

# Painting the Whole World White

A case study on Westernization in aid assistance between  
Sweden and Tanzania

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# Preface

When deciding on what to write about, it did not take too long before we came to a conclusion. Each of us had our own interests and ideas on what subject to focus on and eventually we agreed; why not just combine the two things we want to write about the most? And that is the short story on how the aim of this thesis came to be.

Working with this thesis has been both interesting and challenging. There have been times of uncertainty where neither of us have had a clue on what the next step should be. However, there have been just as many times of absolute dedication when it has been hard to simply put the thesis aside. It has truly been a learning experience which we will be forever thankful for. The writing element of it has been greatly developing and working together as a team to develop this is an experience that will definitely help us in our future work. We are also, by all means, thankful to our supervisor Lars Niklasson who has been there for us when we needed to bounce ideas and lead our thesis into the right direction.

With that being said, we cannot wait to put our new knowledge into good use in the next academic adventure that awaits.

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# Abstract

Between the years 1962 and 2013, the Swedish government gave over \$6 billion in development assistance to Tanzania. Despite this, the country remains to be one of the poorest countries in the world. The Swedish aid has failed to achieve the one thing it was destined for - helping Tanzania rise from poverty. This raises the question whether aid really works or not. Some scholars argue that aid assistance is primarily dictated by strategic and political interests, wherein Western states still exercise power through colonialism, merely in other forms. Could this then be the case within Sweden and Tanzania's aid relations? The purpose of this study is to analyze various cases from the aid relationship between Sweden and Tanzania in order to find if there are any hidden intentions. By problematizing the aid relation through the theories of Neocolonialism and Eurocentrism, this thesis aims to identify if these intentions can be connected to the theories in question. Furthermore, suggestions for an aid relation without the characteristics of Neocolonial and Eurocentric theories are presented. This has been achieved through a qualitative content analysis of carefully selected material to bring relevant points and perspectives to the study. The study finally concludes that traces of the theories of Neocolonialism and Eurocentrism exist within aid relations between Sweden and Tanzania.

**Keywords:** Sweden; Tanzania; Aid; Neocolonialism; Eurocentrism

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# 1. Introduction

Western nations started colonizing and exploiting African countries as early as the 1600s. The exploitation not only consisted of goods and territories, but also of people. Africans were captured and treated as livestock, and sold as slaves with no rights. This was white supremacy enforced to its extreme.<sup>1</sup> A lot has changed since then; slavery has been made illegal but racism has not. Most former colonies are now independent on paper but not in reality. Western states still exercise power over these states, but in other forms. One of the most prominent ways power is exercised is through the action of giving aid.<sup>2</sup>

One country that has a lengthy history of being colonized and that, interestingly enough, relies heavily on aid today, is Tanzania. The country, officially called the United Republic of Tanzania, was established in 1964 when the newly decolonized Tanganyika and Zanzibar merged.<sup>3</sup> Today, Tanzania is considered to be one of the poorest countries in the world.<sup>4</sup> This evidently makes Tanzania dependent on aid-giving with around 50 percent of the state budget being financed by foreign aid investments. Most of the aid comes from Western countries and different organizations such as the EU, the UN and other non-governmental organizations. One of the Western countries that truly stands out in regards to aid-giving is Sweden.<sup>5</sup>

The relationship between Sweden and Tanzania dates back to 1962 when Sweden became one of Tanzania's main donors. The main purpose of the cooperation between the two states started off as 'raising the living standards of the poor people and supporting a democrating incline'. Between the years 1962 and 2013, the Swedish government gave over \$6 billion in development assistance. Despite this, Tanzania remains one of the poorest countries in the world.<sup>6</sup> This sparks the question whether aid giving really works or if it is, in fact, just a more subtle way of exercising power? And if that is the case, could there be any other indications of the theories of Neocolonialism and Eurocentrism within aid-giving? There is an academic gap

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<sup>1</sup> Hillbom, E. & Green, E. (2010). *Afrika: En kontinents ekonomiska och sociala historia*. p. 80

<sup>2</sup> Mishra, V. & Hodge, B. (2005). *What was postcolonialism?*

<sup>3</sup> McGillvray, M., Carpenter, D., Morrissey, O. & Thaarup, J. (2016). *Swedish Development Cooperation with Tanzania - has it Helped the Poor?* p. 21-22

<sup>4</sup> World population review. (2022). *Poorest countries in the world*.

<sup>5</sup> Ewald, J. (2011). *Democratization process in Tanzania*. p. 89

<sup>6</sup> McGillvray, M., Carpenter, D., Morrissey, O. & Thaarup, J. (2016). *Swedish Development Cooperation with Tanzania - has it Helped the Poor?* p. 21

when it comes to the problematizing of aid in this aspect and therefore this thesis aims to study this through the case of Sweden-Tanzania. Previous authors have already researched the efficiency of aid in the case of Tanzania and Sweden and the motives behind aid in Africa, however this thesis will combine and problematize this even further based on the understanding of the theoretical framework.

## 1.1 Aims and research questions

The aim of this thesis is to examine whether there is any indication of the theories of Neocolonialism and Eurocentrism within aid assistance in a world that is characterized by these theories. In order to reach this aim, we will apply these theories upon aid the relation between Sweden and Tanzania. This will be examined from the start of the cooperation to the present, in order to analyze if traces of these theories can be found. Additionally, the thesis will aim to present suggestions for an understanding of aid relations outside of the examined theories. To fulfill this, the following research questions will be answered:

- *Are aid relations between Sweden and Tanzania characterized by the theories of Neocolonialism and Eurocentrism, and if so how is this evident?*
- *How can aid exist outside the understanding of Neocolonialism and Eurocentrism?*

## 1.2 Limitations

This thesis is limited to analyzing the case of Tanzania and Sweden; since it would be unattainable to answer the research questions without looking into one specific case, the project would be too immense and general to be able to reach a proper conclusion. These states were chosen because they have a long and extensive history of aid assistance. The timeslot examined is from the start of the cooperation in 1962 until the present day. We chose this time period in order to get the most concrete conclusion as possible as all relevant events are being taken into consideration. This paper will not analyze the extent or results of aid within the Tanzania and Sweden case, since a notable amount of work already has been made on this subject, but instead focuses on the reasons behind it. In order to understand the underlying reasons for aid, the theories of Neocolonialism and Eurocentrism will be applied. These theories are the most suitable to fulfill the research gap because they can independently be used to problematize the relationship between the global West and developing countries, and combined they provide a

versatile analysis. No further theories will be used because, once again, it would be too immense of a project for the timeslot given.

### 1.3 Disposition

This study contains eight chapters. After this initial chapter, the paper continues to examine the conceptual framework. In this part, two common concepts throughout the analysis are presented, which are the following: aid and the West. Further, in chapter three, an explanation of the two theoretical frameworks used in the paper, Neocolonialism and Eurocentrism will be presented. Following that is chapter four where the methodological basis is being discussed. Foremost, this chapter explains the interstate relation that was chosen and why it was chosen, followed by clarifying the material and the approach used, the qualitative content analysis, the methodology criticism and lastly the importance of reliability and validity. In the next chapter, chapter five, previous findings regarding different perspectives on Swedish aid efficiency in Tanzania and motives of aid in Africa are discussed. The research gaps found are also made clear. The sixth chapter includes Tanzania's colonial background, the definition of Tanzania as a state, as well as the problems that it faces are reviewed. Chapter seven contains the analysis and discussion. In this part, the theories are applied to aid assistance, both in general and in the case of Sweden-Tanzania. This chapter also contains a run through of the donor's perspective on the matter, as well as suggestions on how aid relations absent of Neocolonial and Eurocentric theories could look. The following, and last, chapter is the conclusion, where the answer to the research questions are presented. This chapter also consists of a proposal for further research as well as our own personal reflections.

## 2. Conceptual framework

In the following chapter the three main concepts used in this study; aid, the West and Westernization, will be explained in order to make the paper as clear as possible to follow.

### 2.1 Aid

Aid is defined as the transfer of resources from one state to another less developed one with the intention to assist the underdeveloped state in its development process. Aid can have many different forms. It can come in the form of humanitarian aid, in the shape of logistic and material assistance, it can be financial and it can come in the form of social assistance, such as helping states educate their citizens for a specific job. However aid can also be used to strengthen military alliances or to show diplomatic approval.<sup>7</sup>

### 2.2 The West

The West is a term for Europe and the Western hemisphere. However the West, or the Western world as it can also be referred to, has different definitions depending on the context. What is important to keep in mind is that it is Western scholars and politicians that have defined what the Western world is. For the aim of this study the West is referred to in the context of history, culture and politics. In this aspect the West consists of Europe and the so-called liberal democracies of the United States, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, Uruguay. Argentina and Israel.<sup>8</sup>

### 2.3 Westernization

The term westernization entails the adoption of western European culture and practices by non-Western societies, through either influence or compulsion. It was a significant part of colonialism and is based on the belief that the Western way of life is superior.<sup>9</sup> Essentially, the concept can be defined as the emergence of a shared value framework between Western and non-Western states. Its trademark is the continuous recycling of western views and ideas.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Hopper, P. (2018). *Understanding development*. p. 271

<sup>8</sup> Duchesne, R. (2011). *The Uniqueness of Western Civilization*. p. 231

<sup>9</sup> Britannica. (2022). *Westernization*.

<sup>10</sup> Doreing-Manteuffel, A. (1999). *Transatlantic Exchange and Interaction - The Concept of Westernization*. p. 5



### 3. Theoretical framework

The following chapter intends to explain the theoretical framework that will be used in this paper. The selected theories are Neocolonialism and Eurocentrism. These theories were chosen since there is a lack of research regarding aid based on the schools of Neocolonialism and Eurocentrism. It is therefore of importance to do further research on the correlation between aid and these theories. By carefully clarifying these, it will be beneficial to the end result of the study. Lastly, the interaction between the theories are clarified in order to validate the relevance of the theories in this thesis.

#### 3.1 Neocolonialism

Neocolonialism is the continuation of colonialism, the practice of acquiring political control over another country, after the former colony has been decolonialized. Neocolonialism is mostly practiced in former African colonies where it is often exercised through political or economic influence. The former colonizer still executes colonialism in new shapes such as economic and cultural imperialism and/or aid to either influence or control a developing country instead of adopting the previously used colonial methods.<sup>11</sup> The term ‘Neocolonialism’ was initially used by Kwame Nkrumah who was the first Prime Minister, and later on, President of Ghana. He described it as the final, and worst, state of imperialism. He characterized it as “for those who practice it, it means power without responsibility, and for those who suffer it, it is exploitation without redress”<sup>12</sup>. Neocolonialism typically results in a relationship of financial obligation or dependence towards the Neocolonialist.<sup>13</sup>

According to the Neocolonial theory, bad working institutions and/or organizations are the prime reason for underdeveloped countries. Institutions are under the colonializes influence and are therefore blocked from acting independently. A dependency on the donor state in different socio-economic and political institutions are key factors for the modern colonizer to keep its influence and power.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Langan, M. (2017). *Neo-colonialism and Donor interventions: Western Aid Mechanisms*. p. 61-88

<sup>12</sup> Rahaman, S., Mahmud, R. & Yeazdani, R. (2019). *The Untold History of Neocolonialism in Africa*. p. 9

<sup>13</sup> Langan, M. (2017). *Neo-colonialism and Donor interventions: Western Aid Mechanisms*. p. 61-88

<sup>14</sup> Ibid

### 3.2 Eurocentrism

The theory of Eurocentrism is based on the world hegemony where Europe, or the West, is positioned as the center of the world. This originates from the colonial era when European powers such as Spain and Britain ‘conquered’ other countries in different continents. These conquests started a modern ego where Europe held an absolute superiority over these colonies. This superiority would later come to be the base of its gathering and stealing of riches, knowledge and experience from the colonies. Thus, the Eurocentric theory means that European civilization puts themselves as the developed, and therefore superior, civilization. They therefore see it as a moral obligation to help other, ‘undeveloped’ states. This implies that European development assistance will invariably result in a developmentalist fallacy.<sup>15</sup>

The theory refers to a tendency to depict cultures and histories of a non-European society from a European perspective. This includes undervaluing and condemning non-European societies and referring to them as inferior to the West, as well as ignoring what they want to achieve within their own societies. The school of Eurocentrism points out that histories of non-European societies are being viewed on European terms. Eurocentrism has not always been constant throughout history and it is noticeable that Eurocentrism has been more present during times of greater European self-confidence, such as the imperialism era. In conclusion, the basis of the Eurocentric theory is that non-European societies are seen as inferior. They lack concern for human life, they are inflexible and unchanging, poor, underdeveloped, they are opposed to the industrialized and rich West and they lack rational modes of thinking.<sup>16</sup>

### 3.3 Theoretical correlation

Various approaches within the two theories align or complement each other in ways that favor a thorough analysis. The theories are distant enough to give different perspectives yet still similar enough to define the direction of the thesis. Both theories acknowledge the West's attempt to practice influence and power on non-Western states. Neocolonialism emphasizes how Western states practice power on former colonies through political or economic

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<sup>15</sup> Amin, S. (1988) *Eurocentrism*. p. 13-16, 255

<sup>16</sup> JRank. (2022). *Eurocentrism*.

influence<sup>17</sup>, while the Eurocentric theory proceeds with defining the mindset behind these actions, where Western states position themselves as leaders of the world.<sup>18</sup>

## 4. Methodology

The following chapter will contain answers on why interstate relations between Sweden and Tanzania were chosen, what materials and approaches have been used in the research, how the material has been processed, a brief overview of methodology criticisms, and lastly, how reliability and liability has been applied to the thesis.

### 4.1 Why was this interstate relation chosen?

For the purpose of this academic paper, the states of Sweden and Tanzania have been chosen to be analyzed. The reason as to why these specific states have been selected is due to the presence of extensive research and thereafter careful consideration on which states would be most suitable to be able to fulfill the aim of this study. What makes these countries' relationship particularly interesting is their long ODA (Official Development Assistance) relationship and the volume of aid that Sweden has given Tanzania in comparison to other countries. Since Tanzania still remains as one of the poorest countries in the world<sup>19</sup>, it provides an interesting analysis of the aid relations between the states and the possible hidden intentions behind it, since it has not helped in the way it was sought out to do.

### 4.2 Material and approach

The material used for this academic paper was first and foremost previous academic research; this makes the analysis a non-experimental one, which means events that have already occurred are being analyzed in hindsight.<sup>20</sup> More specifically, the study is based on websites, scholarly articles, reports and non-fictional books. The sources that this thesis is mostly based on are of scientific character with content that is relevant to the study aim. The material contains a well-functioning reference system which increases the credibility of the source. By choosing books, scholarly articles, and reports, results were found in a wide range of information based on

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<sup>17</sup> Langan, M. (2017). *Neo-colonialism and Donor interventions: Western Aid Mechanisms*. p. 61-88

<sup>18</sup> Amin, S. (1988). *Eurocentrism*. p. 13-16, 255

<sup>19</sup> McGillivray, M., Carpenter, D., Morrissey, O. & Thaarup, J. (2016). *Swedish Development Cooperation with Tanzania - has it Helped the Poor?* p. 21

<sup>20</sup> Svensson, T. & Teorell, J. (2007). *Att fråga och att svara: samhällsvetenskaplig metod*. p. 80

Esaiassons presentation of the different criteria's for source criticism.<sup>21</sup> We make the assessment that these types of source material will be able to contribute to the qualitative strategy used because these have the opportunity to study the phenomenon in depth. As a selection method for the source material, the study is based on a method called purposive sampling. This method is a strategic way to choose material due to the sampling being based on the purpose of the study, with it therefore looking at material that will offer us explanations for the two theories that this thesis is based on. This means that the source material is selected to generate valuable information to answer the purpose of the thesis and the research questions. To decide what is considered valuable information, we as writers base it on our preceding knowledge of the subject.<sup>22</sup> When researching, databases such as Google Scholar and JSTOR have been used and search words such as "aid... Neocolonialism and Eurocentrism" were used, often in combination with Tanzania and/or Sweden. In order to find the reports and webpages, the search engine Google was used, where the search words varied depending on what aspects were in focus. Roughly all of the sources used are scientific articles, with the exception of a few news articles, which have been carefully reviewed and academically researched. This has been of utter importance in the search for material. Our aim has been to study the phenomenon of aid related to our theories in depth, and by using scientific articles, we have had the opportunity to take part in reliable research which has helped reach the intentions of the study.

The EBA report "*Swedish Development Cooperation with Tanzania - has it Helped the Poor?*" has been thoroughly used in this thesis and is a significant part of both the *Previous findings* and the *Analysis and discussion* chapter. The report criticizes the aid relation, presents multiple in-depth cases and concludes the report by suggesting essential changes for SIDA to carry out. The report is multidimensional and contributes with new perspectives to the debate, but also with concrete critique towards SIDA. Additionally, SIDA's own reports have been profoundly utilized in this study. This has provided additional cases and arguments that have been beneficial to the thesis.

### 4.3 Processing the material through qualitative content analysis

In order to understand the problems within the aid relationship, secondary information gathering has been used through different scholarly literature. The empirical research that is

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<sup>21</sup> Esaiasson, P. (2017). *Metodpraktikan*. p. 288

<sup>22</sup> Bryman, A. (2016). *Social Research Methods*. p. 32, 410, 496

used in this paper makes it easier to explain and understand the various issues that are related to the aspects addressed in the material.<sup>23</sup> The information provided in this paper cannot be analyzed and presented through numbers, for that reason we have used a qualitative research method. By compiling non-numeric research it has been easier to reach an understanding of the information analyzed. Qualitative research focuses more on describing how and why, instead of the frequency of something.<sup>24</sup>

In order to process and go through the material chosen, a qualitative content analysis has been used. Esaiasson describes this method as the most suitable when creating a more meaningful process.<sup>25</sup> This specific analysis method is used in order to identify underlying themes and information that can be distinguished from the general source material in order to classify them into different categories<sup>26</sup>. The theme for this paper is problems within aid, and the underlying theories identified when going through the materials are the Neocolonial and Eurocentric perspective. The hermeneutic approach is also appropriate in the writing of this paper as the approach is interpretive focused, which is suitable for judging which parts of the material are more important. However, this approach requires a connection between the theories and the material, which is important to keep in mind as a framework when proceeding with the analysis. In this paper, it is therefore of importance to distinguish the connections between aid and our theories. This enables for the texts to be processed based on which information is relevant.<sup>27</sup>

When using this approach we have focused our research on the causes and effects of aid assistance. This has enabled us to understand and discuss this matter even further which has been crucial to providing depth in the analysis and as a result establish a thorough conclusion. The research therefore partially becomes an effect analysis<sup>28</sup>, however it is limited to only secondary material gathering. In addition to this, elements of other methods such as discourse analysis and causal analysis can be found throughout the thesis in order to extend the basis upon which the thesis builds from. The subtle use of triangulation, which is the combination of

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<sup>23</sup> Esaiasson, P. (2017). *Metodpraktikan*. p. 35-43

<sup>24</sup> Bryman, A. (2016). *Social research methods*. p. 382-383

<sup>25</sup> Esaiasson, P. (2017). *Metodpraktikan*. p. 35-43

<sup>26</sup> Bryman, A. (2016). *Social Research Methods*. p. 563, 694

<sup>27</sup> Esaiasson, P. (2017). *Metodpraktikan*. p. 226

<sup>28</sup> Esaiasson, P. (2017). *Metodpraktikan*. p. 80

multiple research methods in the study of the same phenomenon, improves and strengthens the thesis.<sup>29</sup>

#### 4.4 Methodology criticism

Qualitative content analysis is the chosen method for this paper. Even if the method is the most suitable one, it is also reasonable to be critical of the material and remain impartial. Qualitative content analysis has limitations as a research method. Firstly, it is the fact that this method requires a need to be dependent on other sources and it can only be as substantial as the information it holds. This means that the sources used in this academic paper have to be both authentic and representative in order for the information to be reliable.<sup>30</sup> In order to fulfill these requirements, the source material consists of externally reviewed scholar articles and non-fiction to ensure its authenticity. Secondly, the study also seeks to include sources that shed light on different perspectives, both regarding the theories but also the material about aid to Tanzania. By doing this, a variation is made with different factors and aspects that will reduce the risk of the deficient source material. However, not that much research has been made regarding aid relating to the schools of Neocolonialism and Eurocentrism, which means that there is a void that arises wherein the sources that are available may not contain exactly what the study demands. To alleviate this problem, the selection of sources has played a major role. Thirdly, as the study is limited to only two theories, it loses the perspective that other theories could have offered. The qualitative approach is based on the fact that the researcher must interpret the material used. This could therefore offer as many interpretations as researchers and each study is therefore limited based on how the researcher interprets it. We are aware of this limitation, but by showing multiple cases and other research that has been conducted, we believe that it will increase the credibility as well as the fact that we assess the material to be of good quality.

The paper is non-experimental since no observations have been made by us and instead it is solely based on second hand sources. It could be a positive factor for the analysis to include primary sources like interviews or surveys, since that approach could contribute with more complexity in the analysis. Due to the time limit, this approach was nonetheless rejected.

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<sup>29</sup> Sari, K. & Bogdan, R. (1992). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods*. p. 132

<sup>30</sup> Bryman, A. (2016). *Social Research Methods*. p. 305

## 4.5 Reliability and validity

In order to accomplish a credible paper, good reliability and validity is of significant importance. Reliability is essential because when the reliability is high, no unsystematic nor random measurement errors should occur in the paper. This means that an independent person should be able to carry out the same research procedure as us and still get the same results. It is therefore very important that the analysis is transparent, and it is one of the reasons why we include a detailed chapter on our research method. Because this paper applies a hermeneutic approach, it could result in the reader coming to a different conclusion. In order to avoid this outcome and instead improve reliability, a clear reference system with reliable sources is crucial.<sup>31</sup> Even if the possibility of drawing other conclusions exists, this paper must only present one reliable case that Neocolonialism and Eurocentrism exists within aid to have a strong reliability, although it does not show how often it is.

High validity is another important factor for a credible paper. It means that we measure the things that we sought out to measure. It also means that there is a strong correlation between the theoretical and the operational in order for the paper to remain consistent. In order for the research to have a high validity, it is not enough that the information gathering and processing is done correctly, it also requires that the results truly claim something that gives meaning to the research questions.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Esaiasson, P. (2017). *Metodpraktikan*. p. 58-64

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. p. 58-64

## 5. Previous findings

This chapter will aim to compare and make prominence of different research papers. The first section will introduce two different perspectives on aid efficiency - the positive and negative results of aid in Tanzania from Sweden. This is in order to form a solid framework for the paper to be based on. In addition to this, the second section will contain a review of two research papers concerning motives for aid to Africa. This is to compile what motives have already been researched to later be able to apply this to the case of Tanzania and Sweden and then investigate this even further.

### 5.1 The effects of Swedish aid in Tanzania

The Swedish expert group for aid analyses (EBA) explains that Sweden and Tanzania have a very long and close relationship.<sup>33</sup> After Tanzania became independent, Sweden was one of the most supportive countries and has been very friendly when it came to bilateral support. After giving more than 6 billion dollars in aid to Tanzania, one would expect the said aid to have an enormous impact. However, even though it is proven to have contributed in some levels to the poverty reduction in the country, it has not really helped with the development.<sup>34</sup>

The EBA continues to illuminate the relation between Sweden and Tanzania, and starts explaining how during the first 20 years of development assistance the aid Sweden gave to Tanzania did not help in poverty reduction, probably because of the economic crises in the 80s. Most donors, including Sweden, scaled down their aid to Tanzania during this period. The Swedish government did not adapt to and work with the Tanzanian state to overcome the political and institutional flaws in the Tanzanian strategy for development. In the period of 1980-2000 it was a hard time for Tanzania and its donors. The environment for aid efficiency was inefficient. Poverty increased significantly and the aid flow was noticeably unsure at times. Donors seemed to play a big role in the economical uprising of Tanzania. But the aid given was still very widespread and fragmented, which is something that Swedish aid played a big role in, by placing aid into more than 30 different sectors. This shows the lack of focus and research in Sweden's aid to Tanzania.<sup>35</sup> The large and widespread amount of aid activities also

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<sup>33</sup> McGillivray, M., Carpenter, D., Morrissey, O. & Thaarup, J. (2016). *Swedish Development Cooperation with Tanzania - has it Helped the Poor?* p. 3

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. p. 126-127

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. p. 63



puts an enormous pressure on the Tanzanian government which makes it hard for them to be productive and to make the given aid useful. Donors have to keep in mind and research what areas Tanzania needs help in to actually do some good.<sup>36</sup>

The latest Swedish aid has mostly been in the form of budget support, which could be problematic when given to a country with high levels of corruption.<sup>37</sup> Sweden has through their aid encouraged Tanzania's ownership of its own development politics and strategy. But during a long period the Tanzanian state was less than capable to implement the aid in a good way. Donors have to take further responsibility and, while focusing on poverty reduction, also keep in mind the social, political and civil challenges that Tanzania faces. To achieve this donors need to have an ongoing conversation with the Tanzanian state.<sup>38</sup>

However, research has also shown signs of a positive outcome from the Swedish aid to Tanzania. Scholars argue that aid combined with good economic policies has had a good outcome on the country's BNI as well as on its poverty level. Treichel argues in his report that Tanzania, since 1995, has made progress in economic reform and stabilization which has resulted in some growth. He therefore argues that aid has in fact been beneficial for Tanzania, differently from what is stated in the EBA report. Supported by substantial donor aid, he argues that Tanzania's growth has increased remarkably. Contradicting the EBA report, Treichel states that from 1995-2005 the country made major strides in its economy. During this time, Tanzania gradually liberalized their economy and started pursuing market oriented reforms. In 1996, the country chose to intensify the reforms which resulted in an acceleration of growth. Treichel then starts to discuss whether or not all this development is thanks to aid or something else, and to what extent. He comes to the conclusion that aid has helped growth by boosting the demand. Without aid, Tanzania would perhaps not be in the same position as it is now. The aid from Sweden has given Tanzania a chance to get back in the playing field and given them the best opportunities.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> McGillvray, M., Carpenter, D., Morrissey, O. & Thaarup, J. (2016). *Swedish Development Cooperation with Tanzania - has it Helped the Poor?* p. 10

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. p. 63

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. p. 10

<sup>39</sup> Treichel, V. (2005). *Tanzania's growth process and success in reducing poverty*. p. 3, 13.

## 5.2 Other motives to aid in Africa

In Dollar and Alesina's work they present evidence of a pattern in aid-giving that shows it being dictated by strategic and political consideration first and foremost. This has been proven by showcasing that former colonies tend to receive more aid. In fact, Dollar and Alesina claim that non-democratic former colonies get almost twice as much aid as democratic non-former colonies. They also argue that motives for a lot of donors are generally not tied to factors that we usually associate with aid such as poverty reduction and democratic development, instead the motives are tied to political alliances. These alliances can be both military-strategic or commercial with trade and investment in mind. Thus, the scholars mean that aid is used to buy political support through alliances. This implies that factors like colonial pasts and alliances better explain aid allocation than promoting development or reducing poverty.<sup>40</sup>

Similarly to what Dollar and Alesina presented in the article above, Bandyopadhyay and Vermann continue the debate by showing evidence in their article about the history of aid and how the motives of aid-giving have changed over time. When poorer countries started to develop during the postcolonial period, the former colonizers tried to make this process easier for the African countries by providing resources in the form of aid assistance. The problem that occurred was that the aid was almost exclusively given in ways that would promote Western values. This was the main motive in foreign aid until the 1960s, when other motives started to emerge. Just as Dollar and Alesina argue, these scholars agree that aid later became an instrument used to buy loyalty and allegiance. Bandyopadhyay and Vermann continue by arguing that donor countries have two main motives behind aid-giving; humanitarian ones and strategic ones. However, they mean that these two motives are contradictory and that donors give aid on humanitarian grounds but they carefully choose where to allocate the aid so that it benefits their own state.<sup>41</sup>

## 5.3 The research gap

The research illustrated in the first section indicates that there is a need for further understanding regarding the subject of aid in Tanzania. The academic debate has yet to arrive at an understanding of whether or not aid has helped Tanzania since there are different aspects

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<sup>40</sup> Alesina, A. & Dollar, D. (2000). *Who Gives Foreign Aid to Whom and Why?* p. 33-36

<sup>41</sup> Bandyopadhyay, S. & E. K. Vermann. (2013). *Donor Motives for foreign aid.* p. 327-328

of it. However, the majority of the research that has been published implies that there are no positive outcomes of aid allocation, and the poverty statistics confirms this; which is why this paper is based on the assumption that aid has not been efficient in Tanzania. This then makes it relevant to explore if there are other motives behind aid. In the second section of this chapter we therefore looked into two different papers on alternative motives behind aid in Africa. They showcase a similar result to each other. They both suggest that aid allocation is not based on how it is most efficient, but instead in what way it is most favorable for the donors themselves. They imply that the motives behind aid are not as ethically motivated as one may have thought.

After carefully going through these articles on aid efficiency and motives, it is possible to conclude that a notable amount of research has already been made on this subject. Nonetheless, it is possible to assert that there is an academic gap, especially when it comes to problematizing aid and the relations it creates. There is especially a lack of research being based on the theories Neocolonialism and Eurocentrism. It is therefore of interest to do further research on this subject. Previous authors have already researched the efficiency of aid in the case of Tanzania and Sweden and the motives behind aid in Africa, however this thesis will combine and problematize this even further.

## 6. The East African country of Tanzania

This chapter will present Tanzania's colonial background and then define Tanzania as a state, as well as introduce the problems that it faces through poverty and corruption. This aims to provide a deeper understanding on why and how the situation emerged in order to establish a more advanced analysis and conclusion.

### 6.1 Tanzania's colonial background

In the beginning of the 16th century the Portuguese conquered the bigger cities in East Africa in order to have trading posts along the route to India. It did not take long until the Portuguese had competition from the Arabic trading empire Oman and they soon lost the colonial territory. During the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, the island of Zanzibar was an important crossroads for trading.<sup>42</sup> The great European powers met in Berlin for the Berlin Conference in 1884 where they divided Africa into colonial territories. Prior to this, Tanganyika was occupied by the Germans; after the conference the country instead became a German protectorate under the name German East Africa. After Germany was defeated in World War I, Tanganyika became a British mandate territory and this lasted until 1961 when the country became independent. Zanzibar then became independent in 1963, and in the year after, the two territories merged into a union under the name of the United Republic of Tanzania.<sup>43</sup>

### 6.2 The United Republic of Tanzania

Tanzania is a country on the coast of East Africa with 62 million inhabitants. The capital is Dodoma, but Dar es-Salaam is the country's commercial center where most of the government institutions are located.<sup>44</sup> The state of Tanzania faces a lot of challenges, with the most prominent ones being corruption and poverty.<sup>45</sup> According to Transparency International's latest Corruption Perceptions Index, Tanzania ranks 87th out of 180 examined countries. This implies eminently high levels of corruption within the country.<sup>46</sup> Poverty has been a

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<sup>42</sup> Hillbom, E., & Green, E. (2010). *Afrika: En kontinents ekonomiska och sociala historia*. p. 80

<sup>43</sup> Vilby, K. (2007). *Independent? Tanzania's challenges since Uhuru. A second-generation nation in a globalized world*. p. 206

<sup>44</sup> Nationalencyklopedin. (2021). *Tanzania*.

<sup>45</sup> Britannica. (2022) *Tanzania*.

<sup>46</sup> Transparency International. (2021). *Corruption perception Index*.

distinguished problem throughout Tanzanian history. This has consequently made the state dependent on foreign aid, making it the seventh largest recipient of aid in the world.<sup>47</sup> The poverty in Tanzania is primarily a rural issue and the Tanzanian economy heavily relies on agriculture. Their dependence on agriculture production truly started in the 1970's because of a socialist development and central planning strategy from the government. However, in the 1980s, the oil crises in the world affected Tanzania heavily, causing it to fall into rapid inflation, which naturally caused an economic crisis in the country. This made the poverty even more widespread and only increased their dependency on foreign aid.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> McGillivray, M., Carpenter, D., Morrissey, O. & Thaarup, J. (2016). *Swedish Development Cooperation with Tanzania - has it Helped the Poor?* p. 31-40.

<sup>48</sup> Britannica. (2022). *Tanzania*.

## 7. Analysis and discussion

In the following chapter, the theories of Neocolonialism and Eurocentrism will be applied to aid assistance in general. Following, different examples of the Sweden-Tanzania aid relationship will be presented and analyzed through a theoretical perspective. Subsequently, there will be two sections of the cases being even more thoroughly analyzed through the theories. This chapter will also include a run-through of the donor's perspective and justification of their work as well as an explanation to why their arguments fall through. Lastly, there will be a section on how a non-Neocolonial and Eurocentric aid relation could work.

### 7.1 Neocolonialism in aid

Research has shown repeatedly that aid does not work. Time after time it has even been proven to diminish the situation in the recipient country. It has caused increases in corruption, violations of the law, democratic setbacks and it has worsened bureaucracy. Aid is proven to regress development in economic and institutional governance while having an insignificant effect on political development. However, something that aid does succeed with is creating demands and conditions that the recipient country has to undertake. These demands often have political motivations from the donor state that are unrelated to development assistance. The long-standing purpose with aid then proves to be the donor state's own political goals. One could argue that Neocolonialism has always substantially been a significant part of aid. Donor states have always sought to improve their influential territory for every transfer of resources they do.<sup>49</sup>

There exists three main arguments that claim that aid is motivated by Neocolonialism. The first one being that aid is primarily directed towards natural resource development and export rather than the development of the actual manufacturing industry, since that would disfavor the donor state. Second is the reinforcement of aid-partnership where the recipient states are dependent on aid resources from a specific amount of donors. The motive behind this is that donor states do not want to encourage the recipient state to receive aid from multiple donors since that would mean that the donor state in question would lose its influence. Lastly is the way that aid

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<sup>49</sup> Asongu, S. Nwachukwu, J. (2015). *Foreign aid and governance in Africa*. p. 69-72

is used as a reward for when the recipient state does something that is in the donor's interest. Aid increases when the recipient state follows the conditions given.<sup>50</sup>

Neocolonialism has proven multiple times to have dominated the aid agenda. Donor's motives with aid seems to be to improve their own influence rather than assisting with development. This has caused recipient states to adapt and move towards compromising or, more often, simply accepting the preferences of the donors. A great deal of African recipient states have begun to develop a supplicant mentality where they create projects with the goal of receiving more aid. This in turn leads to donors bargaining for more influence, causing for a continuous cycle to occur which stalls assistance. Since donor states have leverage in the aid relationship they are able to demand a great amount in exchange for their money. When these demands do not align accordingly with development, it causes aid to be counteractive and proves that aid is affluent to the theories found within Neocolonialism.<sup>51</sup>

According to the Neocolonial theory, a state having a close aid relationship with one of its former colonizers can be alarming. It has the tendency to lead to a dependency of the donor. This is harmful for the recipient state because if the donor has its own political interests in mind, it can block a democratic consolidation as well as prevent the development of a political culture.<sup>52</sup>

## 7.2 Eurocentrism in aid

The political and academic arena when it comes to aid is often characterized by Eurocentric statements. Two good examples of this are two speeches from 2017. One of them was given by the previous UK prime minister Theresa May during a visit to meet US president Donald Trump. In the speech she discussed a 'shared burden' between the US and UK on its moral mission to help underdeveloped countries, since they are "leaders of the free world" and therefore superior. This implies a Eurocentric mindset where Europe, or the West in general, puts themselves as the developed civilization that holds a moral obligation to help other states. The other example is from when Donald Trump held a speech addressed to the UN general assembly. He then claimed that "The United States of America has been among the greatest

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<sup>50</sup> Paragg, R. (1980). *Canadian aid in the commonwealth Caribbean: Neo-colonialism or development?* p. 629

<sup>51</sup> Asongu, S. Nwachukwu, J. (2015). *Foreign aid and governance in Africa*. p. 69-72

<sup>52</sup> McGuire, C. (2006). *"Irish Marxism and the Development of the Theory of NeoColonialism"*. p 110-113

forces for good in the history of the world.” This belief turns to an indirect warning of the threat to international stability posed by non-Western (non-european) opponents. This speech, along with the previous one, underlines the need to isolate and overcome the threats against the Western-dominated international order. This is, although explained from a Western and not fully European manner, something that the Eurocentric theory puts a lot of emphasis on and is therefore relevant to how we can see Eurocentrism in aid.<sup>53</sup>

Another argument that showcases that traces of Eurocentrism exists in aid is that donors try to prove that European practices are the better and only ones. By rewarding recipient states when they adapt to a more Western approach,<sup>54</sup> donors indirectly imply that non-European societies are inferior to those of the West. It also rejects the recipient countries own preferences and political agendas in order to retain the Western world order as the dominant one.<sup>55</sup>

The Eurocentric way of thinking when it comes to aid also makes it difficult to evaluate aims, motivations and experiences of development assistance and interventions since the assumption, driven by ignorance and a Eurocentric view on the world, is always that non-european forms of governance are more aggressive, authoritarian and illiberal.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, research proves that most aid interventions are a method of policing (colonial) differences globally, legitimized by a discourse that stresses the protection of the liberal world order and the pursuit of world peace. The emphasis on the liberal world order can be traced back to the Eurocentric perspective.<sup>57</sup>

### 7.3 Sweden-Tanzania aid relation from a theoretical viewpoint

In 2014, Sweden assisted Tanzania with aid in almost 150 different activities. This was a tremendous amount compared to how many activities other donors contributed to.<sup>58</sup> This truly proves the way in which Sweden tried to influence Tanzania by infiltrating in that vast amount

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<sup>53</sup> Turner, Mandy; Kuhn, Florian. (2019). *‘The West’ and ‘the rest’ in international interventions: Eurocentrism and the competition for order.*

<sup>54</sup> Paragg, R. (1980). *Canadian aid in the commonwealth Caribbean: Neo-colonialism or development?* p. 629

<sup>55</sup> JRank. (2022) *Eurocentrism.*

<sup>56</sup> Ibid

<sup>57</sup> Ibid

<sup>58</sup> McGillvray, M., Carpenter, D., Morrissey, O. & Thaarup, J. (2016). *Swedish Development Cooperation with Tanzania - has it Helped the Poor?* p. 5



of different sectors. This demonstrates traces of Neocolonialism where Sweden does not want activities to be financed by other donors so as to not lose its influence over Tanzania.

The Swedish development agency, SIDA, is the main distributor of Swedish aid. They affirm that their work in Tanzania primarily aims to increase the level of education, strengthen democracy, reduce poverty and increase the respect for human rights.<sup>59</sup> SIDA claims that the aid-giving to Tanzania has gotten a more positive outcome the last few years and they take great pride in this. Reading through EBA's report, one can establish that poverty has, in fact, decreased. However, it has only decreased in the cities and not in the rural areas,<sup>60</sup> demonstrating that Swedish aid almost solely focuses on urban development. This could be motivated by Sweden acknowledging that the urban parts are the crucial ones when it comes to power and influence. The more influence Sweden has on the governance of Tanzania, the more able they are to lead the Tanzanian government towards a more liberal world order. For Sweden to keep practicing its power and influence on Tanzania, in accordance with both the Neocolonial and Eurocentric theory, they need to focus their resources on these areas.

In February 2014, SIDA granted \$14 million to Tanzania. Money that later supported a Swedish sugar cane project in Tanzania. Two years later the sugar cane project went bankrupt without planting a single plant. Sweden lost \$14 million in tax money that helped achieve nothing. The project did not only cost money, it also affected the people that lived nearby the project. When the project started, a 20 000 hectares inhabited rural area was seized. The inhabitants were forcibly relocated with only a small compensation, not even remarkably close to their house value. The project did not take into consideration that sugar cane farms already existed in the same area and that, if the project ended up being successful, these local farmers would be financially damaged. SIDA defends this project by claiming that it would provide job opportunities for Tanzanians. Nonetheless, they avoid commenting on its failure.<sup>61</sup> <sup>62</sup> Firstly this could be linked to the first main argument of Neocolonialism in aid which says that aid is used as a way to increase exports of goods. By increasing the production of sugar canes, this would mean higher export and as a result, cheaper products for the donor country, i.e. Sweden.

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<sup>59</sup> SIDA. (2022a). *Sidas arbete i Tanzania*.

<sup>60</sup> McGillvray, M., Carpenter, D., Morrissey, O. & Thaarup, J. (2016). *Swedish Development Cooperation with Tanzania - has it Helped the Poor?* p. 15

<sup>61</sup> Engström, L. (2018). *Exploring the failure of a large-scale agricultural investment in Tanzania to deliver promised outcomes*. p. 31-35

<sup>62</sup> Sveriges lantbruksuniversitet. (2018). *Tvivelaktigt bistånd till storskaligt jordbruk i Tanzania*.

Secondly, one could also argue that this project is unrelated to development assistance as it actually worsened the conditions for the poor population of the Tanzanian rural area, another aspect that is problematic with aid in a Neocolonial world.

Until the 2000's, the development cooperation between Sweden and Tanzania was motivated by a moral obligation to support a less developed country, showcasing that there are traces of Eurocentrism in aid.<sup>63</sup> Since then, the aim for the cooperation has changed to focus more on improving the relationship between the two states in order to establish better development methods.<sup>64</sup> It is also motivated by making the Tanzanian government more effective, transparent and liable. The aspiration is for Tanzania to have a good civil society that promotes democracy and other liberal values, another example of Eurocentrism.<sup>65</sup> To attain the results desired, over 40 percent of Swedish aid goes directly to the Tanzanian government as general budget support. This was justified by the good relationship that allegedly existed between the Swedish and Tanzanian states.<sup>66</sup> The fact that there supposedly existed a good relationship between the states is harmful according to the Neocolonial theory and could result in a toxic dependency on Sweden's aid.

In recent years the Tanzanian regime has increased its grip on power and media. Corruption has escalated and the opportunities of civil society actors to affect political proceedings has been limited.<sup>67</sup> When democratic freedom is violated the conditions for development assistance changes<sup>68</sup> and since 2015, after a corruption scandal in Tanzania, Sweden has changed its aid strategy. Now SIDA instead uses aid as a reward for when specific results are achieved,<sup>69</sup> in accordance with the Neocolonial argument that aid increases when recipient states follow the conditions given.

Another interesting aspect to take into consideration is the perspective of the Swedish volunteers working in Tanzania. According to a notable number of workers' encounters with the implementation of aid, it can be confirmed that aid is given on donor's terms and is based

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<sup>63</sup> Elgström, O. (1992). *Foreign Aid Negotiations*. p. 41-42.

<sup>64</sup> SIDA. (2006a). *Outcome assessment Tanzania Sweden 2001-2005*.

<sup>65</sup> SIDA. (2006b). *Sveriges handlingsplan för Tanzania 2006-2010*.

<sup>66</sup> McGillvray, M., Carpenter, D., Morrissey, O. & Thaarup, J. (2016). *Swedish Development Cooperation with Tanzania - has it Helped the Poor?* p. 92, 132-134.

<sup>67</sup> SIDA. (2019a). *Demokrati på tillbakagång ändrar förutsättningar för biståndet*.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid

<sup>69</sup> SIDA. (2019b). *Underlag till strategi för Sveriges utvecklingssamarbete med Tanzania*.

on Western “truths”. This could be seen as an attempt to, through aid, try and get Tanzania to adapt to Western norms and the liberal world order, which ascertains the Eurocentric influence on aid. Additionally, they argue that Swedish aid has to focus more on what problems Tanzania actually have, instead of basing it on Western needs. The way aid is structured today, it focuses on the solution rather than the problem itself. The workers also mention that the Western approach automatically is seen as the better one. One volunteer validates this by stating; “I think we spent a lot of time trying to get people to do what we wanted them to do, instead of trying to work with them, with what they wanted to do.”<sup>70</sup> This proves, in accordance with the Neocolonial theory, that donor states have the ability to demand a great amount in exchange for their aid and that recipient states are just expected to accept.

A further concern that the volunteers have expressed is the power position that white people hold in Tanzania. Because you’re Western and white, the locals expect you to be educated and wealthy, something that automatically puts them in a position of power. One of the volunteers says “if you’re white person here, you have power. And anyone who tells you otherwise is lying. And that power can be a little bit addictive.” As a white person you get treated with a lot of respect. According to the Eurocentric theory, this shows sign of the Western superiority and that whiteness are seen as better than non-white. The expectations are characterized by a form of trust to the Western world as superior which creates an uneven power hierarchy.<sup>71</sup>

## 7.4 Neocolonialism in Sweden-Tanzania

When analyzing the aid relations between Sweden and Tanzania, the Neocolonialistic perspective is almost constantly present, something that makes for an interesting discussion on the reasons for Sweden's actions. Neocolonialism is already visible in the first case presented in this paper where Sweden actively tries to keep its influence as extensive as possible by infiltrating a considerably vast amount of different activities.<sup>72 73</sup> If Sweden instead were to actually listen to the needs of Tanzanians and focus on fewer activities it would improve aid effectiveness, not making it as Neocolonialistically characterized.

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<sup>70</sup> Altesjö, N; Svensson, M. (2013). I den koloniala historiens skugga - Västerländska volontärers upplevelser och reflektioner kring sitt arbete i Tanzania. p. 33

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. p. 31

<sup>72</sup> McGillvray, M., Carpenter, D., Morrissey, O. & Thaarup, J. (2016). *Swedish Development Cooperation with Tanzania - has it Helped the Poor?* p. 5

<sup>73</sup> Paragg, R. (1980). *Canadian aid in the commonwealth Caribbean: Neo-colonialism or development?* p. 629

Secondly, the way that Sweden has shown interest in reducing poverty in the Tanzanian cities, instead of the rural areas is interesting from a Neocolonial perspective.<sup>74</sup> One could problematize why they choose to do this. It seems inconsiderate, and thoughtless to not concentrate the aid on the poorest people of the rural areas first. This could be motivated by the fact that Sweden knows that the power lies with the people in the cities and it is therefore the most efficient way to make Tanzania more willing to compromise or simply to accept the preferences of the donors.<sup>75</sup> Sweden has to focus more on giving aid evenly throughout the country and not only focus on activities that will benefit the cities.

A project that lacks any sense of compassion for the people that were affected was the sugar cane project. The project only cost money and resources and resulted in even more poverty and devastation. It is interesting that such an expensive project did not seem to have any intentions of making a significant difference on the Tanzanian people, however, by increasing the sugar cane production in Tanzania through a Swedish company, sugar canes would be remarkably cheaper for Sweden to import.<sup>76</sup> The project was also a disappointment in the regard that it failed completely with development since it actually made it worse for the Tanzanians. It also shows how little research and effort was put into the project.<sup>77</sup> <sup>78</sup> It is also curious that \$14 million just disappeared into nothing, where did all the money go? One could argue that this case was just an unfortunate incident that could have been affected by unknown factors, nonetheless it is interesting that the intentions of it goes very much in line with the Neocolonial theory.

One of the most visible traces of Neocolonialism can be found in the Swedish aid strategy. Sweden has chosen to change their aid assistance strategy where they now only give aid as a reward.<sup>79</sup> <sup>80</sup> Through this, Sweden can choose to only give aid to activities that would either favor Sweden or Westernize Tanzania. Even though Sweden would never admit to having this strategy, it is very interesting that they base their aid assistance on such a Neocolonialistically motivated strategy.

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<sup>74</sup> McGillvray, M., Carpenter, D., Morrissey, O. & Thaarup, J. (2016). *Swedish Development Cooperation with Tanzania - has it Helped the Poor?* p. 15

<sup>75</sup> Asongu, S. Nwachukwu, J. (2015). *Foreign aid and governance in Africa*. p. 69-72

<sup>76</sup> Paragg, R. (1980). *Canadian aid in the commonwealth Caribbean: Neo-colonialism or development?* p. 629

<sup>77</sup> Engström, L. (2018). *Exploring the failure of a large-scale agricultural investment in Tanzania to deliver promised outcomes*. p. 31-35

<sup>78</sup> Sveriges lantbruksuniversitet. (2018). *Tvivelaktigt bistånd till storskaligt jordbruk i Tanzania*.

<sup>79</sup> SIDA. (2019b). *Underlag till strategi för Sveriges utvecklingssamarbete med Tanzania*.

<sup>80</sup> Paragg, R. (1980). *Canadian aid in the commonwealth Caribbean: Neo-colonialism or development?* p. 629

A further interesting case was that of the volunteers working in Tanzania. They portray a picture of how the Western approach is being forced on Tanzanians on a daily basis.<sup>81</sup> This is undeniably an attempt to Westernize the country and make them adapt to the liberal world order,<sup>82</sup> something that clearly correlates with the Neocolonial theory. This strategy displays how the Tanzanians' needs are not being taken into consideration at all. Sweden is not respecting Tanzanian culture and their way of living, the way the aid is structured now it just looks as if Sweden is forcing European norms upon them.

## 7.5 Eurocentrism in Sweden-Tanzania

Eurocentrism has been proven to characterize the aid arena.<sup>83</sup> This is no exception when it comes to the case of Tanzania and Sweden. It is very interesting to see that Eurocentrism practically outlines the aid relations between the two states, something that one can see very clearly in most cases presented. For instance, Sweden's focus on urban development in Tanzania<sup>84</sup> is a bit concerning in the sense that it very easily can be linked to the Eurocentric theory on Western donor's concern to establish the liberal world order.<sup>85</sup> Because if Sweden has a lot of influence on the Tanzanian government then it is naturally easier to try to Westernize them. If Sweden truly cared about the development in Tanzania and the reduction of poverty, they would put resources into helping the actual poor people in the Tanzanian rural area. Their rejecting this just showcases how characterized Swedish aid strategy is by Eurocentrism.

Another compelling element of the aid relations analyzed is the development cooperation being motivated by "a moral obligation to support a less developed country", something that basically could have been taken out of a book on Eurocentrism. It could also be reasonable to assume that the aid is not based on a moral obligation but instead the desire to help other people, with no other intentions in mind. However, by phrasing it like this it makes for a very troubling

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<sup>81</sup> Altesjö, N; Svensson, M. (2013). I den koloniala historiens skugga - Västerländska volontärers upplevelser och reflektioner kring sitt arbete i Tanzania. p. 33

<sup>82</sup> Asongu, S. Nwachukwu, J. (2015). *Foreign aid and governance in Africa*. p. 69-72

<sup>83</sup> Turner, Mandy; Kuhn, Florian. (2019). *'The West' and 'the rest' in international interventions: Eurocentrism and the competition for order*.

<sup>84</sup> McGillvray, M., Carpenter, D., Morrissey, O. & Thaarup, J. (2016). *Swedish Development Cooperation with Tanzania - has it Helped the Poor?* p. 15

<sup>85</sup> Turner, Mandy; Kuhn, Florian. (2019). *'The West' and 'the rest' in international interventions: Eurocentrism and the competition for order*.

anticipation of the meanings behind it. Western states need to be careful in their statements regarding non-Western states because it can easily come across as Eurocentric. Phrasing it that way proves that Western states, such as Sweden, think of themselves as the “leaders of the free world” with a burden to help underdeveloped countries.<sup>86</sup>

To get the full picture of the aid relationship it is important to take into consideration the perspective of Swedish volunteers working in Tanzania. Their experiences underlines how often they encounter Eurocentrism in their work. When the volunteers address how aid is given on donor’s terms and is based on Western truths<sup>87</sup>, it clearly shows the extent of Eurocentrism in aid assistance. If Sweden were to give aid from a non-Eurocentric standpoint then they would prioritize the Tanzanians' needs and wishes.<sup>88</sup> The volunteers continued by revealing that white people in Tanzania hold a disturbing power position. This revelation can simply not be explained in any other way than the purest form of Western superiority.<sup>89</sup>

## 7.6 From the donor’s perspective

When presenting these previous arguments, it is also of significant importance to take into consideration that donors are actually aware of the liabilities that exist within aid assistance, for instance the unequal power relations that often occur between donors and recipients. However, various measures are being taken in order to prevent this. One of them being the Paris Declaration. It was enforced in 2005 when over a hundred donors, recipient states and non-governmental organizations agreed on a plan to improve aid effectiveness, the quality of aid and its impact on development. The idea behind the declaration was that the recipient states would have a bigger responsibility, meanwhile the donor states enhanced their methods of giving aid. It grew out of a consensus regarding the importance of ownership of the recipient state's own country. The donors agreed to coordinate their activities with other donor states in order to reduce aid fragmentation. The participants also agreed on five principles that aim to make aid more effective. These principals include alignment, harmonization, managing for results, mutual accountability and ownership. The ownership principle means that the recipient countries have to take a leadership role in the aid process and in the decision making where

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid

<sup>87</sup> Altesjö, N; Svensson, M. (2013). I den koloniala historiens skugga - Västerländska volontärers upplevelser och reflektioner kring sitt arbete i Tanzania. p. 33

<sup>88</sup> JRank. (2022). *Eurocentrism*.

<sup>89</sup> Altesjö, N; Svensson, M. (2013). I den koloniala historiens skugga - Västerländska volontärers upplevelser och reflektioner kring sitt arbete i Tanzania. p. 31

this will lead to aid effectiveness and the end of Neocolonialism.<sup>90</sup> This was an important step towards equalizing global power relations and shows that measures are in fact being taken from the donors.

Another action being taken to prevent and/or eliminate the problems in aid relations is the “decolonization of aid”. Non-governmental organizations intend to decolonize aid as a way of ensuring the sustainability of aid and softening the power imbalance that it can create. However, the organizations stress the fact that this does not imply that aid is a form of colonization, nations are sovereign and make their own decisions on whether to accept or reject aid. Decolonizing aid is rather about acknowledging the fact that Western aid agencies have the controlling hand and recognizing that it is an issue. It refers to donors wanting to unlearn patterns of dominance and follow the lead of the recipient country.<sup>91</sup> One way in which donors are achieving this is by increasing general budget support, giving money directly to the government.<sup>92</sup>

This paper focuses on Swedish aid and its flaws. However, SIDA justifies their actions by claiming that the intent of their aid assistance is to reduce poverty and oppression in the world, they want to create a better future with better living standards for everyone.<sup>93</sup> Göran Holmqvist, head of the humanitarian aid department at SIDA, has responded to criticism by recognizing that there are flaws within the agency, but it is only a matter of time before these problems are solved.<sup>94</sup> SIDA is actively trying to correct these issues through a number of measures. For instance, they have independent revisors that evaluate their projects, they have ongoing conversations with their cooperation partners which makes it possible for them to know about the different project’s strengths and weaknesses, they prioritize counteracting corruption and they are constantly examined by external organizations such as the UN in order to ensure that the aid is used in a correct manner.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Brown, S. (2016). *Putting Paris into practice: Foreign aid, national ownership, and donor alignment in Mali and Ghana*. p. 2

<sup>91</sup> Peace direct. (2020). *Time to decolonise aid*. p. 13

<sup>92</sup> Ibid. p. 37

<sup>93</sup> SIDA. (2022b). *Så fungerar biståndet*.

<sup>94</sup> Aftonbladet. (2019). *Brister inom SIDA:s biståndsarbete*.

<sup>95</sup> SIDA. (2021). *Kontroll av biståndet*.

## 7.7 Flaws in donor arguments

Although taking the donor's perspective and justification into perspective is important, the arguments that they present do not hold up. It is proven that the Paris Declaration has not significantly altered the power relations between donors and recipient states as it was sought out to do. Donors are not really aligning their development assistance with government strategies, which would be an essential task for the Paris Declaration to become reality.<sup>96</sup> Donor states may have tried to take measurements through the Paris agreement, but it seems to have been mostly just empty words.

When it comes to the "decolonization of aid", donor's stress that this does not necessarily mean that aid is colonization. Nonetheless, one could argue that one of them could not exist without the other. The decolonization could just be used as a way to defend donors actions. However, it could also have rightful intentions of wanting to ease the power relations. If that is the case, they firstly need to acknowledge that colonialism exists within aid, despite it existing in new forms. Claiming that nations can make their own decisions on whether to accept aid or not is just an excuse, donors know that the recipient states are in desperate need of aid and are therefore willing to accept the terms from the donors.

SIDA has a fairly good justification of their intentions and clearly presents how they work to prevent and/or correct the issues that occur. The justification itself could be seen as a good enough clarification of it not existing any forms of Eurocentrism nor Neocolonialism in their work. Nonetheless, when looking at the discourse that SIDA uses in their articles it shows an attitude that implies a perception that the recipient state, Tanzania, is helpless and powerless. Furthermore this would mean that the donor country, Sweden, has the power, strength and knowledge to change them. This goes directly in line with both the Eurocentric and Neocolonial theory. Western states believe that if all states would just organize themselves like them then the recipient states would reach the same level of development as them. This implies that Western states are modern and civilized whilst poor countries are underdeveloped. This would then suggest that Western states can, through money and knowledge, help other countries reach the same level of development that they are already on.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Brown, S. (2016). *Putting Paris into practice: Foreign aid, national ownership, and donor alignment in Mali and Ghana*. p. 14

<sup>97</sup> Chakrabarty, D. (2000). *Provincializing Europe - Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. p. 23



## 7.8 Aid without Neocolonialism and Eurocentrism

This paper proves that there are obvious traces of the theories of Neocolonialism and Eurocentrism in the aid relation between Sweden and Tanzania. The question that follows is whether aid can exist without it. In order to even consider this a possibility, there are three major measures that need to be taken. The first one is understanding that there are more underlying problems to aid-giving, to acknowledge that structural racism exists in the relationship between donor states and recipient states but also that aid is used as a continuation of colonialism. Acknowledging the existence of structural racism does not erase the good that aid assistance does but it does initiate a collective responsibility to engage in the problem. The second important measure is to value the local and indigenous knowledge that already exists instead of trying to force Western knowledge. It is crucial to encourage conversation to ascertain the outcome of aid.<sup>98</sup> It is of importance that countries have the ability to change without them losing their core cultural values. Development should be something that comes from within the society in Tanzania, and not something that is imposed from a country in the West.<sup>99</sup> This can be achieved by creating safe spaces and opportunities for local groups and organizations to share their experiences and thoughts.<sup>100</sup> Lastly, another important measure would be to rethink the language used within the aid world. Changing, and even adopting new terminologies can help shift the Eurocentric and Neocolonial characteristics of aid into more inclusive conducts. Terms such as ‘capacity building’ and even ‘aid’ are no longer appropriate and should be phased out. Instead, the terminology should be impacted by local communities to make it as inclusive and appropriate as possible.<sup>101</sup> By taking all of this into consideration, donors could pave the way to a world where aid can exist without Neocolonialism and Eurocentrism, but it would take a lot of work that goes beyond structural change. It would require a change in mindset from the Western society altogether, something that is easier said than done.

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<sup>98</sup> Peace direct. (2020). *Time to decolonise aid*. p. 37

<sup>99</sup> We forum. (2005). *How to modernize without westernizing?*

<sup>100</sup> Peace direct. (2020). *Time to decolonise aid*. p. 37

<sup>101</sup> Ibid p. 38

## 8. Conclusion

The fact that Tanzania remains to be one of the poorest countries, regardless of getting an extensive amount of aid, suggests that aid fails to achieve its purpose. As suggested in the introduction, there could exist other intentions within aid. Throughout this thesis, different cases in the aid relation between Sweden and Tanzania have been analyzed based on the theories Neocolonialism and Eurocentrism. The results are evident; traces of the theories exist within the cooperation.

When studying the cases from a Neocolonial viewpoint, it establishes that Sweden seeks influence as extensive as possible. This is visible in several cases presented in this thesis, primarily in how Sweden grants aid to a vast amount of activities which naturally leads to ineffective aid assistance. It can also be found in the Swedish way of distributing aid to Tanzania, where they predominantly show interest in urban development instead of poverty reduction in the rural areas. This in order to obtain power from the source, that is the cities, where the institutions are situated. Additionally, the Swedish sugar cane project where \$14 million disappeared into thin air shows obvious signs of Neocolonialism. The intentions of the project does seemingly not be any other than possible profits for the donor country, Sweden. Lastly, one of the most prominent traces of Neocolonialism in the Swedish aid strategy is the way aid is given as a reward. It is being used as a method to Westernize Tanzania and increase the hold that Europe has on Africa.

Besides Neocolonial features, the Eurocentric theory also dominated the aid agenda of Sweden-Tanzania. This is apparent, yet again, in the Swedish focus on urban development. Eurocentrism highlights the importance of establishing the liberal world order, by increasing the Swedish influence in the urban areas they make this attainable. Furthermore, describing Swedish aid as a “moral obligation” is problematic because it corresponds with the Eurocentric mindset.

In multiple cases, the theories align and even complement each other. The most apparent one being the volunteers' experiences in the field. They share stories about how Western approaches are being forced on Tanzanians, and all their work being based on Western truths. Additionally, they express a concern about the power position white people hold in Tanzania. This shows problematic signs of Western superiority, something that is fundamental in both theories.

Nonetheless, there do exist arguments against the points previously made. Donors insist that they are aware of the liabilities that prevail within aid assistance and they stress that measures are in fact being taken. However, these justifications do not suffice. Reforms such as the Paris declaration and the “decolonization of aid” have proven to be inefficient and contradictory. The most distinguished issue with the arguments is the discourse used from the donors. It indirectly suggests that the recipient state, in this case Tanzania, is helpless and powerless while the donor state, Sweden, has the power and knowledge to help them. The discourse reveals an attitude of the liberal world order being the rightful and only one, something that once again displays signs of Neocolonialism and Eurocentrism.

As proven in this thesis, the theories of Neocolonialism and Eurocentrism are present in the aid relationship between Sweden and Tanzania. What then becomes interesting is if aid can exist without the influence of these theories. This question cannot be answered as easily as the previous one. In order for this to be considered a possibility; donors need to acknowledge that structural racism exists within aid relations. Once this has been accomplished, the next would be to consider which measurements would be appropriate to take. Suggested actions would be to encourage conversation, adapt the terminology used within aid and value the local knowledge instead of forcing Western values on them. However, to make this become reality it would require an immense change in mindset from the Western society altogether. Something that is easier said than done.

## 8.1 Proposal to further research

This study shows that there is potential to further the knowledge in this area. To investigate whether this problem only occurs in the case between Sweden and Tanzania or if it is a global and/or structural problem, future research could study additional cases between other states. One could also take different perspectives and theories into consideration in the analysis, or perhaps focus more on the donor and recipient governments perspective on the matter. Additionally, we would like to see further research on how aid could exist without westernization. Research has been done on how to prevent this from happening but the proposals are too broad without concrete changes.

## 8.2 Personal reflections

The future of aid is uncertain. The crucial step would be for donors to change their approach and habits regarding aid assistance in order for aid to become more inclusive and more on the recipient's terms. We believe the biggest obstacle donors have to overcome is that they do not wish to accept responsibility for taking part in westernization. We recognize that giving aid without any traces whatsoever of Neocolonialism and Eurocentrism would be a challenge, however donors must try to decrease the impacts of these theories as much as possible. When it comes to Sweden's aid assistance, our hopes are that they will acknowledge the ongoing westernization and then take the measures necessary to achieve change. However, this is an optimistic expectation because it does not look too promising, or at least not in the near future. SIDA's refusal to give concrete answers to criticism makes it difficult for change to take place. To conclude, we want to emphasize that we do believe donors such as Sweden have good intentions with their aid assistance, yet the real-time implementations unfortunately fail.

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