

## Everyday Humanitarianism in Tanzania (EHTZ): Lisa Ann Richey, PI Copenhagen Business School

Humanitarian responses to disaster, poverty or pandemics have been around since antiquity, but humanitarianism as a field has a more recent history linked to international aid, non-governmental organizations and ‘humanitarian’ actors (Krause 2014, 7). International relations scholars use the term ‘humanitarianism’ with a specific historical reference to the 1864 Geneva Convention’s recognition in international law of humanitarian principles to govern the moral practice of war. Then, beginning with the late 1960s crisis in Biafra (see Vestergaard 2017), humanitarianism has expanded from concerns of war to an assortment of nebulous interventions on behalf of an assumed shared humanity. **Everyday humanitarianism** (EH) refers to an *expanded series of practices in the everyday lives of citizens that are engaging in humanitarianism, outside of the formal structures of humanitarian actions* (Richey 2017). This do-gooding response to crisis can be proximate for one’s neighbours or distant for suffering Others. Humanitarianism is often explored in a North-South perspective, assuming that organisations funded and dominated by the Global North carry out humanitarian acts of ‘rescue’ in the Global South (Cf. Daley 2013, Müller 2013). Furthermore, humanitarianism is mostly assumed to be carried out by (international) organizations and focused on recipients (Cf. Agier 2011).

EHTZ challenges these assumptions in three ways. First, it explores the everyday humanitarian actions of ordinary citizens. This has increasingly caught the attention of scholars in the context of the massive humanitarian response by ‘friendly neighbours’ to the European migration crisis (Cabot 2016; Doidge and Sandri 2018; Bontemps, et al. 2018). Second, the project explores these responses in a Southern context, not through the typical Northern perspective. Third, we focus explicitly on the givers as well as the receivers.

Previous research on new actors and alliances (see contributions to Richey and Ponte 2014) documents the increasing diversity of actors undertaking interventions in development and humanitarian contexts. EHTZ will measure attitudes and map practices of everyday humanitarianism by wealthy philanthropists, middle class contributors and friendly neighbours in contexts of acute and protracted crisis situations across Tanzania. It will produce innovative new knowledge about humanitarian assistance and sustainable development. Previous research concentrates on institutional givers and recipients. **This is the first study to focus on a multitude of private Southern givers, not only receivers of humanitarianism in the South.**

Unfortunately, the reason that Tanzania is an excellent case for understanding everyday humanitarianism results from its increasing humanitarian need, uneven government attempts to manage disasters, and complex linkages between humanitarian and development needs and the partners who engage them. Since an upsurge of unrest in Burundi in 2015, 258,000 refugees have crossed into Tanzania, making it the largest recipient of Burundian refugees in the East African region. Tanzania currently hosts 317,000 refugees in three camps, which is an unprecedented five-fold increase compared to three years ago.<sup>1</sup> Floods have become the most-feared disaster amongst Dar es Salaam residents according to Hambati and Gaston’s (2015) participatory hazards ranking. Humanitarian aid and professional disaster response receive attention, yet what is missing here is the action taken in response to both protracted and acute humanitarian crises by Tanzanians who are not humanitarian professionals. EH is distinct from charity, compassion or generosity by its context

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<sup>1</sup> In Kigoma Region, Nyarugusu opened in 1996 and in a ‘protracted refugee situation’ still houses approximately 55,870 refugees mostly from DRC. It is one of the world’s most isolated refugee camps, 66 kilometres on a potholed road from the nearest village.

of crisis, so while the practices might be ‘everyday’ their meaning is extraordinary as dictated by the ‘emergency’ (Calhoun 2010). This EH may involve, for example, housing refugees along their journey to processing centres, paying school fees for additional children in areas affected by floods, or donating online ([www.gofundme.com/Bukobaearthquakes](http://www.gofundme.com/Bukobaearthquakes)) or to local churches in earthquake prone regions of the country. Tanzanians of all social classes are involved in everyday humanitarianism, from rich philanthropists to farmer neighbours, yet these actions remain unacknowledged and unaccounted for. **The objective of EHTZ is to explore and understand the practices of everyday humanitarianism and the attitudes that ground them.**

In the literature on humanitarianism, there is a chasm between the anthropologists who focus on the experience of individual recipients (refugees or victims) and the political scientists who focus on the humanitarian apparatus (legal, logistical or political) and the geographers who focus on humanitarian space. None of these gives much attention to the agency of Tanzanians (or other ‘hosts’) as humanitarians themselves. Our team combines insights from across these disciplines with perspectives from development studies and in-depth local knowledge. Critics from different disciplines argue that intervention in the domestic affairs within states on the grounds of a shared humanity serves to support the interests of powerful elites and undermine the moral basis of human rights on which this intervention is predicated (see Belloni 2007; Redfield 2012; Duffield 2014; Ticktin 2014). This leads to ‘depoliticizing’ or to a different kind of politics: from a ‘politics of compassion’ (Ticktin 2011) to a ‘politics of testimony’ (Fassin 2008) or a ‘politics of disapprobation’ (von Czechowski 2017). Historians argue that the friction between humanitarianism and human rights has deep theoretical roots, which complicate interventions by citizens or private actors as well as those by states (see Sasson 2016). Still, all these understandings share the presumption that international interveners and local recipients are creating the politics. **EHTZ will disrupt this presumption by focusing specifically on Tanzanian agency as givers for shaping relationships, local economies and politics.**

As Malkki’s (2015) work with refugees in Tanzania and Finnish volunteers demonstrates, international humanitarianism begins at home, somewhere local and specific in context, and these practices shape the humanitarian subjects. From previous research, *we know that the distance between the giver and the receiver of assistance is important* (Richey and Ponte 2011). We will operationalize this by studying contexts of **proximate giving** in protracted crisis settings of refugee camps and their communities Kigoma (WP2); and acute crisis settings in Bukoba (earthquake), Morogoro and Dar es Salaam (floods) (WP3). These link to studies in Tanzanian contexts of **distant giving** by wealthy philanthropists and middle class contributors (WP 4).

Kweka’s (2007) work conceptualizes a ‘refugee caring regime’ which is contained by the geography of a ‘crisis’ but embedded in politics of care and regulation from individual bodies of people living in camps to global bodies like the UNHCR. During our preparation workshop in Tanzania, the national newspapers (notably both government and opposition papers) reported on the ‘success’ of Tanzanian collaboration between ‘host communities, refugees and the government on addressing challenges facing the refugees and host communities’ (Daily News 2018,1). This EH is taking place in the context of an ongoing Burundian refugee crisis, what UNHCR terms ‘one of the world’s most underfunded humanitarian crises’ (Guardian 2018 3). Krause (2014) describes the triage involved when humanitarian organizations select countries and recipients of aid, but how does triage work in everyday humanitarianism? How do people make decisions about who to help and why?

Von Czechowski’s (2017) long-term ethnography in the Nyarugusu Camp demonstrates how international aid organizations prioritize abstract rights over tangible needs. Most understandings of

humanitarian spaces like refugee camps tend to focus on their ‘extraterritoriality, exception and exclusion,’ (Agier 2011), yet we know from anthropologists that refugees leave camps in search of livelihoods and host community members enter these spaces for trade, entertainment or to utilize basic services like health clinics (Turner 2015). While the fluidity of citizenship and permeability of refugee camps has been well-documented (von Czechowski 2017; Turner 2016; Diken 2004; Malkki 1995), the focus on how becoming a member of a ‘host community’ opens up possibilities for agency, specifically for engaging in acts of everyday humanitarianism by non-professional humanitarians, has been overlooked.

On the case of humanitarianism in Tanzania, and the ways that communities responded to crisis-induced changes in their lives, Whitaker (2006) and Landau (2008) did foundational research on how host communities ‘framed’ refugees, how they gained from them economically, and how this transformed their own identities and relations to the state. To move beyond the existing literature, we need research focusing on the sub-national level (as called for by Landau) and particularly on how both individuals and groups maneuver in the exceptional space of disaster (Turner 2015) and how this might change when acute crises become protracted.

For understanding EH in **proximate giving** contexts (WPs 2,3) we will base research questions on literature on Tanzanian refugees and on the ‘social cost of hazards’ in Tanzanian cities. Hambati and Gaston (2015) demonstrate how social relations and status correlate with risk vulnerability in their studies of Dar es Salaam. Better understanding of EH can help policymakers and donors to mitigate this risk. **EHTZ will measure and explain the everyday humanitarian practices of communities engaged most directly with protracted crisis (refugees) and others experiencing acute crises (earthquake, floods).**

Individual agency is contextualized within politics, geography and history. For Tanzanians, this speaks also to donor relations. Landau’s (2008) seminal work on ‘the humanitarian hangover’ explains how Tanzania’s socialist history has been foundational for the ways that citizens turn demands away from the state and toward international actors, while still reifying the virtues and identity of being ‘Tanzanian’. The Tanzanian state is new in coordinating humanitarianism with the guiding law, *Disaster Management Act 7* dating only to 2015 that sets in place the institutions and arrangements at the national, regional, district, ward and village levels. It establishes a ‘Disaster Management Fund’ so any person who wants to contribute should first report to these ‘Disaster Management Committees’ intended to coordinate local humanitarian efforts. Across the law you find only reference to formal humanitarian organizations and services none to individuals, and the law targets ‘natural’ disasters which leaves out those occurring to conflict. **More contemporary research is needed to understand how Tanzanians take on the ‘virtuous’ practices of helping when they are in situations of crisis, both ‘natural’ and human-made.**

We also know that forms of **distant giving** are taking place amongst elite philanthropists and may form a part of the practices by which the middle classes define themselves as different from the poor (Cf. Mercer forthcoming; Mercer 2014). However, more research is needed to understand how Tanzanians take on the ‘virtuous’ practices of helping when they are in situations of crisis. Mercer’s work on Tanzanians in urban Dar and in the UK diaspora shows how the work of conviviality, or of a progressive politics of place, is taken up beyond ethnicity, class or religion (Mercer and Page 2010). Still, particular attention will be paid to the interactions between everyday humanitarianism and women, children and the elderly as Majamba’s (2011) work reminds us that we can expect discrimination in how these groups participate as givers and recipients.

Measurement of humanitarian practices or attitudes has been a rare subject of study. However, a recent quantitative study of US public opinion on immigration demonstrated that humanitarian

concern leads to public support for immigrants (Newman et al. 2015, 600). WP1 will work to develop the locally-relevant indicators for quantitative mapping and measuring and will adapt and replicate this study in conjunction with WP2,3,4 to allow for measurement and mapping across the proximate and distant frames of giving in our study regions. **We aim to produce a comprehensive categorisation of EH attitudes and practices that can be applied in other studies.**

## Objectives

*Overall Objective: To understand how people interacting in everyday situations respond to crisis situations (emergencies/disasters) outside of the formal structures of humanitarian assistance*

- **Objective 1:** To chart actually-existing practices and locally-relevant understandings of Everyday Humanitarianism in Tanzania
- **Objective 2:** To understand EH in protracted crises in camps and their communities as part of the ‘refugee caring regime’ (Kweka 2007)
- **Objective 3:** To understand EH in Tanzanians’ experiences of acute crisis (i.e. earthquakes, floods)
- **Objective 4:** To understand distant EH contributions by wealthy philanthropists and the middle class
- **Objective 5:** To integrate the qualitative and quantitative knowledges from acute and protracted crises and disseminate this knowledge as widely as possible

**Aims** of EHTZ: All objectives have conceptual, empirical and policy aims:

- 1) **Conceptual:** Defining EH and developing the means for using the concept to analyze empirical data
- 2) **Empirical:** Furthering our understanding of how EH plays out in contemporary crisis situations in Tanzania
- 3) **Policy:** To build capacity in order to inform Tanzania’s National Policy on Disaster Management and Humanitarian Assistance and eventually to promote the SDGs on poverty, inequality and peace justive and institutions

## 1. Outcomes and Outputs

### Capacity building

- 3 completed PhDs at University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM); 1 at Copenhagen Business School
- All senior faculty publishing at least one article in peer reviewed journals
- Training workshops on concept development, dissemination and methods (NVivo/Stata)

### Research

- At least one edited book and one co-authored monograph (with open access rights)
- At least 10 working papers and 8 articles in peer-reviewed international journals (such as World Development; Africa Today; Geoforum; African Affairs; Area; Progress in Dev. Studies)
- At least 8 presentations at international conferences (in addition to our final conference)
- 4 hosted workshops and 1 hosted final conference integrated at UDSM

### Policy, societal and community engagement

- Interactive Project Website-Open access policy on working papers, articles, and op-eds; 3 bi-lingual co-produced short films and audio podcasts;
- 1 Facebook page, 1 twitter account actively managed for participation and feedback
- 3-minute video snapshots on progress, personal reflections on results, specific achievements within the project activities (in English and Swahili)
- 5 newspaper op-eds, 3 Radio and/or TV appearances

- Community-level feedback meetings with fieldwork (Years 1-4): in all study communities
- Annual Advisory Board meetings, including representatives of relevant NGOs, government, business and industry associations (see Section 9 for candidates known by team members)
- Special session for business, government and civil society at the final conference
- At least 2 visits to UM in Copenhagen for discussion of ongoing results

#### **Long-term impact**

- Improved design of policy and programs in Tanzania specifically through informing the **Disaster Management Act 7 (2015)** from the ground-up. Impact will be through engagement with the Disaster Management Agency and the Council at the National Level, and with the Disaster Management Committees at the District, Ward and Village levels where we work.
- Improved implementation of Danida's "The World 2030" in Tanzania and elsewhere through knowledge of the interface between everyday humanitarianism and long-term sustainable development within local communities.
- Improved collaboration capacity at partner universities to carry out research in this field, publish in international journals, and lead efforts to develop competitive research project applications.

### **Methodology**

The Phase 1 proposal was developed in collaboration over a series of Skype meetings, email and WhatsApp for environmental and practical reasons. This Phase 2 proposal instead comes from a 2-day workshop held in Bagamoyo for all known team members, meetings of the coordinators and WP leaders in Dar es Salaam, and dialogue before and after. All team members have discussed and commented on the proposal during the process. EHTZ will include 5 WP's with shared methods of **ethnography**: of camps and their communities on the ground in WP2; in the ongoing practices of the humanitarian response to three recent crises selected for regional and crisis variation (from <https://reliefweb.int/country/tza>) in WP3; in a simultaneous ethnography of the indicators (links to WP1,2,3,4) to produce a holistic understanding of the phenomena they are striving to measure (see Merry 2011) in WP5.

Cognizant of the importance of images in representations of North-South relations (Cf. Hansen 2014; Richey and Ponte 2014), we will also all engage in **audio/video** co-production of ongoing practices and testimonials by Tanzanian humanitarians in WP 2, 3,4 and public happenings to show and discuss the videos, visuals, podcasts in Dar es Salaam, and Copenhagen in WP5.

Research Clearance from COSTECH, residency permits for foreign researchers, and visas will be obtained from the TZ government. Team leaders have extensive experience and contemporary networks to help facilitate and assure proper and ethical procedures. We will abide by the *Danish Code of Conduct for Research Integrity* (2014) and the Advisory Board provides ethical guidance.

**WP1: Development and Testing of Concepts and Tools for relevant understanding of EH in Tanzania (PI Richey, all senior researchers as Co-I's)**

- Develop a locally-relevant typology of everyday humanitarianism with specific indicators for measurement.
- Engage simultaneously in an ethnography of these indicators during joint fieldwork in year 1 to produce a holistic understanding of the phenomena they are striving to measure (see Merry 2011).
- Adapt Newman et al's. (2015) study in Tanzania to study attitudes as well as practices of EH.

**WP2: Proximate Everyday Humanitarian in Protracted Crisis Situations (Kigoma Region) (PI Kweka; Co-I's Turner; Mwamfupe; Justesen, PhD Barendtsen, TZPhD)**

- Ethnography of camps and their communities to understand the attitudes and practices of EH in the 'refugee caring regime' (Kweka 2007)

- Conduct survey to measure EH in four crisis-affected districts (proximate helping) using Newman et al. (2015) to study attitudes and practices
- Interview follow-up to survey data collection; focus groups for community views
- Video documentation of ongoing practices and testimonials by Tanzanian humanitarians
- GIS mapping of the camps and their communities for socio-economic differentiation (PhD)

**WP3: Proximate Everyday Humanitarianism in Acute Crisis Situations** (Morogoro, Bukoba, Dar es Salaam) (PI **Majamba**; Co-I's **Hambati**; **Sulley**; **Gissel**; **Mwamfupe**; **Justesen**, *TZPhD*)

- Conduct survey to measure EH in response to three recent crises selected for regional and crisis variation (as reported on <https://reliefweb.int/country/tza>)
- Interview follow-up to survey data collection
- Ethnography in the ongoing practices of the humanitarian response
- Video documentation of ongoing practices and testimonials by Tanzanian humanitarians in response to the three crises
- Assembly of a 'rapid response research team' to conduct real time research on any crisis that occurs during the first phase of EHTZ (2019-2022).

**WP4: Distant Everyday Humanitarianism: Wealthy Philanthropy and Middle Class Contributions** (Survey and Interviews) (PI **Mukangara/Sulley**; Co-I's **Kragelund**, **Richey** and **Mercer**; **Mwamfupe**; **Justesen**, *TZPhD*)

- In-depth interview with informants, including oral histories of exemplary cases
- Informants will be found through reverse tracking from crisis cases in WP 2,3 to their givers when they are not 'neighbours'
- Elite ethnography in meeting places (like Rotary Club because philanthropists work through institutions, so we will also conduct ethnography in relevant institutions Dar es Salaam, Bukoba, Morogoro, Kigoma)
- Network focused snowball sampling within geographical, sectoral, religious and family links within the middle class of Dar es Salaam and the national elites
- Survey Dar es Salaam middle-class residents on their giving practices and attitudes
- Document analysis in popular magazines (such as African Business) and newspapers (The East African) in their personal interest stories of philanthropy
- Analysis of CAG (Control Auditor General) reports on how much companies pay in taxes and their CSR deductions
- Archival research in the East Africana Collection and other relevant archives: *TZPhD* will trace the roots of distant EH in response to the crisis in Southern Africa during the liberation struggles where Tanzanian humanitarians were notable

**WP5: Integration of qualitative and quantitative knowledges for dissemination and capacity** (Tanzania and Denmark) (Co-I's **Mukangara**; **Co-I Richey**; ongoing participation of full team)

- Comparative analysis of acute and protracted everyday humanitarian responses
- Integrative analysis of the perspectives of the givers and the receivers of local humanitarian aid in the context of Tanzania's historical and contemporary politics (for co-authored monograph by Mukangara and Richey)
- Training sessions for capacity building in producing videos, audio clips (for low bandwidth distribution) and written editorials for policy engagement
- Teach-in's at University of Dar es Salaam and Copenhagen Business School to bring EH into the classroom, teach about SDGs and test text-book chapters

- Dissemination seminars with Tanzanian national policymakers, businesses with CSR interests, and international humanitarian donors working in Tanzania
- Video co-production with Danish and Tanzanian non-professional humanitarians
- ‘Happenings’ organized to show and discuss the videos in Dar es Salaam and Copenhagen
- Website and social media work to document project preparations, raise issues for public discussion around research findings and link to interested dissemination partners beyond the aid and development sectors in both countries.

**independent PhD projects with TZ/DK joint supervision:** (1) Pernille Bærendtsen-CBS (Richey/Kweka) on communication and perceptions of EH by ordinary citizens in Kigoma; (2) NN-UDSM (Kweka/Turner) on understanding of inequalities and the relative need for help in refugee camps.; (3) NN-UDSM (Mukangara/Kragelund) on the political history of Everyday Humanitarianism in Tanzania and Southern Africa; (4) NN-UDSM (Majamba/Richey) on how the legal or institutional framework of Tanzania shapes Everyday Humanitarianism and human rights. Recruitment for 3 PhDs will begin immediately with project start and follow the *General Regulations and Guidelines for Postgraduate Programs* (UDSM 2018).

### Capacity Strengthening

In our collaborative planning of EHTZ, the team agreed that capacity strengthening should be understood as a reciprocal opportunity for professional upgrading for all team members. We will contribute to increasing the competitiveness of the individual researchers through an ambitious publishing strategy and societal engagement in TZ, DK and globally. Academic articles will include co-authorship between the most experienced publishers and other team members. The edited book will operationalize research-based teaching as a textbook introduction to EH that can be used internationally. The entire senior team will collaborate during workshops in DK and TZ during years 1-3, conferences in Europe, the US, and TZ in years 4+5 (for capacity strengthening in conceptual development, methodology, dissemination and publication). UDSM PhDs will spend 3 months on intensive library-based work and PhD supervision in Copenhagen during their first year. We will strengthen the Kiswahili language ability for DK-based team members and support bi-lingual dissemination in both DK and TZ.

### Partnerships

EHTZ will contribute to CBS’s Africa Strategy and Inequality Platform and to the Center for African Economies at RUC. It will also tap into the network opportunities of the International Studies Assoc. (ISA) where the PI has been a leader in the Global South Caucus. In year 2, the team will meet at a European conference (EADI, DSA, or ECAS) and in year 3, we will meet at the ISA in the US. Our final conference will be held in collaboration with the annual ‘Voices of Social Sciences’ conference at UDSM where we can contribute our findings to ongoing debates and invite TZ policy experts and regional scholars to participate. We will draw on our strong networks in Uganda, Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi and South Africa. We will present at the Policy Forum Breakfast in Dar es Salaam (donors, NGOs and government). In Denmark, we will engage in integrated dissemination, visiting UM in years 2 and 4 and actively seeking out opportunities for engagement in the ongoing partnership meetings between UM, NGOs and businesses in DK.

### Publication and Dissemination Strategy

	<b>Target group</b>
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Means/tools	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Website, social media and short videos	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Working papers, scientific articles, monograph			√			√	
Workshops & final conference			√		√		
Community-level meetings and special sessions at final conference	√	√		√			√
Advisory Board Meetings and informal conversations	√	√	√	√			
Popular Media Engagement (OpEds, tv, radio, podcasts)					√		√

Legend: 1= policymakers; 2= business; 3= scientific community; 4= NGOs; 5= media; 6= students; 7= general public & local communities in TZ and DK

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