responses of survey participants who gave any form of support to CSOs in the last 12 months. Of these, 2% give more than once a week, 15% about once a month, and 24% about every two to three months. The two most common motivations for giving were personal attachment to a cause (77%) and their religion (55%). The three most common factors that would make the participants more likely to give to charitable organisations were their religion or faith (45%), knowing more about the organisation (35%), and having more money (40%). When asked their attitudes toward charitable organisations, the statement most frequently agreed with was that CSOs are effective in solving existing problems in society (71%) and the statement least frequently agreed with was that they consider themselves familiar with CSOs' activities (39% agree). When asked their attitudes toward charitable organisations they support, the statement most frequently agreed with was that they feel it is important to them to know how their donations are used (72%).

32 Focus group participant.

33 This pen portrait was based on the responses of survey participants who did not give any form of support to CSOs in the last 12 months. The most common motivations for giving were personal attachment to a cause (80%) and their religion (60%). The three most common factors that would make the participants more likely to give to charitable organisations were their religion (43%), knowing more about the organisation (38%), and having more money (27%). The most common reason stated for not giving to CSOs were a preference to give other forms of support like gifts in kind (56%).

34 Focus group participant.

Uganda

The supporter of individuals

I give to my family, my community, and even strangers. I am motivated to give by my religion, and a personal attachment to someone, as well as a desire to give back to those less fortunate. I would donate more to charities if I knew more about the organisations and if there was more transparency in the sector. I think their work supports my local community, but I don't think they have a strong influence over government policies. [35]

"There was once this woman who was actually moving at around 7 and she stopped me, she had her three kids with one on the back and the two were young ones. She told me how the husband had chased her away from her home so being that I could help her, she spent the night at my place. Then I asked her what she does and she told me she does petty jobs – she goes around the community washing clothes for people, fetching them water and then I was like what I can do is get her a house which is not so expensive, pay for her 3 months as she looks for a job. After 3 months she needs to have a job that will sustain her. So we got a room for about 50,000 and gave the landlord 3 months up front and was like I would give her upkeep. So, I used to take her food every weekend and she was really grateful. Now she is doing well, she joined some church and they are helping her with the kids, they are educating them. It's actually called "come Uganda", it's based in Mengo. So, they help give sponsors, they help the needy, stuff like that."[36]

---

35 This pen portrait was based on the responses of survey participants who gave any form of support to strangers in the last 12 months. The three most common motivations for giving were their religion (62%), personal attachment to a cause (58%), and a desire to give back to the less fortunate or society (56%). The two most common factors that would make the participants more likely to give to charitable organisations were knowing more about the organisation (57%) and more transparency in the sector (51%). When asked their attitudes toward charitable organisations, the statement most frequently agreed with was that their work supports the local community (83%) and the statement least frequently agreed with was they have a strong influence over government policies (36% agree).

36 Focus group participant.

The charity supporter

I give money to charitable organisations every one to three months. What motives me to give is my religion, a desire to give back to those less fortunate, and personal attachment to the cause. I would give even more money to charitable organisations if I knew more about them and had a better understanding of how my money would be spent. I do think that CSOs are effective in solving existing problems in society, but I don't think they have a strong influence over government policies. In terms of the CSOs I support, I really think that their work is aligned with the needs of my community.[37]

"It's like the saying of a piece of salt in a basin of water. Although individually we can change people, an organisation has more impact. Sometimes you want to help this one person and then you realize the other one has the same needs. It's better you support that organisation to have broader coverage of redress. For me that is why I support an organisation." [38]

The charity sceptic

I don't give to any charitable organisations, but when I give to individuals, it's because I have a strong personal attachment to them, and my religion also motivates me to give. I would give more money to charitable organisations if I had more money, was asked to do so by the organisation, and knew more about the organisation. My religious beliefs also influence this. If I gave to charitable organisations, I would prefer to give them other kinds of support than money. I also don't trust that they would use the money well. I do think that their work contributes positively to the country's development and that donating to them can make an important difference, but I don't think they have a strong influence over government policies.[39]

"I think at some point they have gone an extra mile to a small extent. The challenge is most of them concentrate more on their administrative costs than the things they are working on." [40]

---

37 This pen portrait was based on the responses of survey participants who gave any form of support to CSOs in the last 12 months. Of these, 10% give more than once a week, 39% about once a month, and 25% about every two to three months. The three most common motivations for giving were a desire to give back to the less fortunate or society (59%), their religion (59%), and a personal attachment to a cause (57%). The two most common factors that would make the participants more likely to give to charitable organisations were knowing more about the organisation (60%) and having a better understanding of how the money would be spent (53%). When asked their attitudes toward charitable organisations, the statement most frequently agreed with was that CSOs are effective in solving existing problems in society (86%), and the statement least frequently agreed with was they have a strong influence over government policies (42% agree). When asked about their attitudes toward the CSOs they support, the statement most frequently agreed with was that their work is aligned with the needs of the community (92%).
38 Focus group participant.
39 This pen portrait was based on the responses of survey participants who did not give any form of support to CSOs in the last 12 months. The most common motivations for giving were personal attachment to a cause (53%) and their religion (48%). The four most common factors that would make the participants more likely to give to charitable organisations were having more money (45%), their religion (40%), knowing more about the organisation (40%), and being asked to donate by the organisation (40%). The most common reasons stated for not giving to CSOs were a preference to give other forms of support like gifts in kind (54%) and not trusting that the organisation would use the money well (31%). When asked their attitudes toward charitable organisations, the statements most frequently agreed with were that donating to them makes an important difference in society (77%) and that their work contributes positively to the country's development (77%); the statement least frequently agreed with was that they have a strong influence over government policies (35% agree).
40 Focus group participant.

THE VIEW FROM INDIVIDUALS

Giving by individuals

Across the region, the survey and focus groups revealed that charitable giving – to both individuals and organisations – is a common practice. In focus group discussions, the concept of charitable giving was discussed in positive terms, evoking ideas such as unity.

We always have different opinions, different tribes, and different ways of seeing things but if something happens it touches you in a way that you feel this is my brother or my sister.
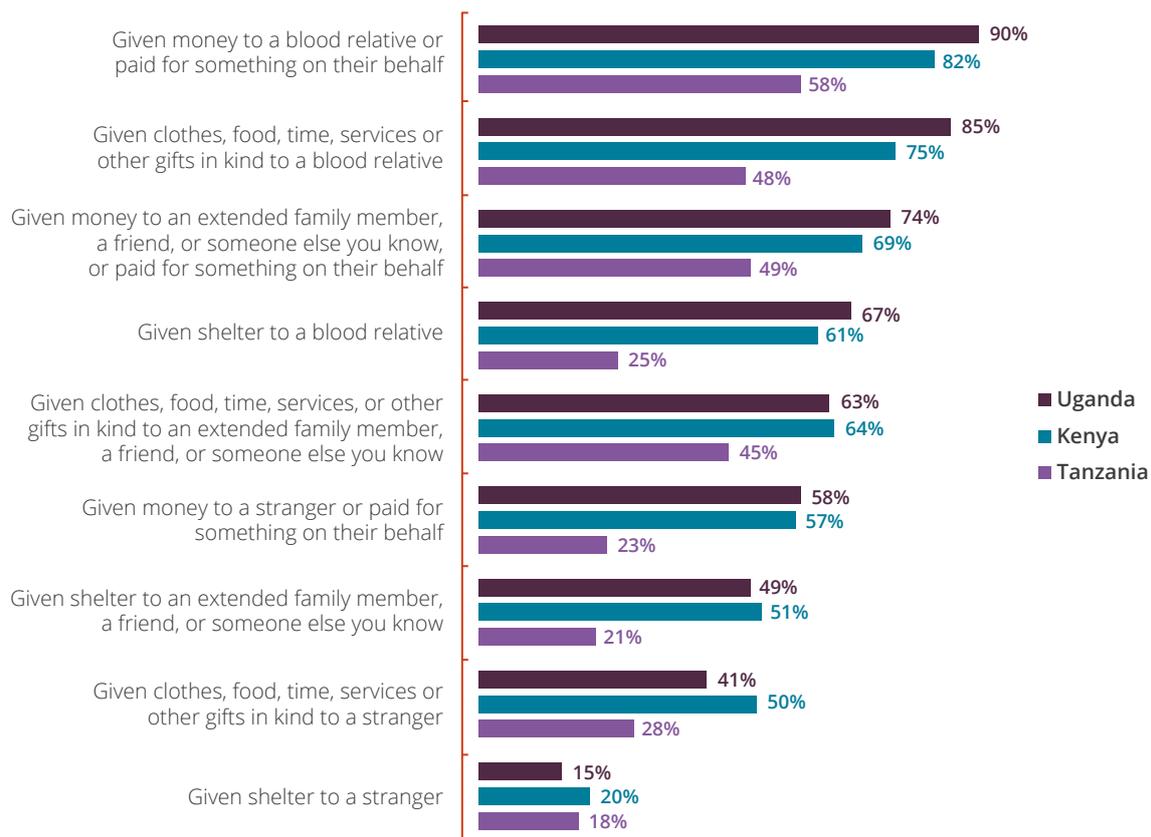Focus Group Participant, Kenya

Indeed, the share of their monthly income that individuals give away, either to individuals or to charitable organisations, is significant. In Kenya, this corresponds to 22% of their monthly income, rising to 24% in Tanzania, and 31% in Uganda. Yet, current charitable giving habits do not appear to be making it difficult for urban, middle-class East Africans to make ends meet. Of those survey participants who have given to an individual or organisation in the past 12 months, 93% in Kenya, 91% in Tanzania, and 93% in Uganda said giving did not make it difficult to make ends meet. This should suggest that there is money available to donate more to charitable causes.

When giving money to individuals or CSOs, the most common method of giving among survey participants in all three countries was cash (91% in Kenya, 95% in Tanzania, and 91% in Uganda), followed by mobile payment services such as M-Pesa (72% in Kenya, 54% in Tanzania, and 69% in Uganda).

Giving to individuals or groups of individuals

Within the survey, participants were first asked about giving to individuals or groups of individuals before asking about CSOs and other organisations specifically. This decision was taken following the focus groups with individuals where it became apparent that people do not necessarily think of giving to individuals as 'giving' but instead refer to it as an 'obligation' or 'expectation'. It is important to note however that this 'obligation' is not something that was described by focus group respondents in a negative light but is in fact, for most, a positive. This is something that we also tested within the Nairobi workshops where we discussed preliminary research results, and this was very much seen to be the case. When the CAF team suggested that this 'obligation' would be regarded as 'giving' in many other cultures, this was often faced with questioning.

Figure 1: Whether done anything to support an individual or group of individuals in last 12 months

Given money to a blood relative or paid for something on their behalf
- Uganda: 90%
- Kenya: 82%
- Tanzania: 58%

Given clothes, food, time, services or other gifts in kind to a blood relative
- Uganda: 85%
- Kenya: 75%
- Tanzania: 48%

Given money to an extended family member, a friend, or someone else you know, or paid for something on their behalf
- Uganda: 74%
- Kenya: 69%
- Tanzania: 49%

Given shelter to a blood relative
- Uganda: 67%
- Kenya: 61%
- Tanzania: 25%

Given clothes, food, time, services, or other gifts in kind to an extended family member, a friend, or someone else you know
- Uganda: 63%
- Kenya: 64%
- Tanzania: 45%

Given money to a stranger or paid for something on their behalf
- Uganda: 58%
- Kenya: 57%
- Tanzania: 23%

Given shelter to an extended family member, a friend, or someone else you know
- Uganda: 49%
- Kenya: 51%
- Tanzania: 21%

Given clothes, food, time, services or other gifts in kind to a stranger
- Uganda: 41%
- Kenya: 50%
- Tanzania: 28%

Given shelter to a stranger
- Uganda: 15%
- Kenya: 20%
- Tanzania: 18%

Source: Ipsos MORI

Base: All adults aged 18+ (Uganda: 523; Kenya: 501; Tanzania: 306)

In all three countries, over the past 12 months, blood relatives[41] were the most mentioned recipient of individual giving, with 82% of participants in Kenya, 58% of participants in Tanzania, and 90% of participants in Uganda having given money to blood relatives or paid for something on their behalf.

Indeed, giving to individuals was a highly common practice across all three countries. Only 2% of survey participants in Kenya, 3% of survey participants in Tanzania, and 0% of survey participants in Uganda gave no form of support to any group of individuals in the last 12 months.

Vibrant examples of this type of giving were mentioned in focus groups; there were examples of paying for students' education in all three countries, as well as unique examples, such as an individual in the focus group in Uganda who described visiting hospitals to identify those in need of financial support to cover their medical expenses, and an individual in Kenya supporting their colleague with their rent payments.

---

41 The term "blood relations" was used in the survey questionnaire as a result of the focus groups conducted in each country. When asked to define "family", participants in all of the groups spontaneously explained that those they consider to be family are those they are related to by blood. Several participants also conveyed the sense that close friends, although not related by blood, may sometimes also be considered as family. As such, the term "blood relations" was used in the survey to differentiate these two categories of relations.

> *My brother's friend, he had nowhere to stay so I housed him for over 2 years providing food, shelter and clothing. Then a church member, people come to church then all of a sudden, they meet you and tell you I don't have food, don't have this and you find that you can't sustain them and ask them what they can do. If they tell you and maybe can start a business of 100,000 [shillings] you give it to them, and they start a business. Then we had a neighbour who had a relatively young wife, she was about 18 years, a young girl. Then the man threw her out of the house and I really felt pity, I told her I can't feed you daily, but she was hardworking. I asked what can you do. She told me she can vend tomatoes or onions around kalerwe so I looked for some little money and financed her and she is doing well and can look after her baby.*
> Focus Group Participant, Uganda

Focus group participants described such giving to family as a responsibility or obligation but was nonetheless described in positive terms, associated with feelings such as love, a desire to give back. This sense of obligation could also encompass extended family, community members and even strangers, however, and some participants described acts of giving as creating relationships akin to family.

Other motivations for giving to individuals that were mentioned in focus groups included religious motives, with some participants feeling commanded to give, others anticipating rewards for giving, and still others desiring to emulate Jesus.

Another common motivation mentioned in focus groups was a desire to give back as participants had been supported in the past, or to pay it forward in case one day they needed help. A desire to see the positive impact of the gift on the individual was noted, and existing relationships with the recipient thus were also motivating. In Kenya, the tradition of harambee was mentioned, in which individuals can call for requests for funds from their communities.

However, focus group participants in Kenya and Uganda considered that their giving habits could be different from those in rural areas. In both countries, the participants thought rural East Africans were more likely to give food than financial support and also more likely to give an even larger share of their income to others due to a stronger sense of community.

Furthermore, although this form of community giving appears less prevalent than giving directly to individuals in need, several

> *I have heard my friend talking about, you know sometimes even in the plots (single or doubles rooms in urban areas where people live together, they are mostly like more than five houses/rooms) if one of us is in any need, maybe someone has passed away, we do support the family, most of us do that. Last week we sponsored someone who died, so we come together as a plot and we say we must be together in unity and we are going to do this.*
> Focus Group Participant, Kenya

> *It's out of love like for instance there are times when you are in need and somebody helps you. So, if you see someone in need you also feel like you have to help that person.*
> Focus Group Participant, Uganda

> *I take it as part of blessings because I believe that by helping someone, I will be blessed.*
> Focus Group Participant, Tanzania

> *Why I come from education was mostly supported by relatives, I have not come from a well up family, so my aunts and uncles had to chip in a lot, whether it was the hand me down books, so that also makes you feel that you want to do it and also there is that paying forward – we don't know who is paid back, we all know that one day we shall be old so if you don't help the elderly right now and you will need the same help in the future.*
> Focus Group Participant, Kenya

participants in the focus group discussions mentioned being part of, or knowing someone who is a part of some kind of "giving circle".

In Kenya, one participant gave the example of his mother's "merry-go-around" group where women from the community take turns tilling each other's land. This led to a discussion around whether or not this constitutes charitable giving, with several participants considering that it does not because each member of the group is dependent on the others.

In another case, the concept of a giving circle was more formalised through Rotary Club; this participant explained that each member contributes a fixed sum, which then goes towards helping a local cause selected by the members.

Amongst the small number of survey participants who had not given money to individuals who are not blood relatives, the most common reason given was affordability in Kenya (36%); this was a less frequent reason in Tanzania and Uganda, with 14% and 25% of participants, respectively, choosing this. Similarly, in Kenya, affordability was cited as the second most common reason for not giving to charitable organisations (33%), but in Uganda, this was the third most common reason with 29% of those who had not given to charitable organisations citing this; in Tanzania, however, only 4% selected this.

Giving to civil society

Overall, giving to charitable organisations was less common in Kenya and Uganda and more common in Tanzania. Among those who were aware of charitable organisations in their country, 69% of participants in Kenya, 70% of participants in Tanzania, and 78% of participants in Uganda gave money to a CSO in the past 12 months.
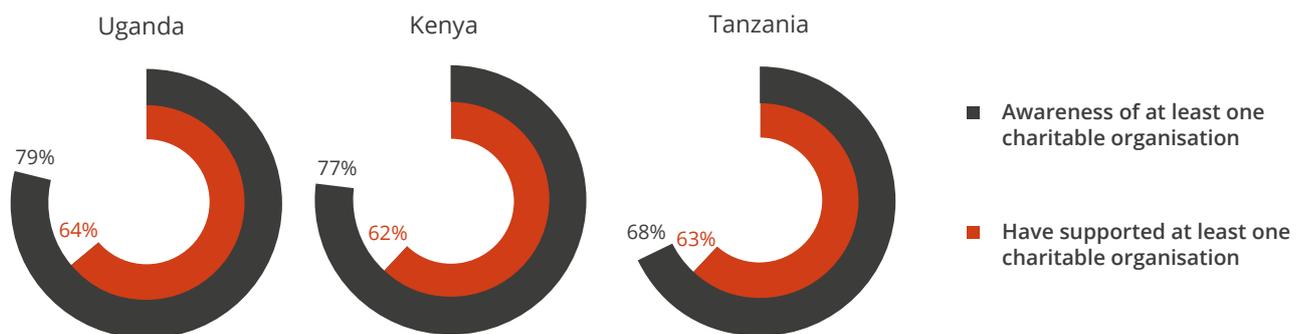
> *In Rotary, we contribute a fixed amount [annually] depending on which Rotary club you are in. I don't know what [members of other Rotaries] pay but we pay 350,000 per annum. Then we identify a community out there or place in need.*
> Focus Group Participant, Uganda

Figure 2: Giving to charitable organisations

Uganda: 79% Awareness, 64% Supported
Kenya: 77% Awareness, 62% Supported
Tanzania: 68% Awareness, 63% Supported

■ Awareness of at least one charitable organisation

■ Have supported at least one charitable organisation

Having more money would make many survey participants more likely to give more money to charitable organisations in the future, with 36% in Kenya, 35% in Tanzania, and 44% in Uganda saying this. Affordability was also a barrier to giving for some, and this was a particularly prominent barrier to giving to both individuals and organisations in Kenya. However, the main reason that people gave in all three countries was that they prefer to give other forms of support like food or gifts in kind, mentioned by 53% in Uganda, 56% in Tanzania and 45% in Kenya. This ties in with what CSO leaders told us in their interviews. Not trusting that charitable organisations would use the money well was also a key mention in both Uganda and Kenya (30% and 22% respectively).

Most survey participants in all three countries were aware of CSOs active in their country, although this was lowest in Tanzania; 77% of participants in Kenya, 58% of participants in Tanzania and 79% of participants in Uganda were aware of charitable organisations. In all three countries, around two thirds of individuals have supported a charitable organisation in the past 12 months (62% in Kenya, 63% in Tanzania, and 64% in Uganda).

Figure 3: Whether supported the charitable work of any of these types of organisations in the last 12 months

Source: Ipsos MORI

Base: All adults aged 18+ (Uganda: 523; Kenya: 501; Tanzania: 306)

Around a half of survey respondents in Uganda (54%) and Kenya (48%) had supported a faith based organisation, the main type of CSO supported in these two countries. In Tanzania however, people are far more likely to have supported a community-based organisation (50%).

Among those who have supported CSOs in the past 12 months, the most common cause was children and young people, with 73% of those survey participants in Kenya, 60% in Tanzania, and 78% in Uganda supporting this; this was followed by helping the poor or hungry in all three countries (50% in Kenya, 54% in Tanzania, and 62% in Uganda).

Figure 4: Causes supported in the last 12 months

Cause	Uganda	Kenya	Tanzania
Children and young people	78%	73%	60%
Helping the poor or hungry	62%	50%	54%
Religious organisations (including to places of worship)	55%	33%	31%
Older people	45%	25%	29%
Disabled people	42%	23%	45%
Homeless people, housing or refuge shelters	31%	22%	10%
Supporting education, schools, colleges, or universities	10%	5%	2%
Community development and support	10%	5%	4%
Environmental protection	7%	3%	1%
Disaster relief (floods, terrorist attacks, earthquakes, etc.)	7%	6%	5%
Clean water, sanitation, or other infrastructure	7%	2%	3%
Supporting medical institutions (hospitals, hospice care, etc.)	7%	6%	7%
Human rights protection and reducing inequality	7%	1%	2%
Adult skills, work, and economic opportunity	6%	2%	2%
Sports and leisure activities	5%	1%	2%
Arts and culture	5%	1%	0%

Source: Ipsos MORI

Base: All adults aged 18+ who have supported the work of a charitable organisation in the past 12 months (Uganda: 334; Kenya: 313; Tanzania: 193)

Interestingly, there seems to be some discordance between CSOs' perceptions of the general public's charitable giving, and their reported giving habits. Indeed, of those who have supported a charitable organisation in the past 12 months, the vast majority (around three quarters) say they have given money to such an organisation. In Kenya and Uganda, giving money to a charitable organisation was the most common way of providing support (respectively 69% and 78% of those who supported a CSO say they gave money), while in Tanzania, giving money was the second most common form of support after giving food or gifts in kind (70% versus 76%).

Figure 5: Types of support provided in last 12 months

Source: Ipsos MORI

Base: All adults aged 18+ who have supported the work of a charitable organisation in the past 12 months (Uganda: 334; Kenya: 311; Tanzania: 193)

The value of these donations varies by country. In Uganda, individuals who say they gave money to an individual or charitable organisation indicate having given, on average, USD 38 per month to charitable organisations in the past year. This figure rises to respectively USD 54 in Kenya and USD 60 in Tanzania.

Financial contributions to civil society over time did not seem to indicate a notable shift in perception of civil society. Individuals were asked whether, in the past 12 months, they had donated money more, less, or about the same as in the 12 months prior to that. In Kenya, individuals are fairly evenly split: four in ten (39%) say they have given about the same amount in the past 12 months as previously, and the remainder are evenly split between having given more or less. In Tanzania, the vast majority (68%) indicate having given about the same amount to civil society, and the remainder are evenly split between having given more or less. In Uganda, around one third (31%) say they gave about the same as previously. Here, a larger share (38%) say that they gave more in the past 12 months than in the year prior to that, compared with those who say they gave less (24%). This may indicate that while no trend is observed in Kenya and Tanzania, individuals in Uganda are increasingly likely to donate money to CSOs. Across all countries, there were no clear patterns in the reasons why individuals gave more or less over time.

Very few survey participants in all three countries were aware of tax incentives for giving to CSOs. The majority in all countries said they either were not aware of whether tax incentives exist or not or responded "don't know" (81% in Kenya, 53% in Tanzania, and 69% in Uganda). Usage of such schemes is low among those who say they exist, with 94% of participants in Kenya, 91% in Tanzania, and 95% of participants in Uganda saying that they had not used them in the past.
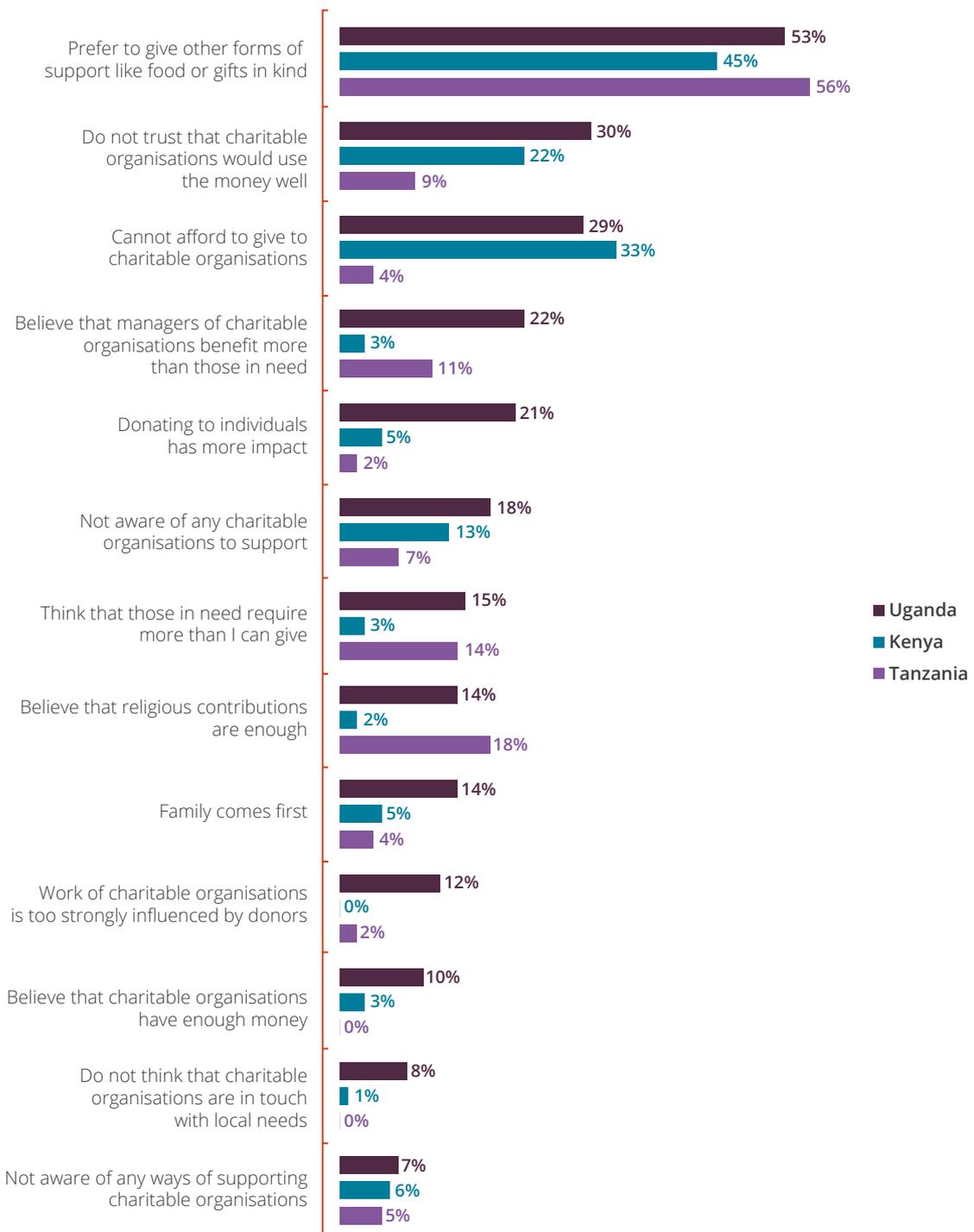
A feeling of attachment to a cause was frequently raised in focus group discussions as a driver of giving to charitable organisations.

When those survey participants who had not given money to charitable organisations in the past 12 months were asked for their main reasons for this, around half of participants in all three countries said they prefer to give other forms of support (45% in Kenya, 56% in Tanzania, and 53% in Uganda).

Figure 6: Main reasons for not having donated money to a charitable organisation in the last 12 months

Reason	Uganda	Kenya	Tanzania
Prefer to give other forms of support like food or gifts in kind	53%	45%	56%
Do not trust that charitable organisations would use the money well	30%	22%	9%
Cannot afford to give to charitable organisations	29%	33%	4%
Believe that managers of charitable organisations benefit more than those in need	22%	3%	11%
Donating to individuals has more impact	21%	5%	2%
Not aware of any charitable organisations to support	18%	13%	7%
Think that those in need require more than I can give	15%	3%	14%
Believe that religious contributions are enough	14%	2%	18%
Family comes first	14%	5%	4%
Work of charitable organisations is too strongly influenced by donors	12%	0%	2%
Believe that charitable organisations have enough money	10%	3%	0%
Do not think that charitable organisations are in touch with local needs	8%	1%	0%
Not aware of any ways of supporting charitable organisations	7%	6%	5%

■ Uganda
■ Kenya
■ Tanzania

Source: Ipsos MORI

Base: All adults aged 18+ who have not supported the work of a charitable organisation in the past 12 months (Uganda: 73; Kenya: 94; Tanzania: 57)

A lack of trust was a common reason for not giving to CSOs in focus group discussions, and this was the third most common reason in Kenya (22%) and second most common reason in Uganda (30%), although in Tanzania, it was the fifth most common reason with only around one in ten participants selecting this (9%). However, focus group discussions also suggest that a lack of trust and concerns about accountability may drive the desire to support CSOs through non-financial support because individuals are concerned the donation will not be used for its intended purpose otherwise.

While trust may not systematically be the biggest barrier to giving money to charitable organisations, the data suggests that improved awareness and transparency would encourage individuals to donate more. Indeed, on average across these three countries, 44% of individuals say that knowing more about the organisation would make them likely to give more money to charitable organisations in the next 12 months, and a similar share (41%) say that more transparency in the sector would boost their giving habits.

Nonetheless, views of civil society were largely positive among survey participants who were aware of CSOs active in their country. For example, the majority of those participants in all three countries agreed that they are effective in solving existing problems in society (71% in Kenya, 72% in Tanzania, and 83% in Uganda). When those who said they were aware of CSOs were asked how positively they felt about different types of CSOs, with 1 being the least positive and 10 being the most positive, survey participants on average in all three countries felt most positively about FBOs (with an average score of 7.1 in Kenya, 7.8 in Tanzania and 7.5 in Uganda) and least positively about local organisations (with an average score of 5.0 in Kenya, 5.9 in Tanzania, and 5.1 in Uganda).

"

For contributing to community organisations, you look at their vision, because we cannot help everybody. And that is why everyone has their own area that when he hears of something and he is touched, he will contribute.
Focus Group Participant, Tanzania

They are trying, but they are more like money-making ventures to those working in them.
Focus Group Participant, Uganda

We even have cases where some NGOs and civil societies have received a lot of donations from the foreign countries, yet they are unable to account on the ground what they have done with those donations.
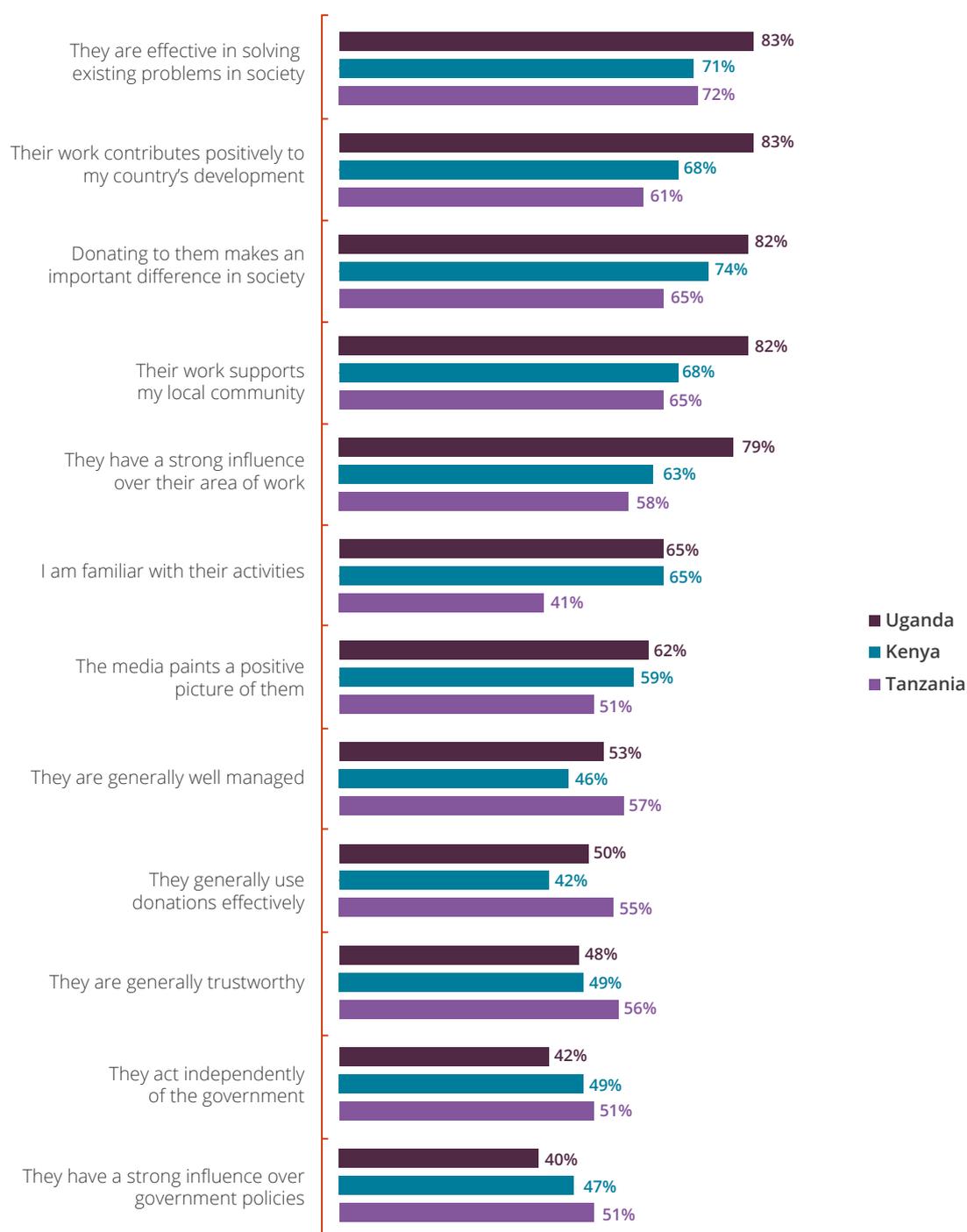Focus Group Participant, Kenya

Community organisations do activities that were left out by the government.
Focus Group Participant, Tanzania

Figure 7: How much agree or disagree with statements about charitable organisations that are active in Kenya

Statement	Uganda	Kenya	Tanzania
They are effective in solving existing problems in society	83%	71%	72%
Their work contributes positively to my country's development	83%	68%	61%
Donating to them makes an important difference in society	82%	74%	65%
Their work supports my local community	82%	68%	65%
They have a strong influence over their area of work	79%	63%	58%
I am familiar with their activities	65%	65%	41%
The media paints a positive picture of them	62%	59%	51%
They are generally well managed	53%	46%	57%
They generally use donations effectively	50%	42%	55%
They are generally trustworthy	48%	49%	56%
They act independently of the government	42%	49%	51%
They have a strong influence over government policies	40%	47%	51%

Source: Ipsos MORI

Base: All adults aged 18+ who are aware of any charitable organisations that are active in their country (Uganda: 413; Kenya: 384; Tanzania: 207)

RECOMMENDATIONS

In order to put the right conditions in place for unlocking mass engagement with individual giving, CAF makes the following recommendations.

All stakeholders should:

- Support and engage with the continued development of necessary civil society infrastructure which is vital for ensuring mass engagement in giving is accessible and available to all.
- Invest in regional and national campaigns on the value of civil society and local cultures of giving underpinning it.
- Promote new ways of safe and secure giving which builds on current generosity. This should be done with a view on how growth and innovation of the technology, banking and telecom sectors (in the region and beyond) could be leveraged to support mass engagement with giving. The aim should be to 'grow the pie' and potential for mass engagement with individual giving, without taking away from existing forms of giving.

International partners (including INGOs) should:

Invest in infrastructure to enable local CSOs to tap into local resource mobilisation

- Invest in existing and new local civil society infrastructure, and the development of alternative financing models that can help local CSOs to tap into local giving cultures.
- Champion the capability, credibility and relevance of local CSOs.

Fund programmes that integrate local priorities and accommodate CSO needs

- Develop CSO-specific funding strategies that include feedback loops, embed local voices, increase domestic accountability, and incentivise collaboration between CSOs.
- Embrace localisation and to fund local CSOs as directly as possible, providing flexible, multi-year, unrestricted funding for core costs..

Make funding available for additional CSO needs across programmatic priorities

- Pool funds, back-office infrastructure and skills across programmatic areas to support civil society within a geographic location and as a whole.
- Enable CSOs to fight violations and infringements of their rights, political pressure and regulatory overreach (e.g. by establishing legal funds).

Focus on capacity building and sector leadership

- Invest in community hubs and shared spaces for local CSOs, and help facilitate cross-sector partnerships for campaigning, fundraising and service delivery.

- Facilitate networks between stakeholders to advocate for policy change and an enabling environment for mass participation in giving and civil society.

- Invest in capacity building that helps local CSOs to grow mass engagement with individual giving, through a 'leadership pipeline' and up-skilling of CSOs (volunteer management, fundraising and domestic resource mobilisation, income diversification, partnership development).

Governments should:

Recognise the importance of local civil society and generosity in inclusive sustainable development

- Build upon pan-African identity and unity through further research which can underpin regional campaigns on the value of civil society and mass engagement with giving.

- Recognise the key role civil society plays in achieving the SDGs linking (existing) individual giving with agendas around the SDGs, national development plans and new national civil society strategies.

- Improve policies around volunteering, building on regional and international best practice examples (e.g. around corporate volunteering, government support for citizens to volunteer etc).

Create a positive operating environment for CSOs

- Respect the right of all forms of civil society to speak out on important issues, independent of being service providers preferred by government or advocating on minority issues.

- Reduce regulatory complexity and administrative burden, applying regulation consistently and preventing regulatory overreach (in particular with regard to CSO registration), and increase resourcing and capacity into relevant government ministries to support an enabling environment for CSOs.

- Invest in and establish independent civil society infrastructure bodies and build better links with CSOs to enhance dialogue and cooperation.

Promote a positive local culture of giving

- Conduct awareness campaigns on existing tax incentives for giving and make them accessible for individuals and charitable organisations (e.g. by providing options to claim reliefs on annual tax returns).

- Reduce limitations of tax regimes (such as CSOs not being granted tax-exempt status automatically after having registered; issues around irrevocable VAT; limitations/inconsistencies on cause areas that qualify for reliefs, allowable deductions and eligibility criteria for tax reliefs).

- Exchange best practice on how to ensure that tax regimes on phone-based financial transactions are beneficial to giving (e.g. by excluding transactions that are donations).
- Ensure that financial systems are more inclusive for CSOs (e.g. by avoiding disproportional de-risking of CSOs due to the implementation of international AML and anti-terrorism regulation).

Local CSOs should:

Adapt the way they tell their stories to local context and audiences

- Use story-telling and case studies to communicate the value of (informal and formal) giving and CSO impact on communities in language that resonates with individuals; let beneficiaries, community leaders and other influencers speak on the behalf of CSOs.
- Link up with social movements, as well as other role models and celebrities to engage a wider audience with causes and giving.

Build on existing cultures of giving

- Highlight the positive impact of cultural traditions such as *harambee* and how they underpin horizontal forms of philanthropy and peer-to-peer giving.
- Build on traditional forms of giving to create organisations and a culture of giving that works to the strengths of the local context.

Support, engage with and participate in civil society infrastructure

- Develop partnerships between local infrastructure organisations and religious institutions, which enjoy the trust of people to help advocate for the value of a thriving civil society.
- Promote engagement with existing self-regulation initiatives (e.g. benchmarking, peer review, quality improvement exercises, ethical leadership) to increase trust in local CSOs, and invest in future civil society leaders that continue to champion these initiatives.
- Strengthen the independence of national infrastructure bodies (or help establish one) which can address issues around the closing of civic space and policy reform with a more unified voice, and represent neutral spaces for CSO collaboration.

APPENDIX 1

Detail on research approach

CAF commissioned the research agency Ipsos MORI to conduct a broad, mixed-methods landscaping study of civil society and individual giving in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda (as well as South Africa, which is detailed in a separate report).

The research was developed with CAF's key objectives in mind, to understand:

- the enabling environment in these countries, including how and why people give and what causes they give to, as well as obstacles and challenges in giving;
- what would make the public engage with civil society and social issues; and
- the challenges faced by the civil society sector and the impact of the challenges on civil society's ability to address local needs.

Ipsos MORI's research combined both qualitative and quantitative methods in each of the three East African Countries:

- qualitative, semi-structured interviews with CSO leaders;
- focus group discussions with urban, middle-income adults; and
- a face-to-face survey with urban, middle-income adults.

The rationale for this was that qualitative research is best suited to answer some of the research questions: the focus on understanding behaviours, motivations, barriers, and attitudes necessitated the more open, discursive and generative nature of qualitative research. Compounding this, the need to draw out narratives of individual giving, and to explore how civil society is understood and viewed by adults, required participants to be given space to give testimonials, and for researchers to follow emerging lines of inquiry and probe for more information. However, to understand the landscape of giving and the extent to which charitable giving takes place, a quantitative approach was more appropriate.

These research activities were coordinated centrally by Ipsos MORI's Social Research Institute in the UK, who had overall responsibility for research design and analysis. Research was managed by Ipsos Uganda and undertaken in the field by Ipsos Kenya, Ipsos Tanzania and Ipsos Uganda. All research tools were reviewed by staff from Ipsos Kenya, Ipsos Tanzania and Ipsos Uganda.

Complementing these activities, CAF also undertook a separate strand of desk research to understand the current landscape in terms of broader issues facing civil society in these countries, including the regulatory environments. Prior to finalisation of these reports, the CAF team also conducted a series of workshops in London and Nairobi with key people from the CSO space, including leaders from CSOs, partners and academics and other experts in the area, to sense check the results as they were evolving. Some of the insight from these workshops is included in the narrative of this set of reports.

Desk research approach

CAF's project team conducted an online review of media reports, policy literature, and other material from organisations such as think tanks and larger charities. This was augmented by relevant academic literature and databases (UN, WHO, IMF, World Bank) along a set of common topics (such as the closing space for civil society, local infrastructure, philanthropy and giving, as well as a set of socio-economic indicators). CAF staff also reached out to a number of CSOs who were invited to take part in the formal interviews and other local infrastructure bodies, in order to obtain additional insights on the situation on the ground, pointers for additional sources, as well as clarification on particular aspects that were unclear or needed confirmation. Information from the desk research phase was used to provide a top-level overview of the political and economic situation, the regulatory landscape for CSOs, overall civil society development, and the wider giving environment for each country.

Interviews with CSO leaders

Ipsos undertook 29 depth interviews with CSO leaders in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. CAF developed a sample of CSOs in each country. Following receipt of the sample from CAF, recruitment began in April 2019 in Kenya and Uganda and in May 2019 in Tanzania; additional sample were also provided during fieldwork, resulting in a total sample frame of 48 contacts in East Africa.

The Ipsos and CAF teams worked closely together to design a 45-minute qualitative questionnaire to address CAF's research aims, including qualitative topic areas, questions and probes. The final topic guide in subject areas is included as an annex and was used across all four countries. Interviews were carried out face-to-face or by telephone by qualitative research teams from Ipsos Kenya, Ipsos Tanzania and Ipsos Uganda in English.

Based on the descriptions of the CSOs provided by CAF in the sample, these were categorised, with some CSOs coded as belonging to multiple categories. A total of 29 interviews were completed. The total sample size provided, as well as the achieved number of interviews are shown by category and by country in the table below.

Table 1
CSO sample in East Africa

Organisation category	Uganda		Kenya		Tanzania	
	Sample	Achieved	Sample	Achieved	Sample	Achieved
Advocacy	7	5	9	5	8	2
Human rights	7	4	9	4	9	6
Service delivery[42]	6	5	12	7	7	5
Infrastructure[43]	1	1	2	1	1	1
Faith based organisation	1	1	3	2	3	1
Disability organisations	5	5	4	2	2	1
Total unique contacts	**12**	**9**	**20**	**11**	**16**	**9**

Source: Ipsos MORI

Focus group discussion with urban, middle-income adults

A two-hour focus group discussion was held in Nairobi, Dar es Salaam, and Kampala at Ipsos offices on 28 June, 29 June, and 21 July 2019, respectively. Eight participants were present in the Tanzania focus group, and 10 each were present in

---

42 Service delivery organisations are those which provide a service to the community, such as medical services or schools.
43 Infrastructure organisations are those which provide knowledge and support to other CSOs.

the Kenya and Uganda groups. Participants were screened to be urban, middle-income adults and to include a mix of those who have given only to individuals in the past, as well as those who have given to both individuals and Civil Society organisations (CSOs).

A topic guide for this research was developed by Ipsos MORI and agreed with CAF. The subject areas covered are presented as an annex and was used across all four countries. The topic guide focussed on what types of individuals participants give to, drivers for giving to individuals and CSOs, how often giving occurs and how much is given, attitudes toward civil society, and participants' understanding of key terms.

The focus groups were conducted in English in Kenya and Uganda and in Kiswahili in Tanzania. Respondent categorisation is shown in the table below:

Table 2
Focus group composition in East Africa

| Characteristic | Detail | Number | | |
		Uganda	Kenya	Tanzania
Gender	Male	6	6	4
	Female	4	4	4
Age	18-24	1	2	1
	25-29	1	1	3
	30-35	2	2	2
	36-Above	6	5	2
Prior giving experience	Has given to individuals only	4	2	4
	Has given to individuals and CSOs	6	8	4
Total		**10**	**10**	**8**

Source: Ipsos MORI

Household survey

Working closely with CAF, Ipsos designed a 20-minute quantitative questionnaire, inclusive of demographic questions, to address CAF's research aims. Questionnaire development was informed by a rapid desk review of available literature, formative interviews with two key informants with knowledge of civil society in the region, and a review of the findings from the focus group discussion. The questionnaire was used across all four countries. The questionnaire was translated into Kiswahili for use in Kenya and Tanzania and into Luganda and Runyankole for use in Kenya.

It covers the following themes:

- Charitable giving habits: giving to individuals and to charitable organisations,

- Drivers of charitable giving,

- Barriers to giving, and

- Attitudes towards charitable giving.

The survey was conducted by Ipsos Kenya, Ipsos Tanzania and Ipsos Uganda staff, face-to-face using Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI) technology. Research was conducted in Nairobi, Mombasa, and Kisumu in Kenya in both English and Kiswahili; in Dar Es Salaam, Mwanza, and Arusha in Tanzania in Kiswahili; and in Kampala,

Jinja, Mbarara (Uganda) in Luganda and Runyankole. A total of 501 interviews were conducted in Kenya, 306 in Tanzania, and 523 in Uganda.

The sample was drawn from the national census data (2009 in Kenya, 2012 in Tanzania, and 2014 in Uganda). Participating households were selected randomly using the random walk method from an identified landmark at each sampling point, and participants were screened for age (18+) and income status (middle-income)[44].

Analysis and reporting

This report contains final, high-level findings from the research conducted in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda; separate country-level reports were also produced. Findings from Ipsos MORI's research findings are organised thematically in the chapters on 'The view from civil society' and 'The view from individuals' following the themes and issues that arose during discussions, rather than rigidly following the structure of the research tools. Findings from CAF's desk review are summarised in the chapter on 'Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda in context'.

Transcripts from the focus group discussion were translated into English. The Ipsos MORI team worked to immerse themselves in the data, working systematically through the transcripts and organising these in a summary analysis grid. Findings were organised thematically, using themes derived from the research questions. Ipsos worked across the sample to draw out findings by sub-groups where possible.

Data processing for the quantitative survey was conducted by Ipsos Uganda to ensure consistency. Topline findings from the household survey are displayed in charts where relevant. To illustrate the findings from the quantitative and qualitative research conducted with middle-income adults, Ipsos MORI developed three pen portraits, which are fictitious illustrations of individuals who give to other individuals, give to CSOs, and do not give to CSOs. The survey responses for individuals who matched these three groups were analysed, and the results are presented as descriptive text to illustrate the behaviours and attitudes of these groups; these were paired with illustrative quotes from the focus group discussion.

CAF developed summary findings and recommendations on the basis of Ipsos MORI's research and CAF's desk review as well as the preliminary findings workshops conducted.

---

44 Middle-income status was determined using a screening tool based on Ipsos' 2018 study: "African Lions: Who are Africa's rising middle class?" available at https://www.ipsos.com/en/african-lions-who-are-africas-rising-middle-class.

APPENDIX 2

Topic guide – Interviews with CSO leaders

The topic guide used for the CSO leader depth interviews contained the following topic areas:

- Introduction
  - name,
  - explanation of research.

- CSO overview
  - sector/cause area,
  - key activities,
  - specific role,
  - involvement with other CSOs previously,
  - geographical coverage,
  - mission.

- Finance and support
  - annual funding amount,
  - where revenue comes from,
  - most important sources of funding,
  - unrestricted funding,
  - individual giving as an income stream and ways this income is given,
  - in kind support.

- CSO capacities
  - key organisational strengths,
  - collaboration with other CSOs,
  - support from others in the sector,
  - networks associated with,
  - role of churches and religious institutions in the CSO landscape.

- Challenges
  - biggest challenges the CSO faces,
  - limitations on capacities,
  - financial challenges,
  - Interaction between CSOs and government in the country,
  - regulatory or policy challenges,
  - whether government is supportive of CSOs,
  - mistrust in the sector.

- Opportunities
  - solutions which could improve identified challenges – support available with these,
  - biggest challenges for individual giving within the country,
  - changes in country which may have an impact on CSOs,
  - social movement landscape in countries,
  - opportunities for improving organisation's communications strategy.

APPENDIX 3

Topic guide – Focus group discussions

The topic guide used for the Individuals focus groups contained the following topic areas:

- Introduction
  - name,
  - explanation of research.

- Warm-up
  - introduction to the idea of giving and giving landscape in the country,
  - how participants think about and understand the term 'giving'
  - the extent to which participants give to individuals vs CSOs

- Past and current charitable giving habits in relation to giving to individuals or informal groups
  - how participants think about and understand informal giving – including motivations, who influences giving, obligations, commitments, community and cultural norm,
  - what types of individuals or groups of individuals they give to,
  - drivers for giving to individuals or groups of individuals,
  - how often giving occurs to each group, and how much income is spent on giving to individuals or groups of individuals.

- To understand participants' attitudes toward civil society
  - determine what terminology participants use/understand to define 'civil society',
  - how participants feel about civil society.

- Supporting charitable organisations
  - understanding how individuals engage with civil society,
  - where individuals place responsibility for funding civil society.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS