

FINAL REPORT

**PHILANTHROPY OF COMMUNITY IN ZIMBABWE: PAST,
PRESENT AND FUTURE**

BY

SOLOMON MOMBESHORA

**A PAPER PREPARED FOR THE BUILDING COMMUNITY
PHILANTHROPY PROJECT AT THE CENTRE FOR LEADERSHIP AND
PUBLIC VALUES, GRADUATE SCHOOL OF BUSINESS, UNIVERSITY
OF CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA.**

NOVEMBER 2004

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Acronyms	iv
List of Tables	vii
List of Appendices	vii
Acknowledgements	viii
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	1
PART 1: INTRODUCTION	2
1.1. BACKGROUND	3
1.1.1. BCP research inquiry	3
1.1.2. Description of country context	3
1.1.2.1. The colonial period	5
1.1.2.2. Post-Independence period	11
1.1.2.3. Impact of external factors	12
1.1.2.4. The socio-cultural structure of Zimbabwe	16
1.1.2.5. Formal and informal civil society in rural & urban Zimbabwe	25
1.2. METHODOLOGY	28
1.2.1. Objectives and approach of the BCP Inquiry	28
1.2.1.1. National research design	33
1.2.1.2. Understanding low wealth	34
1.2.1.3. Description and rationale for sample frame	36
1.2.1.4. Summary of socioeconomic profiles of focus group informants	41
1.2.1.4.1. Harare	41
1.2.1.4.2. Bulawayo	46
1.2.1.4.3. Chimanimani	50
1.2.1.4.4. Gwanda	55
1.3. METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES	57
PART 2: PHILANTHROPY OF COMMUNITY LANDSCAPE	59
2.1. MAJOR FINDINGS: ACTORS	59
2.1.1. What is help?	59
2.1.2. Who do go to and when?	60
2.1.2.1. Relatives	61
2.1.2.2. Neighbours	63
2.1.2.3. Friends	65

2.1.2.4.	Orphans	66
2.1.2.5.	The elderly	67
2.1.2.6.	The disabled	67
2.1.2.7.	The ill	68
2.1.2.8.	Vehicle owners	69
2.1.2.9.	Strangers	69
2.1.2.10.	Church members	71
2.1.3.	Who do you help first?	71
2.1.3.1.	Relatives	71
2.1.3.2.	Neighbours	73
2.1.3.3.	Friends	73
2.1.3.4.	Vulnerable & dependent actors	74
2.1.4.	Who do you go to and when?	75
2.1.4.1.	Traditional and modern leaders	75
2.1.4.2.	Relatives	77
2.1.4.3.	Friends	80
2.1.4.4.	Neighbours	83
2.1.4.5.	Customers and employers	85
2.1.4.6.	Loan sharks	87
2.1.4.7.	Societies and clubs	87
2.1.4.8.	Churches and church members	88
2.1.4.9.	Non-governmental organisations	88
2.1.5.	Who don't you help? How do you decide?	90
2.2.	TRANSACTIONS	93
2.2.1.	Food	93
2.2.2.	Clothes	94
2.2.3.	Accommodation and building	96
2.2.4.	School fees and learning materials	98
2.2.5.	Money	99
2.2.6.	Farming and trading assets	102
2.2.7.	Transport	104
2.2.8.	Love	105
2.2.9.	Care giving and emotional support	106
2.2.10.	Advice	107
2.3.	MOTIVATIONS	108
2.3.1.	How does the giver feel?	109
2.3.2.	What motivates people to give?	109
2.3.3.	How does the giver feel when he/she cannot give?	111
2.3.4.	Situations when giving is a duty	111
2.3.5.	Situations when giving is a choice	112
2.3.6.	How does the receiver feel?	113

2.3.7.	What motivates people to receive? What do they get out of it?	114
2.3.8.	How does the receiver feel when they cannot receive?	115
2.3.9.	Situations when receiving is a duty/ascriptive	116
2.3.10	Situations when receiving is a choice	117
2.4.	PHILANTHROPIC TRIGGERS & CHANGE FACTORS INFLUENCING PHILANTHROPY	118
2.4.1.	The individual's needs and the social group	118
2.4.2.	Politico-economic, HIV/AIDS and environmental factors	119
2.5.	INTERPRETATION	120
2.5.1.	Major patterns	122
2.5.1.1.	Rural Gwanda and Chimanimani	123
2.5.1.2.	Urban Harare and Bulawayo	127
2.5.1.3.	Age and philanthropic transactions	133
2.5.1.4.	Non-help transactions	136
2.5.1.5.	Explaining regularity or absence of patterns	137
2.5.1.6.	Understanding community from the lens of help	142
PART 3:	SIGNIFICANCE	146
3.1.	IMPLICATIONS	146
3.1.1.	Language of philanthropy	146
3.1.2.	Practical and strategic nature of help	148
3.1.3.	Philanthropy, history, culture and external factors	152
3.1.4.	Philanthropy of community as a developmental tool	156
3.1.4.1.	The centrality of language, meanings and power	157
3.1.4.2.	Improving associational life	158
3.1.4.3.	Building economic assets	159
3.1.4.4.	HIV/AIDS and home based care	160
	CONCLUSION	161
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	163
	APPENDICES	168

LIST OF ACRONYMS

BCP	Building Community Philanthropy
CADEC	Catholic Development Corporation
CBO	Community Based Organization
CCZ	Consumer Council of Zimbabwe
CLPV	Centre for Leadership and Public Values
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DOMCCAP	Diocese of Mutare Community Care Programme
ERP	Economic Reform Programme
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
IDS	Institute of Development Studies (Univ of Zimbabwe)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PVO	Public Voluntary Organization
TCPL	Total Consumption Poverty Line
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UCT	University of Cape Town
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front
ZBUUMW3F	Zimbabwe, Bulawayo Urban Migrant Workers, 25-49 years, Female
ZBUUMW4M	Zimbabwe, Bulawayo Urban Migrant Workers, 50+ years, Male

ZBUUCW2M	Zimbabwe, Bulawayo Urban Car Washers, 18-24 years, Male
ZBUUCV3M	Zimbabwe, Bulawayo Urban Card Vendors, 25-49 Years, Male
ZBUUPT3M	Zimbabwe, Bulawayo Urban Petty Traders, 25-49 years, Male
ZBUUPT4F	Zimbabwe, Bulawayo Petty Traders, 50+ years, Female
ZCHRSL2M	Zimbabwe, Chimanimani Rural Subsistence Livelihood, 18-24 years, Male
ZCHRSL3F	Zimbabwe, Chimanimani Rural Subsistence Livelihood, 25-49 years, Female
ZCHRSL3M	Zimbabwe, Chimanimani Rural Subsistence Livelihood, 25-49 years, Male
ZCHRSL4M	Zimbabwe, Chimanimani Rural Subsistence Livelihood, [Ex-commercial Farm Workers], 50+ years, Male
ZGWRSL1M	Zimbabwe, Gwanda Rural Subsistence Livelihood, 13>18 years, Male
ZGWRSL3M	Zimbabwe, Gwanda Rural Subsistence Livelihood, 25-49 years, Male
ZGWRSL4F	Zimbabwe, Gwanda Rural Subsistence Livelihood, 50+ years, Female
ZHAUCV3M	Zimbabwe, Harare Urban Card Vendors, 25-49 years, Male
ZHAUMW3F	Zimbabwe, Harare Urban Migrant Workers, 25-49 years, Female
ZHAUMW3M	Zimbabwe, Harare Urban Migrant Workers, 25-49 years, Male
ZHAUPT2M	Zimbabwe, Harare Urban Petty Traders, 18-24 years, Male

ZHAUPT3F	Zimbabwe, Harare Urban Petty Traders, 25-49 years, Female
ZHAUST2M	Zimbabwe, Harare Urban Street Touts, 18-24 years, Male

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Human development index, 2001/2	13
Table 2	Human income poverty for selected countries, 2002	13
Table 3	Key social development indicators, trends 1980 –2002	14
Table 4	Human development index 2001 by province	15/6
Table 5	Gender related human development index by province	16
Table 6	Sectoral activities of NGOs	18
Table 7	Sequencing of research and number of participants	25

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix 1	Shona words, phrases and idioms	128
Appendix 2	Ndebele, words, phrases and idioms	134

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to place on record my most sincere gratitude to organisations and individuals. The research was made possible through the Building Community Philanthropy Project, an initiative of the Centre for Leadership & Public Values (CL & PV), Graduate School of Business (GSB), University of Cape Town (UCT), with financial support from the Ford Foundation. The Zimbabwe study contributes one element of a broader inquiry in four Southern African countries. The views expressed in this publication are solely of the author.

To the staff at the Centre for Leadership and Public Values, GSB, UCT, I would to thank them for their trust and support. In Chimanimani and Gwanda, the district administrators and chief executive officers kindly granted my study team permission to carry out fieldwork in the two districts. Without their generous support, our work would not have been possible. Councilors in Wards 10 and 17 in Chimanimani and Ward 1 in Gwanda also welcomed and introduced us to village and/or community leaders. Many thanks are due to all these officials. To the men, women, youths and children who took part in focus group discussions in Harare, Chimanimani, Bulawayo and Gwanda, I express my appreciation and praise.

Finally, the author would like to thank Nqobile Zulu, Joseph Chaumba, Daphne Mpofu, Krasposy Kujinga and the typists for their assistance and for a job well done.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This paper derives its genesis from the BCP, CLPV, UCT terms of reference which seek to “build a picture of community level philanthropy and indigenous models of giving [and] to learn how ‘philanthropy for community’ efforts can tap into and build on what exists organically”. The paper therefore presents research findings on philanthropy of community among low wealth groups in rural and urban Zimbabwe and its relevance for development. The paper begins by providing the socio-economic historical context which has shaped the philanthropic practices of communities over time. Data were acquired using focus group discussions in four study areas, namely Chimanimani, Harare, Bulawayo and Gwanda. Focus group discussion participants were selected on the basis of their low wealth, that is, income and assets; spatial location; ethno-linguistic grouping; gender; age and household type.

The paper argues that philanthropic transactions within rural and urban communities in Zimbabwe are a product of the complex interplay between history, socio-cultural institutions, power and the strategies that low wealth actors employ in their everyday struggles to earn a living. In consequence, the paper examines material and non-material forms of help, the actors involved and their motivations. Philanthropy of community in Zimbabwe occurs around four main axes, namely kinship, neighbourhood, friendship and associational ties. In most situations kinship and gender result in ascriptive forms of philanthropy and in other situations optative forms of help characterize neighbourhood, friendship and associational ties. However, during life crises such as funerals, all people tend to give and receive help as a matter of moral obligation. The actors involved in philanthropic transactions are motivated by practical and strategic considerations. On the one hand, practical considerations entail the satisfaction of survival needs and on the other, strategic motives include social and economic capital formation that has potential to pull individuals, households and communities out of poverty.

The paper concludes by examining the relevance of indigenous forms of philanthropy for development. By taking into account the language of philanthropy at community level, donors could design and implement development projects that are consistent with the values and norms of low wealth individuals and groups. Philanthropy for community could therefore focus on improving associational capacities at the local level; building economic assets of the poor and assisting HIV/AIDS infected individuals and affected households and communities by making home-based care more effective.

PART 1: INTRODUCTION

This report is divided into three parts. Part 1 is a contextual background. It highlights the historical origins and current manifestations of rural and urban poverty in Zimbabwe. This backdrop places contemporary philanthropic practices in their social, political and economic setting. The report then presents ways in which the research was designed paying special attention to the definition of low wealth, the criteria for sample selection and rationale, and the socio-economic profiles of focus group discussion informants.

Part 2 presents the philanthropy of community landscape by focusing on actors, transactions and motivations and the dynamic relationships between these. The section discusses some of the norms informing transactions and emerging patterns in the help relationships. The data presented are analyzed using a livelihoods framework. The framework has the major advantage that it helps us to gain a keen appreciation of the complex interconnection between the vulnerability context and the multiple strategies that low wealth actors employ to take advantage of livelihood opportunities and the constraints that they face.

Finally, Part 3 looks at the developmental significance of philanthropy of community. The section highlights the centrality of the local language(s) of philanthropy and that developmental interventions should aim to build on

existing forms of giving and receiving. Some areas of possible intervention include the strengthening of associational capacities, building economic assets and making the home-based care of the terminally ill more effective.

1.1. BACKGROUND

1.1.1. BCP Research Inquiry

Background and Rationale

BCP, an initiative of the CLPV aims to enhance the understanding of community philanthropy in four Southern African countries; Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. This four country study funded by the Ford Foundation was executed by a central research team based at the GSB, UCT with the implementation support of a National Research Associate (NRA's) team from each country. In collaboration, a uniform methodology, protocol and analytic tools were designed, tested and developed. Data collection and analysis at the country level was conducted by each NRA.

The research inquiry follows a grounded theory approach and represents a methodological discovery and exploration into "philanthropy of community" among low wealth communities. Probed through the phenomenon of "help transactions", the inquiry focused on "horizontal philanthropy" that is giving among the poor, as opposed to the more conventional lens of vertical philanthropy characterised by giving from the rich to the poor.

The four country study addresses an information gap and endeavours to move beyond anecdotal knowledge to a more rigorous and systematic understanding of the philanthropic impulse and behaviour among and between the poor.

1.1.2. Description of the country context

Zimbabwe has a population of about 12 million people, that is, 48.82% male and 51.18% female. Of this population, 49% lives in communal land, 13% in A¹ and A² resettlement schemes and former commercial farms, 4% in old resettlement

schemes, 1% in small scale commercial farms and 33% in urban areas (SARPN, 2003: 1). The population consists of various ethno-linguistic groups namely the Shona and Ndebele and minority groups such as the Tonga, Kalanga, Venda, Nambiya and Shangaan. There are also descendants of migrants from neighbouring countries like Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique. There is a significant White and Asian population.

The country is divided into five agro-ecological regions with diverse livelihood possibilities. Regions III, have high and reliable rainfall and are suitable for livelihoods based on diversified agriculture including tea, coffee, deciduous fruit and intensive livestock production. Natural Regions III are, respectively, in the eastern highlands and northeastern-highveld and cover 18 per cent of Zimbabwe (Murphree, 1997). The major ethno-linguistic groups are the Manyika, Ndau and former immigrant farm workers from Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia. The low wealth groups in these regions tend to be farm and plantation workers, some of whom have been displaced by the land reform programme. Natural Region III covers 18 percent of the country and it surrounds region II but the largest expanse is to the south and west of the central plateau. It receives moderate rainfall, which makes it suitable for livelihoods based on semi-intensive farming of drought resistant crops and livestock. The main ethno-cultural groups include the Karanga and Ndebele and the poor are found on former commercial farms as fast track settlers and in communal areas. Natural Regions IV and V cover 64 per cent of the country and are in low-lying areas in the north and south the country. Rainfall is less than 650 mm. These areas are generally suitable for livelihoods based on extensive livestock production and game ranching. The irony of it is that this is where the majority of the communal population in the country resides. To the north the main ethno-linguistic groups include the Korekore and Tonga, and to the south are the Ndebele who subsume smaller groups like the Venda, Sotho, Kalanga, Zulu and Tswana, among others. The rural poor are largely found in communal land in Regions IV and V where arable agriculture is generally tenuous and their highly vulnerable livelihood sources have, over time, been complemented with labour migration

to commercial farms, mines, industry and commerce. We now turn to look at the historical roots of poverty.

1.1.2.1. The colonial period

Zimbabwe has since the colonial period up to the present day faced increasing incidences of rural and urban poverty. The World Social Summit for Sustainable Development in 1995 summed up and provided a comprehensive definition that embraces all the dimensions of poverty:

“Poverty has various manifestations including lack of income and productive resources sufficient to ensure a sustainable livelihood, hunger and malnutrition, ill-health, limited or lack of access to education and other basic services, increased morbidity and mortality from illness, homelessness and inadequate housing, unsafe environments and social discrimination and exclusion. It is also characterized by lack of participation in decision-making and civil, social; and cultural life.” (UNDP, 1999).

The roots of rural urban poverty in Zimbabwe can best be traced back to the policies that were implemented by the successive settler governments since 1890 which deprived black people of decent livelihoods. When the country was colonized in 1890, the settlers hoped to find rich mineral deposits, as was the case in South Africa. This did not happen as not many mineral deposits were discovered. After failing to find minerals, the settlers decided to move in the area of agriculture.

When white settlers arrived in 1890, they found Ndebele and Shona agricultural societies whose patrilineal social organization was and continues to be broadly similar. During the pre-colonial period, a lineage based production system existed between both groups. The major production activities were cultivation, gathering, hunting, stock rearing handicrafts and trade (Beach, 1977; Cobbing, n.d.).

Among the Shona and Ndebele, men had primary rights to land for cultivation and grazing by virtue of belonging to patrilineages and they transferred these rights to their sons. Production relationships, settlement patterns and land use were all constituted around a tight network of relationships centred on the elder, male lineage head, that is, *umnumzana* in Ndebele or *muridzi wemusha* in Shona. Through a tribute system the elder was able to control labour and so production (Scoones *et al*, 1996). There was a gender division of labour. Mahamba (1996: 7-8) tells us that when Ndebele men were not at war, their major concern was to tend cattle, hunt, tan hides and make clothing. They were also responsible for making iron and wooden implements for domestic use as well as for barter trade. Women were in charge of agriculture, although men would help where physical strength was required such as stumping trees and preparing the land for cultivation. In addition, they produced various crafts such as pots, baskets and mats. If they produced anything in excess of domestic requirements, they could trade with either the local Ndebele community or with white traders, hunters and missionaries who frequented the kingdom from the 1840s onwards (Bhebhe, 1979: 2; Mahamba, 1996: 59). Childcare was also their responsibility since they spent most of their time with children. They would also take care of the sick and aged.

Women engaged in inter-household cooperation in the performance of various livelihood activities including cultivating, the making of crafts, the performance of religious rituals, and the upbringing of children. There were instances where the labour demands of cultivating fields exceeded the capacity of family units. They would call upon the labour of other villagers through the institution of *nhimbe* or *ilima* (Shona and Ndebele respectively). Cooperation at the village level included the building of huts, herding of cattle in turns and cultivation of the chiefs and, in the case of the Ndebele, king's field. Their subordinates kept the grain from the chief/king's field and it was redistributed to people in need.

Among the Ndebele, there were at least two concepts of cattle ownership that have significance for philanthropic transactions. Some cattle belonged to the king; they were the national herd (Cobbing, n.d: 165-6). These were redistributed to the king's subordinates (*izinduna*) in the chieftaincies (*izigaba*). In return they owed their allegiance to him and fought for him. Secondly, there were privately owned cattle or *inkomo zamathonga*. Chiefs and successful warriors had the second largest herds after the king. Ordinary men also owned cattle and some of the cattle were distributed to those who did not have them through the use of an institution called *ukusisa*. Thus cattle were used to create complex webs of patron-client relations that spanned the whole territory. What is important for our purposes is to take cognizance of these 'philanthropic' transactions. Cattle lending was central to livelihoods because the person who looked after the livestock had access to milk, manure and occasionally meat. Such exchanges of cattle were political relationships binding men together and they frequently lasted for generations. A similar institution existed among the Shona. Men with many heads of cattle would loan them out (*kuronzera*) to the have-nots. The loaning arrangements would allow stockless families to hold the cattle in return for herding labour.

Early contacts between Europeans (Portuguese and later the British), and the Shona and Ndebele were based on trade. As indicated above, in the kin-based communities of the Shona and Ndebele, both men and women historically participated in local trade with the other ethnic groups. They later traded with the Portuguese and British hunters, prospectors and missionaries. Trade that was based on mobility from the home was male dominated since women were involved in agriculture and care giving to children, the elderly and the sick. The Ndebele and to some extent the Shona began to participate as labourers in the economy of Europeans well before the period of conquest. Men worked for wages in their capacities as post-boys, wagon drivers, porters, guides, hunters and domestic workers. During the 1870s, Ndebele and Shona men began to migrate to mines in Kimberley and later the Rand as labourers working for money, guns and clothes.

The increasing momentum of trade with Europeans opened the way for political subversion. Missionaries who tried to convert the Ndebele to Christianity met with little or no success, the same applied to the Shona. As far as the missionaries were concerned the only way through which progress could be registered was conquest. In consequence, the territory was colonized during the 1890s and this brought in its wake fundamental shifts in power relations between local people and Europeans which in turn altered the economic basis of traditional forms of community philanthropy.

As a result of the land policies of successive settler governments, the agricultural economies of the Shona and Ndebele were seriously undermined and with it, the bases of philanthropy within communities were compromised (Rukuni, 1993). This led to widespread poverty among the black population since they were forced to farm on agriculturally marginal land. Thus, the land on which the black people were forced to farm on could not, on its own, sustain their livelihoods.

The Reserves in which Africans now resided soon became overcrowded and the land became unproductive through constant use. This led the men to migrate in search of jobs in towns, farms and mines; hence the emergence of a working class (Ranger, 1969). Colonial governments also denied blacks access, control and use of water for commercial agricultural purposes. Only the commercial farmers, industrialists and miners were legally entitled to water for commercial agricultural purposes. This led to low productivity, poverty and environmental degradation in communal lands (Kambudzi, 1997: 6).

All colonial governments since 1890 to 1979 never invested heavily in the provision of social services in the reserves (now communal lands). These areas lacked infrastructure such as proper roads, health centers, houses, safe water, sanitation and education.

Colonialists with interests in different sectors of the economy looked towards the state for protection against economic competition from Africans. As a result of various pieces of legislation, the state placed Africans in a structurally disadvantageous position that perpetuated their poverty in both the rural and urban areas. For instance when the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1934 was passed, the government explicitly excluded Africans from the definition of “employee” (Herbst, 1990). This meant that all African workers could not be adequately remunerated like White employees. Moreover, in the 1930s, the government systematically strengthened the labour reserve system by preventing Africans from moving into “prospecting and mining, and from competing on even terms in beef production” as well as creating barriers that excluded Blacks from the domestic maize market (Herbst, 1990).

An increasing number of Africans were left with no choice but to seek formal employment to supplement lower returns from agriculture (Herbst, 1990). The government introduced high taxes which also drove many African males to provide labour for European industries. Though many Africans flocked to the expanding urban areas and mines to provide labour, access to employment and levels of pay were determined along racial and gender lines (IDS, 2003). White employees earned more than black employees and male black workers earned more than female black workers. This was despite the fact that they performed similar tasks. This led to racial and gendered structural poverty which persisted after independence (IDS, 2003). The result of all this was more poverty in the urban areas where most of the men worked. The human capital of the indigenous black people was thus used to sustain the livelihoods of the colonialists.

Most of the black men who migrated to urban areas to seek employment lived in underdeveloped and overcrowded settlements. Initially this migration was forced, but later it became voluntary, as men sought cash for a variety of goods and services as monetization became more institutionalized (van Onselen, 1976). The lack of cash within African households meant more poverty for many African

families. Married women were not allowed in the urban areas where men migrated to in search of employment. This was done so as not to exert pressure on the colonial administrators and employers to provide family accommodation for blacks that would have been more expensive than desired (van Onselen, 1976). The migrant workers were already living in overcrowded settlements which were fertile grounds for prostitution and beer drinking. This was deliberately done in order to provide antidotes for desires to be with one's family and ultimately to retain labour (van Onselen, 1976). Most married men began operating two homes, one in the rural areas and the other in urban areas. The latter were known as *mapoto* marriages. This created a lot of pressure and dependence on cash bearing males since they had to sustain their lives in towns and families in the rural areas with the little money which they were earning. Thus, inequalities between men and women deepened and a new value system, which sustained this inequality emerged and strengthened the existing patriarchal system (IDS, 2003).

The separation of spouses led to the feminization of poverty. In addition to farming on poor soils, women became the sole farmers but without decision-making powers to dispose of the produce from the plots and to spend the money without consulting their absentee husbands. Thus, women maintained men's stakes in the rural economy. In the absence of a comprehensive social security scheme for blacks, rural areas became a depository for spent-out male labour discarded from the workplace (IDS, 2003).

Women were not encouraged to migrate to urban areas or to seek wage employment. The few who migrated had to prove relations with an employed male or worked in low-income jobs as maids. Informally, they could work as commercial sex workers in conjunction with illegal vending of food and brewing and selling illicit beer (IDS, 2003). The following section looks at rural and urban poverty in independent Zimbabwe.

1.1.2.2. Post-Independence period

At independence in 1980, the new government inherited an economy that could best be described as a dual economy, characterized by uneven development with relatively developed enclaves (urban areas) surrounded by poor hinterlands (communal areas). In an effort to reverse the colonial template, the post-independence government adopted redistributive policies, such as minimum wage policy, expansion of access to education and healthcare and land redistribution (IDS, 2003).

At independence and throughout the 1990s, the communal lands had a population density of more than twenty-eight people per square kilometre compared to nine people per square kilometres in large-scale commercial farms owned by whites. By 1979, the population of the communal areas had exceeded their carrying capacity by approximately two million people. This resulted in the relegation of the majority of the people in the rural areas to abject poverty.

Women remained the majority of small-scale farmers but with no control over the land and the returns of their labour (IDS, 2003). Women continued to access land through their husbands if they were married and fathers if unmarried. Most women in the communal areas feared divorce and widowhood, which would result in instant poverty (UNDP, 1999). Women were also affected by discriminatory policies and practices such as in the provision of credit and extension service which could not be done without the involvement of their husbands (UNDP, 1999).

Movement from rural areas to urban areas was derestricted at independence. This led to urban enclaves attracting more people (both male and female) from the impoverished rural hinterlands in search of employment and a better life. The droughts of 1981/82 and 1991/92 merely intensified migration. Urban migration led to overcrowding in the urban centers which had not been designed for large populations. Whole families found themselves living in one-room dwellings made

of anything from wood to cardboard, with no privacy at all. Mukheli *et al* (2002) discovered that Sakubva township in the city of Mutare was originally designed to house 3000-5000 male workers for the nearby industries but by 2002, the population of the area was estimated to be 50 000. This increase in population was not matched by an expansion in the provision of services such as water, sanitation and housing. Most of the houses were designed to accommodate one male worker but by 2000, a single room in most sections of the township accommodated an average of 8 people (Tagwira, 2000). The majority of these people found themselves in the rapidly growing informal sector where they earned very little (IDS, 2003). This situation led to more poverty in the urban areas.

Though a number of internal factors have been responsible for rising poverty in rural and urban Zimbabwe, there are also external factors which have contributed to this upsurge in poverty. The following section looks at the impacts of external factors on rural and urban poverty.

1.1.2.3. Impact of external factors

External factors include the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund's economic reform programmes (ERPs), natural disasters such as droughts and floods, and HIV/AIDS. These together with internal poverty have been responsible for increasing poverty in Zimbabwe

While substantial progress was achieved during the 1980s in terms of social service provisioning in the areas of health and education, the emergence of a growing budget deficit and economic stagnation, forced the government to look for external financial assistance from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in a bid to revive the economy. In 1991, the government adopted the World Bank/IMF sponsored Economic Reform Programme (ERP) thereby abandoning its interventionist and redistributive policies (Chakaodza, 1993: 16). The programme called for the removal of subsidies on social services and basic commodities; currency devaluation, price decontrols; labor and commodity market deregulation among others (IDS, 2003).

Since government assistance to smallholder farmers in the communal areas was considered a subsidy, it was scrapped as required by the WB/IMF ERP package, thereby reducing access to inputs and perpetuating poverty. The smallholder farmers in the rural areas were used to buying inputs such as seed, fertilizer and farming equipment at low, affordable prices until ERP liberalized trade and allowed traders to sell at high prices as they deemed fit. Most communal farmers could not afford the high prices especially considering the fact that they had other household financial commitments such as paying educational fees for their children. In order to cope with the situation, they had to cut down their expenditure on agricultural inputs which meant buying less of them or, in cases of chemicals such as fertilizers, not at all. This resulted in low yields, particularly in areas that also receive low rainfall and which are characterized by poor soils, for example Ward 17 or Biriwiri in Chimanimani, Masvingo, Zvishavane and Gwanda (Nyathi and Makoni, 2000). In such areas people mostly farm for subsistence and not for sale.

Droughts have also had a negative impact on livelihoods. The country experienced droughts in 1982/83; 1991/2 and in 2002/3. These droughts meant that most of the communal farmers who are already poor could not produce anything to sustain their livelihoods. They largely depended on food handouts and intra community philanthropic food exchanges. The 1982/83 drought incapacitated agriculture and negatively affected the rest of the economy (Mlambo, 1997: 42). The 1982 and the 1991 droughts reduced agricultural production, making Zimbabwe a net importer of maize. For example by the end of 1982 it was estimated that 120 000 people were facing death because of lack of food. The government and a number of NGOs had to provide drought relief food to most communal areas.

Government's decision to deregulate prices and remove subsidies for basic consumer goods in 1991 caused severe hardships for the rural and urban poor. In the words of O'Hearney:

“The deregulation of price controls and the abolition of subsidies...have had a disastrous impact on many families both in urban and rural areas. Cooking oil, margarine, sugar, bread, maize meal, electricity, water and transport prices have more than tripled over the last year and a half... As a result, begging and crime, indicators of economic hardships, have risen dramatically in Zimbabwe, particularly in cities like Harare, the capital” (cited in Mlambo, 1997: 82).

We now turn to look at the impact of economic reform on urban areas. The ERP period witnessed a skyrocketing of the cost of living as indicated by rising inflation, declining real wages, job losses which led to deepening levels of poverty and desperation (SARPN, 2004). Many people in urban areas just like in the rural areas could no longer afford a decent livelihood, such as decent education, health care, and enough nutrition for their families (Nyathi and Makoni, 2000). It was observed that during the ERP period, wage levels for most low-income earners lagged behind the 45% increase in the cost of living between July 1991 and July 1992, resulting in a decline of 35% in real incomes. This decline occurred at a time when prices for basic consumer goods were going up as a result of successive devaluations and the removal of government subsidies. These were measures prescribed by the IMF/World Bank (Mlambo, 1997).

Retrenchments and company closures became widespread in the urban areas during the ERP period. A lot of workers got retrenched without being given adequate retrenchment packages in an environment characterized by high inflation. Most of the people who were retrenched were the junior staff who earned little, leaving the better off senior staff members on their jobs (Nyathi and Makoni, 2000). While the private sector retrenched a lot of workers, 25% of public workers were also laid off during the reform period (SARPN, 2004). Unemployment was said to be between 35% and 50% in 1997 (SARPN, 2004). It is now estimated to be over 70%.

As a result of the massive retrenchments, there was a rapid growth of the informal sector as the retrenched sought ways of surviving and sustaining their livelihoods. However, much of the informal sector was not lucrative as it involved small business ventures such as vegetable vending which were oversubscribed. The informal sector had to compete against established companies. Most of the informal sector players could not compete with the established companies mainly because the former had no sufficient resources that the latter had (Chakaodza, 1993).

As unemployment increased, streets of major towns like Harare had more beggars, more street children, more “illegal” vendors than at any other time in the history of the city. Cost recovery measures introduced in education threw children out of school. Common crime in the form of muggings, armed robberies, burglaries and white-collar crime were on the increase (Mlambo, 1997).

Economic governance has therefore significantly contributed to the vulnerability of rural and urban livelihoods. We have just reviewed some of the negative impacts of the ERP. Other policies relate directly or indirectly to the contentious subject of land reform. It appears that the polarization of positions between government, commercial farmers and international donors on how land reform should, or should not, proceed has not been conducive to improved livelihoods.

Government regards land reform as a basic step towards the so-called economic ‘empowerment’ of land hungry and landless people in rural and urban areas. Government’s position is that land reform is a political and not a legal issue (UNDP, 2000: 28). Commercial farmers regard the redistribution of land as spelling disaster to rural and urban livelihoods because it disrupts production, creates unemployment of farm workers, and results in reduced exports and loss of foreign currency. In addition, commercial farmers see land reform as a legal issue and one that undermines the rule of law. This position is consistent with that taken by donors who have largely withdrawn aid because of perceived misrule.

Whichever way one looks at it, the sum total of economic governance has been the increase in livelihoods insecurity among the majority of Zimbabweans (cf. Table 3 below). The polarization of positions between donors, government and commercial farmers does not help to create a climate that is suitable for investment in agriculture, industry and commerce. The result has been increased unemployment and material deprivation.

1.1.2.4. The social-cultural structure of Zimbabwe

The past two decades have seen deteriorations in some of the key social indicators of human development in Zimbabwe. The concept of human development places human beings at the center of the development process. They should not be marginalized or be made mere cogs in the development process.

Human development thus relates to the process of widening people's choices as well as their well-being (UNDP, 2000). The three essential choices for people are, to lead a long and healthy life, to acquire knowledge and to have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living (UNDP, 1997). However, these choices should include access to income and employment opportunities, education and health and a clean and safe environment (UNDP, 2000). Equally importantly, each individual should have the opportunity to participate fully in community decisions, enjoy human rights, economic and political freedoms (UNDP, 1991).

Zimbabwe's human development index which peaked at 0.621¹ in 1985 declined to 0.551 by 2000 (IDS, 2003). The HDI for Zimbabwe went down further to 0.491 in 2002 (IDS, 2003: 141). The Zimbabwe Human Development report estimated the life expectancy for the country to be 43 years for the period 2000-2005, as compared to 61 years in 1990. On the other hand, the UNDP states that

¹ The human development index (HDI) measures human development by combining three dimensions of development-life expectancy at birth, adult literacy and income. It ranges from a minimum of 0 to a maximum of 1, which puts Zimbabwe in the medium human development range up until 2000 (UNDP, 2003).

currently the life expectancy of the country is 33.9 (2004). Around 33.7% of the adult population is HIV infected. According to the 2002 Ministry of Health and Child Welfare surveillance data, HIV/AIDS is mainly responsible for the reduction of life expectancy. The estimate of 43 years for Zimbabwe in 2000-2005 is 18 years lower than it would have been without HIV/AIDS (IDS, 2003).

A comparison of Zimbabwe with other countries in the region such as Namibia and South Africa reveals that their HDI is better than that of Zimbabwe. The following figures in Table 1 highlight the difference between Zimbabwe are HDI and that of South Africa and Namibia.

Table 1: Human Development Index, 2001/2

HDI Rank ^a	Country	Life expectancy at birth (yrs) 2002	Adult literacy rate (%) ages 15 and above) 2002 ^b	Combined gross enrolment ratio for primary and secondary schools (%) 2001/02 ^c	GDP per capita (PPPUS\$) 2002	Life expectancy index	Education index	GDP index	HDI value	GDP per capita (PPPUS\$) rank minus HDI rank ^d
119	S. Africa	48.8	86.0	77	10,070	0.40	0.83	0.77	0.66	-66
126	Namibia	45.3	83.3	71	6,210	0.34	0.79	0.69	6	-48
147	Zimbabwe	33.9	90.0	58	2,400	0.15	0.79	0.53	0.607	-25
									0.491	

Note: a. The HDI rank is determined using the HDI values to the fifth decimal point. b. Data refer estimates produced by UNESCO in July 2002. c. Data refer to the July 2001/02 school year. d. A positive figure indicates that the HDI rank is higher than the GDP per capita (PPP US\$) rank, a negative the opposite.

Source: UNDP, 2004

The above table 1 shows that among the three countries, Zimbabwe is ranked least. Moreover, Zimbabwe has the lowest life expectancy and life expectancy index. Zimbabwe also has the lowest HDI value. The above table reveals that, in Zimbabwe compared to other countries, the majority of people are not living a long and healthy life and that the standard of living cannot be classified as decent. The table points to increasing levels of poverty in Zimbabwe as compared to other Southern African countries. The human and income poverty

in the above three countries also shows some similarities and differences as shown in the table below.

Table 2: Human income poverty for selected countries, 2002

Country	HPI index HPI-1 Value		Probability at birth of not surviving to age 40 ^{a,t} (%) of cohort) 2000-05	Adult illiteracy rate ^{b,t} (ages 15 and above) 2002	Pop. Without access to improved water source ^t	Children under weight for age (% under age 5) 1995-2002	Pop. Below income poverty line % National			HPI-1 Rank minus income poverty rank ^f
	Rank	%					\$1 a day ^d 1990-2002 ^c	\$2 a day ^e 1990-2002 ^c	National poverty line 1990-2002 ^c	
S. Africa	52	31.7	44.9	14.0	14	12	7.1	23.8	..	20
Namibia	64	37.7	52.3	16.7	23	24	34.9	55.8	..	-5
Zimbabwe	91	52.0	74.8	10.0	17	13	36.0	64.2	34.9	12

Note: t denotes indicators used to calculate the human poverty index (HPI-1).

- Data refer to the probability at birth of not surviving to the age 40, multiplied by 100.
- Data refer to estimates produced by UNESCO Institute for Statistics in July 2002.
- Data refer to the most recent year available during the period specified
- Poverty line is equivalent to \$1.08 (1993 PPP US\$).
- Poverty line is equivalent to \$1.08 (1993 PPP US\$).
- Income poverty refers to the percentage of the population living on less than \$1 a day.

Source: UNDP, 2004

The above table 2 shows that Zimbabwe has a greater percentage of the people living below the income poverty line than the other two countries. There are also more chances for Zimbabweans not surviving to the age of 40 at birth. As mentioned earlier on, the HDI for Zimbabwe is decreasing due to a number of factors which are both internal and external. These factors which include ERPs, sanctions and HIV/AIDS among others which have had negative impacts on some key social development indicators at national level since the 1980s up to the present day. Table 3 below shows the key social development indicators for Zimbabwe since the 1980s.

Table 3: Key social development indicators: Trends 1980s to 2003

Indicators	1988	1990	1995	2000	2002	2003
Social indicators I						
Population (millions)	9.2	9.7	11.5	11.6	11.6	11.87
Population Growth rate %	3.1	2.5 ¹	—	2.5 ²	1.1	—
HIV prevalence (15-49 yrs)%	—	16.5	17.4	25.1	33.7	33.7
Life expectancy at birth, years	—	61	55	43 ³	43 ³	43 ³
Social indicators II						
Employment growth rate %	4.3	-2.2	-1.8	-5.9	-10.2	—
Structural employment %	—	—	—	—	50+	50+
% of total population below the FPL	—	—	57 ⁴	—	69	69+
% of total population below the TCPL	—	—	74 ⁴	—	80	80+
% of total population below the TCPL	76	—	76.1	75.1	—	—
Net primary enrolment ratio	—	80	86	88	—	—
Primary school completion rate %	—	12.7	16.9	13	—	—
Adult literacy rate %	—	—	—	—	—	—
% of undernourished children - under 5	—	59.9	76.9	102.1	—	—

Under 5 mortality rate (deaths per 1000 live births)	—	65 ⁵ 48	73 ⁶ 56	75 ⁷ 58	— —	— —
Rural popul. with access to safe water %	—					
Rural popul. with access to sanitation %						

Note: Generally 1988 to 1990 figures summarize the performance of the 1980s decade
FPL is the level of income at which persons can meet their basic food needs
TCPL is the level of income at which persons can meet their basic food and non-food needs.
1= 1982/92, 2 = 1992/97, 3 = UNAIDS estimates, 4 = PASS 1995, 5 = 1992, 6 = 1997, 7 = 1995-99.

Sources: *National Accounts Statistics, Central Statistical Office 2003.*

Table 3 above shows that more people are unable to meet basic food needs as reflected by the high FPL percentage. This could also be a result of a negative employment growth rate. As a result of poor income from both formal and informal employment, the majority of people's incomes cannot adequately meet their basic food and non-food needs (cf. Section 1.3.1.2.)

In most provinces of Zimbabwe poverty is on the increase. Poverty is more common in rural than urban areas and in female headed households than those headed by men. Child malnutrition, a major problem associated with poverty, was estimated to be 11% of the children in urban centers and 26.5% of the children in rural areas (June 2002 National Nutrition Assessment Study). A number of factors have been attributed to the deteriorating situation, amongst them are the following: rapid economic decline, rapid decline in agricultural production, high inflation levels (above 400% by end of 2003), low disposable incomes, high structural unemployment (estimated as above 50%), high prevalence of HIV/AIDS and recurrent natural disasters (droughts and floods) (IDS, 2003). The HDI for the provinces in Zimbabwe for 2001 does not differ much from that of the national level as shown in the following table 4.

Table 4: Human Development Index 2001 by province

Province	Life expectancy at birth (yrs) 2001	Adult literacy rate (%) 2001	Average years of schooling (%) 2001	Mean income (PPP US\$) 2001	Mean income (Z\$) 2001	Life expectancy index 2001	Adult literacy index 2001
Bulawayo	41.2	97.0	8.7	1421	122360	0.270	0.970
Harare	39.4	97.3	9.1	1519	205548	0.240	0.973
Mat. South	37.4	86.1	6.5	1240	167748	0.207	0.861
Mat. North	37.2	82.2	6.6	1121	151776	0.203	0.832
Midlands	36.7	87.9	6.9	811	109228	0.195	0.879
Mash East	36.1	87.4	6.8	699	94536	0.185	0.874
Mash West	36.7	86.6	7.1	633	85728	0.195	0.866
Manicaland	33.8	88.2	6.8	792	107172	0.147	0.882
Masvingo	35	84.4	6.7	802	108600	0.167	0.844
Mash Central	35.1	80.0	6.6	861	116544	0.168	0.802
Zimbabwe	38.2	88.1	7.2	948	128340	0.220	0.881

Table 4: Human Development Index 2001 (continued)

Province	Average yrs of schooling index 2001	Education index 2001	Income index 2001	HDI value 2001
Bulawayo	0.542	0.827	0.443	0.513
Harare	0.571	0.839	0.454	0.511
Mat. South	0.405	0.709	0.420	0.445
Mat. North	0.413	0.692	0.403	0.433
Midlands	0.433	0.730	0.349	0.425
Mash East	0.426	0.725	0.324	0.411
Mash West	0.446	0.726	0.308	0.410
Manicaland	0.424	0.729	0.345	0.407
Masvingo	0.418	0.702	0.348	0.406
Mash Central	0.411	0.672	0.359	0.400
Zimbabwe	0.450	0.737..	0.375	0.444

As shown in the above table 4, Bulawayo, Harare and Matabeleland South provinces all have higher life expectancy at birth in the country compared to other provinces. Manicaland has the lowest life expectancy at birth of 33.8 years. All the provinces have been affected by the decline in life expectancy at birth from 61 years in the 1980s. Since the figures above are for 2001, the current figures might show a further decline due to factors such as HIV/AIDS.

The gender related human development index by province in Zimbabwe shows that the index for males is higher than that of females in a number of the provinces. The following table presents the gender related human development index by province.

Table 5: Gender related human development index by province 2001

Province	Life expectancy at birth (yrs) 2001		Adult literacy rate (%) 2001		Average years of schooling (%) 2001		Mean income of 2001			
							Z\$		PPPU\$	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Bulawayo	37.9	44.4	96.1	97.8	8.6	8.8	150214	238417	1110	1762
Harare	36.2	42.4	96.6	98.0	8.9	9.4	138792	272575	1026	2014
Mat. South	36.0	38.9	82.6	89.5	6.5	6.5	175036	159729	1293	1180
Mat. North	35.3	39.2	79.8	86.6	6.6	6.6	171406	130715	1266	966
Midlands	35.2	38.1	83.8	92.1	6.8	7.1	101912	118186	753	873
Mash East	34.9	37.4	83.7	91.2	6.6	7.0	89382	100024	660	739
Mash West	34.9	38.5	82.2	90.9	6.8	7.5	66678	104974	493	776
Manicaland	33.0	34.6	83.4	93.0	6.5	7.1	117097	96248	865	711
Matabeleland South	33.8	36.3	80.5	88.4	6.5	6.9	94460	124718	698	922
Masvingo	33.8	36.3	74.2	86.2	6.4	6.8	126266	106454	933	787
Mash Central										
Zimbabwe	35.9	40.4	84.4	91.7	7.0	7.4	122161	134927	903	997

Source: IDS, 2003

Generally at provincial level, males have a higher HDI than females. This is mainly because in areas such as education males are given preference than females. Culturally, boys should be educated more than girls mainly because they will continue to help the family until they die unlike girls who are said to stop helping as soon as they are married. This explains why in all the provinces shown above, males have a higher adult literacy level than females. The average years for schooling for males is also slightly higher than that of females in all the provinces except in Matabeleland South and Matabeleland North. This can also be explained from a cultural point of view where it is generally seen as an advantage to send a boy child to school than a girl child. If there is insufficient

money for school fees, girls are usually disadvantaged as they are the ones who will be made to stop going to school. The area of income also shows that on average in almost all the provinces, males earn more than females.

The following section is on civil society and associational life in Zimbabwe.

1.1.2.5. Formal and informal civil society and associational life in rural and urban Zimbabwe

Civil society and associations are important players in both human development and governance. Civil society refers to organizations either formal or informal, through which citizens participate and exert influence over public life. Keane (1988) argues that civil society relates to associational life which is outside the ambit of the state. Civil society is thus an aggregate of institutions whose members are engaged primarily in a complex of non-state activities such as economic and cultural production and voluntary associations (Keane, 1988). These institutions exert pressure and act as “watchdogs” on state institutions in the areas of governance and development; and they jealously guard their autonomy and identity. Examples of civil society organizations (CSOs) include labour unions, business organizations, media, student and youth organizations women’s associations, civic and human rights groups, community based organizations (CBOs) and various types of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) (UNDP, 2000). Civil society compliments the pivotal role of state institutions in the development process (UNDP, 2000). Civil society organizations can be viewed as important social capital which brings people together in order to fulfill their livelihood objectives (DFID, 1999).

Civil society organizations (CSOs) in general and NGOs and CBOs in particular, fill considerable gaps in the provision of development and social assistance in both rural and urban areas. In the area of governance, CSOs and associations constitute a vital source of pressure for greater democratization (UNDP, 2000). The government alone is not able to bear the cost of ensuring sustainable livelihoods and of safeguarding conditions for good governance.

Zimbabwe like other Southern African countries, witnessed a proliferation of CSOs in the 1990s which operated in areas relating to development and governance. By 2000, there were 850 registered NGOs (UNDP, 2000). Most of them have been valuable monitors over the observance of political and human rights while some have been directly involved in constitutional initiatives. Some have been involved in such initiatives as development programmes, civic and voter education, election monitoring, publishing of material on democracy and holding workshops on transparency and rule of law (UNDP, 2000). Table 6 below gives the percentage of NGOs operating in various sectors in Zimbabwe as of year 2000.

Table 6: Sectoral activities of NGOs

Sector	Percentage
Agriculture and rural development	30
Health and nutrition	5
Education and training	10
Children and youth	2
Environment	3
Women	30
HIV/AIDS	1
Culture and information	1
Senior citizens and the disabled	2
Human rights	1
Relief	15

Source: UNDP, 2000

The above table shows that by 2000, agriculture and women had the highest number of NGOs followed by relief, health and nutrition, environment and so on. Although the percentage of other areas was small in 2000, this could have increased in the last four years especially in the sphere of HIV/AIDS.

In the Zimbabwean context, NGOs and other CSOs both formal and informal have played a pivotal role in representing citizens on social issues such as housing, education, health, and social welfare. They also mobilize local communities in both rural and urban areas around economic issues such as access to credit, agricultural extension services and marketing outlets amongst other issues. Additional areas in which CSOs and associations are active include the conservation and management of natural resources and facilitating participation in decision-making structures at community levels (UNDP, 2000). CSOs in general and NGOs in particular in Zimbabwe have been at the forefront of stimulating development projects through the provision of technical expertise and resources.

Despite the fact that CSOs have played a pivotal role in the areas of development and governance, the state in Zimbabwe is now viewing most of them as a threat to its survival. Since the 1990s, the state has sought to introduce greater control over a number of CSOs in general and NGOs in particular (Raftopoulos, 2000). A number of NGOs have been accused of supporting the biggest opposition party in Zimbabwe, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). The state has now decided to repeal the current Private Voluntary Organisations Act under which all CSOs should be registered and replace it with an NGOs Act. The new act will enable the state to closely monitor those organizations considered politically sensitive.

A closer look at the current Act which governs NGOs will reveal that it requires some amendments but not to the extent the proposed NGO Bill highlights. There is currently an incoherent framework guiding the registration of various types of CSOs. International aid agencies either register with particular ministries depending on their area of operation or with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs either as departments of their embassies or under some government to government cooperation agreements. Local NGOs register with local authorities within their geographic areas of operation or as Public Voluntary Organizations (PVOs) in

terms of the PVO Act. In practice the majority of groups that constitute Zimbabwean civil society are registered under the Deeds Registries Act or the High Court Act. Others operate without any form of registration at all. The bulk of this latter group consists of organizations engaged in governance and human rights work (Sunday Mirror, 22 August 2004).

Some have argued that the provisions of the Bill seek to divide and gag the activities of civil society ahead of the 2005 parliamentary elections. The NGO bill is expected to be approved by the ZANU-PF dominated Parliament by end of 2004. It requires that all NGOs register with a state controlled regulatory council and disclose details of their funding and programmes. Those foreign NGOs principally concerned with issues of governance will not be registered (Sunday Mirror, 22 August 2004). Such NGOs have been accused of campaigning for the MDC. The bill does not specify the areas of governance which are prohibited. This effectively means that those CSOs involved in areas such as water governance might not be registered. Others argue that all this is being done because the ruling party wants to consolidate its hold on power.

In summary, this section traced the roots of rural and urban poverty to past and present policies of successive governments. Whilst there were improvements in social service provisioning, these gains were eroded by the structural adjustment programme, droughts, the incidence of HIV/AIDS and the variable manner in which the economy has been managed.

1.2. METHODOLOGY

1.2.1. Objectives and Approach of the BCP Inquiry

In line with a grounded theory approach the inquiry was both a creative and critical process. Attention was paid to process, rigour and quality control through peer learning, testing, reflection and self correction.

1.2.1.1. Objectives

The research exploration aimed to achieve three objectives: understand and describe what “community of philanthropy is”; organise data and analyze, “why it is”, and finally begin to identify patterns, that is, see relationships and understand causation. The overall goal is to suggest a theoretical framework that can explain the phenomenon of “philanthropy of community” in the Southern African context.

1.2.1.2. Methodological Approach

The choice to use Grounded Theory,² as the basis of the data collection and analysis, was influenced by the multi-dimensional, multi-cultural and qualitative nature of the inquiry, which militated against choosing one framework over another. It was not assumed that one theoretical field would be able to provide the full descriptive, analytic and explanatory functions required to explain the phenomenon in question. Accordingly, a conceptual approach that would provide the maximum possibility to capture without prejudice articulations of community philanthropy under diverse conditions in Southern Africa was required.

In establishing the overall analytic framework, existing theories were not ignored but form a resource of contending and complementary theory. This body was drawn on to test for completeness and avoidance of exclusion of potentially important dimensions of inquiry. In sum, no single theory was adopted to inform research design or interpretation. Rather, any explanatory power of existing theories in terms of philanthropy of community is left to emerge from the data.

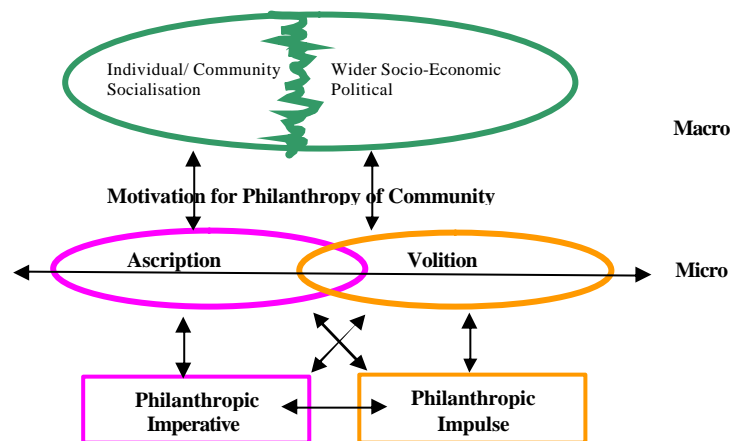
1.2.1.3. Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework, illustrated in figure 2.1, contextualised horizontal philanthropy within a broader set of external force fields. It also allowed for internal force fields to be distilled and for “help” to be probed along a “volition/ascription spectrum”. That is, the inquiry did not assume that “help” was voluntary or by choice, but endeavoured to test its motivation, allowing for the

² Strauss and Corbin, 1998.

possibility that help could be ascribed or informed by duty and obligation. The terminology “help”, a concept translatable into vernacular, as opposed to “philanthropy” was adopted. This term is simple, resonates in the research environment and denotes a transaction without implying business.

Figure 1.1 Conceptual Framework



1.2.1.4. Core Questions

The conceptual framework above informed the four core research question:

1. What is help?
2. What forms of help are used for what purposes, when?
3. Who qualifies for your help? and
4. Who should you help?

1.2.1.5. Focus Group Protocol

The above questions were the foundation from which a focus group protocol was designed, tested and modified. Essentially the protocol had 10 steps: The first step was the screening and selection of informants, this was followed by step two, a brain storming session around “Help”; the third step was a filter of what is relevant to BCP and what is not; the fourth step was an interrogation of who do you go to for help, who should you help; step five was an interrogation of

informant feelings, how did they feel when they are helped and how do you feel when you help; steps six and seven were distillation check points, where informants developed a giver and receiver matrix of the Actors, Transactions and Motivation discussed in the focus group; step eight was a checkpoint of what was missing from the matrices which had been raised in the focus group; step nine was an interrogation of informants perspective past and future changes of "Help" transactions; the final step was an opportunity for the informants to seek clarification from the researchers and raise any questions on the focus group process that they felt needed addressing.

1.2.1.6. Sampling Frame

The sample frame was informed by four cuts. First low wealth; second, livelihood type; third, household type; and finally location (rural – urban). Ethnic- linguistic /cultural groups, age and gender were cross cutting themes. These dimensions were uniform for each country research study however customized to reflect the specificities of each country. For example, while the notion of low wealth was uniform, how it was applied or understood in each of the study countries reflected the local reality and understanding. The focus group sample was not representative but was designed to capture diversity in order to expose the different layers of help transactions that occur within communities. The intent was to let a rich appreciation and understanding of "help" to emerge.

1.2.1.7. Focus Groups

Focus groups were the primary technique used for data collection. The number of focus groups was guided by that required to capture diversity and to reach a knowledge generation saturation point. Informed by the sample frame above, informants in any particular focus group belonged to the same gender, age group, were similarly located, i.e. rural or urban and shared a common livelihood type.

1.2.1.8. Distilling a Philanthropic Act

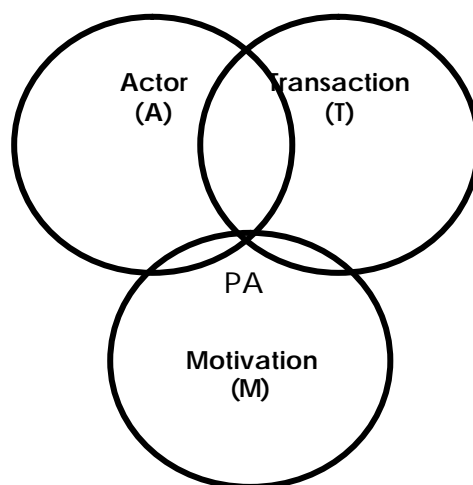
Analysis was guided by the need to distil the philanthropic act. To do this, Help was broken down into its three variable parts, namely, actors, transactions and motivation:

- actor combinations of Giver-Receiver (**A**);
- the content of the transaction (**T**); and
- the motivation or driver involved (**M**).

Of note, the nexus of the three, that is where A, T, M overlap, as illustrated in Figure 2.2. creates a dependent variable labelled a philanthropic act (**PA**). The PA is the focus of BCP's analysis and interpretation. By defining items through their properties and dimensions, allowing themes and concepts to emerge, the concept of Philanthropy of Community is able to be extracted from the data.

From this perspective, ATM patterns and borders would define the notion and parameters of 'community'. In other words, 'community' would emerge through the lens of 'help', rather than geography or social or economic categories. In this study, 'community' is not predetermined but is constructed from the data. In brief, a primary interest of this inquiry is to understand "community" from the perspective of "help"

Figure 1.2 Distilling a Philanthropic Act



A national research design custom to each country was developed by the NRA's to implement the study. Derived from the local understanding of low wealth and in accordance with the sampling frame supplied by BCP, the research design implemented in Mozambique is provided in the following section.

1.2.2. National research design

The terms of reference gave useful points for departure in the design of our research. The research proposal submitted to the BCP directorate articulated the way in which the research was to be configured and implemented. The research design had three key elements to it. It entailed firstly, defining low wealth; secondly, outlining the sample frame and thirdly, specifying ways in which focus group discussion participants would be identified, selected and have their socioeconomic profiles captured.

1.2.3. Understanding of low wealth

The main indicators for understanding low wealth in Zimbabwe are income and assets. The 1995 Poverty Assessment Study defines low wealth or poverty as:

“The inability to attain a minimal standard of living measured in terms of the basic consumption needs or income required to satisfy them: the poverty line is based on the expenditure necessary to buy a minimum standard of nutrition and other necessities” (Social Development Fund, Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, 1997: xix).

The poor were separated from the non-poor by costing a food basket that satisfies nutritional requirements and adding other financial resources needed by a household to satisfy its non-food requirements (e.g. housing, clothing, health and transport). This helped to construct the total consumption poverty line (TCPL). In 1995 the TCPL was Z\$817.00 per household per month but this has

increased phenomenally as a result of hyperinflation. There has been no follow up poverty assessment study.

However, the Consumer Council of Zimbabwe (CCZ) carries out monthly surveys from which it calculates the TCPL for urban low-income earners. In October 2003, the TCPL for urban areas was Z\$474 900 per month for a household of six people. As of September 2004 it had ballooned to Z\$1 494 700 per month per household of six. This represents a 214.7% rise in the TCPL in the space of just one year (cf. Table 3).

Save the Children (UK) also uses access to food, income and expenditure patterns to assess the well being of rural households. Save the Children's household economy approach analyses access to food and income by different wealth groups in a reference period (SARPN, 2002). In consequence, households in Save the Children support areas, like Binga and Nyaminyami, that are most vulnerable to hunger and ill-being, are given priority in the allocation of food aid.

Some analysts have questioned the use of income and consumption to identify low wealth or poverty. Oliver (2003) argues that poverty is not simply a matter of low income or low levels of consumption because the emphasis on these things ignores key causes of inequity, overlooks the consequences of low asset accumulation and fails to address long-term stability and security of individuals, families and communities.

This study therefore broadened the way in which low wealth was identified by including the concepts of 'assets' and 'livelihood types'. An asset is a 'stock' that can be drawn upon, built upon, or developed and that can be shared or transferred across generations (Oliver, 2003: xiv). A livelihood consists of capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living (Chambers and Conway, 1992: 7-8). Assets are central to livelihoods. In Zimbabwe, assets include such things as stores (e.g. money, food granaries), concrete productive investments (e.g. farming and

fishing equipment, livestock, tools, land) human investments (e.g. education and health), collective stocks such as forests and water wells and claims on others for assistance such as kinship networks, friendships, neighbourhood ties, savings clubs, patrons and credit. Assets are unevenly distributed in all societies and their distribution is closely linked to socio-cultural traditions defining ownership, control and exclusion. These include age, gender, kinship and neighbourhood ties and so forth.

There is a paucity of information on the poverty line in rural areas. The Department of Social Welfare, Central Statistical Office and the Consumer Council of Zimbabwe do not have information on the rural poverty line.

In consequence, this study used community-based participatory wealth ranking methods to identify the poor. This was carried out as follows. After securing research clearance from the gatekeepers at district level, we were given letters of introduction to ward councilors in Wards 10 & 17 in Chimanimani and Ward 1 in Gwanda. The research team introduced itself to councilors who agreed to call meetings of community leaders. It was at these meetings that we carried out wealth ranking exercises. The poor were identified as people who: have small thatched huts; have inadequate clothes; fail to send their children to school; have insufficient food and are susceptible to hunger; lack draught power and livestock; have little or no money; lack farming equipment; cultivate small pieces of land; have single parent households and have little or no happiness. The lives of the poor were said to be characterized by misery.

We then explained that we wanted to talk to men, women, children and youths who met these criteria of low wealth. We decided, together with the community leaders, on the specific groups we would meet and the days and venues.

1.2.4. Description and rationale of sample frame

The sample frame was originally conceptualized in September/October 2003. The sample frame was derived from a number of related criteria. The general criteria included spatial location, livelihood type and ethno-linguistic grouping. The particular criteria for selecting respondents included age, gender; household type; incomes and assets. This section will elaborate on these issues.

The selection of study areas was purposive. Spatial location, that is location of informants in a rural or urban area was key because these are the places where most of the poor population lives. Spatial location also coincides with livelihood types. In urban areas the main source of livelihoods for the poor is the informal economy. In rural areas, the poor survive on subsistence farming and livestock keeping although some of them migrate to towns as labour migrants and send remittances to their homes of origin. Furthermore, spatial location also coincides with language and culture but migration tends to blur these differences.

The study was set to span five provinces of Harare, Bulawayo, Manicaland, Matabeleland South and Matabeleland North. Harare and Bulawayo were chosen because they are the major cities in the country and they have fairly strong informal economic activities that are central to the livelihoods of the poor. We therefore wanted to understand help transactions among informal fuel dealers, petty traders, street parking touts, and labour migrants. By the time the research began in February 2004 the fuel situation in the country had improved dramatically that there were no longer informal fuel dealers. We therefore replaced these with juice card vendors. In Bulawayo, there are no street-parking touts because the city has wider streets and lots of parking space. We therefore held a focus group discussion with car washers.

In Matabeleland South, Matabeleland North and Manicaland provinces we chose the districts of, respectively, Gwanda, Binga and Chimanimani. Binga and Gwanda are located in the drier parts of the country whereas Chimanimani has arid areas and others that receive good rainfall. We therefore wanted to

compare help transactions among subsistence farmers in contrasting agro-ecological areas of the country. Related to this is the issue of ethno-linguistic diversity. In Gwanda, Bulawayo and to some extent Binga, the major language is Ndebele. However, the Tonga ethnic group predominantly inhabits Binga district. Harare and Chimanimani are Shona speaking areas. More importantly, the Ndebele and Shona have a patrilineal kinship system that emphasizes the father's side in terms of access to property and inheritance. The Tonga, on the other hand, have a matrilineal kinship system which places more accent on the mother's side. These different forms of social organization would provide interesting contrasts and comparisons in help transactions among low wealth individuals and groups in the respective ethnic groups.

Unfortunately, for reasons beyond our control, we were not able to go to Binga district. The study was therefore carried out sequentially in Chimanimani (February/March 2004), Harare (June/July 2004), Bulawayo (July 2004) and Gwanda (July 2004). Broadly speaking, these study areas provide the kind of spatial and socio-economic spread that has proved useful in understanding the philanthropy of community in rural and urban Zimbabwe.

In addition to livelihood type, the other criteria used to select informants were age, gender and household type. We wanted to capture help transactions among people in different stages of their life cycles. The underlying assumption was that as individuals pass from one stage of their lives to another, they acquire new statuses; rights and duties that may impact help transactions. The age groups we used were as follows: 13-17 years; 18-24 years; 25-49 years; 50+ years. These age groups roughly correspond with the statuses of, respectively, childhood; youth; adulthood and old age. We also used the concept of gender to select informants. Here the assumption was that the cultural division of labour between men and women influences the nature, forms and possibly patterns of help among and between these two social groups. In consequence, the experiences of young and old men and women in terms of giving and receiving help could be different. Finally we also used household type in the selection of

informants. We tried to capture the household types that are found in the country and these are male, female, youth and child headed households.

The following table presents a summary of the focus group discussions carried out between February and July 2004. The table presents the data by date, research area, gender and livelihood type, age group and number of participants in each focus group discussion.

Table 7: Sequencing of research and number of participants

Date	Research area	Gender, household & livelihood type	Age group	Total number of participants
23 February 2004	Chimaniman i	Male Ex-commercial Farm Workers	50+	10
28 February 2004	Chimaniman i	Youth heads of household - subsistence farming & livestock keeping	18-24	8
29 February 2004	Chimaniman i	Male heads of household - subsistence farming & livestock keeping	25-49	8
1 March 2004	Chimaniman i	Female heads of household - subsistence farming & livestock keeping	25-49	10
Subtotal		4		36
30 June 2004	Harare	Male petty traders	18 - 24	6

2 July 2004	Harare	Male juice card vendors	25 – 49	8
3 July 2004	Harare	Male street parking touts	18 – 24	7
5 July 2004	Harare	Female petty traders	25 – 49	6
7 July 2004	Harare	Male migrant workers with rural families	25 – 49	7
8 July 2004	Harare	Female migrant workers with rural families	25 – 49	7
Subtotal		6		41
18 July 2004	Bulawayo	Male juice card vendors	25 – 49	7
19 July 2004	Bulawayo	Male car washers	18 – 24	5
20 July 2004	Bulawayo	Male petty traders	25 – 49	7
23 July 2004	Bulawayo	Female migrant workers with rural families	25 – 49	8
24 July 2004	Bulawayo	Female petty traders	50+	8
25 July 2004	Bulawayo	Male migrant workers with rural families	50+	6
Subtotal		6		41
28 July 2004	Gwanda	Male child heads of Household – subsistence farming & livestock keeping	13 > 18	7
29 July 2004	Gwanda	Female heads of	50+	9

		household – subsistence farming & livestock keeping		
30 July 2004	Gwanda	Male heads of household – subsistence farming and livestock keeping	25 – 49	8
Subtotal		3		24
TOTAL		19		142

In all, we had 142 participants in the focus group discussions of which 48 (34%) are female and 94 (66%) are male. Six focus group discussions were held in each of the two main cities of Harare and Bulawayo. In rural Chimanimani and Gwanda we conducted, respectively, four and three focus group discussions. The table also summarizes the age groups of participants. As already pointed out, we wanted to understand philanthropy of community from the perspectives of individuals in various stages of their life cycles. We had one FGD with 13-17 year old child heads of household; four FGDs with the 18-24 age group; ten FGDs with the 25-49 age group; and four FGDs with the 50+ year age group. We had one FGD with child heads of household in Gwanda because we were not able to find similar groups in the wards in which we carried out our work in Chimanimani. The study included more people in the 25-49 year age group because this is the most active age group in terms of economic activities and reproduction. The FGDs also covered the main livelihood types, namely subsistence farming and livestock keeping in Chimanimani and Gwanda. In Harare and Bulawayo, the livelihood types included, petty trade, juice card vending, migrant work, street touting and car washing.

1.2.5. Summary of socio-economic profiles of focus group informants

The recruitment of participants to the focus group discussions was aided by a questionnaire that was administered before each discussion. In urban areas, this selection took place a day before the meeting. Eligible participants were informed about the time and venue of the meeting. We held focus group discussions at hired venues. In rural areas, after taking part in wealth ranking exercises, the local leaderships went to their respective villages to inform potentially eligible men, women, youths and children. We created rosters of FGDs that the leaders used to spread the word to those likely to qualify. On the day of the FGD, we then administered the questionnaire to filter the eligible from the non-eligible. Those found ineligible were politely informed but this was not always easy because some of the potential participants had traveled considerable distances to the FGD venue. Participants to each focus group discussion were drawn from different villages.

The recruitment questionnaire helped to capture the socio-economic profiles of focus group participants. The questionnaire captured the following data:

- Biographical data such as – name of informant, date of birth, marital status, place of origin, ethnicity and household composition;
- Livelihoods – sources, income earned and assets owned; and
- Associational life, that is, membership of clubs and associations.

Put together, the information gathered on individual informants constituted the socioeconomic profile of the focus group. The following sub-sections present the profiles of each one of the nineteen focus group discussions.

1.2.5.1. Harare

As indicated above, six focus group discussions were held in the capital city. The selection was based on availability sampling. Petty traders, street parking touts, juice card sellers were selected in such a way that we covered the length and breadth of the central business district. We avoided selecting informants from the same street or adjacent streets. The selection of labour migrants was done on

the basis of researchers' contacts with domestic workers. They in turn informed others who were not known to the research team. We now turn to look at the socioeconomic profiles of each of the six focus groups.

Male petty traders

The average age for this group was 22 years. However the age range was 21 to 23 years. Of the six participants in the group, only one is married. He lives with his wife and his female sibling who is attending secondary school. The other five are not yet married. Four of them were staying with their siblings; and only one stayed alone. The informants have some secondary school education.

None of the six informants were born in Harare. They came from four Shona speaking provinces of Manicaland, Mashonaland West, Harare and Mashonaland East. Five are Zezuru and the sixth informant is Manyika.

The petty traders sold various goods such as spectacles, wristwatches, sweets, oranges, sunglasses, magazines, fruits, vegetables, cigarettes and calculators. The average income of this group is Z\$144 167 per month. The incomes range from Z\$100 000 to Z\$200 000 per month. The assets owned by these traders mostly include household effects. The major items they own are in order of frequency, stoves, beds, pushing trays and radios. Only one informant mentioned ownership of a second hand television set.

The involvement of male petty traders in associational life is limited. Only one out of the six participants said that he is a member of a vending club.

Female petty traders

The ages of female traders ranged between 25 and 36 years. The group's average age is 25 years. The traders fell into three marital categories, namely single, separated and widowed. Four of the six traders lived with their children and relatives. The latter included nieces, siblings, and nephews. The fifth trader lived with her own children only and the sixth one stayed on her own.

The traders came from four provinces, namely Mashonaland East, Manicaland, Midlands and Mashonaland Central. They belong to three Shona speaking sociocultural groups, that is Zezuru, Manyika and Karanga. Four of them completed four years of secondary education and the other two have, respectively, three and two years of secondary education.

The traders sell their goods in the central business district. The group's average income is Z\$153 333 per month. Their incomes ranged from Z\$100 000 to Z\$300 000 per month. Five of the six informants said that they did not have any assets worth talking about. Only one informant said that she has a television set. All the female informants did not belong to any association or club.

Male juice card vendors

The average age of the eight vendors was 27 years. Their ages ranged from 25 to 32 years. Four of the vendors were married and the other four were single. Four vendors lived with their wives and children. The other three lived with their younger male and female siblings. Only one vendor lived alone.

The vendors have different places of origin. They came from the provinces of Mashonaland East, Manicaland, Mashonaland Central, Midlands, Masvingo. One of them traces his ancestry to Malawi but he was born in Harare. They belong to various socio-cultural groupings such as the Zezuru, Karanga, Korekore, Manyika and Chewa.

The incomes range of the vendors was between Z\$100 00 and Z\$180 000 per month. The average income was Z\$143 750 per month. Of the eight vendors, six said that they have stoves and beds; four said that they have radios, two have kitchen utensils, and five have wardrobes. None of them said that he belongs to any association or club.

Male Street parking touts

The average age of the seven touts who participated in this focus group discussion was 22 years. The age range was from 21 to 24 years. The touts were all not yet married. Six of them lived alone; only one stayed with his two younger siblings.

Of the seven touts, only one was born in Harare. Others came from different provinces such as Mashonland Central, Masvingo, Manicaland and Mashonland East. The sociocultural groupings to which they said they belong include the Korekore, Karanga, Manyika and Zezuru. Five of the touts have some secondary education. The other two had seven years of primary school education.

Their incomes ranged between Z\$110 000 and Z\$150 000 per month. The average income is Z\$114 285 per month. Three of the touts said that they own bicycles. Two of the seven touts said that they do not have assets worth talking about. The other touts said that the assets that they have are blankets.

Some of the touts have some form of associational life. Two of the seven touts in this focus group said that they are members of clubs. One is a member of Arcadia football club and the other is a vice captain of a table tennis club.

Male migrant workers

The six male migrant workers in the focus group originated from Masvingo, Mashonland, Manicaland, and Mashonland East provinces. The two sociocultural groupings that they said they belong to are the Zezuru and Karanga.

Their ages averaged 28 years. The range was 25 to 49 years. Five of the six male labour migrants were married; the other is single. The single migrant was looking after his nephews. The rest have wives and children who mostly stay in the rural

areas. The migrants had some secondary schooling although some dropped out before completing four years.

All these migrants work as gardeners at residential premises. Most live at their places of work. The average wage per month for this group was Z\$140 000. Three of the six migrants said that they own beds and two have stoves and radios. One of the migrants has a bicycle.

Two of the participants in this focus group discussion belong to clubs/associations. One is a member of a church. The other is a member of a boozers' football club. The other four participants did not belong to any club.

Female migrant workers

The seven respondents in this focus group discussion said that they originally came from Manicaland, Mashonaland East and Masingo. Socio-culturally they belong to the Zezuru, Karanga and Manyika groupings. The average age of the group was 26 years and the range was 25 to 35 years. Four of the seven migrants were married and the rest were single mothers.

Five of the labour migrants are employed as domestic workers and the other two sell cooked food in the industrial areas. Selling cooked food in these areas is a women's job. It is an extension of women's duties in the home and is therefore easier to do. The female food vendors offer their customers credit and this makes their businesses more attractive.

The female migrants own a variety of basic and to some extent luxury goods. Four of the participants said that they own beds and wardrobes. One informant said that she owns a television set. Two participants said that they do not have any assets worth taking note of. Only two of the seven migrants are church members. The other five are not members of any association or club.

1.2.5.2. Bulawayo

In Bulawayo, as in Harare, six focus group discussions were conducted. In Bulawayo, similar livelihood types were chosen but the age groups differed from those of Harare. As pointed out already, car washers in Bulawayo took the place of street parking touts. The participants were also selected from different parts of the city. In the sub-sections below, we look at the socioeconomic profiles of each group.

Male car washers

The selection of car washers was complicated by the over-enthusiasm of petty traders who operated near the places where car washers are based. In one area, the traders wanted to come and join the focus group discussion. Attempts to explain to them that we only wanted to talk to car washers were read as attempts to exclude them from getting the nominal fee that we promised. In consequence, some of the potential participants were dissuaded from reporting for the focus group discussion. In the end we decided to go ahead and held a discussion with five participants.

The age range for car washers was 19 to 23 years. The average age was 21 years. Of the five participants, only one was married; the other four were single. However, they were living with and therefore providing for their younger siblings.

Four of the five participants were born in Bulawayo. The other car washer originally came from Masvingo urban. Four of the respondents are Ndebele and the migrant from Masvingo is Nyanja. All of them had attained four years of secondary education.

The average income for the group was Z\$154 000 per month. Their incomes ranged from Z\$100 000 to Z\$180 000 per month. The person who had more assets owns a bed, wardrobe and stove. Three of the five participants said that they

own beds. One of the informants said that he did not have any assets to talk about.

One car washer is a member of Thuthukani car washers' club. The other four did not belong to any club or association.

Male juice card vendors

The average age of the seven participants in this focus group discussion was 24 years. The participants' ages ranged from 25 to 34 years. Six of the participants were single; one was married. Only one participant lived alone. The rest lived with their relatives who include uncles, female siblings, nephews, aunts and a grandmother.

The participants belonged to a number of socio-linguistic groups that include the Ndebele, Zezuru, Shangaan and Manyika. Only two participants were born in Bulawayo; the rest originally came from different places. These include Matabeleland North, Midlands and Manicaland.

All the participants had completed four years of secondary education. Their incomes averaged Z\$152 857 per month. The income range was Z\$130 000 to Z\$180 000 per month.

Five of the seven participants said that they own beds, three had wardrobes and two had radios. They did not all belong to any association or club.

Male petty traders

Eight male petty traders attended the focus group discussion. The average age of the group was 26 years. Six of the traders were married and two were single. Six traders lived with their wives, children and relatives. Some of the relatives included nieces and siblings. Of the two single traders, one lived alone and the other lived with his younger sibling.

Four of the traders were born in Bulawayo; two were from Tsholotsho in Matabeleland North province; and the other two came from, respectively, Mutare and Gwanda. In terms of sociocultural grouping, three are Ndebele, two are Zezuru, and the other three are Kalanga, Shangaan and Sotho. However, all speak Ndebele.

Seven of the eight traders had some secondary education. The only exception was one trader who had seven years of primary schooling. The traders sell a variety of mostly food products. These include potatoes, sweets, biscuits, fruits, vegetables, tomatoes, onions and cigarettes. The average income is Z\$141 428 per month. The incomes ranged between Z\$100 000 to Z\$170 000 per month. Six of the eight traders said they own beds and plates and five have stoves.

Two of the traders belong to clubs. One of the traders is a member of a culture club. The other is a member of a petty traders' rounds club.

Female petty traders

This group consisted of eight women who are 50+ years old. The average age was 53 years. The age range of the participants was 50 to 56 years. Four of the informants are divorced, three are single and one is a widow. One trader lived with her children; two traders lived with their children and grandchildren. The remaining five traders are taking care of their grandchildren.

Of the eight women in the group, six are Ndebele and two are Zezuru. The most educated among the group had eight years of primary school and the least educated had four years of schooling at the same level. The traders sell a variety of foods and other commodities. The foodstuffs include vegetables, sweets, bananas, oranges, kapenta, and tomatoes. The other commodities include traditional brooms and home made floor polish. On average they earn Z\$111 250 per month. The lowest income is Z\$90 000 and the highest is Z\$150 000 per month. In relation to assets, all the eight traders said that they have stoves and seven of

them have beds. None of the 50+ year old traders belonged to an association or club.

Female Migrant Workers

Eight informants took part in this focus group discussion. The average age of the group was 38 years. The age range was 25 to 48 years. The group had two divorcees, two widows and four single mothers. They live with their children.

Six of the participants have four years of secondary education and the other two completed primary schooling. With regard to sociocultural attributes, the group consisted of the following; five Ndebele, one Nyanja, one Manyika and one Kalanga.

Six of the participants are domestic workers, one sold homemade floor polish, and the other migrant worker sells vegetables. The average income is Z\$88 125. The lowest income reported is Z\$70 000 and the highest earner said she gets Z\$100 000 per month. The migrant workers own some assets in town and rural homes. They have goats and chickens in the countryside. Five of the migrants said that they own stoves and beds in town.

None of the participants belong to any association or club.

Male Migrant Workers

The six migrant workers who took part in this focus group discussion are Ndebele, Kalanga, Karanga, Tonga and Manyika. The six participants came from six different rural districts in the country. Their ages ranged from 52 to 67 years. The average age for the group was 56 years. All of the migrant workers in the group are married but their wives spend most of the time in the rural areas. The person with the highest level of education in this group had eight years of primary schooling and the lowest had four years.

The economic activities they engaged in varied. The group comprised two drivers, two cleaners, one general hand, and one builder-cum-carpenter. Their incomes ranged between Z\$140 000 and Z\$180 000 per month. The group's average income per month is Z\$150 833. All the six migrant workers said that they have stoves, five have beds, four have radios and three have bicycles. The builder said that he owns building tools and a wheelbarrow.

Three participants said that they do not belong to any association/club. The other three are active members in clubs. Two of the participants indicated that they are members of, respectively, Zibutheni and Tonga burial societies. The other participant is the chairman of Mganisizwe savings club.

1.2.5.3. Chimanimani

In Chimanimani we carried out our study in two wards that have contrasting agro-ecological conditions. On the one hand, Ward 10 is located in a former commercial farm known as Jantiya. The farm now has 'fast-track' settlers who include ex-commercial farm workers. This area has high agricultural potential. It has water that flows from steep slopes throughout the year. On the other hand, Ward 17 is in semi-arid Biriwiri communal land. The area is highly susceptible to droughts and much of the agriculture that takes place in the communal land is geared towards subsistence.

NGOs, churches and a few community-based organizations have a strong presence in Biriwiri communal land. The NGOs operating in Biriwiri include the Catholic Development Corporation (CADEC), Christian Care and Save the Children (UK). NGOs in Biriwiri largely provide drought relief to vulnerable households. NGOs were conspicuous by their absence in the fast track settlements. This has to do with the sensitivities surrounding the programme.

The tools and techniques used in selecting informants have already been described above. We now turn to look at the socioeconomic profile of each of the four FGDs in Chimanimani.

Female heads of household

The group comprised ten participants. They are all widowed. The average age of the group is 35 years. The age range is 33 to 49 years. They live with their children. Most of the children are in school. The issue of school fees for their children was a burning one for the widows. However, they themselves had between 5 and 7 years of primary schooling.

The majority, that is six, of the participants are Ndau; two are Manyika and the remaining two are Karanga. All these are mutually intelligible Shona dialects.

The widows are subsistence farmers but because they farm in an area which has marginal agricultural potential, they do not get yields that last them the whole year. As a result, they try and diversify their livelihoods by engaging in piece jobs for relatively better-off villagers. They also do market gardening, that is, growing vegetables which they sell to other villagers. The more enterprising among them engage in the production of crafts. One of the participants reported that she sells firewood. All the same, the money they get from these livelihood activities is not enough to sustain their households. They get an average of Z\$11 900 per month. The incomes vary between Z\$4 000 and Z\$30 000 per month. The assets that the widows own include mud huts and chickens. Six participants said that they live in mud huts. Three have brick houses under asbestos roofs but they do not have ploughs and cattle.

NGOs therefore come in to cover the shortfalls in food that widows and other vulnerable groups face. All the widows are recipients of food relief provided by Christian Care. They also get assistance with school fees for their children from the churches.

Four of the participants said that they do not belong to any club or association, but the other six do. Three of the ten widows said that they are members of four different churches. Two widows said that they are voluntary home-based

caregivers. They help people living with HIV/AIDS and the affected family members. One of these two caregivers is also a church member. The remaining widow is a member of the Muusha rural crafts club where she is a saleswoman.

Male youths

Eight orphaned youths attended the focus group discussion. The mean age for the group is 21 years. All the youths are not yet married. Three of the participants are still in secondary school. Three had completed four years of secondary school and the remaining two did primary schooling.

Six of the eight youths lived with their younger siblings. Only two lived on their own. Seven of the youths were born in Biriwiri and the eighth participant originally came from neighbouring Chipinge district. They are all Ndau.

The youths take part in subsistence cultivation but they do not get much out of it. They therefore do piece jobs for other people in return for pittances. Some engage in piece jobs in order to raise money for school fees. The piece jobs that they do include herding cattle, weeding, cultivating, repairing huts, and fencing. The average income for the group is Z\$20 625 per month. The incomes range between Z\$10 000 and Z\$40 000 per month. Most of the youths had the huts in which they live as their major assets. Two of the eight youths inherited goats and cattle from their deceased parents.

NGOs help the orphaned youths with food relief. One such NGO, CADEC helps youths with small livestock such as goats. Churches in the area also help with school fees.

Male heads of household

The average age of the eight male heads of household is 27 years. All the eight participants were married and six of them live with their wives and children. The other two live with their wives, children and relatives. In fact one of these two

lived with 3 children, 4 nieces and 4 nephews thereby making a total number of 13 household members. The other one lives with his wife, son and two siblings.

In terms of sociocultural groupings, the participants said that they are Ndau, Ndebele, Karanga and Manyika. Five of the participants are Ndau. The Ndebele informant in the group was born in Chimanimani and grew up in the area. He is not able to speak Ndebele. This is becoming common in the country as a result of intra-country migration. We saw that there were many Zezuru, Karanga and Manyika participants in Bulawayo focus group discussions.

Five participants completed four years of secondary schooling. The other three had primary education. These informants, like the other ones in Biriwiri, practice subsistence farming and livestock keeping. They also do piece jobs. These include tinsmithing, weeding, thatching huts, making bricks, carpentry and building, and repairing fences. On average they get about Z\$41 250 per month. The income range is between Z\$10 000 and Z\$80 000 per month. Only one participant had a brick house, all the others had mud huts. None of the participants owned cattle. However, two had goats. The other form of livestock they own is chickens.

Only two participants in this group said that they are members of clubs. The two are members of nutrition groups. These are groups established by villagers to try and improve the nutritional status of children who are below the age of five years. The parents grow vegetables and legumes. There are designated feeding points in the villages where the children are fed.

Male ex-commercial farm workers

The average age of the ten participants in this focus group is 61 years. The age range is between 53 and 71 years. All the informants are married and they live with their wives and children. Five of the participants were born in adjacent Chikukwa communal land. Three participants came from Mutambara communal land in Chimanimani. The remaining two came from Mutare district in

the same province. The informants identified themselves as Ndau and Manyika. Only one participant had some secondary education. The rest had primary schooling.

The current livelihoods of this group are closely tied to their history as ex-commercial farm workers. Seven of the participants used to work on commercial farms in the area. Individual commercial farmers and the Forestry Commission owned these. The individual farmers left the area during the civil war in the 1970s and the Forestry Commission took over the farms and tried to turn them into plantations. This met with little success. When the land reform programme began, these former workers were allocated land on the farms.

By virtue of their involvement in the wage economy, these ex-commercial farm workers had more assets especially if we compare them with the communal farmers in Biriwiri. Seven of the participants said that they had cattle. In all, they had 31 heads of cattle. Seven of the ten participants own ploughs, two have harrows and brick houses. However, the money that they earn from selling farm produce averaged about Z\$40 100 per month.

This group has the greatest involvement in associational life. Only one participant said that he does not belong to any association. The rest of the participants are members, treasurers, vice-chairmen, chairmen, and elders in churches, preachers and secretaries in various clubs. They belong to the Super 7 committee, Jantiya farmers' association, grazing club, churches, and a bee-keeping club. The super-7 committee resolves disputes in the area. Its membership also includes traditional leaders. The prevalence of associational life in the area could be attributed to the ex-commercial farm workers experiences in the labour market where they acquired skills and knowledge about the operation of the market and some of the civic duties of individuals.

1.2.5.4. Gwanda

The selection of potential informants followed the same pattern established in Chimanimani, that is working with local leaderships. However, in Gwanda, there was a new dynamic. There were ruling party and government employees who insisted that they wanted to sit in the group discussions. We naturally accommodated them because they, in the end, facilitated the smooth conduct of the FGDs by not interrupting our work.

The agro-climatic conditions in Gwanda are more or less the same as those in Ward 17 Biriwiri, Chimanimani. Rainfall is erratic and the area is therefore prone to periodic droughts. People in the area therefore depend on NGO assistance for food. With this prefatory, we now turn to look at the socioeconomic profiles of FGD participants.

Male child heads of household

The average age of the six child heads of household is 16 years. They live with their siblings and other younger relatives such as cousins. They are all Ndebele. Three of them had seven years of primary schooling; others have secondary education.

The child heads survive through subsistence farming and piece jobs. But their major source of food is NGOs such as the Red Cross. They therefore largely depend on food handouts from NGOs. Only one child head of household said that he owns two goats. The rest have chickens. Their other main assets are blankets. None of the participants in this focus group said they belong to any association or club.

Female heads of household

The eight participants in this group are all widows; there was an additional official who came to sit in the focus group who is single. The average age of these informants is 50 years. The age range is 54 to 81 years. Five of the participants live

with their children and grandchildren. Two live with their grandchildren and one 81-year-old informant lives on her own.

Only two informants came from outside the area; one originally came from Natal, South Africa and the other came from Matobo which is a few kilometers from Bulawayo. In terms of sociocultural identity, the participants said that they belong to diverse groups such as the Ndebele, Zulu, Sotho, Nguni, Lozwi, Kalanga and Zezuru. However, all the participants speak Ndebele.

Only one participant had some secondary education; six had primary education and one informant who is 81 years old did not attend school. The widows said that they have no source of income. Their livelihood activities involve subsistence cultivation of grains, beans and groundnuts. All the widows are recipients of food relief from NGOs.

They however, have some property that they inherited from their deceased husbands. Six widows have ploughs; six have between 3 and 5 goats; two have donkeys, and seven have chickens.

Seven of the widows do not belong to any club or association. Only one widow is a member of Jabulani round table.

Male heads of household

Eight participants attended the FGD and the average age of the group is 38 years. All the participants are married and live with their wives. Five informants live with their wives and children. The other three have extended families which include nieces, nephews and aunts. One of these three participants lives with his elderly mother, wife and children.

The group comprised informants who identified themselves as Ndebele, Nguni, Venda and Sotho. All these people speak Ndebele and other languages. The

informants survive on subsistence farming but in most cases crops fail due to inadequate rains. They therefore engage in piece jobs.

Almost all the participants have beds; goats and chickens. Two of the informants mentioned that they have wardrobes. One informant has a cow and two have donkeys. None of the ordinary villagers belong to any association. However, there were two participants who are employed by, respectively, the ruling party and government.

1.3. METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

In conducting fieldwork we encountered various challenges. General points relate to the scarcity of fuel and therefore logistical challenges, and sensitivities concerning security. Specific points concern the use of focus group discussions as a method of investigation.

During our stay in Chimanimani, we faced problems of securing fuel. There was no petrol in Chimanimani for the entire duration of our stay. We had to drive to the provincial capital of Mutare and carried fuel in containers. Furthermore, throughout our research security issues often cropped up. We were warned by the district leaderships in Chimanimani to steer clear of any reference to political parties. We therefore avoided the subject at all times. We were able to pay nominal thank you fees to participants in Bulawayo, Harare and Gwanda and not in Chimanimani. There were more sensitivities in Chimanimani and the research team decided to provide food during FGDs. This did not affect the participation of the informants in group discussions.

Finally, the use of focus groups had its limitations. We were not able to look into any detail about individual informant's social networks. This could be compensated for in the next phase of the project which looks at case studies. We were not always able to probe in detail on some issues because of informant fatigue. By the time we got to the matrices, informants were showing signs of

tiredness. However, we tried as best we could to retain their interest and concentration.

PART 2: PHILANTHROPY OF COMMUNITY LANDSCAPE

2.1. MAJOR FINDINGS: ACTORS

This section begins by defining the concept of help from the perspective of the informants. It then examines the key actors, transactions and motives involved. The questions on 'whom do you help first' and 'whom don't you help' throw important light on the rules and sanctions surrounding philanthropy of community. Focus is also on the feelings of givers and receivers. Again these bring upfront the subjective feelings that often characterize philanthropy. The section uses a livelihoods framework to interpret the giving and receiving transactions that take place in rural and urban Zimbabwe. The livelihoods frame of reference foregrounds how, in different contexts, low wealth actors use social networks to gain access to material and non-material resources or assets which are critical to their everyday lives.

2.1.1. What is help?

Focus group participants defined help as the giving and/or receiving of something. Ordinarily, the receiver does not have or lacks the thing that he/she is being given. Help is thus perceived as satisfying *needs* by giving *things*. In a number of discussions, participants highlighted that help is giving things to the needy, that is the less privileged in order to alleviate their sense of deprivation. Some of the quotes from the group discussions are as follows:

*"I think that help refers to when **someone** asks me for **something** they do not have, [if] I give them, then I would have helped"* (ZCHRSL3F p.4).

*"Help could be **giving** or **being given something**"* (ZCHRSL3M p. 2).

*"For me help translates to **giving** to **one** who is in need. Giving to one who does not have or lacks"* (ZCHRSL4M p. 3).

*"Help is **feeling for someone**"* (ZBUUMW3F p. 1).

“Helping someone who doesn’t know something so that he knows”
(ZBUUCV3M p. 2).

*“When I see the word help, I think of **money**”* (ZHAUMW3F p. 2).

The above quotes show that help entails **someone** (actors), **things/something** (transactions) and **feeling for someone** (motives). The actors are socially differentiated; there are those who have who are the givers and those who lack or are in need who are the receivers. The givers give things which are either material (e.g. money) or non-material (e.g. knowledge or ideas). Although there are various motives for engaging in help transactions, one such motive that stands out from the above quotations is that of “feeling for someone.” It throws into focus the values of compassion and empathy that lead people to engage in philanthropic acts, that is giving to those in need. In a nutshell, the above quotations show that **help** involves the giving and receiving of things by low wealth actors whose motives may vary.

The following sections try to answer a number of questions using the data gathered from focus group discussions. The sections seek to establish the actors, transactions and the motives behind them. It also looks at the philanthropic triggers and change factors that influence philanthropy.

2.1.2. Who do you give to and when?

Focus group informants pointed out that they give help to a wide spectrum of actors who include relatives, neighbours, friends, orphans, the elderly, the disabled, the ill, vehicle and house owners, school leavers, strangers and church members. It should be said that this categorization of actors who receive help from informants is not as neat as it may appear at first sight. This is because relatives could also be neighbours and/or the elderly. Again neighbours could be friends, the ill and so forth. However, the informants said that they give to

these categories of people and therefore we will use the terms in a similar way. We will now look at each one of them in turn.

2.1.2.1. Relatives

The vernacular words used to describe *relatives* in Shona and Ndebele are respectively, *hama* and *izhlobo*. These words draw into the net matrikin and patrikin, that is actors from the mother and father's families. Although, the patrilineal ideology among the Shona and Ndebele emphasizes relatives from the father's side, in everyday life relatives from mother's family are also important in help transactions. Informants talked about relatives in specific and general terms. Specifically, they said that they give to grandparents, grandchildren, parents, siblings, uncles, aunts and nieces.

Elderly informants who are 50+ years of age said that they provide help by looking after grandchildren (ZBUUPT4F). This is a customary practice. The parents of the children will be away at work in towns and cities. The practice of looking after grandchildren seems to have gained a renewed accent as a result of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Grandparents are now left to fend for the offspring of their deceased sons and daughters. In addition, to daily upkeep, grandparents also provide discipline and rules of conduct to the grandchildren so that they are well behaved. Migrant sons and daughters in turn help their elderly parents with various forms of material support such as clothes, groceries and money. In the normal run of rural life, parents whose children are staying with grandparents also help by fetching firewood and water (ZCHRSL3F). This is particularly the case when the grandparents are not feeling well. Informants also pointed out that they help their own parents materially by giving them money, clothes and food as a way of thanking them for the hard work they put in bringing them up.

Other types of relatives that informants said they give to are siblings. Orphaned male informants in Gwanda (ZGWRSL1M) and Chimanimani (ZGWRSL2M) said that they help their younger siblings with schoolbooks, food, clothes and shoes. They give to their siblings what they would have been given by NGOs,

neighbours and kin. In one focus group of Harare male migrants with rural families, an informant said that he helped his younger male sibling with clothes because the sibling had lost all his clothes to thieves at Mbare bus terminus. Older siblings, especially among orphans, assume quasi-parental responsibilities over their younger siblings by providing whatever material and non-material help they can get.

The informants also give to their uncles, aunties and nieces. Orphaned male youths in Chimanimani (ZCHRSL2M) indicated that they help their aunties and uncles to work in the fields and occasionally to collect firewood. Nieces are some of the actors that informants said they give to. They are given both material and non-material help. Four examples came out of the focus group discussions. A widowed female head of household in Chimanimani gave advice to her sister's daughter who had diabetes. The niece did not know that she had this condition. She was advised to go to Mutambara hospital where the diabetes was diagnosed and where she was treated. She was said to have recovered and was now living a healthy life. In another example an ex-commercial farm worker helped his niece to repair a borehole engine by replacing a piston and rings. He did not expect any payment because he knew that his niece did not have the money and he therefore helped out of his good heart. The third example involved a Harare male petty trader who helped his niece with money to start a micro-enterprise of selling sweets, cigarettes and popcorn. During a group discussion with female heads of household who are 50+ years old, one informant pointed out that she helped her sister's female children with blankets because they are so poor to the extent that she found them using sacks to cover themselves during the night. These foregoing examples show that help is given during peak periods of the wet season when farmers face labour bottlenecks; during times of illness and during everyday struggles of rural and urban existence.

Other informants talked about helping relatives in general without specifying which ones in particular. They said that they help relatives during times of sorrow when someone has died. Being there and comforting a relative was said to be a

way of helping. Informants also give to relatives when they are afflicted by hunger. Petty traders in Harare said that some of their relatives have had insufficient food for extended periods of time. They therefore help with food and money (ZHAUPT3M). Other circumstances when informants help relatives are when relatives' children have been sent away from school for not paying school fees, when relatives require accommodation and when they ask for money (ZHAUPT3M). They do sometimes borrow money from their friends in order to help their relatives and then repay it themselves.

2.1.2.2. Neighbours

The circumstances leading informants to give to a neighbour (*muwakidzani* in Shona and *umakhelwana* in Ndebele) vary. In the rural areas a rural specific form of help given by informants to a neighbour is that of tillage. Informants who have donkeys or oxen helped their neighbours to plough and plant. Neighbours also help each other to train oxen to pull ploughs. An example is that of a 50+-year-old ex-commercial farm worker in Chimanimani who said that he helped his female neighbour to train her oxen to pull the plough. She could not do this on her own and therefore he assisted her. He refused to accept any payment and said that he was helping her as a good neighbour.

Informants also give help to neighbours in the form of food, looking after houses during neighbours absence, accommodation, clothes, money, and performing some household chores. Female informants in both rural and urban contexts highlighted the point that they give raw food items to neighbours to help them cope with everyday shortfalls. The food items given include salt, sugar, cooking oil, maize meal, and small livestock. Small livestock in the form of chickens is given and/or sold to neighbours when they have visitors but they do not have meat to prepare for them. Slaughtering a chicken for a visitor is regarded as a way of expressing a warm welcome. Among the rural poor, chicken meat is regarded as better than green vegetables. In both Gwanda and ward 10, Chimanimani, men pointed out that they give buckets of maize to their neighbours. In the case of Gwanda the maize is given out as loans which have

to be repaid when the neighbours are in a position to do so. In Ward 10 Chimanimani, the maize is usually given free of charge. This reflects the relative scarcities and abundance of maize in the two areas.

In some instances, rural and urban informants helped their neighbours by looking after their houses during their absence. In one case in Chimanimani, a neighbour was admitted to hospital for a whole month. The informant looked after the homestead for the period that the neighbour was away. There was no payment requested or paid for the service rendered. In another case a male petty trader said that he looked after a neighbour's house for a period of 5 days. The neighbour had gone, together with his family, to his rural home to attend a funeral. Upon his return, the neighbour paid the informant Z\$10 000 as a token of appreciation.

Lodgers in towns are sometimes given short notice of two-weeks to vacate the rooms they will be renting. The following quotation illustrates this phenomenon.

"I helped my neighbour, they had been given two weeks notice where they were living and I kept their clothes for them. They are husband and wife. I still have the things up to now" (ZBUUPT3M p. 6).

Help is thus also given at times of crisis such as evictions and summary notice. This example shows the tenurial insecurity of low wealth families in urban areas in general. Other crises involve retrieving neighbour's household effects or property when houses catch fire (ZBUUMW4M) and accommodating stepchildren thrown out of their parents' homes by stepparents. A migrant worker in Bulawayo who accommodated his neighbour's child illustrated this point (ZBUUMW4M). The child had gone to their rural area with her mother who later passed away. A stepmother chased her out of the house. The migrant worker offered the child accommodation and looked after her like his own child for a period of two

years. She was said to be now working in South Africa and when she visits from South Africa she stays at his house.

When a neighbour's children are walking naked, this creates a need to give clothes. Informants pointed out that they give clothes to neighbour's children when they notice that the children have little or nothing to wear. In one case an informant in Biriwiri, Chimanimani said that he gave a skirt to his neighbour's child who is doing Grade 3 (ZCHRSL3M). He had noticed that the neighbour's daughter did not have decent clothes to wear after coming back from school. In another case an elderly female head of household in Gwanda explained how she helped her neighbour's children. She said that she saw the children wearing tattered clothes. As a result, when she visited her own adult daughters and sons in town she selected clothes that her grandchildren were no longer using and gave these to her neighbour. In all these instances, the givers did not expect immediate reciprocity. They were, in a sense, building trust and reputations of generosity with their neighbours.

In a few instances, informants indicated that, when a neighbour is ill or advanced in age, they help by performing some household chores. In rural areas, this includes chopping firewood for them for no direct return benefit. Male child heads of household said that they chop firewood for their neighbours as a way of thanking them for the help they receive from them. This form of giving, by child heads of household, reinforces mutual supportive relationships with neighbours (ZGWRSL1M). Car washers in Bulawayo help elderly neighbours by running errands and cooking for them (ZBUUCW2M) when the elders' children or grandchildren are not available to assist.

2.1.2.3. Friends

Informants give to friends (*shamwari* in Shona and *abangane* in Ndebele). Petty traders and street touts said that they give to friends when they have been arrested and need to pay fines or bail. The nature of their micro-businesses exposes them to flouting council by-laws on selling and trading. They often trade

at undesignated points and are therefore at high risk of being arrested and having their goods confiscated. Therefore when friends are arrested petty traders and street touts contribute money to pay fines, bail and to help them to restart petty trading.

Friends also assist with accommodation, looking for jobs, blankets and food. Accommodation is offered when friends visit from other areas, especially from rural areas, and they will be looking for jobs in town (ZHAUST2M). Street touts said that they help their rural friends with places to stay whilst looking for jobs. Friends who fall victim to domestic violence and seek to get away from it are often strong candidates for help with accommodation. To throw more light on this, one Harare female migrant worker said that she offered her friend a place to stay after she had run into problems with her husband and the husband threw out her clothes (ZHAUMW3F). When the friend went to her mother's house, they refused to take her in because she had not visited them in a long time. The migrant worker took her friend to an aunt of hers who offered the friend a job and a place to stay.

Friends of touts who lose their jobs are also assisted with advice about how to survive on the streets and this includes looking after cars and getting payments from car owners. Occasionally, friends are assisted with bus fare if this runs out. In other instances, informants said that they help their friends with blankets and food when they have visitors. Informants said they also give to their friends at funerals during times of bereavement.

2.1.2.4. Orphans

Male and female informants indicated that they give help to orphans. In an era of HIV/AIDS, the number of children without birth certificates is on the rise. Rural ex-commercial farm workers said that they help orphans to gain access to official documents such as birth certificates. Without these documents the orphans cannot have a start in life because they remain unknown to the state. Male migrant workers in Bulawayo with rural families said that they help orphans

by taking them to places such as donor offices where they can receive help. They also help orphans within their own families by paying school fees, accommodating them and buying other necessities such as clothes and food.

Female heads of household in Chimanimani managed to mobilize local members of their community to build latrines for orphans (ZCHRSL3F). More generally, they said that they give child heads of household food, if they have it, during droughts when food is scarce.

2.1.2.5. The elderly

The elderly are assisted to perform everyday chores and they are taken to hospital when they are ill. Female informants in Biriwiri pointed out that they help elderly women within their families and neighbourhoods by collecting firewood for them. They also pay social visits and spend some time with the elderly. Car washers in Bulawayo said that they help the elderly by doing some chores that the elderly can no longer do for themselves. These include cooking for the elderly when this is requested, going to buy things for them at local shops and to bathe them if they are not able to do this on their own (ZBUUCW2M). In addition, informants said that they help by taking the elderly to hospital when they are out of sorts. This came out more boldly during a group discussion in rural Gwanda. One participant had taken an elderly woman to hospital using her scotch cart. When she tried to pay him, he refused and informed her that in the future she could do the same for him and that he would not be in a position to pay her because he has nothing (ZGWRSL3M p. 9).

2.1.2.6. The disabled

A number of participants in group discussions said that they give food and money to the disabled. Others said that they pray for the disabled so that they can receive more blessings. In urban areas, giving to the disabled takes place along streets and at traffic lights where the blind are assisted by their children to call out for help. Informants who give to the disabled said that they do this because the disabled are not able to work and fend for themselves (ZHAUCV3M;

ZBUUMW4M). They give any amounts of money, usually coins that they can spare.

2.1.2.7. The ill

Informants talked about the ill as a separate category of actors that they help. In practice the ill could be friends, elders, neighbours or relatives as well. This category takes on a pronounced significance because of HIV/AIDS, among other forms of illnesses. The ill are taken to hospital, prayed for and taken care of within the home environment.

Informants in urban areas said that they give money to relatives, neighbours and friends who are not feeling well so that they can go to hospital. Rural informants in Chimanimani sometimes take the ill to hospital using wheelbarrows. Those assisting take turns to push the wheelbarrow until they get to the nearest clinic (ZCHRSL4M). The sick person can also have his or her field cultivated during the period when he or she is not feeling well. This can be done during the person's absence. This helps the sick person to have something to survive on after recovering. It is also a form of enlightened self-interest on the part of those helping because they will be averting looming requests for food.

The ill are also given care within family homes in a phenomenon that is now known as 'home-based care.' This applies mostly to people living with HIV/AIDS. It is mostly female family members who bear the brunt of providing care to the ill. This eats into, and in most instances wipes away, the few resources at the disposal of these low wealth families. In one interesting example, a landlady who is also a petty trader spent most of her money on her ill husband and was assisted by a street tout who is a tenant at her house. The tout had this to say.

"At the house where I stay, the landlady is a vendor and when her husband fell ill, she used all the money taking care of him. She was looking for money to (re)start her business and I helped her with the money I had – Z\$30 000.00. Its like I didn't give it all at one time, I gave her bit-by-bit. I was

just helping her out since she has a big family. The husband agreed because he was the one using the money through medical expenses (ZHAUST2M p. 6).

This case provides an interesting example where there is a temporary reversal of the economic asymmetry between house owners and a tenant. The tout was able to assist his landlord and landlady to re-start a micro-enterprise whose resources had been depleted to the point of exhaustion through the payment of medical costs. It also helps to illustrate the drain that HIV/AIDS has on the financial and other resources of the poor.

2.1.2.8. Vehicle owners

In discussing the other actors they give help to, street touts pointed out that they also help vehicle owners by looking after expensive cars (ZHAUST2M p. 4). They reasoned that this is a form of help because when the car owners come to collect vehicles, they give them pittances which could be as little as Z\$100.00 (i.e. about R0.11). This kind of money they argued, cannot buy anything.

2.1.2.9. Strangers

Varying examples of giving material and non-material help to strangers came out during group discussions. Female participants had helped strangers with accommodation and clothes whilst men helped with bus fare, prayer, directions, burying the deceased, and helping motorists who get stuck on the road.

In a group discussion of female migrant workers with rural families, one informant pointed out that she helped itinerant traders from the city with a place to sleep. They were essentially stranded in an area where they did not know the local people (ZBUUMW3F). In another group discussion of female petty traders in Harare, an informant explained that in 1997, she gave accommodation to a lady she did not know and whom she met at a community court. She said that she felt pity for her but that she was looking for someone to assist in taking care of her own baby. The recipient of help also had a 7-month old baby but had

been chased away by her boyfriend who was married to someone else. The giver offered to help in taking care of the baby. She helped with clothes for the baby, food and other necessities. Later the giver got to know that they came from the same district of Buhera and they now call each other 'sister.' The recipient of help is now married to another man and has a three-year-old child. They are now both petty traders and they reciprocally help each other (ZHAUPT3F p. 7-8). In another example, a female migrant worker in Bulawayo (ZBUUMW3F) gave shoes to a girl she saw walking barefooted in the area where she lives. They had not met before and she felt that she could give the girl shoes that her own daughter was no longer using.

Strangers are also given bus fare when they are short of money. In one example, a crippled stranger who could not walk was given money, by a juice card vendor, to pay for an emergency taxi (ZBUUCV3M). Informants also gave examples of topping up the bus fare of strangers they meet on the bus (ZCHRSL4M). In another interesting example, an elderly informant who is 50+ years old informed the group that in one of his trips outside his village, he met a woman who was in labour for two days but she was having problems giving birth (ZCHRSL4M p. 21). He prayed over a bottle of water which he gave to her to drink and she was said to have given birth that same day. Informants said that they also help strangers with directions in both rural and urban contexts. This is however much more common in urban areas.

New migrants to towns may find themselves with no one to help them at critical times such as burying deceased relatives. In a group discussion of juice card vendors, an example was given of a man who was trying to bury his deceased cousin on his own. A card seller who saw this went there with his friends and helped the stranger to bury the deceased. In expressing his gratitude the stranger paid Z\$50 000.00 to the men who had assisted him (ZBUUCV3M p. 4). In another example discussed by the same focus group, a card vendor and his friends helped a man, they did not know, to retrieve his vehicle from a trench

(ZBUUCV3M p. 45). The stranger came back after a week to thank his helpers with money which they gladly took.

2.1.2.10. Church members

Finally, rural informants said that they do sometimes give to the church and to church members. Besides praying, they contribute money and/or clothes under the aegis of the church and these items are given to needy church members (ZCHRSL4M). During funerals, church members make contributions in cash and in kind that are used during the funeral. They give money, food, pots and plates to help during the funeral. The pots and plates are later returned to the givers. There are also cases where an individual church member gives to a fellow member out of compassion. A widowed head of household in Gwanda gave an example of a poorer woman with whom she attends the same church. The widow helped with clothes (ZGWRSL4F) as her way of showing love and care.

2.1.3. Who do you help first?

The subject of who the givers prioritize in terms of their giving gave rise to interesting justifications that by and large reflect the norms, values and everyday practices of the givers. The people they give to, in order of importance are relatives, neighbours, friends, and vulnerable and dependent actors. However rural informants in Gwanda and Chimanimani, who are 50+ years qualified their prioritization with arguments that they help every human being as long as there is something to give. Let us look at the justifications informants gave for helping each of the aforesaid actors.

2.1.3.1. Relatives

We have already seen that the term relative encompasses kin from the father and mother's families. Rural and urban informants argue that they help their relatives first because they are the people they grew up with and from whom they learnt how to help. Rural informants further argue that they help their relatives first because these are the people from whom they derive their identities and sense of belonging (ZCHRSL3M). But there are some relatives who

are prioritized ahead of others. Those who tend to receive help first are grandparents, parents and siblings.

It is customary practice for rural people in Chimanimani to help their maternal grandmothers first (ZCHRSL4M). There are a number of reasons for this. Firstly, it is customary practice especially in the rural areas for a newly married woman to give her first birth under the care of her mother and/or her mother's mother. Maternal grandmothers were traditional midwives who helped their granddaughters to give birth. This help was mostly given to the granddaughter if it was her first pregnancy. The child whose delivery was assisted by the maternal grandmother was socialized to respect her and to feel obligated to her. As a result, when a young man gets his first job, he buys gifts such as tennis shoes, a doek and shawl for his maternal grandmother as a thank you gesture. There is a belief that when the maternal grandmother is happy, the young man will prosper and succeed in life. The practice of taking an expecting woman to her natal family is on the wane but grandparents remain important to family life. Their roles now have an added significance because they now take care of children whose parents die of HIV/AIDS. More generally, informants said that they help their grandparents first because they would have played a part in taking care of them as they grew up and therefore the grandchildren will be paying back for this care.

The second set of relatives that the informants said they help is their parents. The help that is given to parents is to thank them for all the parental work they would have done (ZCHRSL4M; ZHAUPT3F). Respondents in Chimanimani said that after helping parents, they help their siblings. Informants said that they help siblings by buying them clothes, food and paying school fees. The rationale for some informants is that because their parents assisted them, they should as a matter of duty also assist younger siblings (ZHAUMW3F; ZHAUPT3F; ZHAUST2M). It is a way of repaying parents for all the good work that they would have done. However, for the child heads of household, helping siblings is something that is thrust upon

them by the force of circumstances. They help their siblings because there is no one else who can do so.

2.1.3.2. Neighbours

Whereas in Chimanimani emphasis is placed on helping relatives first, the informants in Gwanda said that they help their neighbours (*abakhelwana*) first. In rural Gwanda, neighbours are the first people to come and help in times of problems. It is therefore customary practice for the neighbours to help each other first (ZGWRSL3M; ZGWRSL4F). Informants said that when they have problems, neighbours are the first to arrive and others including relatives only come afterwards. Female informants pointed out that a neighbour is the first person to hear that a baby is crying at night and the first to ask and to try and help (ZGWRSL4F p. 21). In Bulawayo, migrants with rural families explained that if there is a death, neighbours are the first to arrive at the house and assist. Relatives may not be staying in the same area and they come later (ZBUUMW4M) after neighbours have gathered to help the bereaved.

2.1.3.3. Friends

Urban informants especially in Harare, that is migrant workers, male and female petty traders, street touts and juice card vendors said that they help their friends (*abangane*: Ndebele; *shamwari*: Shona) first. A number of reasons were given. They help friends first because friends also help them in times of need. In a way they help those who help them. For them reciprocity is key to who they help first. Male petty traders said that they give to friends first because friends are quick to repay the money. In a similar line of thinking, female petty traders said that they give to friends first because they are trustworthy. According to these traders, when relatives are given money they either take time to pay it back or they do not pay it back at all (ZHAUPT3F p. 6). This creates problems of trust and helps to shape petty traders choices about who to give help to first.

2.1.3.4. Vulnerable and dependent actors

The vulnerable persons that informants said they give to as a matter of priority are the disabled, orphans, the elderly and the sick. Although it is often said that disability is not inability, informants pointed out that they give help to the disabled as a matter of priority because the disabled are not able to work and fend for themselves. Some of the disabled are therefore dependent on the charity of givers (ZBUUPT4F; ZCHRSL2M; ZHAUST2M). Similarly children whose parents are deceased are considered as priority for purposes of help. Some of these children are orphaned at very tender ages and their relatives try and assist as best they can. Subsistence farmers in Chimanimani pointed out that they first focus on orphans in their own families (ZCHRSL3M p. 28) before helping other orphans in the community. One of the informants said that he was looking after a large family of 13 people consisting of his own children and those whose parents had died (ZCHRSL3M p. 1). He was not always able to feed them because he did not have enough food. In addition, the piece jobs that he was doing were not generating sufficient money to help him to sustain the large family.

Some of the elderly people in rural and urban areas are in poor health and they are not able to work for themselves. The following example of an elderly widowed woman in rural Gwanda illustrates this point.

“My name is Thandiwe Malume (pseudonym). I am a woman who is very sick. My health is problematic; my life isn't pleasant at all as I am sick most of the time. The children I had, God has taken them and even my husband. I live with my two children and three grandchildren. We are six in the homestead. Farming implements I don't have. I suffer a lot when its time for farming, I try to hire some people to do the ploughing but the money itself I don't have, so it's a difficult life. The little that I get is for food; maize and beans are what I plant. It's a very difficult existence indeed; in the midst of terrible hunger surviving is God's grace” (ZGWRSL4F p. 3).

This case shows an elderly woman who is now dependent on the help given to her by her children and grandchildren. She has ill health that necessitates dependence on neighbours for tillage.

The people that the informants give to first vary for a number of reasons. Some begin with their relatives because they are family. Others, especially those in urban areas where relatives are not always near, give to neighbours and friends first because these are the people they spend most of their time with. In prioritizing whom to give to first, informants pointed out that they also consider the vulnerable and dependent who are not in positions to help themselves. These include the disabled, orphans, the elderly and those with ill health. In the following section we turn to look at the people whom the informants go to when seeking help and the circumstances that lead them to do this.

2.1.4. Who do you go to and when?

Focus group participants pointed out that they seek help from a variety of sources that include traditional and modern leaders, relatives, friends, neighbours, clubs and societies, employers, loan sharks, customers and organizations.

2.1.4.1. Traditional and modern leaders

Focus group participants resident in rural areas and some male and female migrant workers in Harare said that they go to traditional and modern leaders for help during periods of food shortages, funerals, disputes, and illnesses as well as rainmaking ceremonies. The traditional leaders to whom the informants go to seek help include chiefs and their subordinates as well as traditional healers.

As custodians of communal land, traditional authorities were said to be important in the allocation of residential stands to the informants. Informants said that in Biriwiri communal land, Chimanimani their traditional leaders allocated them land on which to build houses (ZCHRSL3M). Fields for farming are normally inherited from fathers and male members of the family. Traditional leaders also

allocated sites for burying the deceased relatives of the informants. In addition, traditional leaders were said to help by resolving disputes between villagers and family members. Women who are beaten up by their husbands find solace at the traditional village tribunal. These matters are brought before the traditional village leadership for mediation and possible reconciliation. When one or both parties to the dispute are not satisfied with the efforts of the village tribunal they take the matter to the headman and finally to the chief.

Similarly, when thieves strike, villagers report these matters to the traditional authorities first before they go and inform law enforcement agents. When cattle raid crops the affected party reports the matter to the local traditional village leader who convenes a reconciliation tribunal where the matter is discussed and the complainant is compensated. During times of food scarcity and hunger, affected villagers go to the chief to look for food assistance. This came out most vividly during a group discussion with migrant workers in Harare (ZHAUMW3M p. 5). Some of the informants pointed out that they went to their chiefs to look for maize because their families did not have anything to eat. The chiefs took some maize from their stocks and assisted. In some instances where the recipients are able to pay it back the chief's request that the maize should be given back. In one example a migrant worker went to his chief to ask for food and the chief gave him 40 kilograms of maize. The food was given on condition that the recipient would pay it back as soon he had enough food of his own (ZHAUMW3M).

Chiefs are able to dispense this help because of the traditional practice of tributary labour which has been resuscitated as a way of enabling communities to cope with HIV/AIDS. The chiefs control pieces of land on which all adult villagers are supposed to work. The practice is called *zunde ramambo* or tributary labour. The produce from the farm is stored at the chief's residence. The chief uses such strategic reserves to help villagers who run short of food and especially HIV/AIDS infected individuals and affected households. Besides giving

out food, chiefs are also central to community rainmaking ceremonies especially in the drier parts of the country such as Biriwiri in Chimanimani.

Rainmaking ceremonies were seen as constituting help in contexts where rain fed agriculture is the foundation of local livelihoods. Informants said that according to their traditions, they go to the chief to request the performance of rainmaking ceremonies before the onset of the rainy season (ZCHRSL3M p. 15). The chief takes the lead in performing the rainmaking rituals. Insufficient rainfall, among other factors, exposes individual families and the whole community to hunger. Informants see rainmaking as a ritual that makes a difference to their own survival and that of the community.

Individuals afflicted by illnesses and misfortunes also go to consult traditional diviners and healers. Female migrant workers in Harare brought this point to light. They said that they go and consult the *n'anga* (traditional diviner/healer) when they are sick and when they think that they have been bewitched (ZHAUMW3F p. 5).

Traditional hereditary leaders now work hand in hand with modern elected leadership in the form of councilors. Informants in Gwanda and Chimanimani pointed out that they go to their councilors for help in times of hunger. The councilor is an important person linking the local community to the outside world and he or she on occasion successfully secures outside help especially from NGOs (ZGWRSL3M; ZGWRSL4F; ZCHRSL3M).

2.1.4.2. Relatives

Some informants said that they go to their relatives when they face problems such as the shortage of food, clothes, and money. They also seek assistance in childcare. Relatives also help during illnesses and funerals within their families. The informants said that when they run out of food in their homes, they ask their relatives to assist. The food that was repeatedly mentioned by both rural and urban informants is maize. Some of the specific relatives mentioned as people

from whom they seek help are grandparents, aunties and siblings. A widowed head of household in Gwanda gave a useful example. She said that she went to her mother's elder sister to ask for maize when her children were going to bed without eating anything (ZGWRSL4F). She was given maize enough to fill a five-litre container and her aunt did not require her to return the maize. The widow went on to say that each time she needs help she goes to her mother's sister instead of going to other people. Another example from Gwanda concerns a male subsistence farmer who sought help from his sibling. The sibling is a businessman in the area. The farmer wanted maize meal because there was nothing at home and he was given 20 kilograms of it. The businessman paid for the maize meal.

Respondents also said that they sometimes receive second hand clothes from their relatives. On odd occasions, relatives buy new apparel for the respondents' children. Some of the examples given involved orphaned youths receiving help from their mother's brothers, father's younger brothers and father's sisters.

Informants pointed out that they also receive financial assistance from relatives. Orphaned male youths in Chimanimani indicated that they sometimes receive money from relatives. In the examples they gave, one of the informants received about Z\$30 000 from his elder sibling. He said that he approached his elder brother because he trusted him so much and had been regularly helped by the same sibling in the past. He did not have to pay it back. In another example, an orphaned male youth sought and secured money amounting to Z\$15 000 from his uncle. The uncle usually helps him and the nephew is not required to pay back the money. Some petty traders in urban areas also receive seed money for their micro-businesses from relatives. An example of a female petty trader in Harare will help to illustrate this (cf. ZHAUPT3F p. 6). In one case the then aspiring trader decided to drop out of school. She opined that, with the exception of her brother, other members of her family were opposed to her leaving school prematurely. She borrowed from her brother Z\$900 000, to start her petty trading activities and promised to pay it back. When she wanted to pay back the

money her brother refused and said that she should keep it. She pointed out that her brother probably saw the lending as his obligation because he is the older one of the two.

However, some informants in urban areas said that the money they receive from relatives comes with strings attached. For instance, the petty traders in Bulawayo pointed out that they receive money from relatives but that it is given as shark loans which earn interest (ZBUUPT3M). This shows the extent to which kinship ties are not immune to the profit motive even among low wealth social groups. But perhaps this is because petty traders are expected to make much more money from the loans they would have received and therefore they are charged interest.

In other instances the money that is received from relatives helps during crises such as sudden illnesses and deaths. The money helps to take the sick person to hospital and to pay hospital bills. One female migrant worker in Harare gave a useful example. Her son burnt himself on the leg in her rural home. Her male sibling assisted with Z\$50 000 to pay hospital bills and when she wanted to pay it back he declined. He in fact gave her another Z\$50 000 in fulfillment of an earlier promise he made. Both rural and urban informants said that they receive financial and other assistance during funerals. The money is used to meet funeral expenses and to buy a white cloth (*fuko*) in which the body is wrapped.

Migrant workers said that they receive childcare assistance from their parents and siblings (ZBUUMW3F). The migrants' parents help by taking care of children whilst they are away working in the cities. Similarly, petty traders in Harare pointed out that when some of their children give them problems of stubbornness, they take these children to their relatives for a while where they can be disciplined (ZHAUPT3F). The children would have become disrespectful of their parents. They are taken to sisters whom the children respect. A closely related form of help that informants said they receive from relatives is emotional support. This is received during times of happiness and sorrow.

During happy times such as when a baby is born relatives come to congratulate the parents. They bring with them various gifts as a way of appreciating the growth of the family (ZCHRSL3M). Similarly, during times of sadness, relatives pay them social visits and they get a chance to share their problems with them. These social visits were said to transform sadness into moments of joy as the kinsmen and women are happy to see each other and discuss their experiences.

2.1.4.3. Friends

The main material items that informants said they receive from friends are money and food. Money changes hands at an individual, one-to-one level as well as between individuals and clubs. The money that informants received from friends was for a number of uses which include the payment of fines, school fees, hospital fees, bus fares, funeral expenses, the purchase of food and starting of micro-enterprises.

Both male and female petty traders in Harare and Bulawayo said that they receive money to pay fines or bail after the police have arrested them. Law enforcement agents confiscate their goods and they are sometimes left with nothing to sell. In addition to receiving money for fines and bail, they also get seed money to re-start their petty trading activities. Friends provide an important safety net against the risks of operating on the streets. A Harare male juice card vendor who sells cards at traffic intersections provides a useful example. On 27 June 2004, Farai (pseudonym) was arrested by the police for selling cards without a license and for obstructing the free flow of traffic. All his cards worth over Z\$40 000 were taken away. He however received help from his friend who gave him Z\$100 000 (ZHAUCV3M). He used the money to buy other juice cards, pay rent and buy food for his family. Farai said that the money he received was an interest free loan that he would repay as soon as his financial position improved. Jabulani (pseudonym) received Z\$60 000 from his friend and he used the money to buy wristwatches for resale (ZHAUPT3M). The money was to be returned without interest. In another example, a male petty trader ran into problems that

forced him to spend all the money he had including his capital. He was contemplating of going back to his rural area when his friend gave him Z\$30 000 as capital to re-launch his micro-enterprise (ZHAUPT3M). He said that this money made a great difference to him because he is still surviving from the business. The loan did not attract any interest. Female petty traders said that they go to their friends for help because they are the people they spend all day with (ZHAUPT3F). Therefore when they need help, they first approach their friends. If they are not able to sell goods, they borrow money from friends in order to meet day-to-day expenses at work and at home. The petty traders, both male and female, highlighted the point that they try and help each other especially when one of them is down. This prevents the person from falling out of their safety net.

Besides receiving money for fines and start up capital, informants also said that they receive money from their friends for school and hospital fees as well as bus fares. Petty traders are not always able to raise sufficient money to meet daily requirements and to pay fees for their school going children. They therefore fall back on their friends for help. Female petty traders in Bulawayo (ZBUUPT4F) said that they borrow from friends when children are chased away from school for not paying fees on time. Other informants reported receiving from friends, money to pay hospital consultation fees for themselves or close family members. This came out in a group discussion in Biriwiri communal land in Chimanimani. One male informant reported that when his child fell ill, he went to his friend who gave him Z\$13 000 (ZCHRSL3M p. 17). He was able to take his child to the local clinic and the child recovered. He paid back the full amount of money borrowed without being charged interest. In another example, the informant himself contracted malaria and received some Z\$5 000 (ZCHRSL3M p. 17-8). The man was given the money on condition that he would pay it back and assist his friend to do some work at his homestead.

With the ever-increasing costs of travel, low wealth groups find themselves borrowing bus fares in order to get to their intended destinations. Harare and Bulawayo examples are relevant here. Female petty traders do sometimes cross

the border to sell in neighbouring countries. But it is not every one of them who is able to raise the necessary fares. As a result they borrow from their friends. One Harare female petty trader reported that when she wanted to go to Botswana during 2003, she had a shortfall of bus fare. She had to borrow from her friend and promised to pay the money back, which she did. Another example involved a female migrant worker in Bulawayo who heard about a domestic worker vacancy from a friend who was visiting. She wanted the job but did not have bus fare to go to Bulawayo (ZBUUMW3F). She received help of Z\$500 from her friend, traveled to Bulawayo and got the job. She later repaid the loan.

We have been looking at material help received from friends as individuals. However, informants in both rural and urban areas said that they form groups that are meant to strengthen their survival strategies. In urban areas, petty traders form what they referred to as 'rounds.' These are informal groups to which individual traders contribute money on a weekly or monthly basis. The money that is collected is also given to individual members in strict rotation on a weekly or monthly basis. In rural areas, these groups take the form of burial societies.

Low wealth individuals in both rural and urban areas also receive non-material help from friends. This comes in the form of advice and mutual support. Friends were seen as people from whom the informants could receive advice when they face various problems. In extreme cases friends were said to help avert suicides by encouraging those concerned to carry on in the face of adversity (ZCHRSL3M p. 14). Other less extreme forms of advice relate to information about how to start a life in the informal economy. Harare street touts reported having received advice from friends about how to start looking after cars in the central business district (ZHAUST2M). The person receiving the advice teams up with the advisor and together they help each other to direct car owners to empty parking bays and to guard the cars. Street touts pointed out that although they are not able to do big things with the little money that they earn, they are at least able to buy food to eat.

2.1.4.4. Neighbours

There are differences in the types of help that informants in rural and urban areas receive from neighbours. This is closely linked to the types of livelihoods in these two contrasting contexts. Rural informants said that they receive assistance in the spheres of tillage and draught power, scotch carts, food and carrying luggage. Urban informants on the other hand, receive food, clothes and money from their neighbours. Food was the main item that informants in both rural and urban areas receive from neighbours. In addition to these material exchanges, informants said that they receive advice and prayers from neighbours.

Subsistence farmers receive tillage assistance from their neighbors. This appeared to be more pronounced in Chimanimani than in Gwanda. Interesting examples were given. In the first example, the informant said that he always goes to his neighbour to request draught power or oxen and tillage equipment. He does not have oxen and a plough. The neighbour was said to always help but would refuse to be paid in cash or in kind. The informant pointed out that this left him feeling unsure why the neighbour declines to be paid. This led him to feel greatly indebted to his neighbour. In another example, the informant said that he receives tillage help from his neighbour but the neighbour does not specify the amount of money that he should be paid in return. The informant reported that he usually pays a token amount that is below the going rate for tillage in their area. The third example involves the pooling of labour. The informant said that his neighbour helps him to work on his farm during tillage and in return he ploughs the neighbours field. In another example of direct reciprocity, the informant had his field ploughed by his neighbour and to show his gratitude, he took his family to the neighbours field and assisted with weeding (ZCHRSL4M p. 16).

Informants indicated that their neighbours occasionally loan them livestock. In Gwanda, neighbours sometimes lend their donkeys to those who do not have them. In one example, a neighbour lent three donkeys to one of our informants

during the 2003/04 farming season (ZGWRSL3M). The informant said that he was not asked to pay the neighbour anything at least immediately because they have mutually supportive neighbourhood ties. Neighbours also loan each other equipment. During discussion in the same focus group in Gwanda, another participant said that his neighbour lent him a scotch cart. He used the scotch cart to carry building materials but he had no money to pay for it. He therefore decided to chop some firewood that he gave to his neighbour when he returned the scotch cart (ZGWRSL3M p. 8).

When livestock strays into a neighbour's field and raids crops, this creates friction and animosity. Neighbourhood ties come under strain. In the new fast track settlements of Chimanimani, the settlers have established neighbourhood committees that help to settle disputes. They call these the Super 7 committees. Informants pointed out that during times when there are disputes within families and between neighbours, they receive help from these committees (ZCHRSL4M). The Super 7 committees mediate between the disputing parties. If the matter is not resolved, it is then taken to the headman and if need be to the local chief.

In the cities, money mediates some of the exchanges between neighbours. Informants reported receiving money from neighbours which they use for various purposes. In cases of illness, informants said that they go to their neighbours for help. They receive money for hospital or clinic fees. But sometimes the neighbours do more than this. Neighbours can hire transport to take the sick person to hospital. In an example given by a juice card vendor in Harare, his child got sick in the middle of the night (ZHAUCV3M) and he did not have any money or a phone to call an ambulance. He went to his neighbour who voluntarily took the sick child to hospital for no payment (ZHAUCV3M p.5). Neighbours also help with money for school fees, rent, bus fare and for buying food.

As indicated above, informants said that when they run short of food they seek help from the neighbours. This happens in rural as well as urban areas. To this

end, some informants said that a person without neighbours is like a fish out of water. Widowed subsistence farmers in Gwanda and petty traders in Bulawayo said that they receive food from neighbours when their stocks get finished. This helps them to cope with everyday food shortages in their homes (ZBUUPT4F; ZGWRSL4F).

Funerals provide a strong force for neighbourly help. Informants said that they always receive help from neighbours during such occasions. In contexts where relatives may be far away, informants said that the people who help them first are neighbours. Widowed female heads of household in Gwanda emphasized this (ZGWRSL4F). These women live far away from their natal kin and therefore receive help from neighbours, among others. They said that it is their neighbours who inform relatives about deaths in their households and it is neighbours who explain to relatives the circumstances leading to the deaths.

2.1.4.5. Customers and employers

Petty traders in Harare receive help from their customers. The customers generate business for them and they therefore regard the buyers as their employers. Customers were said to help when the police raid or arrest the petty traders and when there are funerals in traders' families.

Both male and female petty traders in Harare said that they have cultivated good business relations with some of their customers. They trust each other and are able to discuss their problems with them. Migrant petty traders who sell prepared food in the industrial areas and fruit and vegetable vendors in the city centre said that police raids usually leave them with nothing to sell (ZHAUMW3F; ZHAUPT3F). It is then that the traders seek and receive help from their regular customers. They are given money to pay fines and to restart their micro-businesses.

The other occasions during which petty traders receive help from customers are when they are bereaved. The following examples will illustrate this issue. One female migrant petty trader had this to say.

“There is a time when my father passed away. I received the message early in the morning before I had sold anything. The person whom I thought was going to assist me in this time of need was my customer. She gave me money and I went to the funeral. When I came back I wanted to give her back the money and she told me that the money was going to be her contribution (chema: condolences money) towards helping with burial” (ZHAUMW3F p. 6-7).

Another customer assisted a male petty trader who was also bereaved. The petty trader explained as follows.

“When my brother passed away, I had nothing. My customer who comes every Friday to buy books helped me. When I heard about the death, it was around two o’clock and he came around four o’clock. He gave me three hundred and fifty thousand dollars (Z\$350 000) to help with the funeral arrangements. He said I was not supposed to give it back” (ZHAUPT3M p. 7).

Petty traders create relations of trust with their customers and this enables them to be assisted during critical times. It was not clear what the customers get in return for their help but chances are that they would be given significant discounts on the commodities they buy from the petty traders.

In other cases, vehicle owners bought street touts clothes. One street tout said that he did not have shoes and used to wear flip-flops. He talked to one of his customers who bought him new shoes. The tout went on to say that he has always looked after the car of that particular customer and the customer gives him money out of his own goodwill (ZHAUST2M p. 5). In a related example, a lady

whose car is looked after by a tout decided, of her own accord, to buy the tout clothes. She did this out of her own good heart. It is evident that touts establish ties based on trust with vehicle owners. The vehicle owners become patrons to the touts and the touts are therefore dependent on the help they get from vehicle owners for their livelihoods.

Migrant domestic workers also receive various forms of help from their employers. They receive food, free housing and occasionally school fees from their employers. Frequently, the employers do not deduct this money from employee's salaries (ZBUUMW3F).

2.1.4.6. Loan sharks

In cases where the employers are unable to help, and when all the other avenues of finding help have been exhausted without any success, low wealth individuals go to loan sharks as a matter of last resort. They receive interest-ridden loans from usurers. Some petty traders and migrant workers said that they do this because there will be no choice (ZHAUMW3F p. 5; ZHAUPT3M p. 5). They therefore pay back at the agreed rates of interest.

2.1.4.7. Societies and clubs

Some petty traders and migrant workers have formed societies and clubs. These institutions perform various functions including shielding the members from loan sharks and from the insecurity derived from their economic activities. Male and female petty traders have rounds clubs. These clubs may or may not have bank accounts and depending on the agreed rules, they contribute money every week or every month. For example, the male petty traders in Bulawayo said that every member contributes Z\$30 000 each month. Members are allowed to borrow from the club at zero interest rates, but non-members may be subjected to loans that earn interest. The money is then shared at the end of the year. Each member is given back what he would have contributed. If the club has a bank account, the interest earned is kept in the club's account. Similar clubs exist among women. Some of the male petty traders who were not members of clubs

said that they borrowed money from women's clubs to help them replenish their trading stocks. They paid back the money and interest at the agreed times.

We have been looking at individuals and groups from which low wealth people receive help and the circumstances that lead to these receipts. In some cases the receiver is not expected to reciprocate immediately. There is therefore an element of delayed reciprocity. In other instances the receiver is expected to give something in return. There is therefore direct reciprocity. Besides going to individuals and clubs to seek assistance, informants pointed out that they also receive help from larger organizations. These include churches and non-governmental organizations. In the following sections we look at the types of organizations involved and the situations that led informants to seek help.

2.1.4.8. Churches and church members

Some of our informants were members of various churches. In Chimanimani communal land, informants displayed a close association with churches. Some of the churches that they said they receive help from are the United Baptist Church, Zion and the United Methodist Church. The material help they receive from churches is mainly for children and this comes in the form of clothes and school fees. Church members also receive intangible help. They receive emotional support during difficult times in their lives. Widows especially highlighted this. They said that they got strength to care and provide for their families after being encouraged to do so by other church members (ZCHRSL3F). Church members also receive material and emotional support during bereavement. They receive food, cooking utensils and financial contributions from other church members. The presence of church members at funerals and their prayers provides much needed solace to the bereaved.

2.1.4.9. Non-governmental organizations

Besides receiving help from individuals, societies and clubs as well as churches and church members, informants also plugged into the assistance from NGOs.

These organizations almost exclusively operate in the communal areas, including Gwanda and Chimanimani.

Informants mainly received relief supplies of food from NGOs. A few received strategic assistance in the form of school fees and livestock. In Chimanimani, the international NGOs operating there include the Catholic Development Corporation (CADEC), Christian Care, Save the Children UK, and a community based organization known as the Diocese of Manicaland Community Care Programme (DOMCCAP). In Gwanda the international NGOs there include World Vision and Red Cross. Community based organizations include ORAP and Gwanda Home Based Care.

Informants in the rural districts under review said that they receive help from organizations that focus on HIV/AIDS afflicted families. These are CADEC in Chimanimani, and Gwanda Home Based Care. CADEC offers medicines and food to HIV/AIDS patients in rural Chimanimani. Some of the orphaned youths in our study area received small livestock such as goats from CADEC. Thus whilst taking care of the needs of the terminally ill, CADEC also helps children who are orphaned. HIV/AIDS infected individuals and affected households in Gwanda receive food rations from the Gwanda Home Based Care organization.

During the drought of 2001/02, households facing food deficits received maize meal, cooking oil, beans and porridge from the various NGOs. But after the drought and as a result of changes in the operating environment, NGOs have revised their criteria for giving help. They are now focusing on the most vulnerable groups who include orphans, the elderly, the disabled and widows who are not able to work for themselves. Informants also pointed out that the amounts of food they receive from NGOs have been reduced. An example is that of the Red Cross. It used to give a 50kg bag of maize to an HIV/AIDS affected adult and 10 kgs of maize per child. It has reduced its rations sharply. Informants said that each beneficiary now receives a total of only 10kgs of all the foodstuffs put together.

As part of their livelihood strategies, informants said that they receive help from multiple organizations. For example, in Chimanimani one informant indicated that she received food from Christian Care, clothes from the United Baptist Church and school fees for her children from DOMCCAP. Organizations could therefore be seen as increasing the range of avenues from which low wealth individuals receive help.

In summary, the individual actors from whom informants receive help are traditional and modern leaders, relatives, neighbours, friends, customers and employers and loan sharks. They also receive help from clubs and societies, churches and NGOs.

2.1.5. Who don't you help? How do you decide?

The people that the informants do not help fall into two main groups. On the one hand, there are those perceived to have more resources and economic power and, on the other, those who breach social norms and values. The decisions not to help are fundamentally influenced by these perceptions.

Female heads of household in Biriwiri communal land who are in the 25-49 year age group, said that they do not help people whom they see as having everything they need in life (ZCHRSL3F; ZCHRSL3M). Male heads of household in the same age grouping said that they do not help those who have plenty of resources. When asked what 'plenty' or 'everything' means in this context, the informants singled out employed professionals and businessmen and women. The professionals include teachers, nurses, soldiers, extension workers and musicians. Male heads of household also defined having 'everything' in terms of ownership of money and livestock. The person who has plenty is said to be one with 15 or more head of cattle, 10 or more goats and "a lot of money." These examples show the asymmetries in local social relations. The rich are seen as people from whom the low wealth individuals should receive help. This perception also came out in a group discussion with some of the female migrant

workers in Harare (ZHAUMW3F). They said that they normally expect to receive help from their employers rather than the other way round.

The second group of people that the informants said they do not help is that of individuals who strain values of cordial exchange relations. These are people who are mean and do not reciprocate help transactions, polygynous men who help to create jealousies, enemies, the lazy, thieves, drunkards, witches, rapists, murderers and prostitutes. In both Harare and Bulawayo, male and female petty traders in the 25-49 age group said that they do not help people who think and care for themselves only, people who are selfish and stingy, who are ungrateful when helped, who do not return favours and who do not pay back money that they borrowed. Similarly male and female migrant workers and car washers in Bulawayo said that they only help those who help them (ZBUUMW4M; ZBUUCW2M). Their fundamental principle is "*khotha oyikhothayo*" that is 'help the one who helps you' (ZBUUCW2M p. 4). The issue of reciprocity is fundamental especially in urban areas where interdependent social exchanges among low wealth actors are key to survival. Breaches of such socio-cultural norms and values place individuals in precarious positions where they do not get help when they need it most.

The focus group of ex-commercial farm workers in Chimanimani argued that sons who engage in polygyny drain their fathers' resources and the fathers are therefore reluctant to help their sons to marry more than one wife (ZCHRSL4M p. 12). Polygyny also generates competition and jealousies among the women involved. Female petty traders in Harare said that polygynously married women keep grudges against each other that rub onto their children. Half-brothers and sisters in such circumstances may or may not help each other (ZHAUPT3F p. 5). More generally, informants in both rural and urban focus groups said that they do not help those individuals against whom they have standing disputes and conflicts (ZCHRSL4M; ZBUUPT4F; ZHAUPT3F). Informants who said that they do not help their enemies are more in the 25-49 and 50+-year-old age groups.

In Harare, female migrant workers, petty traders and male juice card vendors said that they do not help lazy people because they always want to be helped when they do not make an effort to help themselves. Lazy people do not want to work and they just want to get things easily without sweating for them (ZHAUCV3M; ZHAUMW3F). According to these informants, people who do not do anything for themselves but wait to ask for help were anathema and did not deserve to be helped. Similar views were expressed by male youths in Chimanimani (ZCHRSL2M) and male heads of household in Gwanda (ZGWRSL3M). They pointed out that they only help those who help themselves. Urban informants pointedly stressed that they do not help thieves. Male and female petty traders, migrant workers, juice card sellers and street touts expressed this view. This may be because theft occurs more often in urban rather than in rural areas.

Another category of people that male youths in Chimanimani, male petty traders and female migrant workers in Harare said that they do not help is that of drunkards and drug users (ZCHRSL2M; ZHAUPT3M and ZHAUMW3F). Petty traders argued that they work hard to earn their money and are less tolerant of those who borrow it in order to spend it on beer. Other traders were said to be fortunate to get money but that they would spend it on drink. Petty traders were less willing to help such individuals.

More generally, informants said that they do not help people who take other people's lives such murderers and witches as well as rapists who violate women's bodies (ZHAUMW3F; ZHAUPT3F). Female petty traders in Harare pointed out that they do not help prostitutes even if the persons concerned are siblings (ZHAUPT3F p. 5). They argued that such siblings do not take advice and therefore they give up on helping them.

2.2. TRANSACTIONS

In the preceding sections we looked at the informants as givers and receivers of help. We also looked at the people whom they do not assist. In this section we turn to examine more closely the things that are exchanged. The section continues to flesh out some of the points raised in preceding sections by focusing specifically on the giving and receiving of food, clothes and blankets, accommodation and building, school fees and learning materials, money, farming related items, transport, funeral expenses and comfort, love, advice or ideas and care giving and emotional support. It looks at these transactions in terms of the transactors' gender, ages, location and livelihoods as well as household type.

2.2.1. Food

"Food sustains life, where there is no food, there is no life."

(ZCHRSL3M p. 5).

Food is by far the most commonly transacted item among urban and rural people. It is transacted in crisis situations and during the normal run of everyday life. Male juice card vendors in Harare pointed out that when one of their friends has been arrested and his juice cards taken away by the police, they help him with food whilst he is in police custody. Upon release, they continue to assist until he is able to buy food for himself. Other crisis situations involve urban families who run short of food supplies and the money to buy it. Children in those families are the hardest hit because they basically go to bed on empty stomachs. In such instances, the card sellers help with food if they have a little to spare. During the group discussion with card vendors, one informant said the following.

"On this issue of food even where we stay, some people do not have anything to eat. So you think about it that some children are sleeping on empty stomachs. So if you have a little that you have, you can help them i.e. sharing what's in your plate or kupakurirana kandiro" (ZHAUCV3M p.2).

In rural and urban areas, women traditionally control and prepare food. Their gender roles mean that they are responsible for feeding children and adults within households. When the household faces food shortages women and their husbands fall back on help from neighbours, relatives and friends and, in rural areas, NGOs. The food items that are transacted include maize meal, salt, and cooking oil. In giving food aid, NGOs give priority to widows, child heads of household, the disabled and the elderly. Besides depending on NGOs, rural people with kinsmen and women working in towns sometimes receive remittances of money and food. These remittances are especially useful during times of drought and they help to reduce hunger in the families concerned.

Notwithstanding the importance of food to life, informants expressed concerns over its unavailability and the hardships they face in trying to secure it. Widows in Gwanda who are 50+ years old explained that they face a number of problems in their attempts to achieve some sense of food security. They said that officials sometimes tell them that they, as individuals, do not have authority to buy food from the Grain Marketing Board. They have to form groups, look for their own transport and ferry maize meal from Gwanda town to their homes in rural Gwanda (ZGWRSL4F). They also face problems of getting fewer and fewer rations of food from NGOs. Some NGOs that operated in Chimanimani and Gwanda withdrew citing a harsh operating environment and the drying up of donor funds.

2.2.2. Clothes

The scarcity of clothes among low wealth households and individuals is closely related to their limited access to financial resources. Nonetheless, the giving and receiving of clothes takes place between them and relatives, neighbours, friends and organizations. The clothes that are exchanged are for both children and adults. Parents of newly born babies are given babies' clothes as congratulatory gestures. In other cases the giving of clothes is out of necessity. Single mothers are often given clothes because the men who would have made them pregnant refuse to take responsibility (ZHAUPT3F). The relatives and friends of the

new mother therefore come in with help. This helps to ease the single mother's burden of buying clothes for the baby on her own. Widows in Chimanimani and Gwanda pointed out that the clothes that they give are those that their children have outgrown. These are given to children of relatives, neighbours and friends. Organizations such as churches also help the rural poor with clothes. The clothes will be for children. The distribution is done at schools and at church.

However, adults also give and receive clothes for themselves. Friends do sometimes lend each other clothes if they wear same sizes. A friend can borrow better-looking clothes to wear on a special occasion and then returns these after the occasion. It could be that someone wants to visit other people but he/she does not have nice clothes to wear (ZHAUPT3M); he/she therefore borrows these and returns them to the owner after the visit is accomplished. This was said to be a common transaction. Some poor rural women have one set of clothes that they wash at the river and wait for it to dry before wearing it again (ZCHRSL3F p.4). These are some of the individuals that the widows said they help with clothes. Housemaids or female domestic workers also said that they do, from time to time, receive clothes as presents from their employers.

Occasionally, street parking touts in Harare help their friends to buy clothes by making contributions towards such purchases (ZHAUST2M). Another way in which they help their friends with clothes is to share the few that they have. Male petty traders in Harare said that they sometimes take "street kids" whom they have come to know to flea markets (*kumazitye*) to buy them second hand clothes. By virtue of their age and the scarcity of financial resources, child heads of household face problems in securing clothes. They are therefore dependent on the help that they get from relatives, neighbours and NGOs. Younger siblings in such households depend on their older siblings' assistance including 'inheriting' clothes that the older siblings no longer wear.

2.2.3. Accommodation and building

Accommodation is another common transaction that came up during group discussions. Informants were both givers and receivers of accommodation. They gave to or received accommodation from relatives, employers and strangers.

Relatives from rural areas are provided with accommodation whilst they attend school or when they are looking for work in the formal or more often in the informal economy. Other cases involve accommodating orphans left behind by deceased relatives. The orphans become part and parcel of the host's immediate family. There are female petty traders in Harare who were looking after the children of their female siblings. Accommodation is also offered when friends or relatives visit. The transaction becomes part of the hospitality that the host gives to the visitor.

In Harare and Bulawayo, some employers of migrant domestic workers offer their workers on-site accommodation. However, other employers do not offer this help. Employees who are offered accommodation saw this as a significant form of help. For low wealth individuals, accommodation in the cities is not only difficult to get but expensive as well. They saw their employers as cushioning them from experiencing such difficulties.

Occasionally, traders visit neighbouring countries to sell their goods and they get stranded there and have no decent places to sleep. In their attempts to diversify their livelihoods, some migrant workers engage in cross-border trade as well. One Harare migrant worker explained how she and her friends were offered accommodation in Mozambique by a good Samaritan. She had this to say.

"I think of the help that I was given when I went to Mozambique to sell. I met this man who said he once lived in Zimbabwe and he is married to a Zimbabwean. He asked us if we had a place to stay and we said no. So he offered us accommodation and when we wanted to pay he said we shouldn't pay" (ZHAUMW3F p. 2).

The giving of accommodation to strangers happens in both rural and urban areas. Male juice card vendors in Harare said that they occasionally help with places to sleep, people whom they would have just met (ZHAUCV3M). In Chimanimani and Gwanda people who fail to get to their destinations before sunset are afforded places to sleep by the villagers whom they approach. However, the strangers have to report to the village leaders first.

In Chimanimani and Gwanda, heads of household give and receive assistance in building huts and toilets. Women usually build the mud huts but the construction of pole and mud huts is a joint effort between men and women. Women paste the mud onto the poles to create windbreaks. Men then thatch the huts with dry grass that the women would have collected. It is women's duty to cut and carry the grass to the construction site. Hut construction therefore brings to light some of the gendered transactions that occur in rural areas. Some of the huts succumb to excessive rainfall as happened in Biriwiri, Chimanimani during the 2002 Cyclone. This left some subsistence farmers without shelter.

It is in such times of natural disasters that poor people depend heavily on help from neighbours, relatives, friends and outsiders. However, in Biriwiri local elites captured the help that came from international NGOs. The traditional and modern leadership in the area gave donated building materials to rich people who bought them beer. In order to benefit from the donations, the local leadership wanted to be bribed with small livestock such as goats. Respondents pointed out that they were left out because they could not pay these bribes. In other words, where hut or house construction involves outside agencies, local power dynamics take precedence over the actual needs of low wealth individuals.

In addition to helping each other to build huts, subsistence farmers also assist their relatives and neighbours to build toilets. The person without a toilet digs the

hole and if he/she has bricks, a local builder volunteers to construct the structure free of charge (ZCHRSL3F).

2.2.4. School fees and learning materials

The issue of school fees was topical among all age groups in both rural and urban areas. For orphaned children and youths, school fees is central to their hopes of getting an education that will help them find an exit out of poverty. Child heads of household who are able to do piece jobs sell their labour in order to raise school fees. This option is not available to every orphaned child. Others rely on relatives, neighbours and outside agencies for assistance.

Poor parents also struggle to pay school fees for their children. As a result, assistance with money for school fees is highly valued. Most poor parents want to invest whatever resources they can mobilize in the education of their children with the hope that when the children graduate from school they can materially support their parents. Frequently, part of this resource mobilization involves borrowing from kin, friends and neighbours. A few lucky school going children get support from NGOs. The two NGOs that have helped widows and orphans with school fees are Plan International and the DOMCCAP. The latter only operates in Manicaland districts whilst the former works at a national level. Plan International pays the pupil's school fees up to secondary school level. It also helps the pupils to acquire tertiary training and skills in preparation for employment.

Inter and intra-household assistance also takes the form of giving and receiving schoolbooks. These are reading and writing books. These transactions are between school pupils and their kin, friends and neighbours. For instance, one child head of household said that his neighbour sometimes helps him with exercise books (ZGWRSL1M).

2.2.5. Money

The ease with which money can be used to buy goods and services makes it a strategic resource especially in urban areas where almost all transactions involve the payment of it. In urban areas survival without money becomes a near impossibility. This came out boldly during a group discussion with male petty traders in Harare. One of them had this to say.

"I was just thinking that money is the foundation of everything because to be who you are its because of money; you need money to survive, money to buy goods for reselling, food, rent and school fees" (ZHAUPT3M p. 3).

Urban low wealth groups tend to exchange money more often than their rural counterparts. Keen engagement in the urban informal market helps to account for this disparity. In the rural areas money is hard to come by and rural informal commodity markets are lesser and irregular. Nonetheless, subsistence farmers do give to and receive money from their relatives and friends, albeit less often. In Harare and Bulawayo, the giving and receiving of money is common among petty traders, card vendors, street touts and to some extent migrant workers. The downside of the informal market is that traders in it do not make sufficient money to keep up with the ever-increasing cost of living. They are not always able to make ends meet and they borrow to meet their daily needs and to tidy themselves over crises.

Petty trading is risky business particularly for vendors who sell perishable commodities. These commodities can go bad before the traders are able to make any profits let alone recover their capital. In such instances, the traders find themselves in positions in which they are not able to meet obligations to their families. They, therefore have to borrow money from fellow traders in order to buy food for children. Sometimes the turnover of the commodities is so low such that they do not make enough money to pay rent and other bills at home.

Customers will not be buying in sufficient amounts and yet the traders have electricity and water bills to pay. Harare petty traders ably articulated this issue.

“Sometimes my business is not prospering and I need money for rent, electricity and food; my friend will lend me money and I will give him back when I have it” (ZHAUPT3M p. 3).

Another petty trader had this to say.

“The whole month you did not get any money from your sales especially us who sell sunglasses. This season is not good for our sales because its winter, people will not buy sunglasses. And the landlord is asking for his money so my friend will have to give me (ZHAUPT3M p. 5).

The money that is borrowed from friends is normally paid back without interest. Usury among friends is strongly discouraged. What is accumulated is a sense of trust. Friends who pay back at agreed times accumulate more creditworthiness.

Other reasons for giving or receiving money include the establishment micro-enterprises, payment of fines and bail as well as fees for school going children, rent, hospital fees and the purchase of medicines. Micro-entrepreneurs usually borrow the seed capital that they use to start their businesses. They get this help from relatives and friends. They also depend on relatives and friends when they fall into problems in their businesses. As we have already seen, the police often arrests petty traders for flouting city by-laws and their goods are taken as a deterring measure or as exhibits in court for persistent offenders. Such arrests prompt other traders and relatives to pay bail money for the detained traders. Upon release the trader is given a grace period within which to restart his/her micro-enterprise and the money is paid back when the business is back on track (ZBUUPT3M; ZHAUPT3M).

Migrant workers and traders also lend each other money for paying hospital and/or clinic fees (ZBUUPT4F; ZHAUMW3F). The money will be for helping in the treatment of the borrower himself/herself or a family member. Fellow traders and relatives of migrant workers who assist become some sort of health insurance in a context where few migrants and traders can afford to join formal health insurance schemes. Traders who are members of rounds clubs also get assistance from these institutions when they need money for treatment.

Micro-entrepreneurs do sometimes order goods with the hope of making money that is enough to meet daily expenses such as transport but they are not always able to achieve this. Harare juice card vendors for instance pointed out that they sometimes order juice cards with all their money but fail to sell any card during the day. They therefore borrow money from friends in order to pay for transport to their homes and for the following morning's trip to the city's street intersections. They have converted these intersections into workplaces.

There does not appear to be a major difference between male and female traders in terms of their giving and receiving of money. Actually, in Bulawayo female petty traders are more organized. They have rounds clubs. Male traders frequently borrow money from these clubs. This goes to show the influence and power that female traders have come to acquire in this informal market niche. This having been said, rural women are at a clear disadvantage in terms of their access and participation in the informal markets. Although some widows in Chimanimani said that they make crafts for sale, the markets for these products remain limited. Widows therefore have lesser access to money and this caps the range of monetary help transactions that they can engage in. Similarly, orphans in Chimanimani and Gwanda rarely help other people with money because they quite simply have very limited access to it.

Monetary transactions are also critical during times of bereavement. The mourners usually make contributions which go towards meeting some of the expenses at the funeral. The money is used to buy food, fuel and the coffin. Burial

societies help their members to buy coffins, pay for transport and food and bury the deceased.

2.2.6. Farming and trading assets

The giving and receiving of farming assets is specifically a rural phenomenon. Farming assets include, land, equipment, inputs, livestock, livestock medicines and labour. The exchange of farming assets is closely linked to the farming cycle. Land is essential to subsistence farmers and traders in towns. In semi-arid and mountainous Biriwiri communal land, Chimanimani, gaining access to a field that has no stones in it is seen as crucial to subsistence food production. Usually the field that is transacted is more fertile and it is friends who ordinarily engage in such land transactions. The borrower is not expected to pay part of his/her produce to the owner of the land as happens under sharecropping arrangements. The loan is usually for one season after which the land reverts back to the person with primary rights over it. In contrast, in the cities, traders identify spaces on the streets where they can easily find customers. They often subdivide these open spaces in order to make room for their friends who are entering the informal economy. They put up removable stands from which they sell fruits and vegetables and other goods (ZBUUPT3M). The stands are of course in breach of town by-laws and by erecting temporary stands along streets, the traders run the risk of being arrested and having their goods confiscated.

Other strategic farming transactions include tillage and weeding. By virtue of their low levels of farm asset ownership, subsistence farmers in Gwanda and Chimanimani look up to those with farming assets for help. The 50+ year-old ex-commercial farm workers in Ward 10, Chimanimani have more farming assets than their 25-49 year old subsistence farmers in Biriwiri communal land. Of the ten ex-commercial farm workers in the focus group discussion, seven (70%) owned cattle and ploughs compared to their Biriwiri counterparts who did not own any of these assets. Five (63%) of the Biriwiri men in the group owned goats and chickens and the other three (37%) did not own any livestock at all. Female heads of household are not necessarily the worst off in terms of ownership of

farming assets. This was the case with the 25-49 and 50+ year-old widows in, respectively, Chimanimani and Gwanda. Of the nine widowed heads of household in Gwanda who took part in the focus group discussion five (67%) said that they have ox-drawn ploughs whilst the other three (33%) said they do not have this equipment. More importantly, only two widows (22%) said that they have at least one donkey but none said that they had cattle. The livestock that the widows said that they own are goats and chickens. And of the ten widows who were in the Chimanimani focus group, one (10%) had a few cows and goats that she inherited from her late husband, three (30%) had goats and chickens, four (40%) had chickens only and the remaining two (20%) did not own any livestock (Gwanda and Chimanimani Selection Questionnaires, 2004).

The widows and men in our Biriwiri, Chimanimani study sample are almost entirely dependent on neighbours, relatives and friends for tillage. To circumvent this problem, those widows with ox or donkey drawn ploughs team up with neighbours who have draught power in order to plough. Widows and men with no oxen, donkeys and ploughs assist their neighbours to till the land only to have their own fields ploughed at a later date during the farming season. This places them at a disadvantageous position in terms of the timing of planting. In a context where rainfall is not reliable, the poor men and widows face the risk of harvesting little or nothing especially if the rains go away earlier than anticipated.

In addition to having their fields tilled late into the farming season, widows and poor men experience regular food and money shortfalls that lead them to work for their rich neighbours. Widows in Chimanimani said that the little money they get is from doing piece jobs for the well to do in the area. The widows also encourage their children to do piece jobs in order to supplement household income. The money that the children earn is used to pay for school fees. The piece jobs involve such tasks as weeding crops, watering gardens and so forth.

In order to alleviate the shortages of draught power among subsistence farmers, outside agencies, especially NGOs in Gwanda, give livestock to selected low wealth individuals and households. In the case of cattle, the local people are encouraged to form groups in which the individuals take turns to tend the livestock. Once the animals reproduce, the offspring are given to individual members of the groups and each member is supposed to get an animal. When all the members have benefited, the agency moves on to other people who have no cattle (ZGWRSL4F).

Another transaction among subsistence farmers is that of traditional medicines for treating livestock diseases. Fast track settlers in Chimanimani (ZCHRSL4F) pointed out that, given the remote location of their new settlement and the lack of money, they are not always able to buy veterinary medicines. They therefore use traditional herbs to treat animal diseases. Those who have this knowledge share it with their neighbours, relatives and friends. The service is provided free of charge. What it does is to create social obligations of reciprocity among people living in the same neighbourhood.

The worst off groups in terms of farm asset ownership are the child and youth heads of household. Because they are in the early stages of their life cycle they do not normally own any farming assets and they are therefore dependent on relatives and neighbours for farming. They mostly contribute their labour to the farming process.

2.2.7. Transport

Transport transactions include the carrying of a sick person to a clinic or hospital, carrying luggage and to some extent the transmission of messages. Respondents said that they help the sick by carrying them to hospital. In rural Chimanimani, this often means taking turns to push a wheelbarrow until they get to the nearest health centre. They also carry the sick in ox or donkey-drawn scotch carts (ZGWRSL3M; ZCHRSL4M). In Gwanda the nearest health center is located 15 or more kilometres away in Gwanda town. Informants therefore expressed concern

over the difficulties that they experience in taking their relatives, neighbours and friends to hospital.

In urban areas, the provision of transport to a person who is ill involves hiring a vehicle and paying for it. Respondents said that they sometimes pool resources with their neighbours to help one of their own who will be in need of being speedily taken to hospital (ZBUUCW2M; ZBUUMW4M).

In rural areas, the means of carrying heavy luggage and transmitting messages are problematic. Respondents in Chimanimani said that they do help other villagers to carry heavy luggage to and from bus termini. They also help to transmit messages to people in other villages. This is important in cases of emergencies such as illness and deaths or happy occasions such as weddings. Sometimes the messages will be about useful social gatherings like community meetings at which people who live in remote villages are required to be present.

We have so far looked at material transactions between various actors in different situations. We have seen that the main transactions involve food, clothes, accommodation and building, school fees and learning materials, money, farming assets and transport. Focus will now turn to transactions that do not necessarily involve material objects. These exchanges include love, care giving and emotional support, and advice and ideas.

2.2.8. Love

Some female petty traders who are 50+ years old highlighted that help transactions are predicated on love. In their view, "love builds relationships" (ZBUUPF4F p. 2) and that without the ability to "feel for each other" help transactions become difficult if not impossible. As a result, empathy is seen as key to material and non-material forms of help. However, other informants were quick to point out that they help those that help them (ZBUUMW3F); implying that reciprocity cements help transactions. If a person does not reciprocate favours, then he/she is unlikely to be helped as well. Therefore feeling for each other is

strengthened by reciprocity and vice versa. The two exist in tandem and help to influence care giving and emotional support.

2.2.9. Care giving and emotional support

Care giving is closely related to the current pandemic of HIV/AIDS. The demands for care giving largely fall on rural and urban women who traditionally perform these duties. Women with family members who are infected and affected with HIV/AIDS first have to deal with the emotional trauma of the infected person and those near the person. Female petty traders in Bulawayo said that they help elderly people to cope with the impact of HIV/AIDS by comforting them with the thought that they are not the only affected persons and that the problem is much more widespread (ZBUUPT4F).

Female petty traders in Bulawayo said that in their day-to-day trading interactions they encourage each other to be strong and resilient during hardships (ZBUUPT4F p. 3). They advise fellow traders to trust in what they are doing thereby helping to restore self-esteem and confidence. Emotional support is also provided at funerals.

Male migrant workers who are 50+ years old, said that money given at funerals helps but it alone cannot comfort the bereaved. Neighbours, friends and relatives provide this comfort to the grieving by being there to talk to them, share their grief and show compassion. They said that this helps the bereaved to avoid thinking deeply and falling into depressions (ZBUUMW4M p. 3). For those that go to church, prayer is a common source of comfort and emotional support. The stresses and strains of everyday life and crises such as HIV/AIDS induced illnesses and deaths are alleviated through prayer, and comfort from other church members.

Another interesting type of non-material transaction that is akin to emotional support is that of helping a shy friend to find a girlfriend and/or wife (ZHAUCV3M). This came out during a discussion with male juice card vendors in Harare. They

said that a friend could help his colleague who lacks confidence to win the affection of a girl (slang: *chimoko*). The friend talks to the girl on the man's behalf until the girl agrees to date the timid wooer.

2.2.10. Advice

Almost all the respondents said that they give and receive advice and share ideas with their relatives, friends and neighbours. The main forms of advice given and received in rural areas are farming tips and livestock husbandry, attending church and starting micro-enterprises. Urban respondents tended to emphasize exchanging ideas on how to survive in the city and averting suicides of pregnant teenagers.

For subsistence farmers in Chimanimani and Gwanda, farming tips and ideas on how best to look after livestock are essential stock-in-trade for their survival. Advice on farming helps these farmers to at least harvest something from their fields. They also exchange information on how to treat livestock diseases using traditional medicinal herbs (ZCHRSL3M; ZCHRSL4M).

Widowed female heads of household in Biriwiri, Chimanimani (ZCHRSL3F) said that fellow church members give them constructive advice on continued care giving to children. In their everyday struggles to bring up families single handedly, they face many challenges that almost lead them to think about abandoning their children and families. Other women in the churches advise them to persevere. They therefore find succor and strength to carry on.

Besides the advice they get from other church members, widows in Chimanimani help each other with ideas on starting petty trade ventures. More specifically they give each other ideas on making crafts and selling fruits and cookies. They teach each other how to strip tree barks and transform the tree barks into hats, mats, bags and blankets which are sold to the local elite and tourists who visit the area. Money derived from such craft sales helps them to buy

basic necessities such as soap and matches and to pay their children's school fees.

Similarly, entry into the urban informal economy is dependent on information that the new entrants get from those who have been in the business much longer. Micro-traders said that they got advice from friends, relatives and neighbours about entering the various spheres of the informal economy such as selling fruits and vegetables, cell phone juice cards, selling cooked food in the industrial areas, street touting and washing cars. Once in the business, the traders continue to give each other advice on how to save money and also how to diversify their micro-enterprises so that they are able to cope with seasonal fluctuations in the demand for the goods that they sell. Some goods are in demand during winter and others are popular during summer. The following quote illustrates the point.

"On ideas, us vendors this winter season our fruits are not in demand, so we advise each other to buy soap, paraffin and then go to rural areas and exchange these with maize" (ZHAUPT3F p.3).

Female migrant workers give advice to their teenage relatives who get pregnant and want to take their lives. They persuade the young girls to start micro-enterprises from which they could earn money to sustain themselves and the infants (ZHAUMW3F). Advice such as this becomes critical not least because it restores hope where despair would have set in; it also stems the unnecessary loss of lives. We now turn to look at the motivations of the respondents in giving and receiving help.

2.3. MOTIVATIONS

This section examines the feelings and motives that characterize giving and receiving help. It further examines the situations when help transactions are out of a sense of duty and therefore obligatory and when they are out of the actor's choice.

2.3.1. How does the giver feel?

Most participants in the focus group discussions said that they feel happy each time they give. The happiness comes from the realization that they would have alleviated the receiver's problem(s). Giving also makes them feel free at heart, satisfied and proud of the good that they would have done.

However, there are others who said that their feelings depend on the response of the receiver. If the receiver is happy, then they are also happy but if the receiver does not appreciate the gesture then they feel unhappy and regretful. Their feelings are contingent on the reaction of the person they give to, that is, on how the person receives the help. For instance, one female petty trader in Harare said that when she was heavily pregnant she once tried to offer a seat to an obese lady on a bus. The lady came onto the bus limping and showing that she was in great pain. The fat lady did not appreciate the gesture and instead said that the pregnant petty trader was trying to show off in public. The trader felt offended and regretful. In another example, a female petty trader in Harare bought food and gave Z\$40 000 to her friend who is a nurse and had just given birth. The trader said that she had noticed that the nurse did not have any food in her home. The nurse promised to pay back the money at the end of the month but never did. The petty trader said that she felt regretful. Similarly, some male juice card vendors in Harare said that they do not feel happy to have given especially if the receiver does not acknowledge what has been given.

2.3.2. What motivates people to give?

The motives of givers vary from individual to individual. However, the motives could, for purposes of analysis, be grouped into five categories, the search for blessings, taking care of one's tomorrows, the search for recognition and respect, empathy, sympathy and mercy, and keeping traditions.

Some respondents whose worldview is influenced by Christianity said that their giving is motivated by the need to be blessed. When they give, they will be

looking for blessings from up above. This is because the bible says, “the hand that gives is more blessed than the hand that receives.” This view was articulated by male and female subsistence farmers in Chimanimani (ZCHRSL3F; ZCHRSL2M; ZCHRSL4M); female migrant workers in Harare and car washers in Bulawayo (ZHAUMW3F; ZBUUCW2M) male and female petty traders and street parking touts in Harare (ZHAUPT3F; ZHAUPT3M; ZHAUST2M) and widowed heads of household in Gwanda (ZGWRSL4F).

Other focus group participants said that they give in order to take care of their tomorrows (ZBUUMW3F; ZCHRSL3M) because one good turn deserves another or *izandla ziyagezana* (Ndebele) or *chindiro chinoenda kunobva chimwe* (Shona). Giving is a way of building a nest egg for oneself or *ukuzibekela* (ZGWRSL3M). They give to other people as a way of strengthening reciprocal relations with friends, neighbours and kin. The hope therefore is that when they give, they will get a return in the future from the person they would have helped. In related explanations, participants said that by giving, they would be reaffirming (*ukuqinisa ubungane lobuhlobo*) friendship and kinship ties (ZBUUPT3M).

Still for others, giving is a way of building a good reputation and earning respect and status. The giver becomes *umuntu ebatwini* or a person among other people (ZGWRSL3M; ZBUUPT3M). By giving help to other people, they are seen as good persons and they are held in high esteem. Some participants said that they give out of sympathy and pity. By placing themselves in the other person’s shoes, they are able to empathize and help. In giving help, they are therefore driven by their consciences (ZGWRSL4F; ZHAUPT3M).

Elderly participants who are 50+ years old said that they give because they are motivated by the desire to keep good traditions from which their children can learn (ZCHRSL4M). The informants pointed out that they themselves had learnt about these traditions from their own parents and they therefore want to pass on the heritage to their children and grandchildren (ZBUUMW4M; ZBUUMW3F).

2.3.3. How does the giver feel when he/she cannot give?

The feelings of the individual are significantly influenced by how he or she perceives himself/herself in relation to other people and how others perceive him/her. Informants said that they feel bad (ZGWRSL3M; ZBUUPT3M), they feel pain (ZCHRSL2M; ZGWRSL4F) and sometimes they feel angry (ZCHRSL3M) when they are not able to give help. They feel bad, pain and angry because they place themselves in the position of the other person and feel for him or her but because of poverty they are unable to help. It is this sense of powerlessness that makes them feel angry. They also said that when they fail to give help, they feel insecure because their relatives, neighbours and friends may not help them in the future (ZGWRSL3M). Failing to give help also eats away their sense of social worth in the eyes of others. One female petty trader in Bulawayo ably put this across,

"I feel as if I don't have dignity by failing to give because someone will have come with all hope" (ZBUUPT4F p. 8).

2.3.4. Situations when giving is a duty

Informants pointed out that their first obligation to give is to relatives, neighbours and friends with whom they have reciprocal giving and receiving relations. They give as an obligation in everyday situations and during crises.

In everyday life, the informants give as a matter of duty to relatives who are advanced in age, parents, children, siblings and the disabled. In rural areas, informants said that they help the elderly by fetching them water and firewood, washing clothes, taking grain to the grinding mill and giving the elderly company (ZCHRSL3F). They also give to their parents money and clothes and they pay of school fees for younger siblings. Informants said that they are obligated to give to their own children and their spouses. They feel obligated to take responsibilities over orphaned young relatives. They try and provide food, shelter, clothing and send the orphaned children to school. However, not all orphans are taken in by

relatives. Others are left to fend for themselves. In such cases, the eldest child is obligated to look after younger siblings.

Close neighbours and friends may also feel obligated to help each other. In Shona, there are instances of bond friendship *usahwira* where friends have mutual obligations to help each other. In such instances, helping becomes a matter of duty. This is often dramatized during life crises such as illnesses, funerals and arrests.

When a person is ill with for example HIV/AIDS, relatives, neighbours and friends visit him/her and provide whatever material and emotional support that they can give. They try and take the person to hospital and make contributions towards the settlement of hospital bills. Close relatives prepare food; bathe him or her and they wash clothes. In situations of death and funerals, giving help is also obligatory. Informants said that they give money, food and condolences to the bereaved. Informants said that they are obligated to help because if they do not do this, relatives, friends and neighbours will in future not help them when they fall into similar situations.

In the cities, petty traders are, as we have seen, often arrested by the police for selling goods at undesignated places and often without licenses. It is in such situations that informants said that they feel morally obligated to help with money for fines and bail (ZBUUPT3M). As one car washer in Bulawayo put it,

“When a friend gets arrested and needs money, you help him whether you like it or not” (ZBUUCW2M p. 5).

2.3.5. Situations when giving is a choice

Informants said that the people whom they choose to help are the wealthy as well as strangers. Fathers-in-law also choose whether or not to help their sons-in-law. Wealthier people are seen as more powerful and therefore in better positions to help. The poor therefore tend to regard helping the rich as something

they can opt to do. However, such choices are very limited because alliances with rich relatives and neighbours are a means of cushioning oneself against material and social insecurity (ZCHRSL3M; ZCHRSL3F). The area where the informants said they exercise more choice in giving is helping strangers. They said that they choose to help people whom they meet on the road who ask for money and assisting cyclists whose bicycles have punctured tyres (ZCHRSL3M). Men who are 50+ years old said that they choose to help their sons-in-law especially if the sons-in-law treat their daughters well (ZCHRSL4M p. 25).

2.3.6. How does the receiver feel?

Informants as receivers of help said that they feel happy and indebted. As is the case with giving, there are some who said that they feel unhappy. Most participants said that they are filled with joy when they receive help because their problems would have either been solved or alleviated. They said that receiving help gives them a sense of relief and their worries recede. Receiving help also gives them peace of mind.

However, other participants talked about their feelings in relation to the giver. They said that receiving help made them feel indebted to the giver because they know that it will be them giving in the future (ZBUUMW3F p 9; ZGWRS3M p. 12). The onuses to reciprocate the favour or pay back will in future be theirs. Others said that they feel humbled to be remembered by the giver (ZCHRSL3F p. 34). A female petty trader in Harare who frequently receives help from her friend illustrated this.

"I have a friend of mine who when I need help gives it to me come rain come thunder and it makes me feel very unworthy" (ZHAUPT3F p. 10).

There were a few participants who said that they are unhappy when they receive help which is below their expectations (ZHAUMW3M p. 9). They said that they feel less thrilled because they would have been given less than what they

were hoping to get (ZHAUPT3M; ZHAUST2M). One juice card vendor in Harare had this to say.

"The receiver might feel angry. I might go to my friend and ask for Z\$100 000 but he might give me Z\$50 000. I will feel that he has given little money when he has more" (ZHAUCV3M p. 6).

Street parking touts in Harare similarly pointed out that they often expect more help from vehicle owners but this is not always forthcoming. There are therefore contrasting feelings that receivers have after receiving assistance. With a few exceptions, informants said that they are happy and grateful when they receive help.

2.3.7. What motivates people to receive? What do they get out of it?

Participants in the various focus groups said that **need** is the key factor that motivates them to receive help. They said that they do not have the things that they are assisted with. They lack the material resources such as money, food, clothes and school fees. This is why they ask for help from individuals and organizations. A few quotes will help to throw more light on this. A male migrant worker who is 50+ years old explained it as follows.

"I receive [help] because I have nothing" (ZBUUMW4M p. 11).

And a male child head of household in Gwanda had this to say.

'You would be seeing that you don't have that thing, something. It could be that its food and because you would be hungry, you accept it" (ZGWRS1M p. 10).

These quotes illustrate that want and disadvantage are central to the receipt of help by low wealth individuals. In other words it is poverty that motivates them to receive help.

The informants said that by receiving help they get a sense of dignity and worth as social beings, relief from pressing problems and a chance to sustain their families by starting micro-enterprises. Living with others in the community entails some exchanges of material and non-material things. By giving to others and receiving from them, the informants felt worthy as individuals living among other human beings (ZGWRSL4F p. 20). Receiving is seen as an indicator of the wellness of one's social relations with others in the family, neighbourhood and community. Informants also pointed out that receiving helps to relieve them from pressing problems such as hunger, illness and grief during funerals. For the business minded, the receipt of help provides them with opportunities to establish micro-enterprises that help to sustain themselves and their families (ZBUUPT3M).

2.3.8. How does the receiver feel when they cannot receive?

The feelings of people who are denied help range from sadness, dejection to anger. Respondents said that when they do not receive help they feel very sad at heart. This is because they would be counting on the persons from whom they ask for help. The failure of those persons to help makes them feel sad and disappointed (ZHAUMW3M; ZBUUPT4F; ZCHRSL2M).

Other focus group participants said that being denied help tells something about their relationship with the people from whom they would have asked for help (ZGWRSL3M). The message will be negative and unwelcome. In extreme cases the person begins to look at himself as an outcast and someone who does not deserve to be helped by those around him (ZGWRSL3M p. 13).

Some respondents said that they feel angry when they do not receive help. They murmur to themselves and pour scorn on the person who has refused to assist them (ZCHRSL3F p. 33). They feel angry that the person has denied them help when other people assist him/her (ZCHRSL3M). These informants said that although they feel this anger, they continue to look for help from other possible helpers.

2.3.9. Situations when receiving is a duty/ascriptive

Receiving is obligatory in everyday life, on happy occasions and during crises. In the normal run of everyday life there are people who are not able to take care of themselves as a result of age and disability. These people receive help in order to survive. Some of the elderly people are not able to fend for themselves. Advanced age brings with it some infirmities in a context where old age benefits are few and far between. The elderly therefore depend on receiving help from relatives and neighbours as well as NGOs. Because of their young ages, orphaned children also depend on the help they receive from other people. As one male child head of household put it:

"It's very clear we can't fend for ourselves as orphans, we are still young; we look up to others for food" (ZGWRSL1M p. 10).

The disabled also receive as a matter of obligation especially if they cannot work. They receive both material and non-material help. The former includes food, clothes, accommodation and the latter involves advice and care giving.

The happy occasions on which people receive as a matter of obligation include ceremonies to accept marriage payments or bridewealth, weddings and births. When the in-laws come to pay bridewealth it is incumbent upon the parents of the bride to receive the marriage payments. Parents of the bride normally share the bridewealth with close kin. Receiving in such instances is a matter of obligation (ZCHRSL4M).

It is during crises that the obligations to receive are much more pronounced. The crises include illnesses, the disconnection of essential services, and funerals. Respondents said that seriously ill persons who cannot do things for themselves are under obligation to receive help from relatives, neighbours and friends. The ill person is taken to hospital and kin pay the bills. In the rural areas, relatives and other well-wishers bring water and food for the sick person.

When a trader is arrested, he/she is obliged to receive help. Even church members also come in to assist during such times. Occasionally, urban residents fail to pay for essential services such as accommodation, water and electricity. When lodgers fail to pay their rent and the landlord is insisting to be paid, it becomes necessary to receive help from friends otherwise the lodger will be thrown out of the lodgings. One female petty trader expressed this view quite eloquently. She said:

“When you need money to pay rent; the owner of the house wouldn’t care if your stuff was taken by the police, they want their money”
(ZHAUPT3F p. 11).

Informants said that, as lodgers, they are also under obligation to receive money from friends when water services and electricity have been disconnected. They and their families will be in desperate need of money.

It is during funerals that the obligation to receive is at its most acute form. When mourners attend the funeral, they bring with them money, food and other forms of material assistance. They also comfort the bereaved. All these forms of help are important to the family of the deceased and they feel obliged to share their grief with others (ZBUUPT3M; ZBUUCW2M; ZHAUMW3M).

2.3.10. Situations when receiving is a choice

Informants said that there are few occasions when receiving help is out of their own choice. For example when a helper gives something to them that they already have, they choose to receive it. Widows in Chimanimani said that sometimes they have enough relish to cook at home. If a neighbour offers them relish they may choose not to receive it. However, they said that they would explain to the neighbour that they have the stuff so that their refusal is not misconstrued as rudeness. Male petty traders said that they choose to refuse to accept help from arrogant men who try to belittle them by flaunting money in the presence of girlfriends (ZHAUPT3M p. 10).

2.4. PHILANTHROPIC TRIGGERS & CHANGE FACTORS INFLUENCING PHILANTHROPY

In discussing philanthropic triggers it is useful to discuss these at two closely related levels. Firstly, the micro-level of the individual and the social group within which giving and receiving takes place. Secondly, there is the macro-level, which is over and above the individual and his social group but which defines the conditions of the household's livelihood strategies. These include the wider political economy, HIV/AIDS and environmental forces such as rainfall patterns and droughts.

2.4.1. The individual's needs and the social group

Basic everyday needs are significant triggers of philanthropy. As we have seen in preceding sections, these needs include food, shelter, clothes, health and emotional support to name but a few. In order to satisfy these basic needs, individuals rely on exchanges with immediate kin, friends, neighbours and outside agencies.

We have seen that individual's access to food is affected by a number of factors. The first one is the immediate family's ability or inability to produce or buy the commodity. The inability to produce sufficient food is influenced by a complex interplay of intra and extra household factors such as unequal ownership of livestock, shortages of labour, farm inputs and infertile fields, as well as erratic rainfall. Low wealth individuals therefore depend on others for their survival. They also depend on external agencies such as NGOs. These organizations play pivotal roles during droughts when the survival of the poor in the countryside is most at risk.

In urban areas, money is key to the purchase and redistribution of food among poor urbanites. Low wealth individuals try to eke out a living by guarding cars, selling fruits and other goods on the streets and selling their labour to various employers. In order to survive in towns they receive help from household members, neighbours and friends and they reciprocate the help.

Similarly, the poors' access to accommodation in urban areas is through staying with relatives and friends and eventually when they enter the informal commodity market they are able to rent rooms in the high density suburbs. Employers sometimes offer migrant workers accommodation. When the lodgers fail to pay rent, water and electricity bills they then fall back on the assistance of relatives and friends.

2.4.2. Politico-economic, HIV/AIDS and environmental factors

Politico-economic factors have a significant bearing on philanthropic transactions and so do environmental factors and HIV/AIDS. Changes in these wider structural phenomena provide opportunities for and constraints on help transactions.

The rising levels of unemployment and inflation impact the range of options available to low wealth households and individuals. Rural informants said that they are unable to gain adequate and secure livelihoods from farming on their own account because farming inputs have become very expensive and beyond their reach. Moreover, some of their landholdings are inadequate in both size and quality. The unpredictable environments in Gwanda and Chimanimani compound this. The help transactions they enter into are therefore ways of trying to gain some measure of control over their lives in a context where economic insecurity is high. This has forced some of them to give and receive traditional seed varieties of small grains and other crops.

For urban informants, unemployment and the lack of opportunities in the formal sector means that the only 'viable' options available to them are in the informal economy. Most of the informants pointed out that they borrowed the money that they used to start their micro-enterprises. They got the money from family or relatives and friends. The rounds clubs of established traders also assisted them. Whilst these micro-enterprises may not generate 'big' money, they provide low wealth individuals with platforms for earning money for their own survival and

that of their families. It could be said that material and non-material deprivation, triggers a whole range of giving and receiving transactions in families, neighbourhoods, and the informal economy in cities. The key actors in such transactions are men and women, the young and old, petty traders and their customers, migrant workers, car washers, juice card sellers, and street parking touts.

HIV/AIDS has become another important trigger for philanthropic transactions. These include material support to the infected and affected during illness and support at funerals. During the illness of a household member some of the costs involved are transportation to hospital, hospital bills, and for migrant workers bus fares. For a poor rural and/or urban household, a small cash outlay sharply reduces the quality of life of the other family members thereby making them poorer. For some female petty traders, vegetable and fruit selling are not simply a convenient means to diversifying the household's income base, they are a matter of life and death where husbands provide very little or no income or where husbands have died of HIV/AIDS.

2.5. INTERPRETATION

This section uses the livelihoods framework to interpret the relational dynamics between actors, transactions and motives. Before looking at the basic elements of the livelihoods framework, we need to define what we mean by the concept "livelihood." We have already seen that a livelihood comprises the *capabilities*, *assets*, including both *material* and *social resources*, and *activities* required for a *means of living* (Chambers & Conway 1992: 7)

The focus in this paper has been on low wealth actors' *capabilities* to gain (or fail to gain) access to, and dispose of, material and social resources in help transactions. We also saw that these transactions are a result of various motivational dynamics but the bottom line for low wealth individuals is their ability to adapt to and cope with vulnerability in towns and in the countryside. Capabilities include the ability to process information and strategize about how

to give help to and seek assistance from other actors in the community. In order to find and dispense of 'help', the actors enter into social relations with other actors. We have seen that these other actors include kin, neighbours, friends, clubs and societies, churches and NGOs, among others. Help transactions therefore imply the manipulation and/or use of a network or networks of social relations and the channeling of specific items (e.g. food, clothes, money, ideas and advice, care giving and emotional support) through diverse nodal points of interaction such as kinship, friendship, neighbourhood ties, associational ties and enlistment with NGOs.

Different actors employ different strategies for earning a life. The ability to pursue different strategies is dependent on material and social, tangible and intangible assets that are accessible to and in the possession of the various actors. As Oliver (2003: xiv) observes, assets are 'stocks' that the poor can build upon or develop and can thus be shared or transferred across generations. Assets are the building blocks for livelihood types and/or portfolios. Assets fall into four broad but closely related categories, namely natural, economic, human and social. Natural assets are the natural stocks such as land, rainfall and water, trees, livestock and grazing pastures which are central to rural livelihoods. Economic assets or capital encompasses money, credit/debt, and other economic assets which are important to the pursuit of any livelihood strategy. Human assets or capital include skills, knowledge and ability to labour which are essential for pursuing different livelihoods. Finally, social assets or capital include networks of exchange relations, social claims, social relations, affiliations and associations upon which actors can draw when attempting to earn livelihoods (Scoones, 1998: 7-8). Those with lesser assets tend to have a limited range of options and ability to combine multiple strategies to secure their livelihoods.

Different actors' multiple adaptive and coping strategies give rise to different livelihood types even under similar structural conditions. In our sample these forms or types included petty trading, street touting, juice card vending, car washing, labour migration and subsistence farming and livestock keeping. In

other words, the various livelihood types are different ways in which actors attempt to come to grips with rising unemployment, inflation, restrictive by-laws, HIV/AIDS, and unpredictable rainfall patterns and droughts. These structural conditions or vulnerability contexts define the external environment in which our informants find themselves. Their livelihoods and their ability to gain access to material and non-material help are significantly affected by these structural problems. Other external factors include the seasonal shifts in rainfall patterns resulting in droughts and food shortages and rising food prices. These are some of the sources of hardship for low wealth people in rural and urban areas.

In summary, the concept of livelihoods provide a useful template for understanding different actors, their involvement in help transactions, and the motivational factors that lead actors to give and/or receive help. The livelihoods framework helps to understand how in different contexts (e.g. rural and urban) low wealth actors assist each other to earn livelihoods through accessing material and non-material assets. Central to the livelihoods frame of reference is the range of mainly informal institutional (rules of the game) factors that influence actors' motives to engage in help transactions. These institutions and/or rules define who has or who does not have access to strategic 'nodal points' of help, that is, through kinship, friendship, neighbourhood and associational ties. In any case the strategies that low wealth actors, and indeed any other actors, employ are socio-cultural constructions. They are drawn from existing discourses on social-cultural obligations and choices (cf. Long, 1992) which to a significant degree are shared with predecessors and other individuals within the help landscape.

2.5.1. Major Patterns

The major patterns of help that emerge in this paper are closely related to the geographical location of the actors, adaptive strategies and rules and motives surrounding help transactions. We will compare rural Gwanda and Chimanimani and contrast that with urban Harare and Bulawayo. Whilst making this contrast

we will keep in mind the linkages that exist between rural and urban areas as a result of labour migration.

2.5.1.1. Rural Gwanda and Chimanimani

In rural Chimanimani and Gwanda, the main forms of help involve the borrowing and lending of farming equipment and assistance in off-farm activities. The borrowing of farming tools is an adaptive strategy employed by low wealth individuals and households in order to solve the everyday livelihood problem of inadequate food. The main actors are relatives, neighbours and to some extent friends. In the rural areas, kinship is the seed from which exchange of farming tools and livestock may take place.

A useful way to look at these exchanges is provided by Sahlins (1972) who distinguishes three forms of economic reciprocity namely generalized, balanced and negative. Generalized reciprocity is *kupa* (Shona) or *ukunika* (Ndebele). In generalized exchange the transactions are driven by a sense of altruism. The giver does not expect an immediate return but the underlying principle is that of mutual social obligations. The receiver is expected to reciprocate at a later date. This is the ideal. In practice, the principle is given a sharper cutting edge by such expressions as *khotha oyikhothayo* (Ndebele) and *kandiro kanoenda kunobva kamwe* (Shona) which means help the one who helps you. As Sahlins (1972: 194) observes, the requital may be very soon but then it may be at a much later date. In Gwanda and Chimanimani, reciprocity is implicit and not necessarily explicit. This is the form of help that informants made reference to when they pointed out that they had just helped and did not ask for anything in return. Almost every focus group discussion had examples of informants who said that they gave to their relatives and neighbours but they did not expect any immediate return. Widowed women said that they give their kin and neighbours food, clothes and firewood. When asked what they asked their kin and neighbours to help them with, they frequently stated that they did not ask for anything. These are some of the examples of generalized reciprocity.

Then there is balanced reciprocity (*kutsinhana*: Shona). This involves an exchange in which there is an expectation of a return of something that is of approximate value. The individual who gives does this as a result of calculated self-interest. Actors involved in this form of exchange follow the rules of balanced reciprocity not for their own sake but simply to maximize their own interest as well. Writing in a much similar vein David Hume had this to say about the exchange of labour services among farmers.

"Your corn is ripe today; mine will be ready tomorrow. 'Tis profitable for us both, that I shou'd labour with you today, and that you shou'd aid me tomorrow. I have no kindness for you, and know that you have as little for me...Hence I learn to do a service to another, without bearing him any real kindness; because I foresee, that he will return my service, in expectation of another of the same kind, and in order to maintain the same correspondence of good offices with me or with others" (Hume, D cited in Seligman, 1992: 40).

In the Humean schema, the actor's motivation to help is located in a socio-cultural milieu that allows the individual to ascertain benefits that derive from following existing *rules* of balanced reciprocity. Respondents in Chimanimani gave examples of this form of reciprocity. The actors who do not have livestock and tillage equipment seek assistance from those who have these assets. In return, they either pay money or they contribute their labour to the farming process. Subsistence farmers do on occasion pool their material and human resources in order to improve livelihoods security. They form mutual aid groups known as *majangano* (Shona). The reciprocity in the groups is based on a concept of labour equivalence. The groups bring together kin and neighbours who perform farming activities on a reciprocal basis. The mutual aid groups are therefore systems of equal labour exchange. The participants work on the basis of strict daily rotation. There are sanctions which discourage actors from turning these groups into institutions that milk off other participants' labour. Participating

actors tend to stay away from helping those who do not reciprocate on a regular basis the help they receive from other group members.

Finally there is what Sahlins (1972) refers to as negative reciprocity. In Shona it is called *hungarara*, meaning the practice of wanting to get something for nothing or for very little (cf. Mararike, 1999: 92). The actors in such transactions face one another with the motive of maximizing benefits at each other's expense. In the Ndebele idiom, *okwabanye nwayinwayi, okwakho finyofinyo*, literally, the actor wants to take what belongs to others, but hides what belongs to him/her under his/her armpits. Again in Shona, the saying *kakara kununa hudya kamwe* literally means a carnivorous creature becomes fat by eating other creatures. Negative reciprocity therefore entails elements of predation and exploitation. However, there is an implicit recognition that prosperity involves some measure of astuteness and ability to take more from the labour of others. Negative reciprocity is more common in situations where the actors in the transaction have unequal power bases in the form of human, natural, social and economic capital. In other words, by virtue of these asymmetrical transactions between unequal actors, the poverty of the poor might be reinforced.

Sahlins argues that this asymmetry characterizes relations between distant and non-kin. In his words, 'reciprocity is inclined toward the generalized pole by close kinship and toward the negative extreme in proportion to kinship distance' (Sahlins, 1972: 196). Kin tend to share and enter into generalized help transactions and distant and non-kin deal in equivalents and guile. This observation is not entirely supported by our field findings.

Siblings or other kin do not always get on well with each other. Whilst kinship is a favorable base for help transactions, it has qualities for conflict as well. An example is that of a 50+ year old, ex-commercial farmer who invited his sibling to a ceremony at which he was going to receive bridewealth payments for his daughter. He had this to say:

"In my family, my younger brother refused to help during the time when my daughter was being married. He claimed that he hadn't fathered a daughter, thus [he] could not be seen sitting down to charge lobola when he did not have a daughter. He then stood up and left, leaving me and my son-in-law to finish our lobola receiving ceremony. I wasn't too happy about that coming from my own sibling brother" (ZCHRSL4M p. 20).

Jealousies among kinsmen also come into play. The ideal of sibling fraternal relations is therefore not always achieved in practice. As a result, some subsistence farmers prefer to seek help from, or to give help to, good friends and neighbours rather than their kinsmen.

Generalized reciprocity has other limitations as well. When resources run out, there is a reduction in giving. Informants pointed out that with the ever-increasing cost of living in the country patterns of giving among kin are changing. An obvious reason for this contraction in giving is the scarcity of assets to share. The expression *isandla zimfitshane* (Ndebele) or the spirit is willing but hands are tied by poverty aptly captured this phenomenon. Informants in Gwanda, often pointed out that they would give help if they had the farming tools and livestock to share. The reality for them was that they do not have these material things and therefore they cannot help.

The other major pattern of help in the countryside involves off-farm exchanges of intangible or non-material assets. Examples include care giving and emotional support. Grandparents in rural Chimanimani and Gwanda provide care to their grandchildren. This is motivated by the absence of the parents of these children. Parents might be away for two main reasons. They could be working as labour migrants in towns. Alternatively, the parents would have died as a result of HIV/AIDS. In both instances, the grandparents have to provide the children with the care and discipline that the parents could have given. In such instances, help becomes a duty and is not optional. Thus different patterns of duties

emerge. Optative social relations are more evident in rural associational life such as membership of churches.

2.5.1.2. Urban Harare and Bulawayo

In urban areas, kinship ties remain useful but these tend to be strongly complemented and sometimes superseded by friendships and associations. Male and female labour migrants in the two cities maintain social and cultural ties with their relatives in the countryside. Rural-urban migrants in Harare and Bulawayo stay and work in town for as long as they can afford to. However, urban residence requires the earning of income. Those employed as domestic workers and gardeners largely earn incomes that are below the poverty datum line. Given the high unemployment and lack of adequate pension and welfare payments for low-income groups, migrants keep their ties with kin in rural areas by engaging in help transactions. These involve the sending of remittances. For the elderly people and wives of migrants, remittances constitute a crucial part of their livelihood strategies. With the economic downturn in the country, it is becoming increasingly difficult for low wealth individuals in the cities to send money and other forms of help to their kin in the countryside. These difficulties notwithstanding, male labour migrants continue to hold onto whatever land they have in the rural areas. This gives them some security against unemployment or failure of urban informal micro-enterprises, and most importantly old age or disability.

Labour migrants therefore mediate help transactions that take place between town and country. Labour migrants in town offer accommodation to kin who go to urban areas to attend school or to look for jobs. Rural kin reciprocate by cultivating the land holdings of the migrants; sending food to towns to subsidize the low wages of the migrants and taking care of their children. Migrants in urban areas remain vulnerable to the vagaries of the market system which has as yet a very limited safety net. The structure of the economy dictates that migrants will not be persuaded to give up ties with rural areas when they face an uncertain market and little or no social security. Help transactions between

migrants and kin in the rural areas are therefore essential strategies to deal with insecurity in the towns. For some low wealth urban migrants, rural links provide social and economic security for the eventualities of old age when urban expenses can no longer be afforded.

Whilst help transactions among migrants and rural kin remain important, the rising cost of living and physical distance from rural areas have led urban informal sector actors to use other social networks in the cities. In their everyday struggles to earn a life they fall back on help transactions with friends and neighbours. Unlike kinship ties, friendships and neighbourhood ties, are by and large, voluntary relationships. Petty traders, car washers, street touts and juice card sellers choose their friends. However, with time friendships assume kinship like characteristics in that the friends develop strong mutually supportive help relationships.

In contemporary cities, such as Harare and Bulawayo, friendships arise from working together. Vendors of various shades form relationships of friendship with others of their own status and life style. By helping each other with food, money, ideas and so forth, these friends replace some of the functions of kin at home. Friendships therefore play a key part in the adaptive strategies of low wealth actors as they try and cope with earning livelihoods in insecure urban environments. Among the vendors in Harare and Bulawayo, friends form a most important part of their **effective** social networks. Kin are not entirely excluded from the social networks of vendors; they remain important in the bng run but they are somewhat removed from everyday material and non-material help transactions. In consequence, they remain in the **extended** social networks of the vendors, petty traders, street touts and juice card sellers. The extended networks comprise people with whom the traders and touts interact only occasionally. In other words the help transactions between friends are regular and intimate. The effective social network is therefore more dominant than kinship. In urban areas the actors who earn their livelihoods in the informal economy give help to and receive help from friends more often than they do

from kinsmen. The way in which petty trading activities and business exchanges are organized contributes, in some situations, to the supersession of kinship with voluntary friendships.

A friend who receives a favour today is expected to return the favour on another occasion. If the favour is reciprocated, then the initial giver is encouraged to offer further favours and social bonds are established between them. Male and female petty traders highlighted this point. They said that the traders who are assisted with money, food and advice and who reciprocate are considered to be good friends. They begin to be trusted more and their credit rating improves greatly. Help transactions between traders who trust each other provide the basis for informal social safety nets that are critical to survival in insecure urban contexts. Friendship also provides a buffer that helps to cope with shocks such as raids or arrests by the police that result in the loss of tradable goods.

In urban areas, help transactions between neighbours are also central to low wealth actors' livelihoods. Indeed neighbourhood social ties, just like friendship, also take precedence over kinship ties. Frequently, neighbours help each other as and when they face shortfalls of basic necessities such as foodstuffs. It is not that neighbours ask for food from each other everyday. The exchanges take place at certain moments when money for replenishing food stocks will not be available. The help that is given will be for a specific commodity such as maize meal but not entire groceries. Neighbours also exchange ideas. These are some of the strategic help transactions that take place. They share ideas about how to enter the informal market system where they can generate money for supporting their children and families. As the female petty traders in Bulawayo noted, "a person without good neighbours is like a fish out of water" (ZBUUPT4F p. 4). By maintaining cordial and cohesive relations with neighbours, the poor are able to ask for help when they run short of money, food and ideas. Essentially because of their proximity, neighbours are likely candidates for reciprocal aid. In any case, in the high-density suburbs of Harare and Bulawayo, a neighbour tends to know more of his/her next-door household than would a kinsman or kinswoman who

lives far away in the rural areas or another suburb. Neighbours are therefore an ever-present source of help.

We have so far looked at friendships and neighbourhood ties as **horizontal** networks. There are instances where friends and neighbours have unequal material resources at their disposal. Friends and neighbours who are unable to return favours find themselves in positions of subordination. This creates **vertical** networks that is, networks premised on indebtedness and inequality. However, the creation of alliances with friends and neighbours who have more resources is one way of establishing strategic ties that can help to cushion and pull the less advantaged actors out of economic and social insecurity.

The low wealth respondents in Bulawayo and Harare pointed out that they also try and secure their livelihoods by forming clubs and societies to which they contribute money and from which they borrow money when they need to make use of it. Voluntary associations have important adaptive functions especially for poor, unskilled and insecure migrants entering or living in an urban environment. Also for women, many of whose interests are ignored by formal organizations, these informal associations are crucial for help transactions and the building of a sense of belonging. In other words they form voluntary associations which, like friendships, are not ascribed but freely entered into. However, these clubs and societies are different from friendships in that they involve groups of people rather than simply one-to-one relationships that characterize friendships.

These voluntary associations bring together actors with common interests who work to promote those interests. Normally, these associations have some sort of charter that defines the aims, organizational structure and rules for members. The associations have an elected leadership that is responsible for the day to day running of their affairs. There are various types of voluntary associations to which respondents said they belong. These could, for purposes of discussion, be grouped into recreational, economic and religious associations.

Recreational associations include football/soccer, and table tennis clubs and dance groups among others. Male respondents in Harare and Bulawayo often pointed out in their self-introductions that they like football. They support some of the major teams in the country and some of them are members of those football clubs. Again in Gwanda, some of the participants in a focus group of the 25-49 year old male informants said that they give coaching lessons to school leavers in the area. Membership of such clubs broadens the landscapes from which low wealth individuals can seek assistance in times of need. It sometimes happens that vendors who spend time together selling goods on the streets also support the same football team. They therefore have multiplex social ties that bind them together thereby deriving greater rather than lesser social and economic security.

Economic or financial associations include rounds clubs or rotating credit associations, savings clubs or groups and burial societies. In these associations, each member contributes a fixed amount of money on a regular basis. It could be on a weekly or monthly basis. The members take turns to receive the lot. This provides low wealth actors in cities controlled savings for spending on large items. Other types of financial association are the burial societies. Members of these societies contribute money on a regular basis in order to safeguard themselves against heavy funeral expenses. In practice the societies provide loans and other financial help to their members. They are also arenas where migrants from neighbouring countries or from the same rural area meet to re-enact and revive their cultural traditions and practices.

Then there are religious associations such as churches and sects. These mostly provide spiritual and therefore non-material forms of help. Respondents often confirmed their membership of such associations. However, the churches do provide help in marking special life occasions such as births and naming, baptism, marriage and weddings, funerals and memorial services. These are services which church-going respondents said they appreciate from the church. Within churches there are also sub-groups such as women's or men's

associations or choirs in which bonds of close solidarity and conviviality are cultivated. These become sources of help in times of material need and emotional distress.

It should be said that there are some associations to which women alone belong. These play a key role in the redistribution of resources at the same time providing opportunities for female solidarity. Examples include women's informal associations in towns. Based upon the shared identity of being female, informal rounds clubs and rotating credit groups provide networks through which women learn about vending and finding informal jobs. Women are able to establish webs of economic support for themselves and their households. Information about jobs in wealthy households circulates in these informal groups. Domestic work in wealthy households is a fruitful source of new **vertical** connections which widen the scope for help transactions for low wealth individual women. Women in informal associations are therefore able to utilize their effective personal networks to achieve strategic help transactions.

Furthermore, informal market women use their networks to regulate the market by setting prices, establishing credit, maintaining hygiene and punishing those who try and undercut the established pricing structures. Women's esteem and influence in Harare and Bulawayo is partially but closely connected to the extent to which they cultivate extra-domestic associational ties in the informal economy of petty trading and vending. These associations enhance low wealth women's struggles for relative economic autonomy and their statuses within the domestic spheres. In other words, informal market female traders acquire bargaining power when relating to their husbands. They begin to have a say in the use of resources within the home and in the upkeep of children. Membership of associations helps women to acquire leadership skills and the ability to make decisions in consultation with other members.

The preceding sections have looked at the major patterns of help transactions in rural and urban areas with special reference to livelihood types and social ties of

kinship, friendship, neighbourhood, gender and membership of informal associations. We now turn to look at the relationship between informants' ages and help transactions.

2.5.1.3. Age and philanthropic transactions

There are a number of transactions that informants entered into which cut across age divisions. These transactions include the exchange of food, money, clothes and ideas. Urban informants in all the age categories mentioned money more often than their rural counterparts. However, there are some transactions that are closely tied to the ages of the informants. Let us start with the 13>18 year old orphaned children in Gwanda communal land.

These orphans receive more than they can give. This is because they are still young and almost wholly dependent on others for their livelihoods. A related reason is that there are very few opportunities for these children to be able to work and raise money for themselves.

Mothers' sisters or aunts give the orphans such things as food and clothes. Neighbours assist with school writing books and maize if they have some to spare. However, the orphans are largely dependent on NGOs for food supplies and these include maize, cooking oil and beans. Age constrains their ability to work for a living. As a result they also give less. The orphans said that they help their younger siblings with the food supplies they get from NGOs. They also occasionally help their neighbours to chop firewood if asked to do so.

Orphaned youths in the 18>24-year-old age groups in Chimanimani also depend on others for their subsistence. Most of the youths were still in school and as such relied on the help they get from close relatives, churches, and NGOs. Their youthful ages led them to commit their time and effort towards education. A few of the informants in this age category who were no longer going to school carried out piece jobs in order to raise money for their own upkeep and that of younger siblings. The money is frequently inadequate and they therefore look up

to their aunties, uncles and elder siblings for help. Poor urban youths in this age category find themselves in the informal economy where they operate as car washers, street parking touts and petty traders. The help transactions of this age group are mostly geared towards survival. Youths in this age group struggle to make a start in life and their help networks mostly consist of friends and to some limited extent relatives.

The help transactions of men and women in the reproductive age group of 25-49 years reflect their daily struggles to look after children and close relatives. In other words the upkeep of themselves, immediate families and close kin is the driving motive behind most of the transactions. Informants in urban areas reported that they borrowed money to set up micro-enterprises from which they hoped to generate money for meeting their families' basic needs such as food, shelter, clothing and children's education. Some also took care of their relatives and relatives' children. However, they are not always able to make sufficient money and this propels them to borrow cash and other items from friends, relatives and neighbours. They are also dependent on associations for both material social support. And as we have seen, labour migrants are careful not to sever their links with rural kin because kin in the countryside continue to provide a safety net in cases of unemployment, disability and old age. Moreover, rural kin take on the responsibility of supporting materially and socially the wives and children of migrant workers.

Then there are the 50+ year-old informants whose help transactions varied depending on their marital statuses, sources of livelihoods and geographical locations. The widows in Gwanda communal land receive more than they give. They constantly pointed out that they have little or nothing to give. They rarely harvest enough food to last the whole year. This is a result of a combination of various factors. They cannot afford to buy farm inputs, old age constrains their ability to till the land, they face labour shortages, some have ill health, and they live in a natural environment which is prone to droughts. This combination of

factors limits their ability to give to others. They pointed out that the only items that they give to neighbours and relatives are food and clothes.

They receive from neighbours, NGOs, relatives and the local councillor. They receive from their neighbours and relatives such things as food, water, social visits to check on sick family members and money. NGOs help them with food, water and support to individuals with HIV/AIDS. The local councilor also helps by negotiating with outside agencies for the supply of food, drilling of boreholes and supply of water as well as the maintenance of gravel roads. Age, widowhood, low wealth and the vulnerability context limit the ability of these elderly women to give material help to others. Compared to their counterparts in Gwanda, widowed petty traders in Bulawayo seem to have a broader range of help transactions (cf. ZBUUPT4F, ZGWRSL4F). They give to relatives, orphans, neighbours and friends a wider array of material and social forms of help. The material forms include money, food and clothes and the social forms of help are advice and emotional support. Although they are in the low wealth category, urban petty trading widows have more room for manoeuvre. Petty trading exposes them to wider effective networks and buying and selling also means that they handle cash often and are able to give this to others who are in greater need. Moreover, as elders, they are able to advise other petty traders, neighbours and younger relatives on the basis of their own experiences and those of other people.

In contrast, the transactions of the 50+ year old ex-commercial farmers in Chimanimani centered around the exchange of farming assets and the maintenance of social order in the villages in which they live. They pointed out that they give to neighbours and relatives, assistance in milling grains, abstracting water from furrows using pipes for purposes of irrigation and watering gardens, and farming equipment. These material exchanges help to reduce the subsistence farmers' vulnerability to hunger. The informants also pointed out that they play an active part in the Super 7 committees. These committees resolve intra-household and inter-household disputes. They therefore help to maintain

social cohesion in the villages. This a distinct form of help that was not mentioned in all the other focus groups in our study. The elders occupy these positions of influence by virtue of their ages and wisdom acquired over time. These elderly informants also help their relatives and neighbours during illnesses and at funerals. They said that they pray for the sick and provide food and guidance during funeral ceremonies.

2.5.1.4. Non-help transactions

In discussing help there are some transactions that the informants said do not constitute help. Examples of non-help transactions include those situations where the actor gives as a matter of legal duty, where relations are hierarchical and exploitative; where advice is given to do 'socially undesirable' or 'bad' things. This sub-section looks at these issues more closely.

Within families, parents are legally bound to provide for their children. It was quite striking that in most, if not all focus group discussions, informants talked about giving and receiving help from relatives, that is, *zihlobo* (in Ndebele) or *hama* (in Shona) rather than the more immediate nuclear family which in vernacular is called *imhuli* (in Ndebele) or *mhuri* (in Shona). This distinction in terminology is critical in understanding what constitutes philanthropy and what does not. Philanthropists are conceived as people who help relatives' children. Helping one's own child is not seen as philanthropy as such; it is obligatory. The giving of material and social support to children by parents falls in the realm of legal duties, something that must be done. If parents fail to provide for their children, they can be punished or forced to do so by the state under laws relating to children's rights and maintenance. Respondents therefore conceptualized help as something that happens between their own nuclear family and other similar entities. These could be the households of relatives, friends and neighbours.

In Biriwiri communal land, Chimanimani, the low wealth informants that came to focus groups said that part of their livelihoods portfolios include selling their labour to richer families in the area (ZCHRSL3F; ZCHRSL3M). Rural wage labour is

common in the country. However, they were quick to point out that some of the richer people who hire them do not give them sufficient rewards for their labour. They are sometimes paid in kind with maize. The maize does not last long and they are caught in a cycle in which they must perpetually sell their labour in order to have something to eat at home. Such hierarchical arrangements were marked out as non-help transactions. They involve exploitation or negative reciprocity. For these informants, rural wage labour entailed guile and shortchanging of the labourers. These practices are seen as falling short of localized conceptions of philanthropy. The only exception that came out in one focus group discussion is that of an orphaned male youth (18>24 years old) who saw the piece jobs that he does as a form of help. He argued that without these piece jobs, his life and that of his siblings would be very difficult (ZCHRSL2M p. 11).

Actors who give 'advice' that leads recipients into 'bad' or undesirable behaviour were not seen as helping. For the orphaned youths in Biriwiri, Chimanimani, individuals who persuaded their friends to engage in promiscuity, drinking beer and smoking dagga were seen as bad influence (ZCHRSL2M p. 9-10). The youths were sensitive to issues of promiscuity because some of their parents had died after contracting HIV/AIDS. In a sense they felt the negative impact on their own lives of such risky behaviours. They also pointed out that the youths who smoke marijuana end up stealing or fighting among themselves. Advice that influences other youths to get into trouble was not seen as philanthropy.

2.5.1.5. Explaining regularity or absence of patterns

The regularity of help transactions could be interpreted as resulting from the mutual or correlative intersection of *institutional* factors and the *choices* that informants take in order to meet their material and non-material livelihood needs. This interplay happens over time and space during the day-to-day activities of informants. These repeated behaviours within given institutional contexts result in regular patterns of help transactions. In order to understand the regularity of help patterns we need to revisit the discourses and situated

practices (cf. Giddens, 1984) of the actors (i.e. givers and receivers of help) and the institutional nexuses in which they operate.

These discourses revolve on the significance of institutions in enabling and at another level constraining help transactions. In this regard, institutions mediate access to material and non-material forms of help. Some of the institutions that stand out in this paper include kinship on the one hand and on the other hand friendships, neighborhoods, the market, and other associational entities. Informants talked about giving and receiving help from relatives. As a result of the patrilineal ideology that pervades social organization among the Shona and Ndebele, the relatives that the informants mostly referred to are from the father's side. However, there were instances where the informants received or gave help to relatives on the mother's side as well. The importance of kinship as an institution is therefore closely tied to its role in mediating access to material and intangible assets. In the rural areas, kin groups (lineages and extended families) comprise basic units of social and economic organization. It is therefore not surprising that help transactions also move along lines of kinship. Indeed it could be said that kinship is a way of distributing and redistributing material and social resources among households and families. A kinsman and woman becomes a nodal point for help transactions within the kin group. The capability of a relative to give and receive help is dependent upon his/her social positioning within the kin group in terms of gender, life-stage and the resources at the individual's command. Men in rural areas have greater access to land and cattle than their female counterparts. The ability of women to transact in these resources is therefore limited by a kinship system that places more importance on the male line. The life-stage of the individual also plays a part. Adults have wider networks than younger members of the kin group and can therefore tap on these webs of social relations in their everyday lives and in crisis situations such as illnesses and deaths.

At a broader level, the kin group therefore plays an important part in, not only, the individual's livelihood but also his/her security, and identity. In rural areas,

kinship provides a safety valve when times are hard. Those who fall on hard times draw on networks of kinship to leverage resources.

The institution of kinship therefore provides a significant base for help transactions although of course it is not the only loci upon which philanthropic transactions take place. We have so far looked at the ascriptive institution of kinship; we now turn to look at optative institutions that are also crucial in creating regularities in help transactions, and these are friendships, neighbourhood linkages and associational ties.

Our focus is on those relational networks in which transactions are between people who 'choose' to help each other. This distinguishes them from help transactions based on kinship which are by and large predicated on a foundation that the individuals cannot change as such. Kinship is ascriptive; a person can choose his/her friends/neighbours and associates but not relatives. As the examples of petty traders, juice card vendors, street touts, and car washers in preceding sections show, friendships, neighbours and associates often provide strong connective points for help transactions. This is of great import in urban areas where relatives are useful but not necessarily within the effective networks of some of the focus group discussion informants. The exigencies of living in an urban area on low insufficient incomes eked out in the informal economy lead these actors to devise livelihood strategies in which friends, neighbours and associations or clubs provide important forms of help during the routines of day-to-day economic and social activities and at critical situations. The latter include disconnections of water, electricity and closure of rented rooms, illnesses, funerals and arrests by the police.

Besides the foregoing micro-factors explaining the regularity of help patterns there are also macro-influences. These include the prevalence of droughts, HIV/AIDS, unemployment, cost of living and harassment by law enforcement agents. Droughts are a recurring phenomenon in the dry areas of Chimanimani and Gwanda rural districts. When droughts strike, as they invariably do, rural people initially try and help each other with food until their stocks run out. It is in

such circumstances that NGOs come in to provide relief supplies. The regularity of the patterns of help given by NGOs is therefore closely linked to the recurrence of droughts in rural areas. But NGOs also depend on external funding and under current conditions these funding streams have been drying. This has been compounded by official attempts to rein in on the operational freedoms previously enjoyed by NGOs; freedoms which are deemed to be detrimental to the country's 'sovereignty.' The twin constraints of reduced international funding and greater controls by the state are therefore impinging on NGO's ability to reduce the vulnerability of rural poor to food shortages and deprivation. The option that the rural poor had of sourcing food from NGOs is likely to diminish. This might expose them to hunger and possibly famine.

The prevalence of HIV/AIDS also helps to explain the regularity of material and non-material transactions between low wealth individuals and households. HIV/AIDS mostly affects adult individuals who are in their economically productive years of life. HIV/AIDS exacerbates existing social and economic disparities by placing more demands for nutritious food and money for treatment on the rural and urban poor who have meagre financial assets. In consequence, such individuals and households seek help from relatives, friends, neighbours and associations. The regularity of transactions between the affected persons and benefactors increases.

At the family or household level, HIV/AIDS has distorted the age structure of these units by reducing productive age groups and leaving the elderly and young to fend for themselves. In most instances, grandparents are left to look after the young at a time when they need care themselves. In addition, the incidences of female and child headed households are on the rise. These factors have a direct bearing on the regularity of help transactions between elders and children.

Furthermore, the increase in unemployment among the productive age groups (e.g. 18-49 years), has resulted in their concentration in the informal economy. Entry into the informal sector is dependent on information that the aspiring

entrants get from relatives and friends or neighbours. The new entrants also get help in the form of start up capital. It could therefore be said that unemployment coupled with sharp increases in the cost of living provides fertile ground for the proliferation of help transactions among the poor as they try to cope with economic hardships. The specific forms that these help transactions take are dependent on the adaptive strategies that men and women, young and old employ to meet their day-to-day needs and life crises.

Another macro-factor that contributes to the regularity of help transactions among the poor is city council by-laws on informal trade on the streets of Harare and Bulawayo. City councils in Harare and Bulawayo regard vending in undesignated areas as illegal. As a result, law enforcement agents harass the vendors from the streets without giving them alternative sites that are close to customers. Vendors are often arrested and it is during such critical situations that they help each other to pay fines and bail money. Police actions on vendors inadvertently contribute to an increase in the regularity of help transactions among the informal traders.

More generally, economic (mis)governance has significantly contributed to the vulnerability of the livelihoods of the rural and urban poor. This is traceable to past and present policies. Past policies include the adoption and implementation of the economic reform programme. The removal of food subsidies in urban areas meant a sharp increase in the cost of living at a time when real wages were falling. Wages lost their value because the local currency was constantly devalued under the pretext that this would improve the competitiveness of export goods. Moreover, economic reform brought restructuring of various industries and in the process many people lost their jobs. The next best thing they could do was to enter the informal sector and to do this they relied on help from those who were already in the sector. Some retrenches returned to their rural homes.

But what could explain the absence of regular patterns in help transactions at least at the micro-level? There are a number of micro-reasons that could explain the haphazard nature of some help transactions. Firstly, there is the issue of help received or given to strangers. By their very definition, these are people whom the informants only met once and then only for very short periods of time. In such transitory encounters, the chances of repeated transactions are very slim. In consequence, regular patterns may not emerge. Secondly, in situations where the giver expects reciprocity but this never happens, the chances for helping again become remote. Informants pointed out that they are reluctant to help able-bodied people who only want to receive and never give something in return. As a result, no regular patterns of help arise.

At the macro-level, workers who lost their jobs during and after the period of economic reform could no longer afford to send remittances to their kin in the rural areas. This led to a break in the pattern of transactions between town and country. In more recent years the sharp rise in inflation has meant that urban workers in both the formal and informal sectors have very little money to spend on their immediate families let alone to give to kin in the countryside. The flow of material assistance to rural kin is now becoming sporadic and in some instances it has dried up. In other words, extended family ties are being eroded by increases in the cost of living. Changes in the wider economy are impacting negatively the material transactions between kin in extended families.

Improvements in the material security of the poor would significantly reduce material help transactions among them. Given current conditions this seems to be a far-fetched hope. It remains a pipe dream for the self-employed low wealth individuals who eke out subsistence livelihoods in rural and urban areas.

2.5.1.6. Understanding community from the lens of help

The concept of 'help' brings into sharper focus the Janus-faced nature of community. The ascriptive and optative dimensions of philanthropy provide the

two faces of community. The actors or people involved in these transactions could be seen as constituting a community or perhaps communities.

In carrying out help transactions, the actors implicated in the activities look backwards to their ancestors from whom they derive the language, customs, traditions, norms and values informing the idea of 'help'. These are the ascriptive elements providing some of the motivational bases for philanthropy. In this sense the concept of help brings to light those philanthropic activities and transactions that rural and urban actors engage in because custom and tradition obligates them to do so. This is the face of community that looks backwards. The word backwards is used here in a non-pejorative sense. It serves to throw into relief the relevance of history and culture and their influence in contemporary help transactions. The concept of 'help' (*rubatsiro*: Shona; *uncedo*: Ndebele) is culturally specific and yet it has much broader resonance to humanity because in all cultures people help each other. What are distinct are the culturally specific and historically derived institutions that mediate, enable and constrain help transactions between actors. In addition, language shapes the meanings and significance attached to the transactions. Cultural meanings define what is and what is not help and in consequence who belongs and who is excluded from the philanthropy of community. Culture also defines rewards and punishments to those who conform and those who breach social norms. We have up to now looked at the idea of 'ascriptive philanthropy' in general and how it is tied to notions of tradition and custom. We will now say something about the situational contexts in which it occurs namely kinship, gender and political status.

Patriliney is a custom and tradition among the Shona and Ndebele that plays a part in shaping actors' notions of what is 'expected' behaviour in times when kinsmen and women require help. By looking at the transactions and the situations in which people give and whom they give we are able to reveal ascriptive philanthropic behaviours that obtain among kin. We saw that some of the exchanges of farm equipment and livestock and the payment of school fees take place among kinsmen and women. Kinship ties continue to be relevant to

Shona and Ndebele people in the cities. Urban residents with rural families send remittances to kin in the countryside; and the kin in rural areas reciprocate by sending, among other things, food to kinsfolk in towns. In this regard, help transactions are critical in understanding the 'community' involved. It should be said here that the term 'community' as understood from the perspective of help cuts across the urban and rural spatial divide. Transacting people/actors who may or may not necessarily be resident in the same physical space constitute the 'community.'

We have said that low wealth actors look back to the past for traditions and norms but they do not simply relive the ancestral past. They adopt, adapt and reshape inherited customs and traditions to suit current and future livelihood challenges. The past is partly replayed in the present and the present helps to shape the future. We say partly because the present has other intervening variables that actors have to deal with. These include markets and changes in prices, government policies, environmental shocks such as droughts, HIV/AIDS and the global economy. The complex interplay between history and current structural forces provides opportunities for and constraints on actors' livelihood strategies. However, the actors' organizing capabilities and choices enable them to transact with others in the pursuit of various ends. These include, basic survival, building social capital and/or security, accumulating economic capital and wealth, and establishing and promoting civic life and virtues. We will return to these issues in the next section on implications. For now it is useful to note that the lens of help brings to the fore the central nature of ascription and volition in philanthropic transactions and that the actors who take part in such transactions constitute *a community*.

However, social reality is much more complex than these ascription and/or propositions might suggest. In one situation a man or woman might feel obligated to help a relative with whom he/she has a close relationship. This could be because they normally help each other. In other situations, the same person might choose not to help a relative with whom he/she does not get along well.

The point is that while kinship provides seed for obligations it does not constitute a necessary and sufficient condition for help transactions between kin at all times and in all situations. As we have already seen, the economic hardships that urban low wealth individuals are facing are leading some of them to reduce the remittances they send to rural areas. Kinship ties are therefore affected by extra-kinship factors such as inflation and rising costs of living. Nonetheless, at an ideological level, informants said that they help their relatives because they are part of their kinship group and that kinship gives them group identity and a sense of selfhood.

What also happens is that the actors' situational social positioning in the routines and crises of everyday life significantly influences their help behaviours. This depends on which 'hat' the actor is wearing and the circumstances in which the actor finds himself/herself. As an aunt to a close niece, the aunt might feel obligated to give advice to a niece who has just married and established a new family. As a petty trader in an urban area, the same 'aunt' might choose to join or not join a rounds club depending on who the other members in the club are. If the niece is also a petty trader she might choose to join because this provides her with an arena where they can continue to support each other materially and socially. These issues of the situational positioning of actors and how this influences help behaviours need to be fleshed out further. This could be done through detailed individual case histories that bring out the complex and sometimes contradictory realities experienced by low wealth individuals as they juggle with ascriptive and volitional exchange relations.

PART 3: SIGNIFICANCE

3.1. IMPLICATIONS

The foregoing analysis of help has a number of implications. This section begins by discussing the language of philanthropy which shapes people's perspectives on their sense of social connectedness or indeed the lack of it. This section also looks at how culture, traditions and external forces have influenced practical and strategic forms of help. It looks at this influence as spanning time and space; as a result focus is on trends over time in the philanthropy of community. Finally, the section considers the significance of philanthropy *of* community to philanthropy *for* community. That is the relevance of philanthropy of community to development.

3.1.1. Language of philanthropy

Language defines the relational, social character of help in terms of the expectations, obligations/duties of the transacting parties and choices that they can make. The terminology that is used in describing social relationships within families, kinship groups, neighbourhoods and associations also broadly sets the parameters or boundaries for the nature of interaction, the forms of transactions, the motivations of the actors involved and the negotiated meanings the actors attach to the transactions.

The terms used to name the actors involved in transactions provide some clues about the nature of the social relationship between the people involved. The concept of *relative* (*hama*: Shona; *izihlobo*: Ndebele) is so broad that it brings into its reach a wide range of people from both the father and mother's families. This was a source of ambiguity in the focus group discussions. Shona kinship terms such as *sekuru*, *mbuya*, *mainini*, *muzukuru* have some vagueness in their use. The words can be used to refer to different people in alternate and proximal generations. The term *sekuru* can mean paternal and maternal grandfather or mother's brother. Again the word *mbuya* can mean paternal and maternal grandmother or mother's brother's wife. Similarly, the term *muzukuru* can be

used to refer to a grandchild but it can also refer to a sister's child. The word *mainini* can mean wife's sister, mother's younger sister or mother's brother's daughter. These are some of the subtleties and nuances in the use of the concept of *relative* that case studies could reveal. Understanding which particular relative is giving or receiving help sheds more light on which kin are included or excluded in the everyday transactions of the informants.

Moreover, one's social positioning in the kinship network comes with obligations that have a bearing on whether one has to give or receive help or whether one exercises choice in doing so. The actors may play multiple roles in which in some situations, they are obligated to help and in others they choose to receive or give help. These are situational dimensions that could be the subject of further investigation.

The words used to describe giving and receiving also provide important leads to the way in which people survive in the face of scarcity. For instance, the words *kugovera or kugovana* (Shona) or *ukwabelana* (Ndebele) imply sharing. It has connotations of redistribution. There are axioms derived from hunting which emphasize the custom of sharing. One such saying has it that "*Nyama yemusango haigochwe*", that is, 'the meat you get in the wild is never roasted' (cf. Murphree, 1995: 3). What it means is that if a wild animal falls within the scope of your bow and arrow and you kill it, you do not sit in the bush and eat it on your own. You take it back to the village and share it with relatives, neighbours and friends. It is traditional norms like these that promote sharing, and with it the survival of the group.

Informants in both rural and urban areas talked about sharing material and social resources that include food, clothes, tools, and ideas. The sharing mostly takes place between individuals. On the other hand, redistribution is more of a group phenomenon but it of course affects people individually. Traditional leaders in Chimanimani and other places around the country are resuscitating the institution of tributary labour. Villagers contributed tributary labour in the

chief's field and this is known as *isiphala senkosi* (Ndebele) or *zunde ramambo* (Shona). The grain that is harvested is stored at the chief's homestead. He then redistributes the grain to villagers who run short of food. In most instances, the food is redistributed to children orphaned by HIV/AIDS and other deserving cases who face chronic shortages. Tributary labour is therefore an institutionalized form of help that is being used to cope with the effects of HIV/AIDS at the community level. In other words the idea of redistribution is essential for the survival of individuals but it also has important consequences for the group's livelihoods. By redistributing food, the chiefs and their subordinates increase their social statuses and patronage.

The language of philanthropy also sheds light on actors' feelings, that is the subjective dimension of philanthropy. Receivers' feelings of happiness, joy and satisfaction are individual and at the same time relational in nature. They express the inner emotions of the actor involved but at the same time highlighting the actors' connectedness to other actors in the philanthropy of community. Givers' expression of 'feeling for others' also captures some of the meanings that people attach to helping.

3.1.2. Practical and strategic nature of help

In our analysis of philanthropy of community we looked at the institutions that mediate actors' access to material and non-material things. These institutions include, family, kinship, friendship, neighbourhood ties, traditional and modern leaders, and associations. Actors employ various strategies to meet their mundane and future livelihood needs. Some strategies are geared towards meeting immediate day-to-day needs and others are geared towards taking care of the actors' tomorrows. We could therefore refer to the former as practical or pragmatic help and the latter as strategic help. Individuals may engage in pragmatic transactions in some situations and in other situations they transact strategically.

Practical philanthropy involves the quest to subsist or survive in a context of scarcity of resources. The individual is preoccupied with subsistence survival in the present. Survival is therefore the dominant motif and ethos. Concerns about the future are not necessarily regarded as a priority. In fact, the future might be discounted at a very high rate. This is characteristic of some of the transactions that take place between street parking touts, car washers and subsistence farmers. Informants who depend on NGO support also had similar priorities and mindset. They were more concerned about getting food for themselves and their children. Food transactions among low wealth individuals are geared towards achieving the objective of keeping body and soul together.

Informants pointed out that they also exchange clothes. These are clothes for children as well as adults. As we have already noted, these transactions take place between relatives, neighbours and friends when they notice that one of them or his/her family members are using one set of clothes and when they wear clothes that are ragged and tattered. By assisting each other with food and clothes, the low wealth individuals and households are able to build *safety nets*. They are able to tap on the kindness of the people that they would have helped during times when they are in need. In other words whilst meeting the daily practical needs of individuals and households, transactions in these items have cultural meanings that go beyond the satisfaction of physiological needs. The commodities help to create socio-cultural credits and/or capital.

Other practical everyday needs that came out of the focus group discussions were money for meeting pressing expenses such as transport to hospital and hospital fees, fines and bail; care giving and emotional support and help at funerals. The demands of everyday life place a strain on the ability of low wealth individuals to take care of their health requirements. By definition, low wealth individuals have lesser material resources with which to meet health costs. This inability is seriously exposed by the HIV/AIDS problem.

Arrests and harassment by law enforcement agents do not necessarily deter petty traders from selling their goods on the streets of major cities and towns. It could be said that the networks of friendship that the petty traders weave among themselves are an effective mechanism for coping with such arrests. The traders are able to pay fines and bail for each other and return to their workplaces at the earliest possible moment. This is practical philanthropy; it provides petty traders with *resilience* in the face of adversity.

Weddings and funerals also provide arenas for the dramatization of practical philanthropy. Congratulatory gifts and money are given to the wedding couple. These gifts are often recorded and the names of the contributors are announced towards the end of the wedding ceremony. At funerals neighbours, friends and relatives make collections of money known as *zibuthe* (Ndebele) or *chema* (Shona); they actually write down the names of people who would have made the contributions. The names are later announced during or after the funeral. Those who do not contribute in cash or in kind at weddings and funerals stand the risk of not being assisted when their kinsmen or women marry or die.

Labour migrants provide another case of practical philanthropy. Some of the labour migrants who participated in focus group discussions tried to manage the risks of insecure domestic work by maintaining links with their rural homes. The wives would visit their husbands during the dry season when farm work is very low. The practice of having a split family is a practical way in which labour migrants try to get the 'best' of both rural and urban worlds. Urban wages for domestic workers are low, and rural subsistence agriculture in the dry areas, such as those in Chimanimani and Gwanda, is risky and expensive. The combination of subsistence agriculture and wage labour in towns is a survival strategy that has been used by low wealth individuals over a long period of time.

Whilst survival might be the name of the game for some low wealth actors, others engage in strategic transactions aimed at finding an exit out of poverty. These are transactions that carry the potential for increasing economic assets or

capital and widening the scope for civic life. For the petty traders in Harare and Bulawayo, this potential seems to be realized through the establishment and operation of micro-enterprises in the informal economy. Some new entrants into the informal economy get start-up capital from relatives. In this regard kinship ties continue to play some part in mediating access to resources. Others are assisted by friends to venture into this sector.

Moreover, the establishment of associations on the basis of mutual interests and friendships rather than kinship is contributing to the redefinition of past traditions and customs. Friendships are fairly durable strategic social bonds that carry the promise of enabling rather than constraining asset accumulation. Friendships are rationally and individually constructed strategic alliances between actors – alliances that help them to adapt to the whims of an imperfect market economy that is characterized by high unemployment. The point is that the petty traders in Harare and Bulawayo are establishing new relations of trust that help them to start micro-businesses that are so central to their livelihoods.

With life no longer conceived in terms of simply ascriptive social bonds of kinship but of discrete individual actors, new bonds between the actors are also being constituted. These new bonds find expression in the associations that are central to petty traders attempts to accumulate assets and to their involvement in civic life. Ties of interest, ideas and feelings unite the individuals who form associations, and once established, the associations have a moral force over the members who comprise them. To that extent, the associations mediate individuals' awareness of the mutuality of civic or social life that is rooted in their collective quest for better livelihoods. Rotating credit associations in fact help petty trading men and women to buy assets that require large amounts of money than they can afford individually.

I should hasten to say that this is not to argue that kinship ties are of no consequence to the lives of petty traders. Far from it; kinship ties have their own place in this scheme of things. They continue to have relevance in the domestic

sphere where issues of social identity, care giving and household or family-centered psychosocial support are engendered. The wealth accumulated in the market place is of crucial importance to the asset status of the household and/or family.

Another strategic choice that both rural and urban actors take is that of educating children. The education of children is one important supplement to financial accumulation which potentially ensures the reproduction over time of social differentiation based on economic and cultural wealth. To this extent, the borrowing and lending of money for children's school fees is strategically aimed at improving the children's social and economic positions. In return, the children are expected to look after their parents in old age. Investing in children's education is therefore perceived as *ukuzibekela*, that is, investing in one's own future. These are some of the moral foundations upon which the strategic decisions to educate children are made.

3.1.3. Philanthropy, history, culture and external factors

Philanthropy in rural and urban Zimbabwe is by and large a product of the interplay between culture, history and power. Traditional forms of giving and receiving help have persisted and adapted to wider economic changes. New forms of philanthropy have also emerged as a result of the influence of colonial and nowadays global forces such as the structural adjustment programmes. During the various phases of the country's history, the pursuit of livelihoods by individuals has often involved the use of social networks and institutions.

However, settler colonialism radically altered rural livelihoods by alienating land, introducing taxes and labour tenancy and administering 'indirect' rule in the countryside. Colonization also brought with it significant changes in gender relations; the colonial state placed men before women in various spheres of life.

Instead of collecting tribute that was central to philanthropic transactions within Shona chiefdoms and the Ndebele kingdom, traditional leaders were now collecting taxes from men in territories that fell under their jurisdiction. Indeed the colonial state discouraged chiefs from having tributary fields. Men of working age were initially compelled to work in commercial farms, emerging industries and commerce. The alienation of fertile land and concentration of people in semi-arid and arid regions undermined the ability of local people to produce enough food for domestic consumption and for sale. Arable agriculture in these areas is tenuous and soil erosion hazards high. The economic basis for philanthropy in rural areas had to be sought elsewhere through labour migration. For those who could not migrate, subsistence farming became an established practice. In reality, rural people came to combine rural subsistence production with wage labour.

Colonized women were more constrained by pass laws than colonized men who were allowed into colonial urban areas as wage labourers (Gaidzanwa, 1997: 3). As Schmidt (1992) explains, motorized transportation was ruled out of bounds for black women in colonial Zimbabwe unless they had passes from specified colonial officials. The interests of male labour migrants in land rights in rural areas also contributed to the limitations placed on black women's mobility by customary authorities. This led to black women's confinement to subsistence farming and trade in the villages and informally on a person-to-person basis.

Gaidzanwa (1997) describes how black women who fell out of the customary and colonial systems of control over women were the pioneers in women's movement to towns. These maverick women were mostly widows, divorcees or orphans displaced or disgraced through witchcraft accusations. In most instances they were women who had ambitions that were contrary to those of their patrilineages. They are the women who found themselves in the crevices of the urban colonial economy as beer brewers and sellers, fresh produce traders, sex workers and vendors. Whilst in towns, these women would assist each other to survive in an environment where official policy did not look kindly at them. For

these women, the economic foundation of philanthropy had radically changed and they had to huddle up together at informal workplaces in order to earn livelihoods in towns.

As pointed out in Section 1.2., prior to independence in 1980 the urbanization of the African population occurred under a restrictive, racially discriminatory regime which prevented many urban workers from obtaining rights to remain permanently in urban areas. As Potts and Mutambirwa (1990: 677) point out, many families had no choice but to maintain their links with the overcrowded rural areas. Philanthropic transactions between rural and urban areas were a response to this sense of insecurity over which the migrants had little or no control. With the attainment of independence, the restrictions in the mobility of men and women were lifted. Women were now majors before the law. Some migrants decided to stay permanently in towns but others continued to keep their links with rural areas.

In rural areas of mostly Mashonaland provinces, Independence brought some infrastructural development in the form of roads, irrigation and water schemes and considerable investment in agricultural extension, basic health services and education. Changing access to markets also helped agriculturalists in the higher potential zones of the Mashonaland provinces (Rukuni and Eicher, 1994). In Matabeleland provinces, the civil unrest of the 1980s slowed down the state's developmental presence there. Despite the investments by government in the rural areas, the 'reserve' life that had been established during the colonial period remained the same. Most people remained poor although some were 'richer' than others especially those with access to livestock and remittance incomes (Cousins *et al*, 1992). The rural poor continued to rely on kinship and neighbourhood networks and relief from the burgeoning presence of NGOs.

As Chaumba *et al* (2003: 586) point out, patterns of rural differentiation in the 1980s and 90s were very much determined by external factors, notably the major droughts of the early 1980s and 1990s and the Cyclone of 1992 which

devastated livestock populations. The 1990s drought and Cyclone coincided with the introduction of the structural adjustment programme in 1991. This saw a major downturn in the economic fortunes of many in rural areas who relied on remittance income from relatives in towns. In urban areas many workers lost their jobs. The cost of living rose sharply as the state took away subsidies on food under the pretext that higher food prices would benefit rural farmers. It turned out that the farmers who benefited most were people who had large farms and access to capital, human resources and the market. The subsistence farmers in communal areas could no longer afford inputs because subsidies on these commodities had been removed. Livelihoods insecurity in rural and urban areas has also been exacerbated by the economic and political crises of recent years.

These factors coupled with HIV/AIDS have had a profound impact on the demography and livelihoods of the rural and urban poor. The state now encourages affected families and households to provide home-based care. This shifts the responsibility of providing health care from the government to households who can least afford it. In relation to philanthropic activities, HIV/AIDS forces rural households to divert productive labour time to caring for the sick and the little incomes that households have are diverted to medical expenses, palliative treatments and the futile search for a cure (Barnet and Blaikie, 1992). The scarce food stocks are also diverted to funerals. Young children of school going age are withdrawn from school in order to reduce costs and increase farm and family labour. HIV/AIDS has changed household structures by reducing key sections of the rural farming and urban labour force, and resulted in an increasing number of female and child headed households (Mombeshora, 1998; Chaumba *et al*, 2003).

HIV/AIDS has also had a bearing on the emergence and proliferation of philanthropy-oriented associations and support groups particularly in urban areas (cf. Table 6). Some of these bodies are in rural areas such as the Gwanda Home Based Care programme. These associations and support groups raise funds for the benefit of people living with HIV/AIDS, orphans, widows and

widowers. The associations also provide counseling, information and material help to people with HIV/AIDS. Other activities of these associations and support groups include arranging meetings where people can share experiences about coping strategies; providing comfort; fighting the stigma attached to HIV/AIDS and promoting self-help projects among people living with HIV/AIDS. Nursing homes for the terminally ill have also mushroomed. These are found in towns and they take away the burden of caring for the ill from kinsmen and friends but they are only accessible to those with the economic resources to pay for the services. Low wealth individuals virtually have no access to nursing homes.

The philanthropy of communities in Zimbabwe is therefore unfolding on a livelihoods terrain shaped by a complex layering of the force fields of history, culture, politics and power dynamics. All these factors provide a useful backdrop for understanding the relevance of philanthropy of community/communities for development.

3.1.4. Philanthropy of community as a developmental tool

We now come to one of the core areas of focus in this paper, namely the extent to which philanthropy of community could be used as a tool for development. In other words we now try and tease out some of the intrinsic qualities in the philanthropy of community that can be harnessed to reinforce social bonds, ascriptive and/or volitional, that are crucial for individual/group security and support and the establishment of firm asset bases that result in improved livelihoods.

To begin with, the philanthropy of community questions established top-down models of development by drawing attention to the material and social life worlds of the poor, that is their institutions and cultural practices, their perspectives and adaptive strategies. Rather than seeing the culture of reciprocity and self-help among the poor as obstacles to development, the philanthropy of community approach takes full cognizance of the view that local values, norms, traditions and practices of help provide useful springboards

for interventions that are relevant to the life worlds of the poor. Indeed when the values and traditions of a people are marginalized in development interventions, these interventions become irrelevant to the people. The philanthropy of community approach therefore provides the essential connective tissue linking local practices and aspirations to the wider realm of philanthropy for communities.

3.1.4.1. The centrality of language, meanings and power

The philanthropy of community approach appreciates fully the role of words, phrases and idioms which low wealth actors use to articulate their basic epistemological stances, that is, how they view the physical and social world in which they live. Appreciating language unlocks the meanings that actors attach to help transactions. This is a dimension that is often lost when analyses of poverty place emphasis on the measurable and the metric.

However, the meanings entailed in help transactions constitute an integral part of a much broader set of social and political relations. In their attempts to earn livelihoods, low wealth actors have to deal with local and external socio-economic and political complexity. Who gains access to material and social resources depends on who the actor is in terms of gender, age, livelihood type and spatial location and who is in his/her networks. The actors therefore draw on a variety of ascriptive identities and volitional associations in making claims for help. Mobilizing networks of affiliation is also essential in gaining access to help from outside. We saw that international NGOs operating in Biriwiri, Chimanimani contributed building materials to the area after Cyclone Eline struck in 1992. The local traditional and modern leadership was corrupted to favour local elites instead of the poor who really needed the materials. The dynamics of inclusion and exclusion from help transactions therefore vary from place to place. However, an assessment of how patterns of social differentiation feed into philanthropy of community is a step in the right direction. It helps to ensure that philanthropy for community benefits low wealth actors.

This study has shown that the challenge is therefore to seek ways in which networks and help transactions between women and men involved in petty trade; juice card vending; car washing; subsistence farming and livestock keeping and labour migration can be revitalized to provide individual and group social and material security. This can only be done effectively if philanthropy for community takes as its starting point and compass, the language, idioms and worldviews of low wealth actors in supporting endogenously derived social practices and economic activities.

3.1.4.2. Improving associational capacities

By focusing on the philanthropy of communities, this study has shown that low wealth actors try to improve their livelihoods by joining membership of clubs, societies and churches. In rural areas some subsistence heads of household also get help from community based organizations and international NGOs. The question remains of how groups of, for instance, street parking touts, car washers, juice card sellers and widows could form associations which help them to achieve a variety of things.

Most street parking touts, car washers and juice card sellers do not, at the moment, have societies and associations to protect themselves from the overweening power of the state and from their isolation as individuals. The current exchange networks that exist within these groups could be a launching pad for the establishment of clubs, societies and associations. There are a number of possible benefits that would accrue to the membership. Firstly, the membership could be encouraged to form savings groups. The example of petty traders rounds clubs is a useful model. The touts would therefore have access to larger amounts of funds which they can use to improve their livelihoods. Secondly, the clubs or societies and associations of street parking touts, car washers and juice card sellers could serve to fight social exclusion from civic life and to protect their group interests vis-à-vis local authorities, the state, vehicle owners and companies that supply juice cards. Thirdly, these clubs and associations could provide loci for the establishment of a core of shared values,

that is, 'moral communities' around which social cohesion and order is constructed. In other words, associations would provide a greater sense of shared identity and common belonging. At the moment the interactions between actors are limited to networks of friendships.

The establishment of widows associations would also help to fight social exclusion among this group. It became apparent during focus group discussions with this category of low wealth actors that their involvement in civic life is circumscribed; it is mostly limited to church membership. Forming widows associations or clubs could provide special forums where widows discuss the challenges that they face and map ways forward. Such associations could be used as springboards for promoting savings. Philanthropy for community could match every dollar widows contribute with more funds. This would go a long way in creating a more solid base from which widows can educate their children. The widows expressed great concern over the subject of school fees and their children's education and widows savings associations could be a solution to this challenge.

3.1.4.3. Building economic assets

In the countryside, one of the major constraints that subsistence farming households face is the lack of draught power for tillage. They do not own cattle and donkeys which could be used for this purpose. In urban areas, the people who want to set up micro-enterprises do not have money to do so. The philanthropy for community approach could innovatively address some of these constraints by improving asset bases of low wealth individuals and households. This could also improve their resilience against the ravages of HIV/AIDS, droughts and economic and political crises.

In the countryside, livestock owners could be provided with incentives for redistributing some of their livestock to stockless households. In return the livestock owners would bequeath offspring of the loaned animals to the poor. This would require financial support from donors but over time a village or ward-level revolving community fund could be established to achieve this purpose.

Enlightened community leadership would be needed to assist but the majority of the fund managers would be the poor themselves.

In urban areas, livelihood type societies and associations could be strengthened so that they have proper books of account. This would form the basis for financial support that can in turn be availed to those who seek to enter the informal economy but do not have the start-up capital. The new entrants would need to be well trained before lending can be done. The money would be lent at concessionary interest rates, that is, at rates that are below those charged by commercial banks.

3.1.4.4. HIV/AIDS and home-based care

The concept of home-based care was introduced in the country during the structural adjustment programme as government sought to transfer costs of health care from itself to patients and their families. At the time the drive towards cost-recovery in the provision of public services was very strong. Structural adjustment was discontinued during the year 2000 but home-based care remains. In consequence, philanthropy for communities could intervene to assist low wealth households who now face the extra burden of caring for the terminally ill.

As we have already noted, there is a myriad of support groups that have emerged in the country who are involved in HIV/AIDS related activities. Part of the philanthropy for community initiative could mobilize these bodies to also focus on the issue of home-based care. In consequence, households with members who have HIV/AIDS need to be trained to handle people with HIV/AIDS, they need resources to be able to provide some of the foodstuffs and medicines for the patients.

Government has set up a national AIDS fund but households' ability to access the resources remains remote especially in rural areas. Even then government alone cannot afford to meet the high demand for resources for home-based

care. This is where civic institutions can come in strongly but they need resources to do this. Philanthropy for community could play a pivotal role by setting up community foundations that complement government efforts.

4. CONCLUSION

The interplay between the vulnerability context and the strategies that actors use to earn livelihoods are key to understanding philanthropy of community in Zimbabwe. Economic and political changes and continuities before and after Independence have impacted material and non-material forms of philanthropy at the community level. As a result of the recent economic crisis that manifests itself in high inflation, unemployment and the proliferation of the informal economy, indicators of human development have been declining. Life expectancy, literacy rates and real incomes have been declining at the same time as associational life is becoming constrained. These environmental features have implications for philanthropy as individuals try to take advantage of opportunities in order to meet material and social needs. It is through focusing on poor people's strategies that we are able to see how they construct livelihoods and how they draw on the help from effective and extended networks in that construction.

The major givers of material and non-material help are traditional and modern leaders, relatives, friends, neighbours, customers and employees, loan sharks, societies and clubs as well as NGOs. The main receivers of help are also relatives, neighbours and friends but there are other receivers as well. These include orphans, the elderly, the disabled, the ill, vehicle owners and strangers.

Traditional leaders help when people require residential stands, burial sites, dispute settlement and performance of rituals. Traditional leaders are therefore crucial to the maintenance of social cohesion within rural communities. To the extent that these institutions are key to group identities, they could be harnessed by philanthropy for communities for developmental purposes. The same applies

to modern leadership at the local level. Councilors provide strategic links between local communities and the outside world in accessing food relief from NGOs. By virtue of their statuses, traditional and modern leaders are morally obligated to help. In return they get loyalty and respect from community members. Other actors such as relatives, friends, neighbours, customers also help as a matter of obligation during funerals.

The foregoing ascriptive and volitional behaviours are embedded in traditional institutions and cultural practices that derive their roots from the pre-colonial and colonial past. At the same time new associational forms of behaviour have emerged which are based on actors' choices. The formation and operation of various clubs, societies and associations by low wealth groups bears testimony to this. These are some of the new institutions that philanthropy for community could utilize to build group material assets and resilience against external shocks such as HIV/AIDS, droughts, unemployment, and high cost of living.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barnet, T. & P. Blaikie (1992) *AIDS in Africa: Its Present and Future Prospects*. London: Belhaven Press.

Bhebhe, N. (1979) *Christianity and Traditional Religion in Western Zimbabwe 1959-1923*. London: Longman.

Beach, D. (1977) The Shona Economy: Branches of Production, in Palmer, R and N. Parsons (eds.) *Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa*. London: Heinemann.

Chakaodza, A. M. (1993). *Structural Adjustment in Zambia and Zimbabwe: Constructive or Destructive?* London: Third World Publishers.

Chambers, R. & R. Conway (1992) Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: Practical Concepts for the 21st Century *IDS Discussion Paper No. 196*. Brighton: IDS.

Chaumba, J *et al* (2003) New Politics, New Livelihoods: Agrarian Change in Zimbabwe *Review of African Political Economy 98: 585-608*.

Cobbing, J. (n.d.) Historical Materialism and the Nineteenth Century Ndebele State *Political Economy Research Seminar Paper No. 11: History Dept, University of Zimbabwe*.

Cousins, B. *et al* (1992) Social Differentiation in the Communal Lands of Zimbabwe *Review of African Political Economy 53: 5-24*.

DFID (1999) *Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance Sheets*. DFID: UK.

Gaidzanwa, R (1997) *Cross-border Trade in Southern Africa: A Gendered Perspective* Mimeo: SAPES Trust

Giddens, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Herbst, J. (1990). *State Politics in Zimbabwe*. Harare: University of Zimbabwe

IDS (2003) *Zimbabwe Human Development Report* Harare: IDS/UNDP.

Kambudzi, A.M. (1997). Water Development or Water Democracy? In Nhira, C and B. Derman (eds.) *Towards Reforming the Institutional and Legal Basis of the Water Sector in Zimbabwe: Current Weaknesses, Recent Initiatives and Operational Problems* Harare: Center for Applied Social Sciences (CASS).

Keane, J. (1988). *Democracy and Civil Society*. London: Verso.

Long, N. (1992) From Paradigm Lost to Paradigm Gained: The Case for an Actor Oriented Sociology of Development. In Long, N. & A. Long (eds.) *Battlefields of Knowledge* London: Routledge.

Long, N. (2001). *Development Sociology: Actor Perspectives*. London: Routledge.

Mahamba, B. (1996) *Women in the History of the Ndebele State* Dept. of History, UZ: Unpublished MA Thesis.

Mararike, C. G. (1999) *Survival Strategies in Rural Zimbabwe* Harare: Mond Books.

Ministry of Public Service, Labour & Social Welfare (1997) *1995 Poverty Assessment Study* Harare: MPS, L&SW, SDF.

Mlambo, A.S. (1997). *The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme: The Case of Zimbabwe, 1990-95*. Harare: University of Zimbabwe.

Mombeshora, S. (1998) *The Economic and Socio-Political Context of the AIDS Epidemic in Zimbabwe* (Mimeo: Paper prepared for the NACP/UNDP, Harare) pp. 1-90.

Mukheli, A. Mosupye, G and Swatuk, L.A. (2002) Is the Pungwe water supply project a solution to water accessibility and sanitation problems for household of Sakubva, Zimbabwe? *Physics and Chemistry of the Earth*, 27: 723-732.

Murphree, M. W. (1995) *The Lesson from Mahenye: Rural Poverty, Democracy and Wildlife Conservation* London: IIED, Wildlife & Development Series No.1.

Murphree, M. W. (1997) *Congruent Objectives, Competing Interests and Strategic Compromise: concept and Process in the Evolution of Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE Programme* (Paper presented at Conference at Unicoi Lodge, Georgia, USA 1-3June 1997).

Nyathi, T and K. Makoni (2000) *ESAP and Lives of Ordinary Citizens Today: Views of Ordinary Citizens Around Zimbabwe of Structural Adjustment Programmes (ESAP)*. Paper presented at a Structural Adjustment Participatory Review (SARPN).

Oliver, M (2003) Foreword. In Boyce, J. K. & B. G. Shelley (eds.) *Natural Assets: Democratizing Environmental Ownership* (Washington: Island Press) pp xiii- xvi.

Palmer, R. H. (1977). The Agricultural History of Rhodesia. In Palmer, R.H. and N. Parsons (eds.) *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa*. London: Heinemann pp 221-254.

Potts, D. & C. Mutambirwa (1998) Rural-Urban Linkages in Contemporary Harare: Why Migrants Need Their Land *Journal of Southern Africa Studies* 16,4: 677-698.

Raftopoulos, B. (2000). The State, NGOs and Democratization. In Moyo, S, Makumbe, J and B. Raftopoulos (eds.) *NGOs, the State and Politics in Zimbabwe*. Harare: SAPES Books.

Ranger, T.O. (1969). African Reaction and Resistance to the Imposition of Colonial rule in Eastern and Central Africa, In Gann, L.H and P. Duigan (eds.) *Colonialism in Africa 1860-1960, Vol. 1 The History and Politics of colonialism 1870-1915*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rukuni, M. (1993). *The Evolution of Zimbabwe's Agricultural Policy: 1880-1990*. Department of Agricultural Economics and Extension, University of Zimbabwe, Working paper AEE 2/93.

Rukuni, M. (1994) Introduction. In Rukuni, M. & C. Eicher (eds.) *Zimbabwe's Agricultural Revolution* Harare: UZ Publications.

Sahlins, M. (1972) *Stone Age Economics* London: Tavistock.

SARPN

(2002) *The Livelihoods of Commercial Sex Workers in Binga*
www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0000080/page1.php

(2003) *Zimbabwe Emergency Food Security and Vulnerability Assessment Report No. 3* www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0000470/index.php

(2004). *Structural Adjustment: The Policy Roots of Economic Crisis, Poverty and Inequality*. London: ZED Books.

Schmidt, (1992) *Peasants, Traders and Wives: Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe* Portsmouth, N.H.

Scoones, I. *et al* (1996) *Hazards and Opportunities, Farming Livelihoods in Dryland Africa: Lessons from Zimbabwe* London: Zed Books.

Scoones, I. (1998) *Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A Framework for Analysis IDS Working Paper No. 72* IDS, Brighton.

Seligman, A. B. (1992) *The Idea of Civil Society* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Tagwira, F (2000) *Community based assessment of Sakubva*. Mimeo.

The Sunday Mirror, August 22, 2004

Van Onselen, C. (1976). *Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1933*. Dunwell: Rivian Press.

UNDP (1997) *Governance and Sustainable Development* New York: UNDP.

UNDP (1999) *Human Development in Zimbabwe* Harare: UNDP.

UNDP (2000) *Governance: Human Development Report, Zimbabwe* Harare: UNDP.

UNDP (2003) *Zimbabwe Human Development Report 2003: Redirecting Our Responses to HIV and AIDS* Harare: Poverty Reduction Forum, UZ.

UNDP (2004) *Human Development Report: Cultural Liberty in Today's Diverse World* New York: UNDP.

APPENDIX 1: NDEBELE WORDS, PHRASES AND IDIOMS ON HELP
WORDS

imhuli	nuclear family
ilima	traditional work party
izigaba	chieftaincies
izinduna	chiefs
ukusisa	loaning out cattle to the have-nots
ukuzibekela	investing in one's future or building a nest egg
ukwabelana	sharing
umnumzana	male head of family or lineage
zibuthe	condolences money

PHRASES AND IDIOMS

inkomo zamathonga	privately owned (ancestral) cattle
isandla zimfitshane	spirit is willing (to help) but hands are tied with poverty
isiphala senkosi	tributary labour to the chief
izandla ziyagezana	hands wash each other or one good turn deserves another
khotha oyikhothayo	help the one that helps you; scratch my back and I will scratch yours
okwabanye nwayinwayi, okwakho finyofinyo	a person takes what belongs to others but hides what belongs to him/her.

ukuqinisa ubungane

lobuhlobo

reaffirming or underwriting friendship and kinship ties

umuntu ebatwini

a person among other people

TRANSLATION OF SOME FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION ITEMS

Root Words	
Uncedo	Help
Kunika	To give
Kwamukela	To receive
Ukunikwa	To be given
Inhlobo zoncedo? Types of Help	
Ukunika impupu, itshukela, amafutha, indumba, isawudo	Giving maize meal, sugar, beans, salt
Ulwazi	Advice, ideas
Isipho esivelakomunye	A gift from someone
Ingwalo sesikolo	Stationery to use at school
Ukwakelwa izindlu	To be built a house/hut
Ukuiswa esibhedlela	Being taken to hospital
Ukudingela omunye umsebenzi	Finding a job for someone
Imali	Money
Ukunceda isiphofu	Helping the blind
Luthando	Love
Iziggoko, ezicathulo	Clothes, shoes
Izifuyo	Livestock

<i>Unika bani uncedo?</i> <i>To whom do you give help?</i>	
Izihlobo	Relatives
Umakhelwana	Neighbour
Iziphofu	The blind
Intandane	Orphans
Isigulwane	The ill/sick
Abangane	Friends
Asebekhulile	The elderly
Umuntu nje	Stranger
<i>Unika sekhutheni?</i> <i>When do you give, or under what circumstances do you give?</i>	
Umngane – nxa sedubekile esebotshiwe	Friend – when he is in trouble and has been arrested
Izihlobo – nxa engelamali yeschool fees	Relatives – when they have no money for school fees
Isiphofu – ukubanika ukudla kumbe imali nxa becela	The blind – giving them food and money when they ask for it
Abesebhulile – siyabanceda ngokhubathengela izinto zabo emashops	The elderly – we help by buying them things from the shops
<i>Ngubani okunikayo?</i> <i>Who gives you help?</i>	
Umakhelwana	Neighbour
Izihlobo	Relatives
Amathetshi	Churches
Amaclub	Clubs
AmaNGOs	NGOs

<i>Uncedo sekwaguquka na ngokuhamba kwesikhathi? Has help changed over time?</i>	
Asisihambelani njengakudala izinto zonke sezidula – ukuhamba, ukudla.	We no longer visit each other as we used do because things are expensive – travel costs, food.
Ubunzima bempilo benza ngehluleke lokuphathela abatwana iziwiji, ngevela emsebenzini .	Given the hardships, we can no longer afford to buy children sweets on our way from work.
Isandla zimfitshane	Spirit is willing [to help] but hands are tied by poverty
<i>Ngubani ungamncediyo? Whom don't you help?</i>	
Umntu olezinto zakhe ezikwaneleyo ongahluphekiyo, othola konke akufunayo	A person who is wealthy, who is not suffering and who has all that he requires.
Umntu ongazake akuncede kawusoze umncede; ukhotha eyikhothayo	A person who does not help you, you cannot help him. Scratch my back and I will scratch yours.
<i>Isibonelo sencedo? Examples of help?</i>	
Umgane wami wangibiza emsebenzini wakhe wokugezisa izimota	My friend called me to [offered me a job at] his car washing workplace.
World Vision – ngakhuluma ukuthi kasila ukudla ngekhaya basibhala pansi saqala ukuhola. Basinika nje.	World Vision – I told them that we have no food at home, they wrote our names down and we started receiving food. They just give us

<i>Isibonelo sekuswela uncedo? Examples of being denied help?</i>	
Ngacela impuphu kumakhelwana ngayiswela. Angazi ukuthi wayelayo yini kumbe engela.	I asked for maize meal from my neighbour but was not given. I do not know whether he had it or not.
Ngadinga umsebenzi kumgane owayesebenza elea engenesa abanye emsebenzini. Ngaluswela ngoba engafuni ukuthi sifanane.	I looked for a job from a friend who was employing other people but did not get it. He did not want us to be alike (he was jealousy)
<i>Isibonelo sekunika uncedo? Examples of helping</i>	
Umakhelwana ngamceda ngemali yokugayisa Z\$1 000 ngo 2003.	Neighbour, I helped him with money Z\$1 000 for milling maize in 2003.
Umzukulu, ngamcina umtakamakhelwana esebhujelwe ngunina. Ngamcina imyaka embili. Wayengumtwana oyonkazana.	A female grandchild. The child's mother had passed away and I looked after her for a period of two years.
Ngadingela umgane umsebenzi ngoba setshiyiwe ngabazali kungela ongamcina.	I looked for a job for a friend whose parents passed away. He did not have a guardian.
Ngamnceda umgane nge Z\$10 000 engasela mali yokudla.	I helped a friend with Z\$10 000 for food.

<i>Ophayo uzwa njani? How does the giver feel?</i>	
Inhliziyo iya ikhulekile	Feels free at heart
Ngiyakhululeka ngoba kusasa ezanginika	I feel freed because tomorrow he will also give me
<i>Ufuqwa yini ukupha? What motivates you to give?</i>	
Ngifuna angibuyisele/anginike laye okunye nxa eselungelwe laye kwelakusasa	I would like him to also give to me when he is a better position in the future
Kudinga izibusiso	Looking for blessings.
<i>Uzwa njani nxa ungamukelanga? How does you feel when you do not receive?</i>	
Uyazwa ubuhlungu	You feel troubled and or angry
Uyadana	You feel sad
<i>Abantu baphi okufanele ubanike? Which people do you feel you have to give to?</i>	
Umakhelwana ngoba vele nguye isihlobo	Neighbour because he is [like] a relative.
Intandane	Orphans
Ezihlotsheni, nxa abatwana babafowenu bengasayi esikolo akula ngenye indlela sekumele uncede.	Relatives, especially siblings' children when they are no longer going to school [and are unemployed].
<i>Ngubani ukhethayo ukupha? Whom do you give to as a matter of choice?</i>	
Ungezake uncede isela ubona ukuthi isela	A thief when you know that the person is a thief
Abanye bayabe bekulinga ubona ukuthi umuntu	People who have enough money but want to borrow from you. Literally, some people who have

uyangilinga asithi ele Z\$100 000 ecela iZ\$10 000 wena ule Z\$15 000.	enough who say they have Z\$100 000 and they ask for Z\$10 000 when you have Z\$15 000 only.
<i>Ophiwayo uzwa njani? How does the receiver feel?</i>	
Uyjabula ngoba usukutholile ongelakho	Happy because you would have received what you did not have
Uzizwa ungumuntu ebatwini	You feel like a person among other people
Uzwa usiba lezibusiso	You feel blessed
<i>Uzwa njani nxa ungenelisi ukuthi uphe? How do you feel when you fail to help?</i>	
Ubuhlungu nxa into ecelwayo ngingelayo	You feel pain if you do not have anything to give
Angizwa ubuhlungu ngoba isifiso siyabe sikhona kodwa 'isandla zimfitshane' ngoba ngiyabe ngingelokho kuselo sikhathi	I do not feel any pain since "my hand is small" or I have the heart to give but I cannot because I will not be having anything at that time
<i>Zikhathi zipi okufanele wamukele? When do you receive as a matter of obligation?</i>	
Sengigula kumbe ngigulelwa	When I am ill/sick or someone [in family] is ill.
Nxa sengivalelwe indlu, amagetsi, amanzi. Sekudingakala imali yokubhadala.	When the house has been shut off/closed, or when electricity and water have been disconnected. I will receive money to pay.
Nxa sengibotshiwe sekudingeka ukudla ejele kumbe imali yefine.	When I have been arrested and I need food whilst in jail or when I need money for a fine

Sekulomonakalo, sekufiwe	When there is a big problem, a funeral
<i>Zikhathi zipi okhetha kwamukela? When do you choose to receive help?</i>	
Izikhathi ingiyabe ngilakho	Times when I have plenty
Nxa selengiphinda ukungipha ngento inye	When I am given the same thing twice
<i>Uqala ngubani ukupha? Who do you help first?</i>	
Umakhelwana ngoba uyabe umbona isihlobo lapho sikhathshana uyabe usizwa ndubo esilalo	Neighbour because he sees my problems; relatives are far away.
Isigulwane semukuhlane [HIV/AIDS], sizazinika ukudla	The terminally sick [who have HIV/AIDS] we give them food.
<i>Lokhu sekwaguquka na ngokuhamba kwesikhathi? Has this changed over time?</i>	
Kudala wawuqakathekhisa isihlobo sakho eduze; umakhelwana	In the past you would uplift your relatives, [but now] neighbours can be relatives.

APPENDIX 2: SHONA WORDS, PHRASES AND IDIOMS ON HELP

WORDS

chema	condolences money
chimoko	slang word for girl
fuko	white cloth in which deceased body is wrapped
hungarara	wanting to get something for little or nothing
kugovera/kugovana	distributing/sharing
kumazitye	at the flea market
kuronzera	loaning out cattle to the have-nots
kutsinhana	reciprocating

mainini	wife's younger sister or mother's younger sister or mother's brother's daughter
majangano	labour equivalent mutual aid groups
mbuya	paternal/maternal grandmother or mother's brother's wife
mhuri	nuclear family
muzukuru	grandchild or sister's child
n'anga	traditional diviner or healer
nhimbe	traditional work party
sekuru	paternal/maternal grandfather or mother's brother
usahwira	bond friendship

PHRASES AND IDIOMS

kakara kununa hudya	
kamwe	a carnivorous creature becomes fat by eating other creatures
kandiro kanoenda	
kunobva kamwe	one good turn deserves another
kupakurirana kandiro	sharing what is in the plate
muridzi wemusha	male head of family or lineage
nyama yemusango	
haigochwe	the meat that you get in the wild is never roasted (on your own)

TRANSLATION OF SOME FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION ITEMS

Root Words	
Rubatsiro	Help
Kupa	To give
Kugashira	To receive
Kupihwa	To be given
<i>Mhando dzerubatsiro? Types of Help</i>	
Kupa munyu, mbeu, huku	Giving salt, seed and chickens
Kupa mazano	Giving advice
Kudyidzana	Mutual reciprocity
Kusimbisana (kugwinyisana)	To strengthen each other, psychosocial or emotional support
Kutakurwa kuenda kuchipatara	Being ferried to hospital
Kupihwa mari yekutanga musika	Being given money to start a market stall
Kupihwa kamunda kasina matombo	Being given a piece of land that has no stones
Kupihwa mombe dzekurimisa	Being given oxen for tillage
Kugovera mbatya	Distributing/sharing clothes
Kufundisirwa mwana	Having your child educated by others
Kuwakirwa dzimba	Being built houses or huts
Kupihwa chikwereti	Being given a loan
<i>Munopa ani rubatsiro? To whom do you give help?</i>	
Misha inemhuri dzinonetseka	Households that are in need
Nherera dzinogara dzega	Orphaned children who live on their own

Shirikadzi, zvichisvikira kuna sabhuku	Widows, the help passes through the village leader.
Chembere neharahwa	Elderly women and men
Zvirema	The disabled
Varwere veHIV/AIDS	The sick, HIV/AIDS patients
<i>Munopa zvaita sei? When do you give, or under what circumstances do you give?</i>	
Panguva yenzara nekushaya zvekudya	During famines when food is in short supply
Shirikadzi inoenda kuna sabhuku; sabhuku odaidzira kuti kune shirikadzi inoda rubatsiro	A widow goes to the village leader who announces that there is a widow who needs help
Kana ndatsvirwa nemhatso we Chechi vanounganidza rubatsiro	When huts burn down, Church members put together some help.
<i>Munoenda kuna ani kunotsvaga rubatsiro? To whom do you go to seek help?</i>	
Kuna sabhuku, iye oudza Councillor. Councillor ozoenda kuCouncil	To the village head who informs the Councillor. The Councillor takes the matter to Council.
<i>Rubatsiro rwachinja here? Has help changed over time?</i>	
Vanababamukuru hawachapi rubatsiro nekuti hawachagari nhaka. Nhaka haichagarwi nenyaya yeshuramatongo (HIV/AIDS)	Bothers-in-law are no longer helping because they are not able to inherit widows. Widow inheritance is now difficult as a result of HIV/AIDS
Zvinhu zvadhora	Things are now expensive

Mvura kunaya kwayo kwawekushoma, nzara yawanda	Rainfall is now erratic, droughts and food shortages are common.
<i>Ndiyani wamusingabatsiri? Whom don't you help?</i>	
Vanezvakanakwanira semateacher, manurse, mapurisa	Those who have enough such as teachers, nurses and policemen
<i>Mifananidzo yerubatsiro? Examples of help?</i>	
Christian Care yakabatsira nemagwere, mafuta, bhinzi, ne poriji.	Christian Care helped with maize, cooking oil, beans and porridge
KuZION Chechi unobatsirwa naana mai kusimbiswa kuchengeta mhuri	At ZION Church members encourage mothers to look after their families
<i>Mifananidzo yekunyimwa rubatsiro? Examples of being denied help?</i>	
Nguva yekurwarirwa unotsvaga rubatsiro kuhama worwushaya	When a family member is sick you look for help from relatives and fail to get it
Nguva dzekufirwa. Mufananidzo vavamwe mai - 'pakafa hanzvadzi yangu ndakatvaga rubatsiro kubva kuvarume kwandakaroorwa ndikarushaya'	During times of bereavement. Example given by one participant. She lost her brother, looked for help from her in-laws but failed to get it.

<i>Mifananidzo yekubatsira? Examples of helping</i>	
Kupa manext door bhaghidhi remagwere nehuku. Hapana mubhadharo	Giving neighbours buckets of maize and chickens. There is no payment.
Kubatsira nherera kuvaka imba	Helping orphans to build
Kubatsira varwere ne chikafu	Helping the sick with food
Kubatsira mbuya vevana kusera imba	Helping a traditional mid-wife to plaster her hut.
<i>Anopa rubatsiro anonzwa sei? How does the giver feel?</i>	
Anonzwa kufara kuti ndapa	Feels happy to have given
<i>Chii chinoita kuti munhu ape? What motivates a person to give?</i>	
Anenge aona dambudziko riripo	He/she will have noticed that there is a problem
Anenge anzwira tsitsi munhu anedambudziko	He/she will have felt compassion/pity for the person with a problem.
<i>Munhu anyimwa rubatsiro anonzwa sei? How does one feel when denied help?</i>	
Anogumbuka	He/she feels disappointed/unhappy
Anopopota	He/she complains/grumbles
<i>Vanhu vemuona kuti zvakanira kuti muvape? Which people do you feel you have to give to?</i>	
Varwere vasingagoni kuita basa	The sick who can no longer work for themselves

Nherera dzinogara dzega	Orphans who live on their own
Chembere/harahwa	Elderly women and men
<i>Ndiyani vamunopa sesarudzo yenyu? Whom do you give to as a matter of choice?</i>	
Mwana vamukoma	Brothers/sister's child
Shamwari	Friend(s)
<i>Anogashira rubatsiro anonzwa sei? How does the receiver feel?</i>	
Anonzwa kufara	(s)he feels happy
Anonzwa kuti arikufungiwawo	Feels that he/she is being thought of
Haazokukanganwi	The receiver will never forget you
<i>Unonzwa sei kana watadza kubatsira? How do you feel when you fail to help?</i>	
Unonzwa kunetseka	You feel worried
Unonzwa kurwadziwa moyo	You feel bad in your heart
<i>Nguva dzemunoonoona kuti zvakatofanira kugashira rubatsiro ndedzipi? When do you receive as a matter of obligation?</i>	
Nguva yenzara, tikasagashira tinopera kufa	During droughts and famines. If we do not receive we will perish.
Nguva yekushaikirwa	When there is a funeral
<i>Nguva yamunosarudza kugashira rubatsiro? When do you choose to receive help?</i>	
Kana mvura yanaya tese tiine zvekudya	When rains are good and we all have enough food
<i>Ndiyani anotanga kuwana rubatsiro? Who receives help first?</i>	

Nherera dzinogara dzega	Child headed households
Varwere	The sick
<i>Rubatsiro rwasanduka here? Has help changed</i>	
Kare kwange kusina machild headed households	In the past there were no child headed households