



Philanthropy in South Africa

**Horizontality, Ubuntu
and Social Justice**

Edited by
**Shauna Mottiar and
Mvuselelo Ngcoya**

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Shauna Mottiar and Mvuselelo Ngcoya
University of KwaZulu-Natal
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Abbreviations and acronyms

ATM	actors, transactions and motivation
BCPP	Building Community Philanthropy Project
CAFSA	Charities Aid Foundation, South Africa
CAMP	Community Asset Mapping Programme
CBO	community-based organisation
CBP	community-based planning
CDO	community development organisation
CF	community foundation
CGSI	Community Grantmaking and Social Investment
CPO	community philanthropy organisation
CSO	civil society organisation
CSR	corporate social responsibility
FDI	foreign direct investment
FGD	focus group discussion
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
GHS	General Household Survey
GRCF	Greater Rustenburg Community Foundation
ICT	information and communications technology
IF	independent funder
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JDF	Jansenville Development Forum
MSC	most significant change
NICRO	National Institute for Crime Prevention and Reintegration of Offenders
PAIM	Philanthropy of Community Assets Inventory and Mapping instrument
PfC	philanthropy for community
PIME	Philanthropy of Community Monitoring and Evaluation
PMVA	Philanthropy of Community Measuring and Valuing Assets
PoC	philanthropy of community
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SAGA	South African Grantmakers' Association
SJP	social justice philanthropy
UCF	Uthungulu Community Foundation
ZCBF	Zululand Chamber of Business Foundation

1 *Horizontal, ubuntu and social justice*

Shauna Mottiar and Mvuselelo Ngcoya

Since at least the early 1990s, echoing a tectonic shift in the social sciences, the study of philanthropy has experienced a cultural turn. Instead of studying philanthropic acts from the top down, scholars have begun searching for expressions and variations of philanthropy from the bottom up (Donati 2003). Unlike conventional trends in philanthropy that tend to be top down and externally driven, bottom-up approaches are generally community centred and focus on empowerment and social change. Although they come in myriad variations, their defining traits include that they focus on philanthropic acts which create and sustain community relations and wellbeing; they may have formal structures (such as community foundations) and informal ones (such as mutual assistance clubs and societies); the hierarchical lines between givers and beneficiaries are often blurred; and giving involves more than monetary exchanges. Although scholarly research on these bottom-up approaches has yielded fruitful material, this move has detractors (Aragon 1996; Thomas 1991). One of the key complaints is that philanthropy loses its meaning and becomes a catch-all phrase (Kidd 1996). However, as most chapters in this edited volume stress, by focusing on Euro-American expressions of giving, the orthodox conceptual specificity of philanthropy fails to take into account the varied philanthropic acts that take place in the global South.

An indigenous turn in philanthropy

A major study of philanthropy in South Africa, published in 2008, centred on resource flows for poverty alleviation and the development of society (Habib et al. 2008). As such, the focus was on philanthropic giving in order to understand how philanthropy responds to need and what some of the motivations behind philanthropic practice are. This volume examines variations in philanthropy in South Africa with a view to interrogating how philanthropy is understood beyond the normative but in keeping with its classical definition ‘love of humankind’, which derives from the Greek *philanthropos* – loving people. It complements and departs from the themes covered in previous research. Like the Habib et al. study, this volume challenges various normative assumptions implicit in the philanthropy literature. This includes the view that philanthropy is undertaken only by the more resourced, is aimed towards the less resourced, and is motivated by generosity or altruism (Habib et al. 2008). In this sense, the volume seeks to build on efforts to consider philanthropic ‘impulses and behaviours’ (Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2004: ix) and to examine ‘African capacities to give, not only to help but also to transform

and seek to address the root causes of (social ills)’ (Aina & Moyo 2013: xv). In their seminal work on philanthropy in southern Africa, Susan Wilkinson-Maposa, Alan Fowler, Ceri Oliver-Evans and Chao Mulenga (2004) distinguish between ‘community for philanthropy’ and ‘community of philanthropy’ to understand relations of ‘giving’ and ‘helping’ among the poor as opposed to conventional philanthropic practices flowing from ‘rich’ to ‘poor’ common in development assistance narratives. Philanthropy in Africa (termed ‘giving’ for ease of translation) has been described as morally grounded and deeply embedded, operating for both survival and progress (Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2004: x). Philanthropy in Africa can therefore be understood both vertically and horizontally, while its motivations are multiple and complex. A more recent work on philanthropy in Africa by Tade Akin Aina and Bhengkosi Moyo (2013) considers emerging narratives of African philanthropy that suggest an interrogation of the place of Africans in normative philanthropic traditions and the ways in which African giving practices have the capacity to effect transformation. Moyo has commented that ‘African philanthropy is actually at the centre of the universal meaning or even practice of world traditions of philanthropy’ (Moyo 2011: 2). Furthermore, ‘it is the foundation on which an African’s life and his or her development revolve’ (Moyo 2013: 38).

Understanding philanthropy in Africa requires an examination of the philanthropic landscape in general. This is the subject of Jacob Mati’s chapter, where he poses the conundrum ‘African philanthropy’ or ‘philanthropy for Africa’? Mati shows that social scientific knowledge on philanthropy in Africa remains elusive and difficult to harness because information is scattered ‘all over the place’. This is because of ‘the challenges of meaning’, ‘relevance’ and ‘identity’ of African philanthropy. He argues that the silences of African forms of philanthropy in mainstream narratives further exacerbate its low visibility and emanate from the fact that scholarship and discussions on African philanthropy are dispersed.

The chapters in this volume are mostly case studies. It can be argued that the volume is thus challenged by the deficiencies characteristic of case studies, to wit the inherent difficulty of drawing generalisable inferences from them.¹ Yet, there is enough evidence in these studies to provide insights into how power arrangements in the world of philanthropy can be reorganised in order to favour the marginalised. Many of the case studies examined here expand the concept of philanthropy to include acts of giving among equals, thereby flattening the power hierarchies often associated with philanthropy – thus the concept of ‘horizontal philanthropy’ that anchors this volume. The political consequence of this is that by recognising the varied forms philanthropy takes, the standard features of institutional philanthropy are problematised. Among these is the tendency to simplistically view Africans as passive objects of charity rather than active contributors to practices of philanthropic giving.

1 This is an old charge going back to George A Lundberg (1926) Case work and the statistical method. *Social Forces* 5: 61–65.

‘Indigenous philanthropy’ is a contentious term. What is classified as indigenous in Africa has had long and deep, even if problematic, interaction with Western knowledge since at least the 17th century. As Agrawal (1995: 422) notes, when there has been such contact, variation and transformation, it is exceedingly difficult ‘to view indigenous and Western forms of knowledge as being untouched by each other.’ However, to acknowledge mutual exchange and contact is not to comment on the power relationships. In our context, indigenous knowledges and practices have historically been given a supportive role at best but subjugated and cast as primitive at worst.

We therefore see ‘indigenous philanthropy’ as the transfer of both material and non-material resources (for example time and talent) of a non-state nature that takes place among a given population. Indigenous philanthropy has a number of characteristics that distinguish it from its more professional cousin: First and foremost, indigenous forms of giving have been historically subjugated both in the policy world and in academic inquiry. Second, indigenous philanthropy is generally horizontal (among people of a similar socioeconomic status), although it can also be vertical. In other words, it challenges the conception of philanthropy as actions of the well-endowed almoner distributing charity to the impecunious actors. Third, indigenous forms of philanthropy are based on principles of reciprocity and cooperation grounded in unwritten but widely understood behaviours of giving. Following Agrawal (1995), we would argue that because indigenous philanthropy is generated and practised in the immediate context of a community’s interactions, it is not fixed or static; it is a dynamic practice that undergoes constant modification as the needs of communities change. Therefore, what we have called the indigenous archive of philanthropy is very complicated.

Nonetheless, what unites the themes covered in this volume is that the authors collectively refute the Eurocentric assumption that philanthropy is a uniquely Western idea. The more difficult task is to trace the contours and characteristics of philanthropy among the less-resourced in South Africa. The chapters aim to do that. Scouring the ethnographic landscape on philanthropy in South Africa, many of the chapters in this volume reveal substantial actions, transfers of resources and supplies of services that are not motivated by conventional understandings of philanthropy.

Four chapters are specifically centred on practices of horizontal philanthropy in South Africa and the ways in which the African philosophy of ubuntu has an impact on understandings of ‘giving’, ‘helping’ and ‘sharing’. Horizontal philanthropy in South Africa occurs at the individual and community level, and through local associations and formal civil society organisations, across the urban and rural divide. Examples include neighbours giving food and clothing to each other and the setting up of *stokvels* or saving clubs where individuals contribute so that the collective may benefit. Horizontal philanthropy intrinsically challenges normative conceptions of philanthropy where the giver and recipient are removed from each other. Horizontal practices of philanthropy cast the giver and recipient as equals challenging the

patronising effects of traditional philanthropy or 'charity'. Forms of philanthropy are also brought to bear where philanthropic giving is less about financial resources and includes other material resources such as food and clothing and, importantly, non-material resources such as help. Practices of horizontal philanthropy create interesting perspectives on well-established critiques of philanthropic practice regarding effectiveness, accountability and legitimacy (Frumkin 2006).

There are various examples in this volume that reflect how horizontal philanthropy accounts for the wellbeing of communities and the ways in which principles of reciprocity underlie accountability and legitimacy. The philosophy of ubuntu is an important consideration when studying philanthropic practice in Africa. Defined as 'a person is a person through others', it is a worldview advocating human interconnectedness. Relevant to understandings of philanthropy are two essential elements of ubuntu. The first element is that giving and receiving are not simply material acts of exchange but rather an actualisation of one's humanity. The second element is that while normative understandings of philanthropy take scarcity as their departure point, ubuntu takes giving from the departure point of plenitude: *'izingane zandawonye zihlephulelana inhloko yentethe'* (children who belong together will share even a grasshopper's head).

Annette Kasimbazi, Yvonne Sliep and Christopher John consider how the philosophy of ubuntu and altruism motivate HIV and AIDS care at community level in KwaZulu-Natal. Their chapter explores critical responses to the epidemic, with community-shared understandings of an individual's wellbeing as linked with the wellbeing of a community at large. Similarly, Mvuselelo Ngcoya and Shauna Mottiar explore understandings of ubuntu within philanthropic practices in both urban and rural KwaZulu-Natal, focusing on Zulu traditions such as *ukwenana*, *ukusisa* and *ilimo*. From this perspective, they show how philanthropy is not merely a patrician concern for the good of the less fortunate; the giver and receiver mutually actualise their humanity in the exchange. They concur with the observation made by Donati that gifting sustains human relationships and it demonstrates the '*inherent value of relation* through which, with which and by which humans can reaffirm and regenerate themselves in the deepest sense' (2003: 269, emphasis in the original).

The chapters that focus on indigenous philanthropic expressions are not simply idealist celebrations of the 'noble savage', abstracted from actual lived experiences. They are empirical examinations of not only the resilience and utility, but also the contradictions in the understandings and deployments of ubuntu in philanthropic acts. As is demonstrated, valorising issues as indigenous does not necessarily mean they are unanimously shared or understood. In fact, case studies in this volume reveal that ubuntu and other indigenous practices are highly contested as they are bound up in contemporary political and economic equations.

This is illustrated in Kamna Patel's chapter on patterns of reciprocity in KwaZulu-Natal and its impact on power, influence and obligation, in which she warns

against the romanticisation of horizontal philanthropy. This chapter considers theories advanced by Malinowski and Homans that advocate viewing gifting exchanges through an economic lens. Gifting furthermore reveals much about social relationships and the nature of society. Patel critiques theories of horizontal philanthropy for failing to capture 'the power dynamics laden in exchanges between people who are helping themselves or others.' Using the innovative research tool of gift diaries combined with interviews, she provides 'snapshot(s) of the state of social relations and flows of power.' Although the chapter is too limited to draw major theoretical insights, it nevertheless challenges Maussian understandings of gifting.

These complications are built on in Carolyn Stauffer's chapter on cycles of reciprocity among the black professional class in Gauteng. Among her findings are that while horizontal philanthropy specifically exhibits as a bridge across composite family and community systems, it heightens dissonance around customary versus contemporary identity allegiances. Also, giving is used as an instrument to placate growing class divides, as benefactors increasingly feel the pull of their own upward social mobility. Stauffer argues that horizontal philanthropy is born out of a symbiotic and uncomfortable interdependence between givers and receivers. Drawing from the ideas of subaltern theorists Antonio Gramsci and James C Scott, this chapter shows how protocols of giving are used simultaneously as instruments of reciprocity and resistance.

Alongside consideration of forms of philanthropy and motivations for philanthropic practice, the volume opens up an examination of understandings in South Africa of philanthropy's strategic ends and how it might be distinct from charity-based practices. This is in keeping with understandings of social justice philanthropy (SJP) where structural and systemic concerns are addressed as opposed to merely dealing with the symptoms they manifest. SJP (or social change philanthropy) is defined as that which 'aims explicitly to facilitate the changing of societal institutions so they don't produce the very problems that "charity" tries to alleviate' (Faber & McCarthy 2005: 10, quoting David R Hunter 1990). Philanthropic institutions that engage in SJP avoid 'supervisory' approaches to dealing with social challenges along with prescribing 'remedies' to these problems and selecting organisations to 'solve' these problems. Instead, the emphasis is on community self-determination and pushing against barriers (whether structural or systemic) that bar citizens from participating in the identification of problems and solutions (Faber & McCarthy 2005: 10). Elements of SJP therefore include a focus on the root causes of socioeconomic challenges, a need to effect structural and systemic change and an attempt to adopt broad-based collective participation in overcoming these challenges.

Halima Mahomed reflects on conceptual underpinnings of SJP with reference to 25 independent funders across South Africa. She argues that while many civil society organisations have complemented the development efforts of the state, only a small number have actively challenged the state on the limitations of its policies resulting

in continued inequality and poverty. The public-interest role these organisations play in effecting social justice and transformation is crucial. The chapter shows how understandings of SJP in South Africa affect the way independent funders define their role and the nature of their funding.

Social change, and more specifically social development, are further considered by Mbizo Sibanda who focuses on two community foundations: the Uthungulu Community Foundation in KwaZulu-Natal province and the Greater Rustenburg Community Foundation in North West province. Sibanda considers the advent of community foundations as forms of social solidarity movements and institutions that seek to promote citizen-led development. In this sense, community foundations may be a useful tool in engaging citizens to solve problems at the grassroots while capacitating the non-profit sector. As community foundations embrace citizen participation and civic engagement, they also nurture collective responsibility and self-reliance at the local level. The two community foundations profiled in this chapter reveal the ways in which community upliftment through socioeconomic empowerment can be facilitated as well as ways in which local development agents can be capacitated to identify and tackle impediments to development.

The two final chapters in this volume look at advances in the field of horizontal philanthropy by considering the development of theoretical approaches and their application. Alan Fowler examines ways in which normative philanthropy can be adapted to endogenous understandings of philanthropy in Africa. Drawing from findings in four southern African countries, Fowler proposes a 'philanthropic arc' to juxtapose characteristics of horizontal philanthropic practices against vertical (institutional) philanthropic practices. Echoing Claude Ake's (1993) call to 'build on the indigenous', he argues that a horizontality measure could assist an organisation involved in, for example, community development and poverty reduction, to judge if and how their behaviour respects and reflects indigenous systems. Some critics would argue that despite its progressive element, indigenising philanthropy simply serves to prepare the terrain for further economic exploitation (Munshi & Kurian 2007). Yet, this index and philanthropic arc will go some way to effecting change in organisational capacity towards horizontality.

Susan Wilkinson-Maposa demonstrates how research in the field of horizontal philanthropy is unfolding to generate new knowledge. She demonstrates this through studies that piloted new instruments for community grantmaking practice and utilised a metric to gauge the behaviour of community philanthropy organisations. Wilkinson-Maposa argues that research on horizontal philanthropy highlights areas for future research with a focus on questions related to: the scale and depth of each category of African philanthropy; ways to deliver African philanthropy more effectively; key concerns, tensions and contradictions arising from placing African philanthropy into interrelated categories of local and foreign; and ways in which newer forms of philanthropy can support, rather than distort and displace, long-standing ones.

Four emerging questions

In January 2013, the first black South African billionaire, Patrice Motsepe, made an announcement that was hailed as ‘a major breakthrough for personal philanthropy in South Africa.’² Joining Bill Gates and Warren Buffett’s Giving Pledge, which encourages wealthy people to donate some of their fortunes to charity, he announced that he would give away half of his assets to the philanthropic work of his family foundation:

I decided quite some time ago to give at least half of the funds generated by our family assets to uplift poor and other disadvantaged and marginalised South Africans, but was also duty-bound and committed to ensuring that it would be done in a way that protects the interests and retains the confidence of our shareholders and investors.³

The Motsepe Foundation’s work focuses on education, health, development, the upliftment of women, youth, workers and the disabled; the development of entrepreneurs and social entrepreneurs; and rural and urban transformation. Making the pledge, Motsepe suggested that his motivation was a commitment to uplifting the disadvantaged and marginalised of South Africa as he too had been a beneficiary of training, mentoring, inspiration and support.⁴

The announcement provides an opportunity to consider understandings of philanthropy in South Africa. Positive appraisals of this announcement would see it as confirming the rise of indigenous giving in the global South (Curry 2003; Axelrad 2011; Jarret 2013), while critics would lambast it as another case of the nefarious intertwining of philanthropy and capitalism (Barnes 2005; Cobbett & Friesen 2014). The gesture signified a major change in the conceptual and practical views of philanthropy, not just in South Africa but also on the African continent at large. It also raises numerous questions about the meaning of philanthropy in post-apartheid South Africa. As Jeff Rudin (2013) pointed out, what was left entirely unexamined in the celebration of Motsepe’s philanthropic aim was how he acquired his R20 billion in so short a period of time. Furthermore, about six months after the announcement, the *Mail & Guardian* reported that residents of Modikwa, where one of Motsepe’s mines operates, lamented his ‘empty promises’. They complained that ‘in 2000, African Rainbow Minerals offered them an 8.5% stake in the Modikwa platinum mine on credit, promising to develop schools,

2 Crotty A, Motsepe forges a fortunate path for SA philanthropy, *Sunday World*, 3 February 2013.

3 Hlongwane S, Gates, Buffet, can you hear me? Patrice Motsepe gives away half of family fortune, *Daily Maverick*, 31 January 2013. Accessed 19 March 2013, <http://goo.gl/bKwbNc>

4 African Rainbow Minerals, Press Release: Motsepe gives half to poor, 30 January 2013. Accessed 5 January 2015, <http://goo.gl/aM1Clv>

hospitals, homes and roads ...⁵ The report quotes one of the residents:

I'm happy the mine is here, but they don't give us anything,' said Doris Madingwane (35), who helps run a kindergarten for 35 pre-schoolers in the area and accuses the mine of reneging on a pledge to upgrade the two classrooms, which let in the rain. 'We're suffering here.'⁶

We cite the complications of Motsepe's pledge at length, not to disparage his gesture, but to underline a series of questions regarding how philanthropy in South Africa is understood and how it can be best put to use to achieve social-justice ends. First, is philanthropy understood differently from charity? For example, media reporting on the pledge used the term 'charity' interchangeably with 'philanthropy' (see Mottiar 2013). A century ago, Jane Adams argued that there was a trend in the concept of charity marked by two groups: the 'charitable' moved by 'pity for the poor' and the 'radicals' moved by a 'hatred of injustice' (Adams 1910). She used a vivid example to illustrate how charity addresses symptoms of social malaise while philanthropy seeks to promote transformation, offer alternatives and advocates for policy change to eradicate the causes of malaise. In this sense, charity does not require a commitment to examining underlying structural and systemic contexts (such as neoliberal economics) in the same way that philanthropy does.

Second, what value does the rich culture of indigenous philanthropy (better expressed as giving, sharing and ubuntu) bring to mainstream philanthropic efforts pledging 'development' and 'upliftment'? Scholars of SJP advocate for initiatives that transform power relations, collective action and inclusiveness of beneficiaries in decision-making (Faber & McCarthy 2005: 10). Indigenous philanthropy incorporates all of these elements. From this perspective, there should be a focus on the background of economic violence and economic systems that facilitate the accumulation of wealth of single individuals in very short periods of time. By failing to consider such questions, vertical philanthropy fails to challenge the structures that breed the misery it seeks to redeem, and thereby ironically displays indifference to the suffering of others. Indeed, the toxic meshing of vertical philanthropy with profit making and high consumption is all too familiar. The concentration of wealth in a few hands and the faith that their charitable giving will contribute to the betterment of society need to be examined, as do the links between high consumption and charitable giving.⁷

5 Franz Wild and Mike Cohen, Waiting for the rainbow: villagers lament Motsepe's empty promises, *Mail & Guardian*, 24 July 2013. Accessed 5 January 2015, <http://goo.gl/DlcQwT>

6 Franz Wild and Mike Cohen, Waiting for the rainbow: villagers lament Motsepe's empty promises, *Mail & Guardian*, 24 July 2013. Accessed 5 January 2015, <http://goo.gl/DlcQwT>

7 In December 2014, the media reported that the Motsepes had purchased a sprawling luxury retreat in the super prestigious residential suburb of Bishopscourt, Cape Town, for a record price of R68 million (about US\$5 million) and that the property requires

Third, what efforts and concepts could be developed to normalise alternative forms and understandings of philanthropy? It would be unwise to retrofit indigenous philanthropic practices into conventional approaches. It is the received notions of philanthropy that need to be expanded and corrected in order to understand the multiple forms of philanthropy that exist in South Africa and elsewhere. As a start, philanthropy for development purposes would cast ‘beneficiaries’ as active participants and owners in the process, and would increase the chances of sustainability. This would also flatten the vertical divide between ‘givers’ and ‘receivers’. Giving in this context tends to flow through cultural capillaries of individual and community networks, not always formal structures, organisations or institutions. Thus, philanthropy needs to be viewed from multiple levels: at the micro level, individual to individual; at the meso level, informal organisations (such as *stokvels* and other community institutions); and at the macro level, national and international structures. This means that scholars of philanthropy should develop cultural and linguistic proficiency to examine the various institutions and practices that provide the scaffolding of many horizontal philanthropic acts. Critical examination of customs and institutions such as *ukusisa*, *ilimo* and *letsema* is urgent.

The fourth vexing question: What would a liberatory horizontal research agenda look like? The contours of such a research agenda are not clear. At a minimum, as some chapters in this volume demonstrate, studies of philanthropy in South Africa specifically and in Africa in general require new concepts and orientation. Research on philanthropy can no longer continue to mimic experiments and designs from the colonial centre. We need to ask: What are the practices that constitute knowledge about philanthropy? Reclaiming this knowledge is not simply an academic exercise, but has urgent political and socioeconomic implications. The chapters indicate that many South Africans do not define their social intercourse strictly in economic exchange. There needs to be an expansion of the conceptions of philanthropy. This expansion would include multiple imaginaries that have become increasingly important in the context of neoliberal economic designs that seek to grind all modes of existence into market rationality. We argue that such conceptualisations of philanthropy have to be radical, in that they should be constructed from the perspective of the marginalised underside of modernity. They cannot simply be replicas of practices from elsewhere.

Bhekinkosi Moyo has argued that there are many ‘variations and definitions of philanthropy in Africa’ and too often priority is given to ‘modern’ and ‘formal’ institutions of philanthropy at the expense of the ‘informal’ ones (Moyo 2010: 260). This was echoed at an assembly of the African Grantmakers’ Network in 2010 where it was noted that the impact of philanthropic practice in Africa is only reduced by its

[n. 7 cont.] approximately R30 000 a month for upkeep and maintenance. Farai Gundan, South African billionaire Patrice Motsepe spends 68-Million rands on Cape Town luxury retreat, *Forbes*. Accessed 5 January 2015, <http://goo.gl/wW28NE>

failure to take into account traditional or indigenous forms of philanthropy (Malombe 2010: 6). It is hoped that this edited volume will contribute to debates on variations of philanthropy and expand on theoretical understandings of philanthropic practice and the motivations that underpin them. The contributors collectively argue that the neoliberal imperatives that accompany dominant philanthropic zeal have not tackled underlying structural causes of poverty. They demonstrate that conventional philanthropic actions will not solve the current socioeconomic crisis, as the dominant approaches in studies and practices of philanthropy cannot reduce – let alone eliminate – the penury caused by the prevailing economic structures. Scholars of philanthropy need to expand the conceptual and practical understandings of philanthropy and move beyond mere charitable approaches to confront the underlying causes of poverty.

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2 Omnipresent yet invisible: A review of 'African philanthropy'

Jacob Mwathi Mati

Imagine a typical low-income neighbourhood in an African town or a village with a dearth of economic resources for dealing with the ever-increasing challenges of poverty, welfare and underdevelopment. In such a neighbourhood, you are most likely to find myriad actors intervening in social-development efforts. For example, you are likely to find a local or international non-governmental development organisation intervening in catering for various needs of destitute children rendered vulnerable by disease and lack of opportunities. Among the donors of this non-governmental development organisation will be private indigenous business organisations and foreign (multinational) corporations, contributing either in the form of direct corporate donations or as part of their corporate social responsibility programmes. The same non-governmental development organisation is likely to be receiving individual private donations of money, time and other in-kind resources from local citizens, or even international development workers, as well as grants from international development organisations. In the same community, the income poor, most likely to be depicted as beneficiaries of the development and philanthropic programmes of this non-governmental development organisation, will also be donating their time, money, food and clothes through small-scale self-help organisations to cater for some of these vulnerable children in their neighbourhood. This scenario captures the complex reality of philanthropy and development on the African continent in the 21st century.

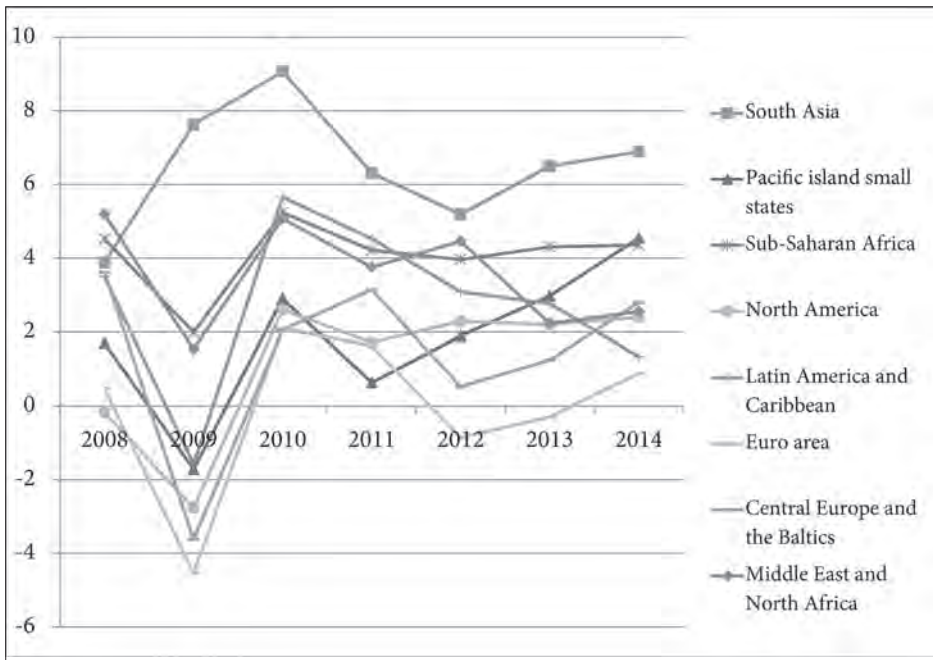
More often than not, mainstream media and scholarly narratives of philanthropy portray Africa as a continent of recipients. African nation-states, civil-society organisations and societies are depicted as dependent on benevolent donations and aid from the rest of the world for their development. But that is only one side of the story of philanthropy and development in Africa, and it has attracted some criticism (See Atibil 2013; Wilkinson-Maposa & Fowler 2009; Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2005; Moyo 2009; Muchie 1999; Easterly 2006). Indeed, the reality is different because Africans 'are both givers and receivers' (Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2005: xi; Strassburg 2010; Atibil 2013; Nkowane 2016). Bolstered in part by an Africa 'on the rise', there are increasing levels of local/internal generation of resources fuelling her own socioeconomic growth and prosperity.

Written off by the influential *The Economist* magazine in May 2000¹ as the 'hopeless' 'Dark Continent' due to bad governance, war, poverty and disease, and heavy

1 Hopeless Africa (*The Economist*, 11 May 2000). Accessed 3 September 2016, <http://www.economist.com/node/333429>

dependence on foreign aid four decades after independence, Africa has reached a tipping point. Many of the fastest-growing economies in the world are in Africa. Figures from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank show that many African countries are experiencing an unprecedented economic boom.² On average, Sub-Saharan Africa is the second-fastest growth region (after South Asia) since the 2008 global economic meltdown with some countries registering double-digit GDP growth in some years.³ In 2013, for instance, the African Economic Outlook (2014) of the African Development Bank reported that East and West Africa recorded the fastest growth, averaging 6% and above. Every day, we read of commissions of new major infrastructure development projects; we read of new mineral, gas and oil finds that will be key in fuelling growth over the next decades; we read of new technological innovations that are transforming African economies and the livelihoods of her people. Africa's human capital has also not been left behind in this rise.

Figure 2.1 Annual GDP growth (%)



Data source: World development indicators, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG>⁴

2 See also: Akwagyiram A, Africa rising – but who benefits? BBC Africa, 18 June 2013, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-22847118>

3 World development indicators, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG>

4 While the credibility crisis of GDP growth as a measure of progress has reached unprecedented levels (see, for example, Fioramonti L (2013) *Gross domestic problem*:

These developments have led to a change of opinion, even among the Afro-pessimists. In this regard, the same *The Economist* magazine, in a debate published on 12 March 2013, for instance, observed:

Sub-Saharan Africa has made huge leaps in the last decade. Malaria deaths in some of the worst affected countries have declined by 30% and HIV infections by up to 74%. Life expectancy across Africa has increased by about 10% and child mortality rates in most African countries have been falling steeply. A booming economy has made a big difference. Real income per person has increased by more than 30%, whereas in the previous 20 years it shrank by nearly 10%. Africa is the world's fastest-growing continent at the moment. Over the next decade its GDP is expected to rise by an average of 6% a year, not least thanks to foreign direct investment. FDI has gone from \$15 billion in 2002 to \$37 billion in 2006 and \$46 billion in 2012.⁵

These developments have been attributed to a combination of improved political maturity and 'better economic management by many governments, and a fast-growing population of young workers and consumers.'⁶ A 2010 McKinsey Global Institute report argues that a combination of these economic and demographic expansions, projected to spur substantial wealth creation over the next 15 years, with GDP projected to rise to US\$2.6 trillion in 2020 from US\$1.6 trillion in 2008 (Roxburgh et al. 2010). On the whole, the debate on Africa's development and economic growth 'is no longer how to prevent the continent from sinking further into poverty, but rather how its wealth can be shared more equitably' (Hodgson & Knight 2012: 1). These are encouraging stories, especially coming from quarters known better for their scepticism about Africa's socioeconomic and political outlook.

That Africa has changed in the last decade is hard to dispute. But even with the emerging consensus of an Africa on the rise, there are still many challenges (Julien et al. 2014). One of the most prominent of these challenges is widespread poverty as 46.8% of Sub-Saharan Africans still live below the poverty line.⁷ Furthermore, political instability and scandals, unemployment, and income and gender inequality remain high; rising temperatures because of climate change and environmental degradation are devastating the livelihoods of Africa's poorest; disease, such as the 2014/15 Ebola outbreak in West Africa, and hunger continues to ravage significantly

[n. 4 cont.] *The politics behind the world's most powerful number*. London: Zed Books), I use the same here for illustrative purposes with no intention of delving into the merits and demerits of the same.

5 August O, Africa rising: A hopeful continent, *The Economist*, 2 March 2013.

6 Fletcher P, Analysis: Africa's rise pays out dividends for democracy. Reuters, 5 April 2013, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/04/05/us-africa-elections-idUSBRE9340BN20130405>

7 World Bank, Poverty and equity data, 2012. Accessed 27 November 2014, <http://povertydata.worldbank.org/poverty/region/SSA>

higher percentages of the population compared to other regions of the world (Julien et al. 2014). This signifies that recent developments are yet to be consolidated for the benefit of the majority of Africa's population.

However, accompanying the economic prosperity in the past decade has been the growth of indigenous African philanthropic institutions such as private, corporate, family and community foundations that are contributing to Africa's development. These formations, together with social platforms that facilitate giving and volunteering, have become a permanent feature that complements indigenous forms of philanthropy, especially in their solidarity, self-help, mutual aid and reciprocity manifestations (Strassburg 2010; Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2005). These manifestations of philanthropy are deeply rooted in long-standing traditions of social norms and conventions (Julien et al. 2014). Furthermore, they reflect a collective philosophy of life that values communal wellbeing over individualism and emphasises individual responsibility to communal wellbeing as exemplified in the notions of African humanism in terms such as *ubuntu*, *harambee* and *ujamaa*.

Despite the prevalence of philanthropic practices based on these values, it is only recently that African philanthropy has begun to attract attention as an area of research and study. Nonetheless, social scientific knowledge on philanthropy as an ever-present social phenomenon in Africa remains unsatisfactory, elusive and difficult to harness because information is scattered 'all over the place'. This is, in part, informed by the 'challenges of meaning', 'relevance' and 'identity' of African philanthropy (Trust Africa & WINGS 2008). The silences of African forms of philanthropy in mainstream narratives further exacerbate this low visibility. This silencing emanates from the fact that scholarship and discussions on African philanthropy are dispersed. The intellectual work on African philanthropy has mainly been driven by non-Africans, non-resident scholars and even those outside the academy. As such, while some writers of African philanthropy are in universities (in African and non-African countries), others are in government departments in African nations, in countries that provide official development assistance, or in development-assistance organisations in the non-profit or private sectors. This scenario is best illustrated by, for instance, the existence of only two centres dedicated to the study of philanthropy and associated civil society in universities in Africa (the John D Gerhart Center for Philanthropy and Civic Engagement of the American University in Cairo and the Centre for Civil Society of the University of KwaZulu-Natal) at the time of writing this chapter. Recent attempts to establish a research chair for African philanthropy at the University of the Witwatersrand's Business School is therefore a welcome addition.

This is not to understate the important role of these efforts in at least surfacing what exists. Rather, it is to highlight the fact that individuals and organisations researching African philanthropy are not necessarily in Africa, nor are they in African academic institutions. Furthermore, it is not always easy to assess what literature on African philanthropy exists. Indeed, the intellectual project on African philanthropy has

been, at most, ad hoc, fragmented and disjointed – especially among African scholars. A lack of consistent and coherent local research funding has resulted in spasmodic, contract-driven academic engagement. An outcome of this is that there is little progress in forming a critical mass of Africans with dedication, experience, knowledge and specialisation in research on philanthropy from the continent. Consequently, philanthropy in African terms remains largely under-researched and under-theorised. Where research findings exist, most rely on external theoretical and empirical models that may not always have relevance to African contexts. Moreover, there is little communication among African researchers in this field of study. Those pursuing this area of enquiry as researchers and reflective practitioners are often unaware of one another's existence, work or achievements. Suffice it to say that the intellectual project on philanthropy in Africa is still at a level where 'we do not know all that we know'.

Against this reality, the primary question addressed in this chapter is: What is known about African philanthropy across the continent? Another question is: What does literature on African philanthropy look like? The chapter is based on a scoping and documentation exercise of literature on African philanthropy.⁸ The exercise was aimed at identifying existing literature on African philanthropy. It was also aimed at contributing to ongoing analysis with a view to surfacing the 'meaning', 'relevance' and 'identity' of African philanthropy and its prevalent manifestations. The chapter hopes to make modest contributions towards these aims by offering what is essentially work in progress on the overview of the diversity, forms, expressions and models of African philanthropy in some of the identified existing literature. These include formal and institutionalised, as well as non-institutionalised and informal, forms that go beyond monetary donations and are always present in the everyday social lives of Africans.

The chapter is divided into four sections. The conceptual parameters of the project and, especially, the conception of African philanthropy as employed in this study are provided. Next, the methodology used in the scoping exercise is provided before giving an overview of the key findings. Finally, reflection on the limitations of this project is provided before offering concluding observations.

African philanthropy or philanthropy for Africa? Unbundling a conceptual quagmire

The premise of this inquiry was that 'we do not know what we know' about African philanthropy. Furthermore, the inquiry was also premised on the assumption that

8 The chapter is based on and draws from the report, *African Philanthropy Project Resource Base* by Jacob Mwathi Mati and Bev Russell (Social Surveys Africa), prepared for Trust Africa, with contributions from Gerard Tchouassi, Erma Cossa, Sherine El Traboulsi and Mpho Mchaza. As such, it is not a typical book chapter as it reflects on the process of implementing a project whose brief was to gather literature on African philanthropy and set up a database of what was discovered.

African philanthropy is not homogenous across the continent. While it is more likely that countries and subregions – north, southern, east, west and central – have shared features, it is equally probable that there are peculiar ‘flavours’ or emphasis on the meanings and manifestations of African philanthropy that differentiate the regions. For instance, humanistic concepts and philosophies such as *harambee*, *ubuntu* and *ujamaa* are bundled together with religious and faith-based giving, corporate donations, solidarity and reciprocity as manifestations of philanthropy (see, for example, Moyo 2011). But do these practices portray a similar phenomenon? The multiplicity of contexts, cultures, practices and religions informs the pluralities of existing realities of African philanthropy. As such, it is arguably more apt to talk of ‘varieties’ of African philanthropy. Against this background, the primary research question was: What does the universe of African philanthropy across the continent look like?

The meaning of African philanthropy is a primary challenge in studying philanthropy in Africa. This is because of scope creep and lack of clearly demarcated conceptual and definitional boundaries in existing literature (academic or otherwise). It is therefore not uncommon to see activities of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation in Africa highlighted in the same breath as those of the foundations of Aliko Dangote, Mo Ibrahim, Patrice Motsepe, and Manu Chanda (see, for example, Kamau n.d.). But are these reflections of African philanthropy, or of philanthropy in Africa? This was a key question in unbundling this conceptual quagmire, which is further accentuated by the fact that, even globally, what constitutes philanthropy is contested. As Nxumalo (citing Glenn Ashton) argues, ‘... philanthropy is a strange beast: readily defined, more difficult to ring-fence and impossible to control. Founded upon altruism, it becomes invariably entangled with ideology, politics and ego, all tied up with differing degrees of alienation.’⁹

In conceptualising African philanthropy, this chapter accommodates the faith-induced factors as well as geospatial and class parameters that influence the reality of philanthropy on the continent. That is, African philanthropy is framed in a way that appreciates that African philanthropy has many forms, expressions and models (Joseph 1989; Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2005; Wilkinson-Maposa & Fowler 2009; Moyo 2011). These may include formal and institutionalised as well as non-institutionalised and informal manifestations, and are practised by the poor and the rich alike (Moyo 2011; Everatt & Solanki 2008; Habib & Maharaj 2008; Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2005). As such, African philanthropy is broadly conceived as encompassing extragovernmental and private ways through which resources (including money, material goods, time and labour) are mobilised/harnessed by and for Africans to address a public need, interest or cause.

Such philanthropic resource mobilisation in Africa is usually driven by a desire to promote the welfare of others or private initiatives for public good, but can

9 Nxumalo M, The rise of African philanthropy. *Mail & Guardian*, 26 April 2013. Accessed 23 May 2016, <http://goo.gl/zMxLqg>

also be shared and includes solidarity and reciprocity entailed in collective or individual efforts towards a social or public good (Moyo 2011). Accordingly, this conception goes beyond monetary donations. African philanthropy is distinct from 'philanthropy for Africa', which refers to extragovernmental and private resource mobilisation by 'non-Africans' for 'Africans' on the continent. For the purposes of this review, it was deemed necessary to broaden the focus to philanthropy in Africa. African philanthropy and philanthropy for/in Africa intersect and are mutually reinforcing. Accordingly, to understand 'African philanthropy' (by and for Africa), we cannot overlook 'philanthropy for Africa' (for Africa by others).

This bundling of the two concepts – African philanthropy and philanthropy in Africa – is a conscious decision that acknowledges the complexity of the manifestations of philanthropy in Africa where charitable impulse is universal and culturally and religiously rooted (Joseph 1998; Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2005; Wilkinson-Maposa & Fowler 2009). This is the main driver of individual charitable giving and does not depend on the amount of wealth that one may have (Joseph 1998; Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2005; Wilkinson-Maposa & Fowler 2009). There is universal giving throughout Africa, though levels of giving differ across regions, countries and socioeconomic groups. In this scenario, horizontal philanthropy, or what Wilkinson-Maposa and Fowler (2009) refer to as 'philanthropy of community' (that is, poor-to-poor philanthropy), is an ever-present phenomenon in African communities. Indeed, even the poor do not just wait to be targeted and co-opted in development. Rather, as Wilkinson-Maposa and Fowler (2009) note, the low-wealth individuals are as likely to systemically mobilise resources for their own development, through a system of self-help and mutual assistance and mobilisation, as are those with higher wealth. In Africa, therefore, charitable giving is a phenomenon in the worlds of rich and poor (Everatt et al. 2005; Everatt & Solanki 2004; Everatt & Solanki 2008; Habib & Maharaj 2008; Julien et al. 2014; Moyo 2011).

But such practices co-exist with vertical philanthropic activities. Here, richer individuals as well as modern forms of philanthropy such as corporate giving and donations have fuelled the growth of the non-profit sector organisations such as non-governmental development organisations, foundations and trusts (Julien et al. 2014).

Methodology

The next step in undertaking this review was to design the process for gathering, capturing and cataloguing existing literature on African philanthropy. This was aimed at obtaining as much information as possible about philanthropy in Africa. The methods and strategies for this review were multipronged, which – taking the cue from Hagen-Zanker and Mallett (2013) – commenced with developing a keywords search string. This exercise revealed that the complexities and the multifaceted nature of practices and African philanthropy are represented in existing literature in various studies as illustrated in the list of keywords that follows.

Keywords search strings

Philanthropy: African philanthropy; community philanthropy institutions; community foundations and trusts; foundations and trusts; crisis philanthropy; relief aid; humanitarian aid; corporate foundations

Giving and volunteering: volunteering; service learning; in-kind contribution; service contribution; donations of time; donations of labour; donations of knowledge; donations of influence; donations of visibility; employee volunteering; corporate giving; individual giving; diaspora giving and volunteering; care giving; HIV and AIDS; environmental conservation; *ilima/letsema*; high net-worth givers; palliative care

Faith-based giving: faith-guided giving; *zakaat*; *sadaqah*; tithe; *lillah*; *fitrah*; *tzedalah*; *dana*; *punya*

Fund, foundation or trust: women funds; youth funds; community/family foundations/trusts; grassroots grantmakers

Corporate: corporate social investment/responsibility; corporate giving; corporate philanthropy

Indigenous forms of philanthropy: ubuntu; *harambee*; *ujamaa*; burial societies; mutual aid; merry-go-round; self-help groups; reciprocity; social solidarity; community social solidarity; *takaful*; *stokvels*; *ilima*; *susu* and social safety net

Livelihoods: asset-based community development; community asset building

Social justice funding

Development aid

Using these search strings, searches were made on databases of master's dissertations and doctoral theses, especially those of African universities known to have open-access databases of the same. The keywords were also instrumental in guiding a broader web search for literature specific to African philanthropy. Special attention was given to popular existing databases of organisations with philanthropy research programmes or likely to have publications touching on African philanthropy. Key examples here include the John D Gerhart Centre at the American University in Cairo, the European Foundation Centre, the Global Fund for Community Foundations, the Ford Foundation, the World Bank, the African Grantmakers' Network Conference, *Alliance* magazine, the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) and the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA).

A key restriction of doing any Africa-wide research is the limited amount of data available online. Aware of these potential drawbacks, the review also reached out to several academics, researchers, practitioners and organisations known to work on African philanthropy issues. Some of these provided additional resources such as articles, reports and unpublished conference papers not necessarily on the

web and/or in publicly searchable databases. Here, individuals within research and philanthropy networks were approached, including the ISTR Africa regional network, the African Grantmakers' Network and the East African Association of Grantmakers.

Snowballing, usually recommended for undertaking systematic reviews (see for example Hagen-Zanker & Mallett 2013; Jalali & Wohlin 2012; Freeman 2011; Lecy & Beatty 2012), was also deemed necessary. This started with what we knew as key publications in the field of philanthropy in Africa and snowballed through the reference lists and citations. African philanthropy plays out at various levels, such as in a community, region and district, country, subregion of the continent, and even across countries and continents (that is, diaspora giving and foreign donations). This diversity, as with any Africa-wide research, presented geospatial as well as linguistic challenges. Aware that it would be impossible to gather all that exists in all the possible languages, the project was limited to the languages most widely used in scientific publishing in Africa. These are English, French, Arabic and Portuguese.

One of the key considerations was the choice of what to include in terms of whether the identified literature had been formally published and/or peer reviewed, or was unpublished, grey literature. In Africa, where funds are not as readily available for research and publication and where historically much of what has been commissioned is done by exogenous analysts, much of the local literature tends to be grey literature and less accessible in academic circles. However, much of what is published and more accessible through academic media, such as journals and books, is exogenous. The import of this is that when exploring the comprehensive narratives of African philanthropy from endogenous perspectives, considerable attention needs to be paid to grey unpublished literature. This was therefore taken into consideration in the design and conduct of this review.

A preliminary map of what exists

This literature search was structured to ensure that as many distinctions and nuances as possible could be extracted through content and text analysis of abstracts, introductions, blurbs and/or key headings in the articles, chapters and books to determine that the literature was on African philanthropy. Furthermore, keywords – especially in articles, papers or chapters that did not provide for the same – were developed and used in 'tagging' or 'coding' these articles or chapters. With a view to capture the universe of what is written about the various socioeconomic groups' involvement in African philanthropy, the relevant literature was organised according to wealth ranking (poor, middle class, wealthy and ultra-wealthy).

The information in relevant literature was captured in MS Excel spreadsheets and organised in the following order: Keywords (tags)/Summary of what the literature is about/Author/Date of publication/Title of publication/Publisher/Region (organised into Arabic North Africa; Eastern and Horn of Africa;

francophone Central Africa; Anglophone Southern Africa; Anglophone West Africa; Francophone West Africa; Lusophone Africa and African diaspora)/Country/Structure of philanthropy (that is, formal or informal)/Philanthropist class/Type of philanthropy/Type of resource/By or for Africans/DOI number (where available).

As this exercise was not a literature review per se, but a preliminary mapping of existing literature, the analysis presented here is at a meta-level. A total of 1 281 different pieces of relevant literature covering all but two of the 54 countries on the continent were gathered and a preliminary analysis of the same was done. Table 2.1 summarises the percentages of articles found in each of these countries.

While this is definitely not the universe of all the literature on African philanthropy, it gives a sense of what might exist out there. Even though at this stage of the analysis the interest was on the synopses of the literature, preliminary observations provided only a partial overview of the picture on existing literature on philanthropy in Africa. It has also made it possible to start identifying gaps where further work is necessary.

Preliminary analysis of the literature was organised along three key thematic parameters: geospatial, class and levels of institutionalisation of philanthropy in Africa. It revealed the following key observations.

Geospatial parameters

The keywords used for this review yielded philanthropy-related literature in 51 of the 54 countries on the African continent. There were, however, cases where certain forms of philanthropy are more prevalent than others. For instance, in economies with heavy extractive industries, corporate social investment/responsibility is more prevalent. In this case, countries such as South Africa, Namibia and Nigeria, to mention but a few, come to the fore. Furthermore, care-based self-help forms of philanthropy are also recorded in countries with higher HIV and AIDS prevalence (southern African countries); in countries with larger Muslim populations (especially North Africa), the literature registered higher religious-inspired forms of philanthropy such as *zakaat* and *sadaqah*. The search also yielded new words for indigenous forms of philanthropy-related practices, such as *hawalaad* in Somalia and *citemene* in Zambia.

There were some unexpected findings in terms of countries either yielding very little or too little. Algeria, for instance, with a significant natural gas extractive industry, should have yielded some literature. The same applies to Mauritius, with arguably higher levels of industrial capitalism than the rest of Africa. This may have to do with the inherent weaknesses in the search criteria used as, generally, the countries where researchers in this project came from tended to register more resources. As such, it is probable that the search missed some existing literature on corporate

Table 2.1 *Distribution of articles/books dealing with philanthropy in different African countries*

Country	Percentage of total articles in category	Country	Percentage of total articles in category
All Africa	20.92	Kenya	5.932
North Africa	1.17	Lesotho	0.156
Anglophone West Africa	0.31	Liberia	0.31
Francophone West Africa	0.078	Libya	0.31
East Africa and the Horn	0.936	Madagascar	1.951
Southern Africa	2.966	Malawi	0.78
Lusophone	0.078	Mali	0.78
Diaspora	0.31	Mauritania	0.702
Angola	1.483	Mauritius	0.078
Benin	1.327	Morocco	1.717
Botswana	0.936	Mozambique	3.20
Burkina Faso	1.951	Namibia	0.468
Burundi	2.107	Niger	1.249
Cameroon	4.18	Nigeria	5.152
Cape Verde	1.405	Rwanda	0.624
Central African Republic	0.702	São Tomé and Príncipe	1.249
Chad	1.327	Senegal	2.888
Comoros	1.249	Sierra Leone	0.702
Congo	0.234	Somalia	0.234
Côte d'Ivoire	1.0928	South Africa	7.181
DR Congo	2.58	South Sudan	0.156
Egypt	0.78	Sudan	0.468
Equatorial Guinea	0.156	Swaziland	0.156
Eritrea	0.156	Tanzania	0.624
Ethiopia	1.873	Togo	0.858
Gabon	0.78	Tunisia	2.029
The Gambia	0.234	Uganda	1.014
Ghana	1.951	Zambia	0.78
Guinea	0.624	Zimbabwe	1.795
Guinea Bissau	1.795	Total	100%

The data presented in this table were collected by Mati et al. 2013.

philanthropy in Algeria and Mauritius. Furthermore, it might be a pointer to the regulatory mechanisms, or their absence, in these countries. Following Fioramonti and Regelbrugge (2008), it is probable that in countries with greater and more efficient regulatory frameworks (such as South Africa), corporate organisations are likely to use corporate social responsibility to meet some of the requirements for their operations licensing. The same cannot be said of Mauritius, notoriously famed as an offshore tax haven in Africa.

But the concentration of certain manifestations of philanthropy are also linked to the ideology of development in the different countries. Specifically, as further argued below under the levels of institutionalisation, greater neoliberal economic thrust in countries such as South Africa, Kenya and Nigeria has generated higher levels of precarity in these countries than in others. In this regard, some critics charge that philanthropy and its attendant neoliberal humanitarianism are just palliatives or conduits in the continuing exploitation of Africa (see for example Mati 2014; Daley 2013; Nxumalo 2013;¹⁰ McGoe 2015; McCauley 2015; Curtis 2016). Nxumalo (citing Ashton) captures this cynicism best when he argues: 'Modern philanthropy is little more than the illegitimate privatisation of state planning, aid and redistributive policies. Philanthro-capitalism is a misleading smoke screen for business as usual.'¹¹ Moreover, for Africans living in communities where the state is virtually absent in the provision of social welfare benefits, mutual aid and self-help could well be the only reliable coping strategy.

Class parameters

People in all walks of life are involved in philanthropic work. But, as already noted, in many instances, the analysis in the literature tends not to be concerned with class issues. The reality is that most aspects of African philanthropy are not necessarily class conscious. The few exceptions here are studies of philanthropic activities of the high-net-worth individuals in Africa and the rich (see for example BoE Private Clients 2011; Nedbank Private Wealth 2013; Julien et al. 2014), or ground-breaking work on self-help and mutual aid forms of giving and philanthropy in poorer communities (Strassburg 2010; Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2005; Wilkinson-Maposa & Fowler 2009; Everatt & Solanki 2004; Everatt & Solanki 2008; Everatt et al. 2005). Moreover, some literature also cuts across various socioeconomic groups. However, it was particularly interesting to note that around two-thirds of the literature identified related in some way to wealth or the lack thereof. Of those two-thirds, the majority of the literature was concerned with 'the poor', although a fairly high proportion was also concerned with the philanthropy of the wealthy or ultra-wealthy. As such,

10 Nxumalo M, The rise of African philanthropy. *Mail & Guardian*, 26 April 2013. Accessed 23 May 2016, <http://goo.gl/zMxLqg>

11 Nxumalo M, The rise of African philanthropy. *Mail & Guardian*, 26 April 2013. Accessed 23 May 2016, <http://goo.gl/zMxLqg>

both aspects of horizontal (the poor as contributors to both the supply and demand sides of philanthropy, as they assist each other) as well as vertical philanthropy (the rich giving to the poor) are present in all African communities (Everatt et al. 2005; Everatt & Solanki 2004; Everatt & Solanki 2008; Moyo 2011).

Vertical philanthropy manifests as corporate philanthropy or philanthro-capitalism (Edwards 2011; Bishop & Green 2008; Nxumalo 2013¹²; McGoe 2015). It may also manifest through the work of private foundations and donations by the wealthy to the poor (Julien et al. 2014; Nedbank Private Wealth 2013; BoE Private Clients 2011; Kamau n.d.), through the work of community foundations (Hodgson & Knight 2012), or as donations from external sources. Under corporate philanthropy, business entities donate or give to communities mainly through citizens' organisations and non-governmental development organisations but also, in some instances, through the state (Fioramonti & Regelbrugge 2008). Sometimes such giving is organised around corporate social responsibility, where businesses organisations undertake activities in communities with or without civil society organisations (CSOs) to mitigate the impact of their activities and contribute towards a better quality of life for citizens from local to global communities (Fioramonti & Regelbrugge 2008). As already indicated, motivations and impacts of corporate philanthropy, especially on their engagement with civil society, have been portrayed in a negative light in some of the literature. In this regard, Fioramonti and Regelbrugge (2008: 291) argue that 'business tends to look at CSOs with indifference or as an instrument to improve its public image while furthering its corporate goals.'

Extent of African philanthropy's institutionalisation

African philanthropy has many forms, expressions and models. Some are formal and institutionalised, while others are non-institutionalised and often referred to as 'informal' giving. Much of what has been written on African philanthropy is heavily skewed towards the formal or vertical manifestations of philanthropy in Africa, although increasingly attention does appear to be turning more towards informal forms of philanthropy, such as community-based giving. Indeed, these horizontal forms of giving and philanthropic behaviour have arguably attracted greater scholarly attention in southern Africa than elsewhere in Africa (see for example Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2005; Wilkinson-Maposa & Fowler 2009; Everatt & Solanki 2004; Everatt & Solanki 2008; Everatt et al. 2005).

The split, however, is still predominantly formal, with 65% of the literature concerning itself with formal philanthropy and only 18% of the literature concerning itself with the informal nature of philanthropy. A further 17% was a mix of formal and informal. Specifically, this means that there are literatures that describe how an institutionalised community foundation received funding from an international donor

12 Nxumalo M, The rise of African philanthropy. *Mail & Guardian*, 26 April 2013. Accessed 23 May 2016, <http://goo.gl/zMxLqg>

and also mobilised funds through local self-help and mutual-aid initiatives, touching on both formal and informal aspects of philanthropy. This split between formal and informal might be an artificial one that does not necessarily reflect the actual profile of philanthropy in African countries. The existing literature is considerably more concerned with formal, institutionalised philanthropy than informal philanthropy that is often undertaken by poorer communities and in non-institutionalised settings.

Institutionalisation of philanthropy in Africa is both a product and manifestation of the phenomenal growth of the non-profit sector, as well as increasing regulation and scrutiny of businesses on the continent that have forced many private corporations to start philanthropic foundations. Institutionalisation of philanthropy has also been pushed by the emergence of community foundations in Africa in the last two decades, especially in Kenya, Zimbabwe and South Africa. In most African countries, however, corporate support to non-governmental development organisations remains low (Fioramonti & Regelbrugge 2008). From the available literature, a common trait noted to cut across Africa is that large companies (particularly multinational and foreign companies) are more accustomed to philanthropy and are generally keener to involve CSOs in these areas. This does not always mean that their commitment to corporate social responsibility is as strong or impactful. Moreover, as Fioramonti and Regelbrugge (2008) argue, corporate support to CSOs only happens where there is alignment of broad values of both business and civil society. In many instances, such alignment happens in a utilitarian and monetised manner where business 'corporations provide funding for CSO projects and staff, while CSOs' charitable image helps corporations show a socially acceptable face while benefiting from tax breaks' (Fioramonti & Regelbrugge 2008: 291; see also Van Wyk n.d.).

Limitations

African philanthropy is studied from a multiplicity of disciplines, including economics, sociology, anthropology, law and development studies. Each of these has its way of naming and describing philanthropic activities. As a result, some of the literature is explicit on African philanthropy while other literature is less so. Accordingly, in addition to the obvious literature targeting the term 'philanthropy' as a named phenomenon, a comprehensive literature review should identify implicit sources. As this project was exploratory in nature, the process was very iterative and evolved as the search developed. Therefore, although the search undertaken concentrated on the more immediate philanthropy terms, it is evident from the results that more focused searches on specific areas and disciplines would result in the identification of additional sources of philanthropy literature not yet discovered. In reviewing what was identified through this process, there are areas that are clearly missing or under-represented in the resource base. Areas that immediately come to mind include the Arab Spring, around which considerable resources would have been mobilised. Other areas that possibly require greater attention include violence against women and

children and related gender issues, orphans and vulnerable children, education and child feeding, health, legal aid and conservation-related philanthropy – particularly anti-poaching efforts that are receiving so much media attention at present. In addition, literature relating to community resource mobilisations in the provision of low-cost housing and service delivery, fighting crime, land redistribution, language and culture require more focused searches. Although social justice and development aid were specific search terms used, these areas are multidimensional with a whole host of terms that could be used to describe related philanthropic activities. They, therefore, require an expanded search if they are to be fully explored.

By its sheer nature, there were levels of spill-over and many borderline issues, because parameters for determining what is or is not philanthropy are not always clear. The most prominent of these borderline issues include foreign aid and public participation in development and governance processes, where donation of time is essential.

The literature gathered was by no means exhaustive. Much literature escaped the study radar. Part of the reason for this is because snowballing has the potential to grow at an exponential rate (Lecy & Beatty 2012), and a clear timeline to guide the limits of the study was drawn to allow completion within the set time. That the number of documents identified was not exhaustive becomes clear when looking at the disproportionately high number of documents located in countries such as Kenya, South Africa, Cameroon or Mozambique, where one or more of the researchers on the project were either based or born. It is possible that had the study employed researchers from all the 54 countries, higher numbers would have been gathered. It does, however, provide a substantive base from which to progress and explore further. Moreover, the predominantly desktop nature of the research was an impediment.

Additionally, as indigenous African philanthropy has not been an area of study for very long and is often found outside many formal institutions, it is likely that this important aspect of the African narrative is under-represented. Greater emphasis and further analysis downstream may be able to yield more.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to offer preliminary reflections of three main parameters of the nature of literature on African philanthropy: geospatial, class and levels of institutionalisation. By its very nature, the review had a limited scope and, as such, yielded results that fed to specific objectives whose core was to begin a consideration of literature on African philanthropy and initiate a database of what was discovered. While this was largely achieved, the resultant database¹³ from this exercise is not definitive. Nonetheless, it is indicative of what exists in this field.

13 See <http://trustafrica.org/en/philanthropy-database>

The preliminary findings confirm the view taken in the study that socioeconomic class and religion are less determinants of who gets involved in philanthropic activities across the different African countries (Everatt & Solanki 2004; Everatt & Solanki 2008; Everatt et al. 2005). As such, African philanthropy is broadly practised by diverse religious and socioeconomic groups and classes, in different parts of Africa, be they visible or not to us as researchers. Various aspects of philanthropy, including giving through recognised charities and NGOs as well as organic acts of reciprocity that are part of everyday life practices that may emanate from human impulses that privilege a collective life philosophy, are a reality throughout Africa. Wilkinson-Maposa and Fowler (2009: x) have observed that ‘the relative neglect of the poor as agents of change brought about through their own acts of giving and receiving, points to a critical paradox’ of current development approaches that needs to be redressed. Indeed, the current findings point to the need to correct this situation. As Africa rises, the long-term sustainability of her development efforts must remain deeply embedded in the participation of all her people, irrespective of their socioeconomic status.

There is an upsurge in what may loosely be referred to as new forms of institutional philanthropy that are, in part, fuelled by the new wave of Africa’s economic growth. These new forms (including corporate philanthropy, corporate social responsibility programmes and high-net-worth giving) have cross-fertilised the African philanthropic field and further seem to rejuvenate the philanthropic spirit in Africa. Of course, in certain countries, some of these forms of philanthropy are far more developed than others. The good thing is that others can learn from the experiences of what exists. Furthermore, although both corporate philanthropy and corporate social responsibility are incipient phenomena in most African countries, philanthropic strategies are more common and developed than initiatives aimed at strengthening social responsibility (Fioramonti & Regelbrugge 2008). The key question for further analysis is: Why is this the case?

There is, as suspected, a large amount of literature that has been produced by non-African scholars that is quite influential in the field. However, at the same time, such influential literature may occasionally be blind to the local realities in Africa. But there is an opportunity for African scholars to seize the moment and direct the nature of philanthropic studies so that they can document all forms and manifestations of philanthropy on the continent through an African lens, in the process making visible these ever-present practices of giving and – in so doing – challenging the dominant neo-colonial narrative that Africa is a continent of recipients.

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3 *Social justice philanthropy in South Africa: Reflecting on the underlying conceptual frameworks*

Halima Mahomed

'It would be fundamentally wrong to think that because we are in a democracy, the issues of liberty, justice and freedom from poverty are not a struggle that will continue.'

Interview with the director of a South African philanthropic organisation, 16 August 2007

Despite a progressive constitution, the promulgation of policies entrenching basic human rights and advances on a number of development fronts, for many, the democratic struggle in South Africa has not translated into the attainment of a just society. Faced with a multitude of challenges, the state has battled to realise many of its progressive ideals and, in many cases, to change the underlying structural dynamics that prevent its citizens from realising these rights. Poverty, inequality, vulnerability and discrimination are still a reality for a significant proportion of the South African population.¹

While many civil society organisations (CSOs) have complemented the development efforts of the state, there are – importantly – a much smaller number that have challenged the state on the limitations of its policies and programmes, holding it accountable to its constitutional imperatives and advocating the need for a more transformative approach to attaining a just society. The public-interest role that these institutions play is critical.

Such active and outspoken CSOs, in large part, rely on philanthropic funding (primarily international aid, which is increasingly shifting focus away from the South African CSO sector). In fact, some of South Africa's most prominent advocacy and rights-based organisations² were established with such philanthropic assistance. This type of funding, which supports efforts to address the drivers underlying social

1 This chapter is based on a dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Development Studies, 2008. (Mahomed H (2008) *Philanthropy and social justice in South Africa: Addressing underlying causes or mitigating impact?* MA dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand).

2 Black Sash, the Legal Resources Centre and Lawyers for Human Rights, to name a few.

injustice, is referred to as social justice philanthropy (SJP). The practice, however, is not very common among South African funders. Instead, philanthropic support for efforts that seek to mitigate the impacts of injustice, referred to here as traditional³ philanthropy, is preferred (Kuljian 2005). While this type of philanthropy plays a significant role in addressing immediate needs and crises – of critical importance in a country with such high levels of poverty and deprivation – without addressing the issues that give rise to the existence of these needs, the crises they generate will continue to recur. In this regard, Kuljian (2005: 3) notes that the philanthropic sector ‘has not reached its potential or promoted the social change that is needed to create a more equitable society.’⁴

Based on a qualitative study that sought to understand this circumstance by analysing the motivations of 25 independent funders (IFs)⁵ across South Africa, this chapter characterises the nature of SJP in South Africa. It first reflects that South African IFs engaged in SJP understand the concept in slightly different ways from their Northern⁶ counterparts; and that this difference in understanding has resulted in the adoption of SJP, not as a strategy, but as a holistic approach involving different strategies and consisting of five core interrelated elements. It then puts forward a set of distinguishing characteristics embodied by SJP organisations in South Africa, reflecting that specific conceptual frameworks underlie and define the nature of the work they do, the role they seek to play and the relational roles of other development actors.⁷

A South African approach to social justice philanthropy

‘Social justice philanthropy’ is a term in increasing use in philanthropy circles globally, but one much contested. The words ‘social justice’ and ‘philanthropy’ alone elicit varying reactions, depending on region, country and context.⁸ In reviewing the

3 ‘Traditional’, as used here, should not be understood to mean indigenous systems of giving. It is used here to refer to the traditional way in which institutionalised giving has been carried out.

4 No other existing academic work or practitioner analysis focuses specifically on social justice philanthropy in South Africa.

5 ‘Independent funders’ here refers to a type of organisation that has the independence and flexibility to make its own decisions, free from external mandates. These are all South African organisations with independent boards, whose decisions are free of external mandates. Bursary funders and humanitarian institutions were excluded from this study.

6 The literature on SJP, at the time of the study, primarily originated from the North and is reflective of Northern-based organisations.

7 The study used a combination of documentary analysis and in-depth interviews with key staff in a sample population of South African IFs and other experts in the philanthropic arena in South Africa.

8 For an in-depth engagement with the literature, see the original research report (Mahomed: 2008) which interrogates the literature on the terms ‘social justice’ and ‘social justice philanthropy’. That is not the focus of this chapter.

Northern literature at the time of this study in 2007/08, three broad strands could be distinguished:

- The first delineates social justice philanthropy by its explicit focus on addressing the structural foundations of societal problems.⁹
- Based on this primary focus of addressing structural issues, there is the strand of thought that equally emphasises the process of inclusive, participatory grantmaking.¹⁰
- The third strand appears to be very loose and whilst defined as social justice philanthropy, there is not necessarily a particular focus on underlying causes but rather on using *philanthropy as a tool to address social justice* without elucidating whether this refers to structural issues or impact mitigation.¹¹

Since the period of this research, some definitional developments require comment. For instance, the work of Ruesga and Puntteney (2010) who try to overcome the definitional dilemma by putting forward eight different traditions of social justice philanthropy and interrogating how each of these traditions is linked to a social justice philanthropy agenda, and the work by the Philanthropy for Social Justice and Peace Working Group (2010) which, in conjunction with Ruesga and Puntteney's work, posit an approach to social justice philanthropy that is not definitional but seeks to reflect on elements that underscore good social justice philanthropy (PSJP 2010; Alliance 2010).

The study reveals that an SJP approach, from a South African viewpoint, with the exception of some resonance on Ruesga and Puntteney's 'big tent outlook', for the most differs from that reflected in the Northern literature (reflecting it as an approach rather than a strategy) and that this approach is characterised by five central elements. While there are definite areas of overlap¹² with Northern organisations on one or more elements, the literature does not reflect any group of organisations in the North that share a common view on all the central SJP elements found here.¹³

(i) SJP is a holistic funding approach.

The SJP organisations categorically reflect that they understand SJP as a holistic approach. In the Northern-based literature,¹⁴ SJP is often categorised according to

9 For instance, the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy (2003: 6), Lawrence (2005: ix) and Carson (2003: 6).

10 For instance, Liberty Hill Foundation (2005), Community Foundations of Canada (2004) and Shaw (2002).

11 See Heller & Winder (2002).

12 For instance, a focus on underlying drivers of injustice or a focus on inclusive processes.

13 This does not imply that there are no organisations in the North that share these elements, but rather that the literature does not reflect any evidence of this.

14 For instance, the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy (2003), Lawrence (2005) and Carson (2003).

types of activities supported or types of strategies used. Moreover, philanthropy that seeks to mitigate impacts is seen as very distinct from philanthropy that seeks to address its underlying causes. The South African approach, rather than polarising impact mitigation and underlying causes as two ends of a debate, sees them both as situated within a broader framework that allows for a funder to make grants that address both immediate crises as well as the underlying long-term issues driving them – all as part of a consolidated strategy. While the literature does reveal some Northern organisations seeing the two types of funding as co-existing, they still view them as two distinct approaches. The South African organisations, however, see them as two strategies combining and reinforcing each other within a cohesive approach, one that recognises the harsh realities of the present but simultaneously seeks to tackle the source of the problem.

(ii) SJP is premised on rights-based values.

... to get a society where marginalised, minorities, black people, benefit from transformative processes, you have to deal with issues of justice. Issues of poverty, in a country like South Africa, fundamentally undermine issues of justice. Issues of discrimination around women and abuse of women, fundamentally impact on issues of justice. Issues of access to good quality education fundamentally ...¹⁵

A South African SJP approach is as much about why funding is given as about the impact of that funding. These organisations place significant meaning and emphasis on the fact that their funding reflects a specific value-orientation, one that is rights based. They are keen to distinguish that the value base that defines them reflects a commitment to uphold every individual's right to justice, equality, equity and dignity. For these organisations, the core motivation is not related to altruism, charity or a desire to help or do good; it is about the attainment of a just society.

(iii) SJP is contextual.

The common thread running through the literature on SJP reflects a focus on structural change. Structural change can, and often does, mean many things; is looked at through a variety of lenses and levels; and can be very subjective. For the SJP organisations in South Africa, in talking about change, it is not the term 'structural' that is emphasised. Instead, terminology such as 'root causes', 'underlying issues' or 'contextual change' is used. In fact, the idea of 'contextual change' has much resonance with these SJP organisations, emphasising the need to alter the multiple contexts within which people live. Accordingly their funding seeks to change the contextual factors, both underlying and explicit, be they local-level contextual issues or part of much larger societal contextual dynamics.

15 IF interview 1, 16 August 2007.

(iv) SJP is inclusive.

The nature of the processes used is a critical element of SJP. Recognising the power imbalances that funding creates, SJP organisations strive to interact with beneficiaries of support as equal partners; seek to develop meaningful relationships underscored by respect for the priorities, needs, plans and articulation of issues that emerge from their partners; and recognise that local knowledge, assets and expertise are all critical. Essentially, the idea that funding decisions cannot be taken in isolation from in-depth engagement with those most affected is a central element of SJP. This is not to say that the expertise, connections, knowledge and skills of funders are irrelevant, but rather that these are used as part of a process that ultimately informs, empowers and enables local ownership and control over decision-making processes. The literature¹⁶ reflects different strands of understanding SJP in the North, some of which emphasise inclusive processes and some that do not refer to it at all. All of the South African SJP funders interviewed, however, strongly affirmed inclusive processes as a critical aspect of their work.

(v) SJP occurs at multiple levels.

The literature¹⁷ reflects SJP primarily in relation to initiatives that have impacts at broad levels – such as community, societal, national and international – and the issue of individual-level support does not have much traction. All the SJP organisations examined in this study expressed the opinion that social justice funding can be targeted at both the individual and community/societal/national levels, with individual-level support seen as just as important as the broader levels. Development of individual-level leadership, competencies, assets and skills in a society with such a critical transformation imperative is seen as fitting squarely into an SJP approach in South Africa.

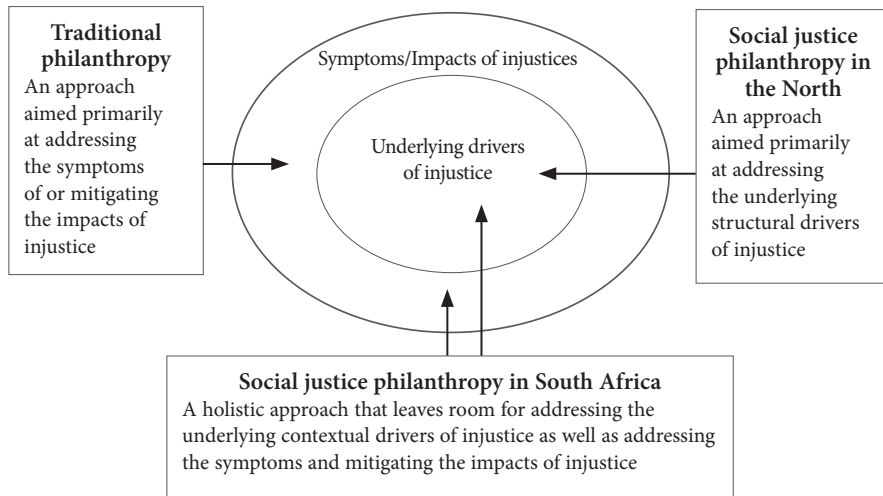
This research study thus puts forward the following definition of SJP:¹⁸

An inclusive funding approach, premised on the notion of a just society, which seeks to ultimately address the contextual issues and barriers that prevent (i) the recognition of equal rights for all, (ii) equitable opportunities to access those rights and (iii) the realisation of those rights into just outcomes for those who bear the brunt of poverty, marginalisation, vulnerability, oppression and discrimination.

16 For instance, the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy (2003), Lawrence (2005) and Carson (2003).

17 For instance, the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy (2003), Lawrence (2005) and Carson (2003).

18 An in-depth analysis of the terminology used and the implications of the terminology can be found in the full research report.

Figure 3.1 *Social justice philanthropy in South Africa*

A note before proceeding: the research study sample included a variety of organisations spanning geography, size, age, security of funding and level of intervention (local, regional, national, etc.). The research found SJP organisations existing at various points of these metrics, with no clear correlation between these metrics and the propensity to adopt an SJP approach. This is in contrast with the research undertaken by Suárez (2012: 259), who found that in the United States, ‘[s]maller foundations, younger foundations, and public foundations are more likely to mention social justice or social change in their program descriptions than are other philanthropic institutions’. Instead, this research sees the conceptual factors in this chapter as the critical determinants of the propensity to engage in SJP.

Identifying the conceptual frameworks

The original research report provides a comprehensive analysis of the technical, operational and conceptual factors influencing the adoption of an SJP approach vis-à-vis the traditional philanthropy approach, and how and why this unfolds. This chapter does not seek to repeat that analysis. Instead, drawing on those findings, the focus here is on putting forward a set of defining conceptual frameworks that characterise SJP organisations in South Africa. These frameworks can be understood through two lenses: (i) how organisations locate a problem/situation, and (ii) the way in which organisations understand their defining roles, their relational roles and the roles of other development actors.

How SJP organisations locate a problem

The framework an organisation uses to ascertain the nature of a problem lays the foundation for the type of approaches and strategies it consequently develops. In this regard, SJP organisations in South Africa reflect a common approach based on the following:

Depth: The point at which organisations locate a problem is a critical starting point. For traditional organisations, determining the location of the problem is often related to asking questions that seek to identify a need. This type of question lends itself to responses that put forward overt and tangible needs; and the subsequent strategies developed then seek to address the gaps related to those needs. The more intangible issues (for instance issues such as discrimination, power imbalances and lack of agency) are not responses that easily emerge within such an enquiry. SJP organisations, however, all reflect a different approach to locating a problem, asking not about the need but rather about the situation and the context; determining the broader contextual dynamics first and then narrowing to identify the issues that need to be addressed and the elements that drive them. A conceptual starting point that deliberately provides space to explore the problem beyond its overt manifestation allows these organisations to delve into the core foundational dynamics and thus develop strategies to address underlying drivers as well as symptomatic gaps.

Social justice philanthropy, in a nutshell, is about how do you break the cycle of intergenerational poverty. Now, charitable philanthropy doesn't ask that question. It doesn't ask how do you break the intergenerational cycle, it's about how can you help this particular person. So to be social justice philanthropy, you have to ask that question. How do we break this cycle of intergenerational poverty, so that we do not come back to the same community, the same people, generation after generation.¹⁹

Breadth: Traditionally, philanthropic organisations problematise issues at the level of the individual, often resulting in approaches seeking to address the symptoms of the problem, as they manifest in relation to individuals. Contributory factors within the individuals' environment may sometimes be addressed, but these are secondary; it is the individual to whom the primary strategy is directed. SJP organisations, however, all problematise the issues at a broader contextual level – thus the individual is not the focus of change, but the context within which he/she resides is the target. As a result, the strategies that are developed are aimed at, in the longer term, addressing the issues that ultimately change the contextual factors that contribute to or perpetuate the status quo within which the individual lives, be this at a community level or at a national level. This does not mean that strategies aimed at the individual are excluded, but rather that there is space to address the multiple levels of contexts perpetuating the problem.

19 Expert interview 2, 21 August 2007.

The question for us was: How can we change the way society treats its children? The focus was not on just on the child, but on the society. And that's what we need to look at.²⁰

Time: The need for urgency in responding to the injustices that prevail cannot be underemphasised, but a focus limited to strategies that yield immediate results means that the harder-to-resolve, longer-term issues fall aside. For most traditional organisations, the immediate strategy addressing urgent crises predominates. The SJP organisations, however, adopt a longer-term approach to understanding and addressing the problem. Their strategies thus have a wider time horizon, allowing for short-term interventions but ultimately looking at how to engender a change over the long term in the factors that give rise to these immediate crises.

Causation: Commonality in how cause and consequence are determined is another characteristic starting point of SJP organisations. Many traditional organisations adopt a linear cause-and-effect analytical framework. For SJP organisations, however, analysis is not based on cause and effect but on understanding intersecting and cyclical patterns, with underlying drivers and symptomatic impacts influencing and reinforcing one another in a negative cycle. Consequently, the strategies adopted aimed at addressing the cycle of factors in its entirety. Linked to this is the theoretical formulation within which they understand these issues. Traditional philanthropy organisations favour an approach that addresses needs on a hierarchical basis. SJP organisations have an explicit rights-based focus on interrelated and indivisible rights: civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. Hence the funding approach first understands the nature of the rights violated and is then able to look at both immediate needs arising out of these violations as well as the longer term and interrelated drivers perpetuating these violations.

... poverty is just not a product of the poor but people are poor because their circumstances have made them so, and the systems and strategies developed have made them poor ...²¹

Goal: SJP organisations frame their end goals in a specific way. Traditional organisations often talk about 'development' as the end goal and aspiration, but what is meant by the term 'development' is not clear at all. All the SJP organisations, however, talk about development as a process to reach an end goal, a tool towards a broader aspiration – development for a just society, development for equality and development for rights. The strategies developed thus differ considerably.

The grants we make are not social welfare, it's about making the society a just society. And it's important that people understand that what they

20 IF interview 8, 6 September 2007.

21 Expert interview 2, 11 April 2007.

do is not development; its development for social justice work. To make a society that is better, that is equal, free from prejudice.²²

How SJP organisations understand their roles

The second core lens through which SJP organisations are characterised relates to how they conceptualise their defining and relational roles. Six core role characterisations emerge as distinct to SJP organisations. While they are separated here for the purpose of analysis, these aspects are part of an interrelated conceptual framework that fundamentally shapes the approaches and strategies adopted.

Raison d'être: Intermediary or agent of change?

The way in which an organisation conceptualises its defining role, its *raison d'être*, is critical. While a basic common denominator may exist across all funders (that is, to distribute philanthropic resources), the reality is much more nuanced. Traditional organisations define their existence as being based on their ability to mobilise and distribute philanthropic resources. Their primary focus, then, tends to reflect internally on the systems and processes necessary to carry out that role. The indicators through which they assess progress, success and impact (in other words, the ability of the organisation to deliver an effective, efficient and accountable intermediary service focused on upward accountability streams – to back-end donors)²³ are their *raison d'être*. This is not to say that the impact of the funds disbursed on the programmes or issues is not considered important, but rather that the emphasis is first on their internally focused role and then on the external one.

... so there they are talking about access and fundraising and the structure of the organisations and you know, with implications, because they aren't very focused on what are they actually doing and what are their programme objectives?²⁴

There is an understanding that there needs to be political change, but where we [the sector] tend to focus our funding is projects. That give us quick results, that give us something we can sell, in order to bring in [more] money to distribute.²⁵

The SJP organisations, however, define their existence based on their ability to act as agents or facilitators of social change, with the mobilisation and distribution

22 IF interview 1, 16 August 2007.

23 'Back-end donors' refers to the initial source of funding. These could be larger private, government or foreign donors or individuals.

24 Expert interview 8, 6 September 2007.

25 IF interview 14, 24 October 2007.

of philanthropic resources serving as a tool with which to do so. Accordingly, the focus of the organisation tends to be directed both inwardly (on systems and processes) and outwardly (on the extent to which the action or strategy has led to some form of change on the ground). Accountability streams are balanced both upward to donors and downward to their local community constituencies. While both these roles are vital, their *raison d'être* is external, that is, to be an agent of change.

The work we funding [*sic*] is advocacy and lobbying. And the national agendas have no basis if they don't start at the community ... At local level, what really makes a difference is when you holding [*sic*] political leaders to account.²⁶

Role of leadership: Technical oversight or value-based governance?

What all the cases reflect, is that an organisation is defined by its leadership. Leadership can be considered at two levels, the first being the leadership at the head of an organisation. With two exceptions, all of the organisations had strong leaders whose approaches were reflected in the frameworks of their organisations. The second element of leadership (the leadership provided by the board of directors) reflects characteristics that require further scrutiny.

In theory, boards play a pivotal role in shaping and guiding an organisation. What is interesting, however, is not necessarily the level of involvement or the technical strength of boards (though those are certainly factors). Instead, what seems to characterise SJP organisations is the primary emphasis they place on selecting boards that reflect a shared value base and the range and depth of expertise held collectively by their boards.

The traditional organisations emphasise the need for boards with technical expertise, in other words board members who are able to provide effective financial and legal oversight, and understand organisational management, systems, processes, etc. These organisations also emphasise finding board members who are 'linked' to corporates, local government or wealthy sectors of society, and who are consequently able to reflect a sense of legitimacy to these sectors as well as a route to access resources from them. The boards in these cases have a triple role: to steer the organisation in terms of governance and priorities, to raise the profile of the organisation and to leverage resources from their 'connections'.

I don't think what we doing now is meaningful change ... We've never even gone back to see, we've never tried to find ways to see are we going in the right direction ... why, I don't know, that is related to the board decision. What it needs to do is to re-evaluate itself to see where it's going, where it's from and where it's going, whether it's in the right

26 IF interview 14, 24 October 2007.

direction ... We don't know whether it's working or not. Nobody has ever laid that on the table.²⁷

Too much time is spent looking for these profiled people who are on ten boards, and don't give you what you need.²⁸

SJP organisations, however, see the role of the board differently and thus recruit a mix of board members based on several factors: they select individuals who share the same value base and conceptual frameworks that define the organisation. With this as a core, they then recruit board members based not only on their ability to conduct the appropriate due diligence requirements but also on their ability to engage with substantive development issues, understand local level dynamics and recognise the intricacies of issues as they play out at community level. As such, these board members are able to guide the organisation and hold it to account on governance and process as well as substance and impact issues. Where they select 'linked' or 'connected' board members, the connectedness is not the primary criteria for choosing them but rather a secondary aspect depending on a shared value base and understanding of the issues.

Bridging role: Neutral partners or activist grantmakers?

The main relational role that distinguishes an SJP organisation is linked to whether it perceives itself as a neutral role-player or a partisan broker. The traditional organisations see themselves as having a brokering/coordinating function. They provide a 'safe space' where various role-players – donors, grantees, the state and beneficiaries – can come together in a neutral environment, and the organisation acts as an objective mediator in the interests of all. The provision of fora for discussion and collaboration are critical, and may often be used to leverage resources or facilitate collaboration in the interests of beneficiaries. From this kind of neutral standpoint, however, there is often a tension between reflecting the concerns and priorities of their beneficiaries – for instance on critical power and resource imbalances – and simultaneously projecting themselves as a practical and objective broker between their beneficiaries and those who hold access to power and resources (donors, government and corporates).

There must be broad community understanding. We don't want to fund a project or initiative where there is controversy over that organisation.²⁹

SJP organisations take a deliberate partisan stance. Be it in playing the role of an intermediary, in brokering funding relationships or negotiating on issues, these organisations make clear that they do not see themselves as neutral messengers but as proactive agents who advocate on behalf of their beneficiaries. They provide fora for discussion and collaboration, but do not project themselves as neutral in

27 IF interview 7, 27 August 2007.

28 IF interview 14, 24 October 2007.

29 IF interview 2, 20 August 2007.

these fora; instead, they purposefully take a stance or set an agenda that is in their beneficiaries' interest. For these funders, there is no separation between being a grantmaker and being an activist; rather, they see themselves as activist grantmakers who are there to facilitate change.

We are not a grantmaker, we're a development organisation that makes grants.³⁰

There is such injustice. So let's use our ability to both have the resource of finance but don't lose where we [are] coming from ... There is some activist agenda, because I don't think you can be a community grantmaker without doing that.³¹

The state as mandated development leader or accountable partner?

In South Africa, the year 1994 ushered in a new democratic dispensation and with it a drastic change in civil society. Many who had been part of the anti-apartheid movement moved into the state apparatus. For some who remained behind, new ways of engaging with the state were developed; for others, the nature of the engagement remained the same. Today state-civil society relations are still in a state of flux, and the way in which organisations define their roles in relation to the mandates and development prerogatives of the state plays an important role in influencing their choices. Local philanthropic organisations, as part of civil society, are no exception to this.

Traditional philanthropy organisations see this new democratic dispensation as having a mandate for development, with the role of civil society (including philanthropy) being to undertake initiatives that fit into or are aligned with state-defined plans. The limitations of the state in addressing its development imperatives are not explicitly challenged. While participation in and cooperation with the state are often welcomed, these organisations define their grantmaking role such that they choose not to actively engage with the state on contentious issues (some see it as beyond their mandate) and the scope of activities they fund rarely includes active engagement with the state on contentious issues.

In SA there is the odd contradiction that some of the social justice, human rights and democracy stuff has almost become sort of background noise, taken for granted. And we may have to some extent, lost the urgency of that rhetoric.³²

The SJP organisations, in contrast, reflect the general view that the achievement of democracy is but one part of the struggle for a just society. These organisations

30 IF interview 8, 6 September 2007.

31 IF interview 12, 16 October 2007.

32 Expert interview 3, 16 August 2007.

have engaged in serious reflection on the limitations of the state in addressing the structural issues and contextual dynamics driving societal challenges. Accordingly, they take a deliberate and conscious decision both to address these dynamics themselves and to engage the state on its limitations in doing so, using multiple strategies (including partnership, opposition, advocacy and grantmaking). Engaging with the state and holding it accountable are thus a core part of their organisational strategy. Where cooperation makes sense, they will do so; but where opposition and challenge are necessary, they do not shy away from it and rather see it as their duty to actively engage.

Back-end donors: avoiding conflict or defining equal partnerships?

The majority of organisations depend, to some extent, on the support of larger or back-end donors, either for core funding, programmatic support, re-granting, endowment building or a combination of these. In looking at how organisations define their roles in relation to back-end donors (and consequently how this affects their funding priorities and strategies), a clear pattern emerges.³³

While none of the organisations felt that their donors imposed a rigid funding agenda, what is interesting is not whether large or back-end donors overtly influence or dictate a funding agenda, but whether the way in which organisations perceive their donor relationships indirectly influences the type of funding strategies and priorities they choose to adopt. For instance, do these organisations shy away from contentious issues that may throw a negative light on corporate practices when their core donors may include large corporations? Or do they refrain from challenging the state because it may jeopardise funding from those who prefer not to be associated with controversial issues? Do they keep a distance from issues that they think may not appeal to donor interests? The findings reflect that organisations either choose to engage with and navigate the power dynamics of donor relations, acknowledge them but prefer to steer away from them, or they do not acknowledge them at all.

While the traditional funders follow the second and third options above, all of the SJP funders appear to have reflected on this issue and confronted it explicitly. They acknowledge the risks of taking on contentious and controversial issues or initiatives, and recognise the possible impacts such initiatives may have on donor funding relations. However, they explicitly chose to proceed irrespective of this, while at the same time developing strategies to engage with and prevent conflict of interest, principles upon which funds would be declined, and strategies to pre-empt and counter possible donor influence.

33 The issue of donor driven programming is a large concern in the philanthropic arena; this applies to both donors who fund on the ground and larger donors who fund smaller donors to re-grant.

The role of beneficiaries: limited or full agency?

The way in which funders perceive the role of their beneficiaries has an important influence on their strategy. Almost all the funders place significant emphasis on beneficiaries driving their own development. The differences, however, lie in the scope of agency that they see these beneficiaries as having and their perception of the role that beneficiaries should play in relation to the mandates of the state.

The 'scope of agency' that beneficiaries could have relates to: (i) their power to make decisions on the nature of the development initiatives they undertake, (ii) their power to influence the nature of development initiatives undertaken by others on their behalf (the state, corporates, non-governmental organisations, donors), (iii) their power to hold these actors accountable when initiatives are not in the interest of their communities, and (iv) their power to directly challenge existing inequalities and power dynamics in the status quo.

The traditional funders take a narrow view of agency, that is they relate agency primarily to the first domain – the power of beneficiaries to make decisions on the nature of development initiatives they undertake – and their funding strategies thus focus primarily on this aspect. Beneficiaries are not seen as playing a role in active citizenship, advocacy or challenging power relations, and though they are encouraged to raise issues and debate solutions, these are internal 'community-led' solutions that operate within the status quo.

Advocacy and things like that are very difficult because they are not generally popular as funding targets. They come out last but those probably are your ultimate long-term change innovator. It's a difficult one, and not easy to fund, and in that regard your Fords and Motts are very forward thinking.³⁴

The SJP funders, however, explicitly relate agency to all four aspects, and their funding priorities and strategies support these accordingly. These organisations thus support the involvement of communities in local governance processes, in demanding transparency and accountability of governance systems and officials, and advocacy at local level to claim their rights. There is considerable emphasis on providing enabling mechanisms, systems, forums and processes that support beneficiaries in raising their concerns, priorities and needs with local officials; in claiming their rights; and advocating around violation of these rights. When it comes to challenging inequalities in power relations, they emphasise the active role of beneficiaries in initiating and spearheading such interventions. They thus support initiatives that discuss, debate and challenge inequalities and power imbalances on, for example, gender, class, culture or nationality as central components of their approach.

We mention the components of advocacy, working with other stakeholders. In one of our letters, we have a very good story. They didn't

34 IF interview 10, 15 October 2007.

know that you can get department officials to work on the ground. – She said, ‘you know I’m not trained to knock at the door of an official and tell them we need this and that, and now they are starting to recognise that. It takes an organisation like yours to teach people about their rights.’ – People are not going to advocate if they don’t know what they are advocating for.³⁵

Social justice philanthropy in South Africa: An initial exploration

Given the scope of the development challenges the country faces, there is an urgent need for reflection on the nature and impact of civil society action and the philanthropic practice that supports it. The role of social justice philanthropy – both in tackling development issues head on and through its potential to help build a more self-reliant, robust and transformative civil society sector – has not been part of the development discussion in South Africa. It is a discussion that is long overdue.

To date, no other research has been undertaken in South Africa to analyse the motivations behind the adoption of an SJP approach and this research is an attempt to begin to understand this field. This chapter, in particular, seeks to highlight two critical findings, each of which has implications that need to be further examined and explored:

- (i) The five core elements of social justice philanthropy reflected in this chapter cumulatively distinguish the South African approach from that of its Northern counterparts. As we seek to understand, strengthen, engage with and support SJP in South Africa, we need to be cognisant of being contextually relevant and recognising the need for approaches that may differ from the mainstream.
- (ii) The set of shared conceptual frameworks highlighted fundamentally shapes the ways in which SJP organisations understand issues and develop strategies, as well as the way in which they define their own roles and the respective roles of the state, back-end donors and beneficiaries. It is important to recognise that it is not the mere absence or presence of factors that characterise the engagement of SJP, but rather the ways in which organisations conceptualise what they do, why they do it and to what end they do so that is the critical determinant. Again, this research provides an initial positioning, but much more research and analysis on these issues is required for us to adequately grasp the implications of how our efforts to advance SJP need to be targeted at the conceptual underpinnings rather than the practical ones.

The South African philanthropic field is slowly changing but, for the most part, the broader philanthropic sector has not challenged itself enough to move beyond its current practice or to reflect on its conceptual underpinnings. It is

35 IF interview 9, 15 October 2007.

hoped that by facilitating a better understanding of and engagement with these conceptualisations, opportunities may arise for critical reflection and debate on advancing philanthropic thinking and practice to a different level. Unless this is done, and urgently, the impact of philanthropic giving in South Africa will continue to remain far below its transformative potential.

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4 *Can community foundations redefine the South African development landscape? The Uthungulu and Greater Rustenburg community foundations*

Mbizo Edward Sibanda

This chapter presents the advent of community foundations on the South African development landscape. It considers factors that have influenced their rise, their typology, and their role in improving the lives of communities in which they operate. This study is focused on two case studies in the KwaZulu-Natal and North West provinces. The chapter begins by examining the concept of development within which community foundations are situated and traces their advent from a global viewpoint to how they have been adapted to suit local conditions. This is achieved by examining the constituent elements, the context, the character and the strategies of two community foundations, namely the Uthungulu Community Foundation (UCF) in KwaZulu-Natal and the Greater Rustenburg Community Foundation (GRCF) in North West. It concludes by considering lessons for development.

The concept of development and the advent of community foundations

Current development thinking revolves around sustainable development, which must be achieved at every level of society in order to ensure sustainable livelihoods. One way of fulfilling this is by ensuring that people are at the centre of development; that is, development should be woven around people and not people around development. Todaro (2000: 739) defines development as the process of improving the quality of human lives. This is achieved by raising people's living levels (that is, their incomes and consumption levels of food, medical services and education), through relevant economic growth processes and creating conditions conducive to the growth of people's self-esteem and through the establishment of social, political and economic systems and institutions (Todaro 2000: 739). This definition shows that the dimensions of development are extremely diverse. It is inevitable that some development scholars will dismiss one or more of these while others will argue strongly in favour; however, there is general agreement that development encompasses continuous positive change in various aspects of human society.

It is important to note that the development agenda in many developing countries was greatly influenced by development models of the 1960s. These models were

premised on the notion that development required industrialisation, urbanisation and agricultural modernisation. Such Western modernity assumed some degree of economic growth and productivity as well as the presence of an array of social, political and economic institutions predominantly modelled on the forms and values of Western capitalism (Aina 2013). To buttress this paradigm, international development organisations played a leading role in coordinating and implementing development policies and programmes around the world. Patterson (2010) argued that such top-down development failed to create targeted 'trickle-down' economic impact in less developed nations due to the misunderstanding of implementing broad macro-level development policies in less developed nations. The top-down model failed because the institutions created to foster development from the top had themselves become the greatest hindrance to development. The state was the primary target of this criticism, as well as market institutions and private firms (Sanyal n.d.). With top-down approaches less tenable, there was a move to alter development policies to embrace understanding the needs of the poor and incorporating such understanding into development policies and programmes to empower grassroots development and implementation (Patterson 2010). This led to alternative paradigms, touted by scholars as development from below, bottom-up development or grassroots development.

Bottom-up development was premised on rural development and distributional issues as well as small-scale, bottom-up projects that directly involved the urban and rural poor. According to Aina (2013), the shortcomings of capitalism to address inequality and economic exploitation or to effectively cater for the weak and the marginalised led to the inclusion of further prefixes to the word 'development', such as 'social' and 'human'. Most recently, 'sustainable' has been added to the latest iterations of development visions, including the popular planetary Sustainable Development Goals that call for collective action to address social, economic and environmental dimensions of sustainable development to be achieved by 2030.

It is evident from the points raised above that the inadequacies exhibited by state-driven development led to a redefinition of development in the 1980s and 1990s. The advent of neoliberalism in the 1980s was justified as a direct response to the failure of two decades of state-driven and state-managed efforts (Hyden 2006: 186). Now there has been a paradigm shift towards greater citizen participation that has become the hallmark of sustainable development. This led Hyden (2006: 183) to coin the phrase 'civil society is in, development is out'. Evidently, the world economy and insufficient state capacity on the ground were responsible for change. Therefore, the latest paradigm was characterised by a general shift from prescriptive 'top-down' to participatory 'bottom-up' approaches to development. In other words, this paradigm brought to the fore the market and later civil society.

On the one hand, the market was viewed as efficient and more effective in allocating resources than the state. On the other hand, people had begun to explore alternatives on their own in the wake of deteriorating services. Grassroots

organisations sprouted in rural and urban areas, focusing on solving problems at the local level. The rise of such associations and groups in the 1980s constituted the foundation on which civil society emerged, though its prominence was most felt in the 1990s. As stated by Shivji (2005), the rise and role of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) were justified within the conceptual framework of civil society that coincided with the inception of the neoliberal offensive. It was also linked to the democratisation drive in Africa. This is because in neoliberal discourse, the African state is vilified and African bureaucracies demonised as corrupt, incapable and unable to learn (Shivji 2005). Such a scenario in the eyes of the West calls for development practitioners to mentor and monitor NGOs. Such practitioners are obviously global and oscillate between donor organisations, international financial organisations and the NGOs.

It is within the civil-society space that community foundations were conceived in South Africa in the early 2000s. Currently, civil society enjoys greater recognition as the voice of the poor and has been touted as the catalyst for shaping future views in the development landscape, although it is important to note that civil society is not homogenous. The latter view is shared by Robinson and White (1997, cited in Muchie 2002: 3), who state that ‘actual civil societies are complex associational universes ... they contain repression as well as democracy, conflict as well as cooperation, vice as well as virtue; they can be motivated by sectional greed as much as social interest’. Before examining the role of community foundations in civil society, in communities and on the development scene, it is important to first trace their advent.

The advent of community foundations in South Africa followed the so-called global associational revolution that started in Europe in the early 1990s. It is no surprise that most community foundations in the South are modelled along the Northern concept. This new generation of local philanthropic institutions in Africa was dependent on seed money from outside the continent; others were entirely home grown and sought to draw on local resources and tap into different forms of wealth, including cash and property and various forms of social capital such as trust and credibility (WINGS 2012). Community foundations fall under the ambit of community philanthropy, which is viewed by the European Foundation Centre, (cited in Knight 2012: 3) as

the act of individual citizens and local institutions contributing money or goods along with their time and skills, to promote the wellbeing of others and the betterment of the community in which they live and work. Community philanthropy can be expressed in informal and spontaneous ways ... It can also be expressed in formal, organized ways whereby citizens give contributions to local organizations, which in turn use the funds to support projects that improve the quality of life.

This definition drew some criticism from scholars who felt that it did not distinguish community philanthropy from ordinary NGO activity, leading to

further definition by characteristics. According to Knight (2012: 4), the list of identified characteristics includes:

1. organised and structured;
2. self-directed;
3. open architecture (as opposed to being closed or owned by a proprietor);
4. civil society;
5. using own money and resources;
6. building an inclusive and equitable society.

Knight (2012) notes that the first four items on the list could apply well to any NGO and that community philanthropy can only exist if the fifth item is added. The final item on the list is about values. An essential quality of community philanthropy is reciprocity based on the principle of solidarity, both of which are qualities that build an inclusive and equitable society (Knight 2012). This means that benefit is public and widespread, rather than private or restricted to certain privileged groups in the community. A further classification of community philanthropy yields a number of typologies, such as community foundations, indigenous organisations, 'community-foundation-like' organisations and philanthropy support organisations (membership associations). The focus of this chapter is on formal organisations in the form of community foundations. The next section explains their advent on the development scene.

Explaining the advent of community foundations

Various scholars have advanced factors that have influenced the advent of community foundations in the 1990s, such as globalisation. Feurt (1999: 33) argues that

communities throughout the world – both urban and rural – are being buffeted by a range of macro and micro political, economic and social changes. One significant trend is the move toward decentralisation and reduced spending by national governments. This, combined with increasing social problems such as unemployment and social exclusion, is felt most acutely at the local level where people live and work.

This is supported by the assertion that the growth of community foundations was fuelled by emerging ideas of 'civil society' following the opening up of East and Central Europe and South Africa, as well as the spread of ideas across borders encouraged by the internet (WINGS 2010). Hodgson (2013) sees community foundations as a form of social solidarity movements and institutions that seek to promote citizen-led development. They are viewed as filling new societal spaces opened by the overhaul of state, private sector and civil society relationships (Hodgson 2013). Therefore, the changing role of public service delivery was central to the growth of community foundations. Local governments were increasingly constrained in playing a central role in delivering community services. This led to citizen-led initiatives and campaigns in as far as community priorities, potential

solutions to problems, availing resources and monitoring results were concerned. Such enthusiasm highlights the growing desire and will of citizens to chart their own destiny and transform their communities and societies. The globalisation process gave impetus to this drive.

The retrenchment of the state meant the devolution of power to lower-tier institutions (communities), thereby increasing the need for local decision-making and governance. However, Sacks (2000) points out that those community initiatives should not operate in isolation but should be part of a holistic effort. Thus, in this equation, it is acknowledged that governments, the private sector and non-profit organisations must work together to overcome the challenges communities face. As such, in this new social and economic scenario

governments are not responsible for all social services, but may provide a social safety net. Private sector creates employment that allows individuals to earn a living and acquire wealth. It also may support communities through socially responsible corporate giving programmes. NGO and philanthropic organisations cannot effectively run large social programmes, but they can identify local needs, marshal local resources and provide a conduit for national and international funding. They can also be incubators for new ideas and approaches to solving community problems. (Sacks 2000)

This quotation points to the fact that community foundations may be a useful tool in helping communities to handle the evolving role of government by engaging citizens in solving problems at the grassroots level and capacitating the non-profit sector. As community foundations embrace citizen participation and civic engagement, it means they also nurture collective responsibility and self-reliance at the local level. This participation has been the hallmark of sustainable development. However, a plethora of literature suggests decentralising participation to local levels is not always positive. For example, Kamna Patel's chapter in this volume correctly warns against the romanticisation of local philanthropic activities. The next section specifically focuses on community foundations in South Africa.

The South African concept of community foundations

According to Feurt (1999: 25), a community foundation is

an independent philanthropic organisation working for a specific geographic area which, over time, builds up a permanent collection of endowed funds contributed from many donors, provides services to those donors, and makes grants and undertakes community leadership activities to address a wide variety of current and long-term needs in service area.

Such organisations seek to improve the quality of life in defined geographic areas. Their proponents argue that they have open and transparent policies and practices

concerning all aspects of their operations. They further state that they are accountable to the community by informing the general public about their purposes, activities and financial status on a regular basis. In as much as there are common characteristics, no two foundations are exactly alike. This view is supported by Carson (2003) who highlights that there is dissension on how community foundations are viewed. The dissension emanates from the debate between two schools of thought, namely that community foundations are either community focused or donor focused. These schools of thought have different means to achieve the end. On the one hand, community-focused community foundations see building the community as an end that can be achieved through building social capital to address common community problems. The vehicle to achieve this is donor funds (Carson 2003). On the other hand, donor-focused community foundations have as their end goal the acquisition of individual donor funds and accumulation of financial capital. This is used to further each donor's individual interest (Carson 2003). Carson's argument buttresses the view that each country and locality can shape its community foundations to fit its circumstances. This chapter considers whether community foundations in South Africa are the result of environmental influence or simply an importation of the Western concept.

The community foundation movement started in 1914 in the state of Ohio, USA. The first community foundation was the Cleveland Community Foundation. According to the Council on Foundations (2005: 9), this foundation grew out of an idea to consolidate a number of trusts into a single organisation that would exist in perpetuity and be governed by a board of local citizens. The citizen board would assess the needs of the local community and disburse grants to community organisations to meet the needs in that locality. The success of this model led to a proliferation of community foundations in the 1920s, especially in the Midwest and Northeast of the USA. Despite a number of challenges, the community foundation movement persists to this day. Currently, there are 750 community foundations in the USA and more than 1 800 worldwide (Council on Foundations 2005). In 2011, the estimated contributions by community foundations totalled US\$4.2 billion (Foundation Center n.d.). The foundation movement spread elsewhere, with the UK popularising the concept outside North America. African countries such as Kenya, Zimbabwe, Senegal, Mozambique and South Africa have established community foundations. Africa and Asia account for less than 100 foundations with the rest in Europe and the Americas (WINGS 2010).

In southern Africa, South Africa took the lead in establishing community foundations. In 2005, there were eight formally established community foundations in the country and an additional six were in the early stages of development (Wings-CF 2005). However, the momentum seems to have faded as only five community foundations existed in 2012 (Mott Foundation 2012). eThekweni Community Foundation became dormant in 2014 and got a lifeline in 2016 from the Lottery Board to resume operations (Kure interview 2016). Essentially, the number of community

foundations has not grown beyond the five that existed in 2012. A number of reasons have been advanced for this stagnation. The CEO of the UCF acknowledged that two community foundations were destroyed through political meddling and lack of knowledge about organisational development and management (Mkhize interview 2014). Another factor was the dependency of community foundations on foreign funding instead of mobilising local resources, a situation that compromised them when foreign donors withdrew. There was also the notion that community foundations were a Western concept that was wholly imported without taking into consideration local situations; the government, business and civil society did not understand it as a concept (Delpont interview 2014).

The first endeavour to establish a formal community foundation was the UCF in Richards Bay on the east coast of South Africa. It was followed by the GRCF, which was mooted in 1997 and formally launched in 2000. The emergence of community foundations has been attributed, among other factors, to the South African Grantmakers' Association (SAGA). SAGA aims to optimise the relevance, efficiency and impact of grantmaking in South Africa. As noted by Sacks (2000: 31), SAGA launched the community foundation development programme in 1998 to promote the community foundation model and provide information, training and technical assistance to community leaders throughout South Africa. The Ford, Mott and W.K. Kellogg foundations supported the programme.

The next section profiles case studies of community foundations in order to unlock how they came into existence and their role, strategies and impact on the South African development scene.

Community foundations: The case studies

Both the GRCF and the UCF came into existence as a result of a pilot project SAGA instituted with the support of international foundations. The now defunct SAGA was a membership association that provided professional support to the corporate social investment and donor community. It played a public leadership and advocacy role on the funding of sustainable development (CSR-Directory.net n.d.). International foundations that assisted the UCF and GRCF include the Mott Foundation and the Ford Foundation. The Mott Foundation helps underserved communities unlock resources to effectively address their unique needs and aspirations through developing responsive local philanthropy. The Ford Foundation is a grantmaking organisation that supports building institutions that work on a broad range of social issues, among other initiatives. The Mott and Ford foundations provided the initial seed funding for the community foundations in question to build their endowments. Corporates such as BHP Billiton, Rio Tinto, Anglo Platinum and Impala Platinum – through their corporate social investment programmes – invest in sustainable development initiatives in their areas of operation, hence the support to the two community foundations. I briefly consider their mandates, place of operation,

how and when they came into existence, board composition, endowments and any funding granted in order to gain an understanding of community philanthropy.

Uthungulu Community Foundation (UCF)

The UCF was officially launched in July 1999 as a South African pilot project. This followed a series of meetings, negotiations or discussions between and among the Zululand Chamber of Business Foundation (ZCBF), SAGA, the Ford Foundation and identified community leaders. Consultative meetings had started in 1997. Later, the Mott Foundation, Canadian-based Rio Tinto Zinc and BHP (SA) came on board with either seed funding or technical support for the establishment of the UCF. His Majesty, King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus was appointed patron of the foundation.¹

The UCF is committed to the socioeconomic development of the Uthungulu area. This area comprises district councils 27 and 28, incorporating the subregions of Nkandla, Umlalazi, Umfolozi and Pongola. These areas fall under the Zululand region, the largest of the demarcated regions in KwaZulu-Natal. It covers an area of 43 000 square kilometres and has an estimated population of 2.2 million people. The area is categorised as poverty stricken, with the health situation extremely lugubrious owing to the high incidence of HIV and AIDS cases. This is compounded by the fact that government funding for community development projects is seriously constrained. A look at the official unemployment rates in South Africa indicates an unemployment rate of 25% in the second quarter of July 2015 (July to September). KwaZulu-Natal had an unemployment rate of 20.5%, 5% below the national figure (Statistics South Africa 2015, 2016). Using a poverty line of R443 per month in 2011 and based on the 2010/11 Income and Expenditure Survey conducted by Statistics South Africa, Chitiga-Mabugu et al. (2016) report that 32.2% of South Africans were poor in 2011. They report that 41.7% of the KwaZulu-Natal population was poor, 9.5% higher than the national poverty rate. Focusing on the poor in South Africa, KwaZulu-Natal accounted for the largest share of the poor in South Africa, being home to 27.5% of the poor in 2011 (Chitiga-Mabugu et al. 2016). In terms of educational attainment, 7.1% of the KwaZulu-Natal population has no formal education, 1.9% higher than the national figure. The probability of being poor is shown to increase with low educational attainment, especially of the household head (Chitiga-Mabugu et al. 2016). It is against this backdrop that the UCF set out on the mission to harness resources to maintain a permanent endowment fund that enhances the socioeconomic development of the Uthungulu (Zululand) region. Uthungulu district is shown in the map in Figure 4.1.

1 See <http://www.ucf.org.za/>

Figure 4.1 *Uthungulu district, KwaZulu-Natal*



Source: Redrawn from various sources

The UCF harnesses resources from local, national and international donors to support and develop mutually beneficial partnerships that promote socioeconomic values based on sustainability, self-development, and public accountability and ethics through measurable people empowerment (UCF 2012). To achieve this, it set out (among other things) to establish, promote and maintain a sound community-rooted growth fund to support deserving community-based non-profit organisations; mobilise diverse community resources and public support for the UCF's programmes; improve the quality of life in local communities; and instil confidence in local communities through the revival of traditional and other forms of philanthropic practices.

According to the UCF's chief executive officer (CEO), the foundation is a vehicle whereby donors in particular are able to reach out to deserving and qualifying local communities with support and assistance for sustained development. With the assistance of donors, the foundation is able to support causes such as educational advancement, promotion of good health, environmental preservation, food security, promotion of human rights and crime reduction among others. It also brings together community stakeholders to discuss and share views on matters of socioeconomic development (UCF 2013). The organisation has diverse sources of funding that

range from individuals and foreign organisations to private- and public-sector organisations. Seed funding for the foundation was availed by the Ford Foundation, the Mott Foundation and BHP Billiton (UCF 2013).

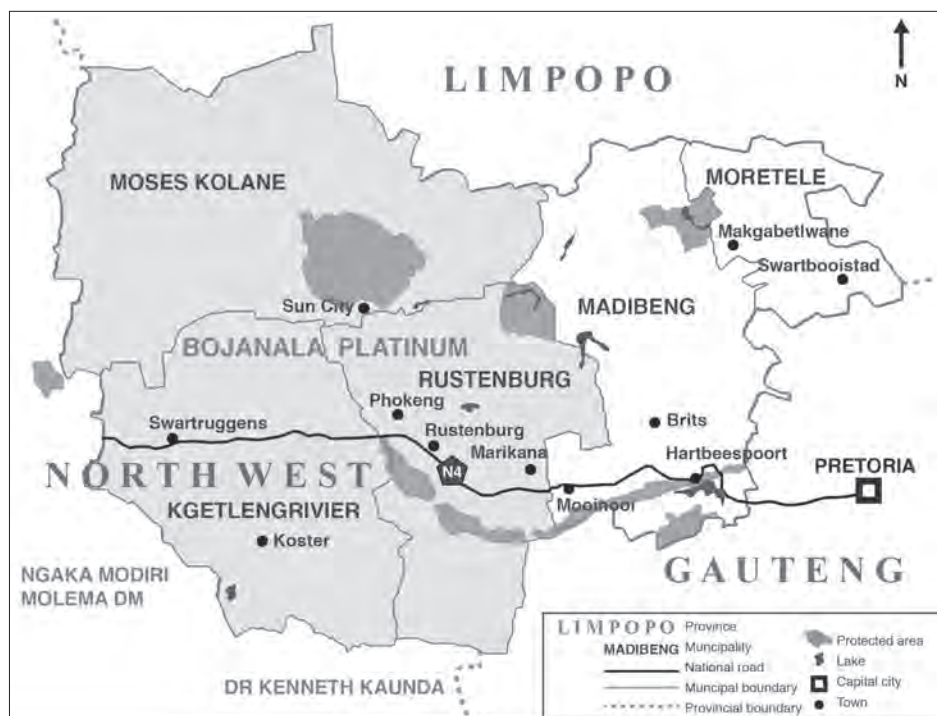
At the official launch in 1999, a ten-member board of trustees (including the chairperson) was appointed. The board was independent of the organisations that were instrumental in the establishment of the foundation. The board would work with office staff under the foundation director who would implement the board's decisions. The UCF issued its first grants to needy communities in November 2002. The second batch of funds was issued in September 2002.²

Greater Rustenburg Community Foundation (GRCF)

The idea of a community foundation was first mooted in 1997 by a group of community members and the board members of the Rustenburg Community Development Centre. These stakeholders were concerned with securing resources for future development while there was still an economic boom in the area derived from platinum mining. Their efforts coincided with those of SAGA, which was working with foreign donors on the possibility of establishing community foundations in South Africa. Thus, after a series of negotiations, the GRCF was officially launched in January 2000 (WINGS 2010).

The GRCF serves a specific geographic area, the Bojanala District of the North West province (GRCF n.d.). Eighty per cent of 1.2 million people in the area live in rural and sometimes very remote areas that lack electricity, clean water, roads and educational opportunities. In 2011, 37% of the population in North West province was classified poor using a poverty line of R443 per month. This is 4.8% higher than the national poverty rate (Chitiga-Mabugu et al. 2016). The province also had an unemployment rate of 25.4%, slightly below the national figure of 25.5%, in the second quarter of 2015 (Statistics South Africa 2015, 2016). Data from the 2014 General Household Survey (GHS) indicate that 5.2% of South Africans aged 20 and older had no formal education in 2014. In the North West province, 7.4% of the population has no formal education, 2.2% higher than the national figure. There is a positive correlation between the household head's educational attainment and the household's probability of being poor (Chitiga-Mabugu et al. 2016). Given this scenario, the mission of the foundation is to mobilise resources to facilitate integrated sustainable local development by availing grants to local community-based projects (GRCF n.d.). Despite high levels of unemployment, illiteracy and poverty, the area is dotted with pockets of wealth, especially around two large platinum mining companies (World Bank n.d.). Bojanala district is shown in the map in Figure 4.2.

2 For more details, see <http://www.ucf.org.za/>

Figure 4.2 *Bojanala district, North West*

Source: Redrawn from various sources

One of GRCF's objectives was to encourage these companies to engage with local communities and find ways to direct some of their corporate social investment funds to support community services for sustainable local development.

The GRCF broadly works in the area of sustainable development. It has specifically targeted the following areas: health, youth, environmental management, children, women, social capital and community vitality, sports, arts and culture, trauma and education (GRCF n.d.).

Since its inception in 2000, the GRCF has built an endowment of R6 million through its partnership with the private sector, international donors and the communities it represents. In 2003, it secured an amount of R2 million from mining companies to set up a permanent endowment fund for the operational costs of the foundation to ensure its financial stability. This was to be received over a five-year period.

The broader community is represented in the GRCF through a board of trustees which includes community leaders, local organisations, institutions and local government. This is the major decision-making body from which the executive director gets instructions (World Bank n.d.).

Critically assessing community foundations

South African community foundations were based on the American model, which has become standard. This can be discerned from Feurt's (1999: 25) definition which includes these tenets of a community foundation: independence, geographic focus, resource development, financial stewardship, community leadership, grantmaking and programme support. South African community foundations can be analysed from the viewpoint of these elements, to see whether they adopt these principles or differ from them.

A scan of the profiles of the UCF and GRCF reveals that they are independent and legally recognised entities operated solely for charitable purposes. They are registered under South African law. In as much as they work and derive their resources from various sources, they are independent of control or influence from those quarters. This was acknowledged by the CEO of the UCF, who noted that 'we are an autonomous, independent and publicly supported organisation' (Mkhize n.d.). The autonomy and independence of these organisations are further buttressed by the appointment of a board of trustees. This signalled their independence from the organisations that had played a role in their establishment, though they maintain a working relationship with them to this day.

The GRCF and UCF were created to serve geographically defined communities. The GRCF serves a geographic area, the Bojanala district of the North West province, and the UCF was established to serve the Zululand region of Uthungulu. Their geographic focus fulfils one of the characteristics of a community foundation stipulated by Feurt.

After establishing themselves as independent legal entities with pronounced geographic boundaries to serve, the foundations set out to build their resource base and endowments. Extant literature reviewed shows that the UCF and GRCF have placed as targets building permanent funds or endowments as a way of fostering their sustainability into the future. This was after local communities realised that securing funds in perpetuity would allow communities to determine and take charge of their own needs and, in so doing, determine and plot their own social destiny in future (WINGS 2010). The community foundations in question received donations and endowment funds from a cross-section of donors, including international foundations, companies/corporates, individual or private foundations, and locals. In 2006, the UCF had an endowment of R11 million funded mainly by the Ford Foundation and BHP Billiton, a mining corporation active in Richards Bay. The Mott Foundation provided a grant to cover operating costs. By 2005, the GRCF had an endowment of R5 million – funded by the Ford Foundation and Impala Platinum, a local mining company. The Mott Foundation also availed funds to cater for operating costs. The total endowment was augmented by several other permanently endowed funds from private individual donors and family foundations (World Bank n.d.). Endowment funds are not used by or granted to local recipients;

instead they are invested in a number of ways, such as on the stock exchange and in real estate. The accruing interest is channelled as grant money. Such responsibility casts a community foundation as a guardian or steward of donated funds, investing and overseeing their safe keeping. The management and investment of funds are based on professional advice. In addition to granting funds to organisations in their constituencies to tackle identified problems, they act on behalf of donors.

When not acting on behalf of donors, community foundations are preoccupied with grantmaking and programme support within their constituencies. This activity is always preceded by fundraising from different sources. The GRCF and UCF have shown, by raising an endowment, that they can fundraise and also act as grantmaker. At one point (2001–2003), the GRCF provided grants to the value of R1 million to local non-profit organisations and community-based organisations (CBOs) in the target areas mentioned earlier (Kuljian 2005). The UCF issued its first grants to needy communities on 22 November 2001. The second issue of grants was on 12 September 2002. From 2001 to 2005, the UCF provided grants of R1.3 million (Kuljian 2005). A look at the UCF's 2013 annual report reveals that 11 new projects were supported in 2012. The greater chunk of the foundation's funds went towards poultry projects, sewing and knitting clubs, crèches, a club for the disabled and gardening projects.

Although the UCF has funded such projects, Kuljian (2005) observed that the UCF did not support efforts for its beneficiaries to address policies affecting the poor in its region. In contrast, the GRCF, in addition to supporting welfare organisations in the region, engaged in policy-related issues concerning HIV and AIDS in its region. One can argue that the former has been more charitable in its grantmaking; whereas the latter has been more strategic, as evidenced by the need to tackle the root causes of problems through policy. The source of the difference in approach can be attributed to the mission statements of the two organisations. The UCF in its mission emphasises community upliftment through socioeconomic empowerment, whereas the GRCF emphasises capacitating local development agents to identify and tackle impediments to growth.

A board of trustees provides guidance on how the foundation is to be operated. The UCF and GRCF each has a board of trustees that reflects the broader communities they serve. In other words, the boards reflect the very geography of the area, minorities in the population, those who are knowledgeable about the functioning of donors and those who are passionate about the issues at hand. Community and traditional leaders, NGOs, institutions, local governments and business are represented on the boards of the two foundations. These boards provide leadership on issues of concern to the community. They can facilitate joint action, such as stimulating private–public partnerships. In this case, the two boards play important roles in forging partnerships with business or mining corporates in their respective areas. The board of trustees acts mainly as a policy organ, ably assisted by steering committees and office staff (usually under a CEO) who preside over operational and day-to-day issues of the foundations. These functions and characteristics

make up the elements of community foundations in selected case studies in South Africa. However, there is a sticking point that serves to distinguish South African community foundations in this study from their counterparts in the USA. This is the issue of traditional leadership and traditional patterns of giving.

Though the concept of community foundations is imported from the USA, it has been adapted in South Africa to suit local traditions. The involvement of local traditional leaders such as chiefs and kings is a clear indication that the traditional institution is the rallying point for development in rural South Africa. These leaders rally support, give blessings and are a symbol of benevolence invoking people to identify with the cause of the foundation and give through it. The words of His Majesty King Goodwill Zwelithini, Patron of the UCF, show how powerful they can be in rallying people to a cause. He stated that

in community foundations, I see a return to the principles of traditional wealth which characterised a time in Africa when community members cared for one another, when no one individual in a community would ever be allowed to go without food or shelter. (Uthungulu Community Foundation Newsletter, cited in Netswera 2004: 16)

The CEO of the UCF added that traditional leaders have always encouraged their communities to cooperate and work in harmony with the UCF. In addition, traditional leaders make small monetary donations to the foundation (Mkhize interview 2014). At every UCF public event, traditional leaders are given a slot as they are an important stakeholder in the development process (Mkhize interview 2014).

Traditional leaders are involved with the GRCE, albeit in a different role. They are elected to serve on the board of trustees in their individual capacities and for the contribution and value that they bring (such as insight, knowledge and information about traditional leadership) to guide the organisation on how to approach communities (Delpont interview 2014). Traditional leaders are also involved in overall strategic planning to ensure that community needs are represented in whatever the foundation implements. Delpont (interview 2014 [See Chapter 6]) further highlighted that traditional leaders facilitate rapport and access to traditional land, research in their areas, training and grantmaking.

What is evident from the two foundations is that traditional leaders give to the foundation monetarily, rally their communities to work with the foundation and contribute their time to foundation business.

The role of traditional leadership in the functioning of the community foundations was viewed in a positive light by the CEOs of the UCF and GRCE. The CEO of the UCF stated that traditional leaders have never been a hindrance or impediment in the operations of the foundation; they have supported activities of the foundation. To this effect, King Zwelithini has encouraged traditional leaders to work and learn from the foundation as he sees it as doing a far better job than other development

agencies (Mkhize interview 2014). The GRCF CEO was unequivocal in stating that traditional leaders facilitate success as they have knowledge of rural communities. They also advise on the approach to strategic policies and plans for communities under the auspices of the traditional or tribal authority (Delport interview 2014).

Thus, traditional leadership and local traditional giving patterns form part of the community foundations studied. This is the major difference from the USA model which is the basis of experiments the world over.

Community foundations as development actors

Community foundations have been touted as one of the fastest-growing segments of organised philanthropy, with many countries around the world turning to them as an avenue to promote philanthropy and deliver services to their citizens (Schluster & Walkenworst 1999: 7). Although community foundations have not risen exponentially in South Africa, for reasons alluded to earlier, those that are in operation are still regarded as serving the interests of their communities. To achieve the goal of promoting philanthropy, community foundations have broad-based mission statements that help to identify their role in society. In South Africa, the UCF and GRCF have clearly spelled-out missions. The UCF's mission is to harness resources to maintain a permanent endowment that enhances socioeconomic development in the Uthungulu (Zululand) region. It aims to achieve this by improving the quality of life of communities in the region; establishing, promoting and maintaining a sound community-based capital growth fund that supports CBOs; mobilising community resources and public support for the foundation's programmes; and instilling confidence in communities through reviving traditional, indigenous philanthropic practices (UCF 2012). The GRCF's mission is to mobilise and pool resources in order to facilitate integrated local development in a sustainable manner by providing grants to local non-profit organisations and CBOs that provide services within the Bojanala district of North West province (GRCF n.d.). Additionally, the foundation places much emphasis on developing the capacity and skills of local service providers, mainly through skills development programmes. The missions are rather broad and this section will focus on what the foundations have implemented. This will be achieved by looking at the specific strategies derived from their missions, such as providing financial support, playing a catalytic role as well as a conceptualising role, undertaking critical functions and community building.

Financial support

One feature of community foundations that distinguishes them from other CBOs is that they are grantmaking organisations that respond to the needs and opportunities in the community. The GRCF and UCF have remained true to this characterisation as they have established grantmaking as their primary focus.

However, for community foundations to be able to embark on grantmaking, they first need to build an endowment. An endowment is a long-term fund that generates grant money from the interest paid on a principal sum while leaving the bulk of the funds untouched so that they can grow over time. The UCF was launched in 1999 and had an endowment of R11 million in February 2006 (UCF 2006). It issued its first grant in 2001. From then to the period leading to 2005, it issued grants amounting to R1.3 million. This went towards pressing socioeconomic needs of the community. In 2011, the UCF had 13 community ventures it was supporting with donations and grants amounting to R253 979. The amount rose to R381 621 in 2012 (UCF 2012). The number of foundation beneficiaries increased to 16 in 2013 (UCF 2013). In February 2012, the foundation had an asset base of R15 380 676 of which R15 251 489 (99% of the total asset value) has been invested with asset managers (UCF 2012). In 2016, the UCF endowment is pegged at R20 million (Mkhize interview 2016). The UCF undertakes projects that are seriously needed but easy to manage so that they can be seen as successful while building community awareness and support. This could be seen as a matter of organisational strategy, though philanthropy analysts would be more comfortable with attempts to solve the problem at its root (strategic philanthropy) rather than responding to an immediate need (charity).

In 2005, the GRCF had an endowment of over R5 million. The foundation was launched in 2000 and issued about R1 million in grants in its first three years. The GRCF also made grants to local non-profit organisations and CBOs for socioeconomic upliftment programmes, such as livelihood projects (chicken rearing) and arts and culture groups in the region. It has linked many beneficiaries with several funding opportunities and presided over donor-advised funds, including permanent endowed funds capitalised by private donors and family foundations in their areas of interest such as children's health issues.

A critical look at the work of the two foundations shows their redistributive role. This can be justified by their programme spending resources on the lower strata of society based on the premise that it emanates from society's wealthiest strata. Though empirically difficult to prove, foundation spending does not always favour the lower classes. Another issue that arises out of the grantmaking role is that community foundations act as social change agents, though their scale of operation evidently does not justify their broad legitimacy claim. The work and advice they extend to CBOs is seen as making a difference in the lives of citizens. As noted by the CEO of the UCF, 'we have changed the lives of a significant number of citizens. We also continue to provide advice to organisations outside our region' (Mkhize interview 2014). This view is supported by the GRCF's work, which has assisted voiceless communities to assert their rights as far as service delivery is concerned. As noted by the GRCF's CEO and founder, 'negotiating on behalf of communities that do not have a voice, for example, working with government to ensure the needs of community are conveyed to government and outcome relayed back to

communities' is one of the tenets of the foundation (Delpont interview 2014). It is evident that both community foundations continually seek to build a permanent endowment from a range of local sources, including individuals, businesses, the government and other donors. All this is done to facilitate grantmaking for programme-related investments.

Catalytic role

The work of the two community foundations demonstrates their catalytic role in promoting socioeconomic development in their respective regions. They have been involved in initiating development projects and programmes; accelerating the pace of development; leveraging resources; collaborating and partnering; and acting as the convenor of the various stakeholders interested in development. There is documentary evidence that the UCF and GRCF have started various programmes, thereby accelerating socioeconomic development by playing a catalytic role.

In its quest to promote and develop the education, health, agriculture and small business development processes, the UCF helped initiate the uMsocusengadini Schools Garden Project. According to the UCF's 2006 annual report, this project promotes environmental awareness at local schools. It particularly addresses extreme forms of poverty in local communities through the promotion of agricultural production at participating schools. Entrepreneurial, management, agricultural and accounting life skills are imparted to the learners in the process. Participating learners are equipped with life skills that they can fall back on after completing school. The programme also fosters self-reliance in that learners are taught how to tend and manage a garden to meet the nutritional requirements of the family and to view it as a source of income. This curbs dependency on relief agencies, a feature of many rural communities in South Africa (UCF 2006).

The UCF also embarked on a ground-breaking mission by introducing information and communications technology (ICT) to the Ndabeni Community Development Centre in the Ingwavuma (rural) area. The funds from the foundation helped to introduce computer technology to the local community, a development that enables them to access information, source markets and equip especially the young generation with one of the prerequisite life skills of the 21st century. The programme was extended to Mthiyahwa High School, where the availability of computers benefits educators, learners and the local community. This is in line with the UCF's commitment to improve the quality of education at local schools – reflecting an endeavour with short- and long-term benefits. The UCF's strategic social partners (such as the University of Zululand, individuals and former grantees) assist in training the local people to acquire computer skills. This shows that communities have strengths and assets that can be built upon and expanded, such as the tradition of giving and volunteering. This was recognised by the UCF, which helped to nurture and encourage such practices in order to stimulate

the development of new forms of giving such as time and skills to address local problems.

The GRCF initiated a number of projects and programmes in its region. By mobilising resources and making the benefits available for local community-based projects in the form of grants, the GRCF assisted in developing 22 service providers in rural areas of the Bojanala district. In 2009, it also piloted a social development programme known as the Community Asset Mapping Programme (CAMP) in the rural town Mathopestad. The programme guides communities in identifying their assets and sustainable development projects where they can focus on these assets. Successful projects and organisations identified through CAMP are then funded by the GRCF. The programme is developmental in nature as it offers technical support for a period of up to five years. This ensures the sustainability and effectiveness of grants.

A major milestone of the GRCF is the establishment of the first Youth Bank (young grantmaker programme) on the African continent. This is intended to foster the spirit of giving among the youth, who are future philanthropists, leaders and parents. As noted in the W.K. Kellogg Foundation's 2000 annual report, 'we learn about giving through giving, or from the example of someone who frequently shares their time or money for the public good' (W.K. Kellogg Foundation 2000). The UCF has shown that it can augment these habits which are normally imparted through families, communities, schools and places of worship. Although the outputs or outcomes of the programme are still to be realised, lessons from other countries show good results.

The chapter has so far shown that community foundations strive to build the community and improve the quality of life of people in the areas they serve. The GRCF and UCF are accountable to the local community for their actions, and their boards of trustees are made up of local citizens. Therefore, by working to promote community giving, encouraging citizen action and supporting non-profit institutions through their grantmaking, community foundations play a key role in creating civil society in their local areas (WINGS-CF 2005). Although community foundations are a minority in the not-for-profit organisations within the third sector, they foster civic engagement and participation – thereby creating and expanding civil society within their respective communities. Their catalysing role is made possible by their financial and political independence, which puts them in a unique position to promote diversity (a major tenet of civil society) in not-for-profit endeavours in their communities. The community foundations in this study have seen an increase in local residents having a direct voice in making informed decisions about community needs, identifying potential solutions, frugally allocating available resources and measuring results. All this is done in a participatory and inclusive way.

By establishing and working with grassroots groups and community-based non-profit organisations, the UCF and GRCF help 'these groups to play critical roles as social innovators, service deliverers, watchdogs, advocates and generators of economic activity' (Feurt 1999: 34). This role was confirmed by the UCF's CEO, who noted 'our foundation has in the past years truly revolutionised our region when it comes to providing assistance and advice to community-based organisations and private- and public-sector organisations' (Mkhize interview 2014). The GRCF also noted bringing people together and working for the greater good of the community, for example the foundation has 'invested in processes to bring divided communities together, such as working with landowners and farm owners to ensure equal partnership and harmonious living' (Delpont interview 2014).

Based on the realisation that one cannot go it alone in development, the foundations collaborate and partner with other stakeholders to bring maximum benefits to their communities. The UCF works with several role-players such as business, government, non-profits and individuals to execute its mission. For example, it collaborates with the Zululand Hospice Association to ensure that support for patients with life-threatening diseases continues. It also partners with the Centre for Integrated Rural Development at the University of Zululand. The foundation assists the Centre in its programmes to conduct, on a continuous basis, research into the socioeconomic needs of Zululand communities. This helps the foundation to make informed decisions concerning the community. The UCF also partnered with the National Institute for Crime Prevention and Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO) to ensure that the institute fulfilled its capacity-building and training mandate in the community. The foundation, through arrangements with two main local newspapers, was able to publish weekly articles providing local residents with information about its work, its challenges and the performance of each funded project. This resulted in many communities and individuals developing a keen interest in the activities of the foundation.

Likewise, the GRCF is linked with a host of regional and global support organisations, including its work with the NIZA Corporate Social Responsibility and the Extractive Industry Programme. This highlights that an important role of the foundation is to establish initial linkages between the community and resource agencies. This has the potential to accelerate the pace of development in the area. Resources from the networks are then leveraged for the potential maximum benefit of the communities concerned.

The UCF and GRCF have also acted as conveyors of development within their respective areas. The GRCF convened a host of conversation desks and networking opportunities with local service providers, business and local government. As argued by Kuljian (2005), the GRCF used its convening role to provide a greater voice for civil society and to address HIV and AIDS policy development in the province. The UCF hosted numerous visitors from foreign countries, driving more people to have an interest in the foundation.

Thus, the catalytic role of the community foundations – as shown in initiating, accelerating, leveraging, collaborating and partnering, and convening development – was aptly summarised by the Mott Foundation which observe that

as a locally owned, locally controlled and locally financed entity, a community foundation can nurture local leadership and promote self-reliance, provide a forum for a variety of stakeholders to come to the table and discuss issues and options, and develop cross-sector partnerships among citizens, community groups, businesses, government, the media and other local players. Overall, through its unique blend of active, flexible, creative and participatory philanthropy, a community foundation can enhance the community's ability to take on new challenges as they arise. (Mott Foundation 2000)

Conceptualising role

The community foundations under study further fulfil a conceptualising role. Both foundations engage in the analysis of development issues within their respective regions. This is meant to define or redefine problems affecting their regions. They usually arrive at this following extensive research on their own or through partners. As shown earlier, the UCF partnered with the Centre for Integrated Rural Development at the University of Zululand to conduct research into the socioeconomic needs of Zululand communities. It also uses data from government departments, such as the Department of Health, in its programmes.

The GRCF undertook research as an important facet of its programmes. It embarked on a research programme and Community Asset Mapping Programme (CAMP) aimed at conducting research in all the villages of the district (GRCF n.d.). These initiatives are meant to inform foundation strategies. With carefully conceived strategies, community foundations are in a better place to focus resources in local development as well as inventing new ways of working. Thus, by analysing, defining and redefining, focusing and investing, community foundations play a crucial conceptualising role in community development.

Community building

Another role of the UCF and GRCF is that of community building. This is evidenced by the fact that both foundations have relationships with business, traditional leaders, CBOs, NGOs, foundations, the government and individuals. This enables them to build bridges in their communities, which are usually characterised by separation and stratification in the social and economic spheres. They bring together leaders from all facets of community life by identifying shared values and expectations, crafting ways of working together and building trust across racial, political and economic divides (Mott Foundation 2000). Having

brought together different role-players, the foundations go a step further to play a leadership role within the community. This supports Feurt's assertion that a community foundation 'provides leadership on pervasive community problems by serving as a facilitator, convenor, catalyst, and broker' (1999: 26). By virtue of being neutral players, they facilitate concerted efforts with other organisations and initiate public-private partnerships. The GRCF notes that its role is to 'encourage, promote and forge sound partnerships with business, government, academia and all role players who are in support of community engagement, sustainable livelihoods and socio-economic development in our region' (GRCF n.d.). The UCF's CEO, in the 2006 annual report, acknowledged that his foundation acts as a community leader.

Challenges

Despite fulfilling various roles, such as those outlined above, the foundations under study reported a number of challenges. The main challenges for the UCF centred on development coordination in its area of operation. According to the UCF's CEO, one of the major challenges they faced was the lack of sustained and coordinated development among the three major development partners, namely civil society organisations, private- and public-sector organisations. This resulted in uncoordinated service delivery to local communities, mainly as a result of the lack of a common strategy among development actors. The major downside of such a scenario is duplication of services among the three identified development partners (Mkhize interview 2014). Inadequate funding for deserving and needy communities was also identified as a major challenge for the UCF.

The GRCF identified impediments to governance, funding and lack of support from government. The CEO of the GRCF highlighted that it is difficult to get good leadership on the board of trustees. This is because people expect to be paid to sit on the board, yet philanthropic organisations do not have resources for such. It therefore becomes a challenge to find people who are committed to the foundation without expecting to be paid (Delport interview 2014).

Another challenge that was noted involves big corporates. It was stated that corporates channel their resources to their own strategic policies and activities and not necessarily to the work of community foundations. They can choose not to contribute to the sustainability of community foundations or invest money in activities that do not resonate with their strategic imperatives (Delport interview 2014).

The government was cast as not understanding the role of community foundations, resulting in community foundations being viewed as competitors instead of collaborators in development. This is evidenced by the fact that tax rebates to community foundations are small or limited, a situation that does not encourage people to give to community foundations (Delport interview 2014).

Lessons for development

With a board of trustees consisting of respected members from all levels of society and its emphasis on accountability, transparency and responsibility, community foundations can be viewed as among the most transparent institutions in modern-day development practice. It was therefore natural for donors to prefer to work with community foundations. According to the CEO of Implats Community Development Trust, they supported the concept of community foundations in Rustenburg because they viewed them as a flexible vehicle 'to prevent erosion of grant money and to ensure capital growth by professionally managing permanent endowed funds' (World Bank n.d.). This view is to a great extent supported by the UCF's CEO, who noted that

potential donors, including the World Bank, would like to form development partnerships with countries and organisations that demonstrate that structures are in place for community participation in development programmes, and where there would be some professional, effective and efficient management and administration systems, public accountability, democratisation processes, and collaboration between and among private and public sector organisations. (Mkhize n.d.)

One can therefore conclude that, on the one hand, community foundations represent a win-win situation for donors and recipient communities. Communities need resources and one way of attracting them is through transparent, accountable and democratic local institutions such as community foundations. On the other hand, funders seek to work with communities in a way that maximises the value of their donations, and community foundations are seen as one such vehicle.

Equally related to the management issue is the question of sustainability. Funding of development is currently characterised by a conditionality that rests on sustainability. This applies to both the organisation and the programmes it pursues. South Africa is littered with cases of many non-profit funded social development projects that collapsed. As highlighted by the GRCF's executive director, 'corporate and foreign donors supported social development to relieve the most immediate and evident needs. Thus, there was very little focus on sustainability and resolving the issues of dependency. What was needed was a sense of community and the creation of social capital' (World Bank n.d.). With sustainability as the defining characteristic, it was therefore easy for various funders to 'buy into' the concept of community foundations. The building of endowments by the UCF and GRCF was one way to show that they took the sustainability of their organisations seriously. This concept had to translate to programmes they funded. As noted by the UCF's CEO, Chris Mkhize:

... the Uthungulu Community Foundation, in the process of issuing grants to target local communities, makes no secret of the fact that issued grants would be based on socioeconomic values of sustainability,

self-reliance, accountable management and self-development. For sustainability of grants, local communities must have ways and means of collecting required funds from other sources rather than depend solely on the foundation. (n.d.)

Sustainability, or the promise of it, by foundations and their programmes led to various funders in South Africa 'buying into' it. Sustainability can, however, be influenced by existing solidarity networks in particular communities.

In Africa, traditional institutional structures are known to be rallying points for any development initiatives. Programmes that have the blessings of traditional or local leaders usually gain acceptance in the wider community. Rugege (2002) highlights that in the pre-colonial era, traditional leaders served as political, military, spiritual and cultural leaders and were regarded as custodians of the values of society. They looked after the welfare of their people by providing them with productive resources such as land for their subsistence needs through agriculture and for grazing. The current role of traditional leaders was aptly summed up in a speech by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who noted that 'many of our communities in KwaZulu-Natal are able to embrace projects of sustainable development simply because of their background of self-help and self-reliance that has been championed by traditional leaders' (Buthelezi 2011). The crusaders of the community foundation concept realised this and used it to their advantage. From the onset, the GRCF invited community and traditional leaders (among other stakeholders) to discuss the idea of pooling resources through a community foundation.

These leaders are represented in the now full-fledged board of trustees of the community foundation. In a speech, the CEO of Implats Development Trust noted that 'we considered extremely important to involve these leaders in all aspects so they feel invited to the kitchen and not the dining table' (World Bank n.d.). The traditional leaders' involvement was not overlooked when it came to the UCF. In fact, King Goodwill Zwelithini (the king of the Zulus) is the patron of the foundation. He presided over the official launch and unveiled a memorial plaque during the ceremony. The GRCF also has traditional leadership representation on the board of trustees. This shows that the involvement of local leaders is part of the ongoing process and not a once-off event. King Zwelithini even handed over the first grants to recipients. This is symbolic in that a gift from the king or any traditional leader is held in high esteem, for any mismanagement is deemed disrespectful of the traditional institution. The foundations realised that the institution of traditional leadership represents a form of societal organisation that cannot be overlooked if development programmes are to succeed. Traditional leaders are an embodiment of culture, traditions, customs and values, thus making them a vital cog in the wheel of community development.

The UCF and GRCF have provided small grants to their respective communities to start livelihood projects such as chicken rearing and vegetable gardens. Beyond

livelihood projects, the foundations have funded school bursaries and art projects. The point is that the projects are small scale, as evidenced by the small grants disbursed. While not taking away the fact that small grants contribute to the socioeconomic development of communities, they spread resources thinly and therefore it is difficult to measure their impact. If foundations are to leave a lasting impact, there is a need for them to shift to larger-scale, multi-annual and more strategic funding with a focus on impact (McGee 2010). This thinking led McKiernan (2012) to pose the question 'Do funders want to invest in firefighting work or to tackle the root causes of inequality and suffering?' It is essential, therefore, that community foundations know what sort of funder they wish to be (reactive, interventionist, compensatory) and what impact they wish to achieve (supporting services/activities, building institutions, systems change) from the onset as this will determine the design and implementation of their programmes (Unwin 2004).

It has been highlighted in this chapter that the concept of community foundations in Africa was modelled on the American concept. Sibanda (2012) contends that the model was imported without considering the African context and cites an example of endowments where community foundations failed to raise the bulk of their funds locally. This assertion gained currency with a number of scholars. Hodgson and Knight (2012) called for a new African narrative that could explain the significance (or not) of community organisations, the kind of assets they are building and their identification (spelling out differences). Such a narrative, they contend, would then stand alongside the global community foundation narrative that derives from the USA. Delegates attending a symposium on community foundations pointed out that community foundations did not do enough to communicate who they are in terms of their value to the community, their value as organisations, their products and their process of engagement (Sibanda 2012).

Atibil (2012) has been forthright in branding the African community foundation phenomenon as 'transplanted philanthropy' – the reason for their limitations. Atibil argues that the foundation organisational form, having been imported from the West, has failed so far to adapt to the socioeconomic environment prevailing in most African countries. This could explain why South African community foundations are struggling to build long-term endowments and attract gifts of assets. This shortcoming was aptly summarised by delegates attending a symposium on community foundations who noted that community foundations had no asset-development approach. It was noted that

community foundations have not done much in soliciting for gifts of assets. A number of community foundations do not have a strategy that helps them raise sufficient endowment to provide a stable source of fee income to secure the overhead expenses of the foundation. Most community foundations rely on fundraising. Normally, gifts from fundraising are small and in cash as opposed to assets. This has a bearing on the sustainability of the community foundations. (Sibanda 2012: 4)

As a recommendation, Atibil's study suggests that African community foundations adapt effectively to their local environment by focusing on how to create the right relationships with communities and by positioning themselves as a critical link in the African gift cycle that is characterised by reciprocity, solidarity and mutuality. Hodgson and Knight (2012) and Sibanda (2012) made similar observations.

While this chapter does not capture all the issues pertaining to community foundations, it has highlighted that community foundations may be a powerful tool for improving the quality of life in given communities in spite of the challenges they face. Among other strategies, their involvement of local citizens, resource mobilisation, grant disbursement, building trust between people and nurturing of partnerships enable them to address local development needs in effective and innovative ways. By tapping into the wealth that already exists in the community, harnessing it for public benefit and giving the community access to resources that it controls, community foundations have espoused the notion of people-led development.

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5 *Exploring philanthropic motivations in HIV and AIDS care: Implications for ubuntu and altruism in KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal*

Annette Kasimbazi, Yvonne Sliep and Christopher John

'Do not be like a swamp that receives water, only to retain it ... but be like a river that receives and gives.'

Home-based volunteer, KwaNgcolosi

Ubuntu (a Nguni word) has come to be known as the spiritual foundation of most African societies. It is a unifying worldview enshrined in the Zulu maxim *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*, literally meaning 'a person is a person through other persons' (Shutte 1993). Ubuntu describes a human being as being-with-others and prescribes what being-with-others is. It is a popular national philosophy that drives altruism and a desire to support charitable causes bridging societal divides. Ubuntu normally flows through channels of social norms, mutual trust and horizontal networks that have existed since time immemorial rather than through formal institutions. It is seen as a mechanism to strengthen relationships based on commonly held norms. With the advent of HIV and AIDS, a new calibre of philanthropists emerged who give of their time, effort and skill, and volunteer to care for those infected and affected by HIV and AIDS. In the context of HIV and AIDS, however, mutual trust is challenged as it is embedded in perceived risk because it brings with it the burden of stigma. In this case, the cost of engaging in altruistic behaviour such as volunteering is higher than the perceived benefit thereof.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine how the philosophy of ubuntu has been applied through social capital in promoting community-based care and support for people living with HIV and AIDS. The chapter builds on previous research on the role of social capital in promoting community-based care and support for people living with HIV and AIDS in KwaZulu-Natal. It uses the practice of volunteer caregivers from KwaNgcolosi, a peri-urban area near the city of Durban, to illustrate how a social capital framework has been used to exemplify the altruistic practice of community philanthropy. Social capital's viability as a theoretical framework for this chapter comes from its emphasis on the social dynamics inherent in any gathering of people akin to the African philosophy of ubuntu. It draws attention to the social relatedness of human beings (including factors linked to social relatedness such as norms and networks) and the manner in which this relatedness may shape their wellbeing (More 2004). It specifically interrogates the motivations of volunteer caregivers in KwaNgcolosi.

Ubuntu, volunteering and altruism

Ubuntu is also described as the principle of caring about each other's wellbeing and a spirit of mutual support. Each individual's humanity is ideally expressed through his or her relationship with others, and theirs in turn through recognition of the individual's humanity (Shutte 1993; Masina 2000). Notions of ubuntu propose that our own wellbeing is hurt when our neighbours, friends and people in the broader society do not enjoy their own wellbeing (Kasimbazi 2009). Ubuntu incorporates values such as altruism, solidarity, reciprocity, generosity and volunteering (Wilkinson-Maposa & Fowler 2009).

These values embody the same characteristics of giving but are different in practice. On the one hand, there is reciprocity and generosity, which entail giving with self-interest. Reciprocity refers to help or transactions where the giver has the expectation that the favour will be returned (D'Almaine 2009). Generosity is helping or giving that reflects self-interest, but without an expected or required return. On the other hand, there is solidarity, altruism and volunteering. Solidarity is a system of help or transactions based on the principle an association of people not related by blood, for example, neighbours or friends (Butcher 2003). All these values denote ubuntu because they come in the form of help or transactions that are inspired by belief in a common humanity. Altruism refers to help and transactions that indicate unselfish concern for others (Butcher 2003). It has also been described as a selfless, pro-social motivation that promotes the welfare of others (Stauffer 2010). However, the issue of altruism is murky. Although volunteering is often associated with unpaid work, freely given allocation of time, skill and effort for the benefit of others beyond direct family or relatives, there are debates in the literature regarding payment.

According to Miranda (2011: 7), unpaid work is quite broad and refers to 'the production of goods and services by household members that are not sold on the market'. Some unpaid work is for consumption within the family, such as cooking, gardening and house cleaning. The products of unpaid work may also be consumed by people not living in the household, for example cooking a meal for visiting friends, helping in a soup kitchen for homeless people, mowing the lawn of an elderly relative or coaching the local football team. In other words, there may be some conceptual slippage between unpaid work and volunteering. There are scholars who argue that by definition, volunteers should not be compensated at all for their work as payment is contrary to the spirit of volunteering. Indeed, Graham et al. (2013: 4) state that one of the traditional definitions of volunteering is that it is an activity that is 'done with little or no financial reward'. Similarly, Akintola (2011: 54) sees volunteering as devoting time, energy and resources to provide a service that benefits others 'without expecting financial or material rewards'.

However, others argue that there is nothing wrong with volunteers expecting some personal benefit from their work in the form of financial and other incentives

(skills development, networking, community recognition, etc.). But, to illustrate the conceptual slippage we referred to above, later on in his research paper on the motivations of volunteers in the provision of HIV and AIDS care, Ankitola (2011: 57) reveals that a number of the volunteers participated because they thought volunteering 'would place them in a better position to gain on-the-job experience, have first-hand information about vacancies for paid jobs in other organisations and at the same time secure a recommendation from their managers to support their application for these vacancies'. In their research on social capital and collective action in HIV and AIDS work, Gibbs et al. (2015: 116) confirm this when they conclude that 'many volunteers saw their involvement as an opportunity to secure employment in these care organisations. However, there were only a few opportunities for employment within them.' Perhaps this is why historically volunteering has been associated with questions of class and social status.

It is evident in the literature that there is a correlation between social class and volunteering in more industrial societies. In other words, people with more privileged socioeconomic and educational backgrounds engage in the practice. However, recent research by Patel et al. (2007: 8) that covered five African countries revealed 'a contrary trend in that many volunteers are from underprivileged backgrounds'. Furthermore, the volunteering concept in South Africa comprises elements of free will and choice, as well as not receiving compensation or reward. It may also have religious motivation and is often seen as 'charity', although charity usually connotes paternalistic tendencies of giving from the 'haves' to the 'have-nots' (Butcher 2003). Volunteering is also known to enshrine informal support systems of care among the needy (Everatt & Solanki 2004). South Africa has an established tradition of giving and generosity that entails varied voluntary activities that promote the public good beyond the family to the community (Butcher 2003). It is characterised by strong social networks created by affinity, which encourage a sense of mutual help and reciprocity that manifest as informal volunteer activity (Butcher 2003).

In a 2008 study on resource allocation and poverty alleviation, Habib and Maharaj describe a variety of possibilities and ways of giving, including corporate giving, government spending, religious influences on giving, participation, and giving of time (volunteering) and resources. They specifically stress how philanthropy, volunteering included, cannot by itself address the problem of poverty alleviation and HIV and AIDS. Instead, they stress that volunteering efforts require increasing recognition from governments, corporations and the public at large, and that making volunteers visible can positively contribute to the general wellbeing of communities. Similarly, Butcher (2003) stresses the need to create sufficient infrastructure, wealth of information and institutionalisation for volunteer groups to become formalised, transparent and efficient so that they are best able to participate in the care economy, receive more government subsidies and have better access to international funding. She proposes that participation and volunteer activity should be fostered, strengthened and encouraged.

Wilkinson-Maposa and Fowler (2009) suggest that community philanthropy is a collective act that promotes the wellbeing of others and improvement in their lives and prospects.¹ It encourages those who have to share resources, talents, time and effort with those who do not have – all of which are part of service. Volunteer caregivers practise ubuntu by doing what others have referred to as ‘collective caring’, which results in dignity and respect within communities.² The ubuntu notion is consistent with the values and ideas promoted by the elements of social capital. It is based on trust, encourages reciprocity and supports social norms (Wilkinson-Maposa & Fowler 2009). Volunteers are at the forefront of the provision of informal care and support to households affected by HIV and AIDS. Their activities include visiting the homes of sick people to offer basic nursing services, counselling and health education, nutrition monitoring and psychosocial support. However, notwithstanding the enormous contribution of volunteers to the provision of care and support, they face many challenges. For instance, after conducting research in three organisations in the Durban area, Gibbs et al. (2015: 121) conclude that in organisations’ efforts ‘to generate bonding, bridging and linking social capital, the wider social contexts of poverty, stigma and limited spaces for building bridging relationships undermined their attempts to do so.’

This chapter builds on knowledge generated by a research project, initiated in 2007 as a collaboration between the Norwegian and South African governments, entitled ‘The role of social capital in promoting community-based care and support for people living with HIV and AIDS in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.’ As the title indicates, a major objective of the project was identifying the status and mechanism of social capital regarding care and support for people living with HIV and AIDS in KwaNgcolosi in KwaZulu-Natal. The first phase involved surveying and mapping characteristics of individuals, households, associations, organisations and agencies involved in HIV- and AIDS-related care and support in the KwaNgcolosi area. The second phase involved focus group discussions and interviews considering elements of social capital in relation to care and support for people living with HIV and AIDS in the community. The interviews focused on the following: individual community members’ perceptions of social capital in the area; household and individual involvement in activities related to social capital, and the extent and nature of links and collaborations between community-based organisations and associations or agencies.

The third phase of the project involved participatory dissemination of the research results from the first and second phases. It was an intervention to strengthen social capital and ubuntu in order to enhance care and support for HIV-positive people within the community. The intervention, through participatory and empowering methods, was aimed at facilitating social action, participation, partnerships,

1 See Chapter 9 and 10 in this volume.

2 See Chapter 1 in this volume.

networking and advocacy skills. In this chapter, attention is only given to a particular focus group discussion with eight caregivers who volunteered at a local organisation. This focus group discussion took place after the third phase of the project and specifically focused on ubuntu, altruism and volunteering.

Ubuntu and volunteering in KwaNgcolosi

The KwaNgcolosi community is situated within the Valley of a Thousand Hills, approximately 40 km outside Durban. There are 20 000 people living in this area (Statistics South Africa 2015).³ The area is characterised by high unemployment and high levels of poverty, with poor infrastructure and lack of resources (including significant lack of access to electricity and running water). The Inanda Dam provides natural and economic resources for the community. Members of this community are reasonably homogenous in terms of language (isiZulu), ethnicity, culture and socioeconomic background.

In 2015, sub-Saharan Africa had the highest incidence of HIV and AIDS infection in the world and South Africa had the highest rate in the region.⁴ National HIV prevalence was about 11% and the total number of adults living with HIV was estimated at 6.1 million people.⁵ Although the rate of new infections dropped among people aged 15 to 49 years (from 6.7% in 2002 to 5.5% in 2015), almost 17% of people aged 15 to 49 years was HIV positive (Statistics South Africa 2015).

In 2012, the eThekweni Municipality, where KwaNgcolosi is located, had the highest HIV prevalence rate (about 14.5%) among all the large municipalities in South Africa (Shisana et al. 2014). According to the same survey, at 16.9% KwaZulu-Natal continued to lead South Africa in HIV prevalence (Shisana et al. 2014). As the rates of HIV and AIDS infection increase, more people require care and support (Cameron et al. 2009) and this puts increased stress on resources (including physical, social, economic and human resources). Communities have to find their own ways of providing care and a large part of this responsibility falls on families and members of local communities (Campbell & Foulis 2004). Most national and global policies on HIV and AIDS have tended to focus on large-scale and centralised initiatives, ignoring the versatile responses that have naturally emerged at grassroots levels to cope with the pressures of HIV and AIDS (Birdsall & Kelly 2005).

3 Statistics South Africa (2015) Mid-year population estimates. Accessed 8 June 2016, <https://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0302/P03022015.pdf>

4 UNAIDS (2014) The Gap Report. Accessed 8 June 2016, http://www.unaids.org/sites/default/files/media_asset/UNAIDS_Gap_report_en.pdf

5 Statistics South Africa (2015) Mid-year population estimates. Accessed 8 June 2016, <https://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0302/P03022015.pdf>

Most of the care providers working with care organisations are primarily volunteers. As HIV and AIDS exert more pressure on public hospitals, home-based care have borne the brunt of the pandemic as their services have been drawn upon widely by the government to alleviate the impact on public hospitals. The support and services invested in community responses to HIV and AIDS, such as volunteering, and the acknowledgement of those responses will determine for how long and how effectively they can continue. In KwaNgcolosi, volunteers formed small groups to visit the homes of the bedridden and practised their philanthropy not by giving money but by giving of their time to wash, comfort and cook for the sick in their homes. These community initiatives have been defined in the wider concept of social capital as ubuntu in KwaNgcolosi.

In African traditional life, gender roles and functions are clearly defined. It is what it means to be male or female in a certain community that shapes the opportunities one is offered in life and the roles one may play. Gender norms also influence how family members experience and cope with HIV and AIDS. Cultural norms among African people apportion most of the household roles to women. These norms influence the continuing prevarication of care and support tasks, with men leaving the care burden to women and girls. This epitomises a situation where social norms play a negative role in societal wellbeing. Since HIV and AIDS come with new responsibilities, volunteer community workers in KwaNgcolosi (nearly all women) share the care and support burden in the affected households in the spirit of ubuntu.

Ubuntu, social capital and the government's response to HIV and AIDS care and support

The South African government has a major role to play in HIV and AIDS care and support. Most HIV-positive and AIDS patients who go to public hospitals in South Africa still have limited access to care and support. The public health service, which is the only option for the majority of infected people, is generally overburdened and medical services and treatment are often inadequate. Patients are commonly sent home to receive care from their households without any consideration of how suitable such care and support will be. Opponents of volunteering have contended that volunteers in communities is the reason why the government is sidestepping its responsibilities, especially to those infected and affected by HIV and AIDS. They argue that this conceals the care and support crisis that the government should be facing head-on.

Some of the functions that the government could undertake in HIV and AIDS care and support crisis mitigation include facilitating policy development and implementation regarding care and support; providing and mobilising resources specifically for care and support; guidance and leadership; incorporating care and support into sectoral policies; monitoring and evaluation; creating an enabling

environment for care and support that includes providing care kits; developing legislation on care and support; facilitating coordination of care and support activities; and piloting and upscaling care and support crisis mitigation strategies. An overarching issue and need at a macro level is the formulation of HIV and AIDS policies by the government, with stakeholder consultation and participation that appropriately and directly address the vulnerabilities and support needs of affected families. Such policy responses, however, should be directed both generationally and holistically and should take gender into account.

The social capital framework

Social capital is a broad framework that has been applied in a variety of contexts to explain the ability of communities to deal with challenges ranging from the provision of public education to the maintenance of effective government institutions as well as informal crime control (Falk et al. 2000). The concept of social capital has recently been extended to health outcomes and health equity (Wilkinson & Marmot 2003).

Campbell et al. (2007) and Pronyk (2002) argue that communities with high levels of social capital are more able to effectively implement health interventions. Poku and Whiteside (2006) assert that social capital also has the potential to increase volunteering, which is essential in HIV and AIDS care and support. These authors point out the benefits of social capital regarding HIV and AIDS, and affirm that it brings about a combination of social practices, networks and partnerships within the social context of a community in which volunteer caregivers operate, establishing norms and generating action towards societal care needs and ubuntu (Karakoulaki 2002). They further assert that this is possible with the increased information channels, community interaction, mutual support and care facilitated by social capital on the bonding and bridging levels.

Gitell and Vidal (1998) and Szreter and Woolcock (2004) differentiate three levels of social capital: bonding, bridging and linking. Bonding social capital refers to relationships among members of a network who are similar (Putnam 2000). Bridging social capital refers to relationships amongst people who are dissimilar in a demonstrable fashion, such as age, socioeconomic status, race/ethnicity and education (Szreter & Woolcock 2004). Linking social capital is the extent to which individuals build relationships with institutions and individuals who have relative power over them, for example to provide access to services, jobs or resources (Szreter & Woolcock 2004).

Putnam (2000) defines social capital as those features (elements) of social structure comprising a level of trust, norms, reciprocity and social networks that act as resources for collective action. Communities with high levels of social capital may be more effectively able to implement health interventions such as care and support

for those infected and affected by HIV and AIDS. For the purposes of this chapter, we use Putnam's definition and elements of social capital. There are four elements of social capital, namely social trust, reciprocity, norms and networks.

Social capital in KwaNgcolosi

Social trust is the extent to which individuals believe that others mean what they say and will follow through on their commitments. Social trust is essential to understanding social capital, which denotes a relationship of reliance. In social psychology, social trust is integral to the idea of social influence: it is easier to influence or persuade someone who is trusting. The notion of trust is increasingly adopted to predict acceptance of behaviours by others, for example individuals, community members, civic society and government agencies (Leach et al. 2002). One of the major components that sustain social capital is trust between and among people and groups facilitating cooperation and coordination for mutual benefit (Putnam 2000). In communities where people are affected by HIV and AIDS, trust diminishes stigma and discrimination and encourages those infected to disclose their HIV status, which in turn helps them to access resources for care and support. In KwaNgcolosi, volunteers reported robust levels of trust among themselves but poor levels of trust between them and the community. This was considerably affected by levels of crime where, for example, volunteers feared going out at night to check on patients.

Reciprocity is embedded in personal relationships where one gives to someone else expecting fair and tangible returns at some undefined future date. The expectation that the giver will be repaid is based on social consequences. Reciprocity is a key intervening variable whereby shared social rules are enabled to yield social stability. It is based on a mutual or cooperative exchange of favours or privileges. It is exemplified by the American expression 'You scratch my back, and I'll scratch yours' and the Latin expression '*quid pro quo*' which means 'something for something' (Wattles 1996). High levels of social capital give rise to a level of reciprocal relationships and lead to more cooperative and well-functioning communities. In terms of care and support, reciprocity may include a household caregiver of an AIDS patient approaching a neighbour to take care of the patient while he or she goes to the market to buy food (Wattles 1996).

Regarding reciprocity in KwaNgcolosi, volunteers reported that it was very difficult to expect anything from anyone they were helping as most of their patients were from impoverished households. They also reported that most of their patients had nothing to eat and that they took food from their own homes to give to patients before administering medication. The kind of reciprocity the volunteers expected was from the government. They hoped that the government would notice their voluntary deeds and offer them formal employment, such as working in hospitals.

Social norms are customary rules of behaviour that regulate our interactions with others. Once a particular way of doing things becomes established as a rule, it continues in force because it is desirable to conform to the rule given the expectation that others will conform (Posner 2000). Social norms are further conceptualised as the rules that a community uses for appropriate versus inappropriate values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. These rules may be explicit or implicit. Norms are often transmitted through non-verbal behaviour, for example with 'dirty looks' when people act outside the norms. They may also be transmitted through stories, rituals and role-model behaviour (Posner 2000).

There are different mechanisms by which norms are held in place. These mechanisms may be shared expectations about the appropriate solution to a given problem. They may be sustained by the threat of social disapproval or punishment for norm violations (Coleman 1990). For example, when someone is ill and bedridden among the Zulu people in South Africa, there is a norm of *ukubona* (which literally means 'going to see the sick person'). If a community member is ill and neighbours and friends do not go to 'see' the ill person, it is met with disapproval. Although these norms exist in KwaNgcolosi, they are reported to be on the wane. The volunteers largely attributed this to stigma and discrimination, self-stigmatisation and denial, and other factors that are global in nature (such as rural-urban migration, poverty and unemployment) which have relegated community norms to the periphery.

Social networks refer to the ties between individuals or groups (Cohen & Prusak 2001). Under the social capital theory, social networks can be formal or informal. Whilst formal networks include those developed through formal organisations such as voluntary organisations and associations (Pollack 2004), informal networks include friendships, family, neighbours and work-related ties. Both formal and informal social networks have been useful in consolidating social support and material resources to help those infected and affected by HIV and AIDS. These kinds of interactions (or social capital) provide access to resources, and it is this that is critical in care and support for people affected by HIV and AIDS (Adler & Kwon 2002).

Social capital may therefore be seen as a tool that is useful for community renewal and development and for building social capacity (the ability of individuals to organise themselves, their assets and resources in ways that enable them to achieve objectives they consider important). However, this concept refers to access as well as resources, both of which need to be built externally and internally. Hence, collaboration enables people to build social relationships and knit the social fabric of a community more closely (Kelly & Van Donk 2009).

Motivations for volunteer caregiving in KwaNgcolosi

As Mottiar and Ngcoya argue in this volume,⁶ philanthropy in South Africa has its roots in indigenous and family norms of support and survival. Both formal and informal philanthropy have been practised in South Africa in numerous ways. Research shows 'philanthropy of community' and 'how the poor help themselves' as commonplace in many South African communities (Wilkinson-Maposa & Fowler 2009). This kind of giving is visible through family and community networks such as giving material resources (for example food) and services such as volunteering, where people give of their time and skills (Akintola 2010). Although this form of giving is often unrecognised as philanthropy, its uniqueness is based on the fact that it is not giving flowing from rich to poor within and among poor communities (Foster 2002). The role of communities and community organisations, specifically those that involve volunteers, is especially important.

Volunteer work promotes social solidarity with HIV-infected individuals and their families, provides them with emotional support, and helps protect them against discrimination and violations of their rights. Activism has helped prompt governments to devote more resources to the AIDS response and spurred companies to lower drug prices. The availability of HIV and AIDS care and support is a source of hope and can be a powerful incentive for people to go for voluntary counselling and testing. Care providers who look after HIV-afflicted people demonstrate to others that there is no need to fear being infected through everyday contact and thus they help dispel misguided beliefs about HIV transmission (UNAIDS 2001).

Care and support, especially at community level, are still inadequate and the number of people infected and affected by HIV and AIDS is growing (Buve et al. 2003). The role of communities and community organisations, specifically those involving volunteers, is therefore especially important. In the context of HIV and AIDS care and support, however, trust is challenged to such an extent that the volunteers themselves risk being discriminated against. In the end, the personal benefit (whether for personal gratification or religious fulfilment) does not outweigh the cost to the volunteer caregiver. The continuing dedication of volunteer workers can, however, be attributed to factors such as altruistic concerns for others, employment or career benefits, a desire by the unemployed to avoid idleness, volunteering as an opportunity to learn caring skills, personal growth and a desire to attract good things, heeding a religious call, gaining community recognition and dealing with the devastating social effects of AIDS (Akintola 2010).

In the KwaNgcolosi community, various practices encourage togetherness built on the notions of ubuntu and altruism. Ubuntu is seen as progress, and every activity that brings community members together is perceived to be in the spirit of ubuntu. KwaNgcolosi volunteers understood ubuntu in various ways, ranging from moving

6 See Chapter 1.

forward to building love and togetherness and getting together for a good cause. A common example of an ubuntu practice was the community contribution towards burials. Volunteers also provided insight into their focus on HIV and AIDS care and what their volunteering actually involved:

When we started to work in the KwaNgcolosi area, the first problem of people living with HIV was that sometimes bedridden sick people were being locked in homes without care and this was our first point of concern. With time, we realised that these sick people were in need not only for physical care, but also spiritual and emotional care. (FGD 1)

We started going to the homes of the sick, washing and changing their linen, bathing, feeding them, and sometimes assisting them with the basic toilet needs. We sometimes rush to the clinic to get medicine on behalf of the weak patients and supervise them taking their medicine especially TB cases. Some of us were trained by the Department of Health in basic counselling, which has proved helpful when we visit some homes. (FGD 2)

Volunteers also explained that their care often extended beyond those afflicted with HIV and AIDS to the elderly as well as vulnerable children and displaced people. The nature of this care included liaising with the Department of Home Affairs for papers and identity documents. The care and support burden therefore becomes greater and leaves volunteers no choice but to take on as much as possible with regard to care and support. Volunteers argued that they persevere because carrying out philanthropy through volunteering to take care of the sick is a way of sharing their abilities and skills to benefit their community. They explained that their community has, since long before their time, been based on the ethic of sharing with others, beyond close family and friends. They added that with the current challenges in their community where poverty is rife, people may not have a lot of wealth and money to share but do share their time, energy, skills and sustained effort:

As we volunteer and do this work, we know we are not doing a new thing. Our forefathers used to help each other a lot. They had ubuntu even more than us today ... our time is even very difficult with AIDS and poverty ... and if we don't do this work, it would be a big problem. (FGD 4)

When asked whether there was any motivation to volunteer in their tradition that obliges them to volunteer, volunteers referred to metaphors on volunteering as a form of giving. One volunteer gave an example of the Zulu proverb '*ukupha ukuzibekela*' (giving to another person is investing). This adage connotes reciprocity, since the giver hopes that the favour will be returned in the future and reciprocity is a key attribute of both social capital and ubuntu. Other volunteers said that their altruistic actions were motivated by their religious outlook, for example Christians believe that it is their godly calling to give without expecting a reward so that they will be blessed when they go to heaven.

As Christians, we follow what is written in the Bible like that verse in Luke 6:38, which says we must give and we get it back overflowing. (FGD 2)

A volunteer said that she continues to volunteer despite the hardships because she speculates that she might need help in future:

It is about thinking of tomorrow ... I am getting to be an old lady now ... it could also happen to me, I may need help for myself or my relative ... so, for this, I continue the work (volunteering). (FGD 4)

Some volunteers were directly affected by HIV and AIDS, which influenced their decision to volunteer:

It was because of my sister ... She got AIDS when my brothers and I were in school. At first, we did not really take care of her ... we also used to fear and keep our distance, but one day, mom called us and spoke to us to come near her and love her ... since mom was already doing this work, she told us that we are neglecting our sister ... she taught us not to fear and to help ... that is when my brother and I could be near her ... but it took time to get used to her like that ... my sister has passed on, and so has my mom ... but I am happy to carry on the work ... they must be proud that I am doing this work. (FGD 6)

Volunteers also cited their love and compassion for others as the driving force behind their volunteer work and need to mentor others in their community in order to sustain a culture of caring for those in need. Frequently volunteers stated that they considered themselves people blessed with health and hence they thought it was good to bless other people. The reward for this was feeling that they contributed directly to something positive, something they believe in, something that arose from a strong social conscience. Their motivation was driven by the feeling of goodwill and the belief that they helped to contribute to a better community for them and their children.

Some of the proverbs evoked by the volunteers who were interviewed endorse volunteering and giving as a virtue:

Sibusiwe isandla esiphayo, kunesamukelayo – The hand that gives is more blessed than the one that receives. (FGD 8)

Imikhombe iyenana – Things work better in partnership. (FGD 3)

Volunteers observed that the satisfaction they derived as caregivers was sometimes affected by critics with negative opinions about their practice but that this was diminished by the warmth and togetherness in the group, which also increased their motivation.

Volunteer caregiving and philanthropy

The philanthropic role of community caregivers in the day-to-day care and support of their communities can best be described as altruistic philanthropy in general for which they give of their time without expecting any concrete personal return. Most of these caregivers volunteer out of compassion, religious disposition or cultural heritage, or because of experiences that reawakened their consciences to give; some claim to have been born or bred to give to others in need. Is volunteering a form of giving? This is one of the questions that come to mind when we talk about the philanthropy of a community. Some people may also give because of kinship ties, whereas others may give out of gratitude for blessings they had received from others.

These motivations seem to be altruistically oriented, but other volunteers were clearly motivated by the reciprocity they expected from the community and government. For example, although all the participants were in agreement that they were motivated by a desire to help others and to respond to community needs, others reported that their biggest motive was to access training and learn skills and gain experience with the hope of obtaining employment as formal community health workers or as nurses at nearby clinics. Many indicated that they helped others because when they might be in need, they would be able to turn to these organisations for help. Reciprocity was considered very important in volunteers' motivations to help.

What is clear, however, is that regardless of their motivations, volunteer caregiving services are not enough to help a community in an HIV and AIDS care and support crisis. Poor access to resources necessary for livelihoods and for care and support actually reduces the level of social capital and ubuntu within the community. This was seen in the way that other people who wished to volunteer were hindered by factors such as poverty, poor infrastructure and general lack of resources. Hence access to a diverse and sufficient pool of resources, which is rarely found in communities such as KwaNgcolosi, limits practices of social capital and ubuntu.

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Focus group discussions (FGDs)

- 2 May 2010 – FGD 1
- 3 May 2010 – FGD 2
- 4 May 2010 – FGD 3
- 5 May 2010 – FGD 4
- 6 May 2010 – FGD 5
- 10 May 2010 – FGD 6
- 11 May 2010 – FGD 7
- 12 May 2010 – FGD 8

6 *Horizontal philanthropy in Maphumulo and Clermont, Durban*

Mvuselelo Ngcoya and Shauna Mottiar

This chapter considers practices of philanthropy that do not fit into conventional forms of philanthropy where giving occurs vertically from rich to poor. It does so with reference to two case studies in the province of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa. The first case study is that of a rural settlement in the Maphumulo Municipality north of the city of Durban. The second is that of Clermont, an urban township located within the city of Durban. The chapter begins by contextualising an examination of the two case studies within understandings of indigenous philanthropy, horizontal philanthropy and the philosophy of ubuntu. It concludes with a discussion on the link between the practice of horizontal philanthropy and processes of local governance and policymaking.

Indigenous philanthropy, horizontal philanthropy and ubuntu

Although the literature on indigenous philanthropy is nascent, theories about indigenous giving are not.¹ Philosophers and economic historians have produced important studies of pre-colonial gifting. However, anthropologists were first to energetically engage the meanings of gifts among indigenous societies and analyse how they inform social relations. Indeed, the eminent French anthropologist Marcel Mauss produced an influential text based on research of Melanesian and Polynesian indigenous groups and Native Americans. *The gift: Forms and functions of exchange in archaic societies* challenged prevailing views of gifts as normatively empty gestures and demonstrated how gifts shape political and social economies. Subsequent studies by, inter alia, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Georges Bataille, Marshall Sahlins, Jacques Derrida and Marilyn Strathern soon challenged or expanded Maussian understandings of gifting.

1 We see the category 'indigenous' as a contentious term. By contentious, we mean a carefully chosen collective term strategically employed to challenge, disrupt and make claims upon the hegemonic sway of the dominant worldview (Ngcoya 2009: 37). It is used here to define the origin of items or persons in relation to how their belonging to a place is to be temporarily characterised, especially in comparison to other contenders in claiming belonging (Masolo 2003: 21). In our view, 'indigenous knowledge' has been transformed from a prosaic and sentimental category to a powerful action term for group identity, political mobilisation, transnational cooperation and sometimes even revolutionary political activities.

It is not possible to review the relevance of Mauss's theories or indeed post-Maussian understandings of indigenous gifting here. But a critical point to make is that in many studies of gifting among indigenous societies, the idea of giving goes far back in history. Studying such practices of gifting is a mere historical exercise. That is why Mauss (1967: 4) writes: 'In the systems of *the past* we do not find simple exchange of goods, wealth and produce through markets established among individuals' (emphasis added). This is what Joel Martin (2004: 62) aptly calls 'chronopolitics' – the act of relegating indigenous practices to ancient history and attaching authenticity to 'that which is marked as pre- or anti-modern, primate and natural'. The result, as Johannes Fabian (1983) perceptively notes, is labelling indigenous practices as belonging to a different time frame and discounting their relevance to the present.

This chronopolitical discourse explains, to an extent, why there is such a scarcity of studies on indigenous understandings of philanthropy. Where it does exist, many scholars tend to use dominant or received vocabularies of philanthropy. Even when indigenous philanthropy is rescued from the historical archives and cast in the present, scholars still generally think of it in vertical terms. A good example is Eli Axelrad (2011: 145–146) who argues: 'As developing countries have become more integrated within the global economy, new, developing world-based economic elites have emerged as important philanthropists in their own right. The burgeoning trend (hereafter referred to as indigenous philanthropy) is expanding the diversity of actors involved in the delivery of public services, funding activities from public health projects to social justice campaigns.'

In other words, indigenous philanthropy is often viewed as the province of the rich, with the poor as mere 'clients'. For example, underscoring the role of the indigenous worldview of ubuntu in philanthropy, a survey² conducted in 2010 concluded that South Africa was the second most charitable country (behind the United States) and that wealthy South Africans, motivated by a sense of ubuntu, were among the world's most generous philanthropists.

Furthermore, like their mainstream counterparts, researchers involved in indigenous philanthropy tend to look for formal structures that define indigenous practices of giving. Even when they focus on 'community philanthropy', they generally begin and end with formal institutions such as community foundations.³ Also highly problematic is the conflation of philanthropy with grantmaking. As discussed below,

2 Two thousand wealthy individuals (owning more than £1m in assets) from 20 countries were surveyed. The survey asked about the time and money these wealthy individuals devoted to charities and good causes. See Barclays Wealth, Global Giving: The Culture of Philanthropy, 29 November 2010. Available at <http://www.barclayswealth.com/insights/global-giving-the-culture-of-philanthropy.htm>.

3 See Scaife W (2006) Challenges in indigenous philanthropy: Reporting Australian grant makers' perspectives. *Australian Journal of Social Issues* 41(4): 437–452.

indigenous philanthropy in South Africa, for example, is not organised according to familiar philanthropic patterns. Focusing on 'organised philanthropy' detracts from the wealth of multiple forms of giving that exist among indigenous societies. This is not to argue, however, that formal structures of philanthropy do not exist or are not relevant.

Horizontal philanthropy

In their work based on the results of a national survey on giving trends in South Africa, Adam Habib, Brij Maharaj and Annsilla Nyar (2008: 23–41) challenge various assumptions implicit in the philanthropy literature. Among these is that giving is an act undertaken largely by richer, more resourced sectors of society and directed towards under-resourced sectors. They argue that poverty is not a deterrent to giving and that giving in poor communities is critical for their survival. These forms of giving are distinguished, however, as they are not centred on the giving of money but include the giving of time. Habib et al. note that they are collective in character and survivalist in orientation. Examples of these forms of giving include 'collective action' where individuals act together (either habitually or spontaneously) to help or to give and the prevalence of *stokvels* in South Africa where communities pool resources to meet common needs such as funeral arrangements (Seleoane 2008). Practising philanthropy in this manner therefore takes on a horizontal rather than a vertical form.

The concept of 'horizontal philanthropy' introduced by Wilkinson-Maposa et al. is based on research among indigenous societies in four southern African countries. They introduce new conceptual frames and categories, deepen understandings of indigenous gifting and 'offer the current orthodoxy through shedding light on broad implications for contemporary philanthropic paradigms as well as lessons for practice' (Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2004: 107). Wilkinson-Maposa et al. argue that help among poor people in southern Africa is widespread, firmly entrenched, and vital for both survival and progress. Their research reveals that horizontal philanthropy takes the form of material exchanges (such as food, money and clothing) as well as non-material exchanges (such as physical/manual support, contribution of time and skills, knowledge sharing and moral/emotional support). Horizontal philanthropy is practised by friends and neighbours in particular communities and may include local associations and formal organisations. Wilkinson-Maposa et al. argue that horizontal philanthropy may not always be informed by altruism or generosity, but rather by social duty and moral obligation emanating from a shared identity based on the concept of a common humanity: 'my humanity is tainted if your humanity is not recognised and assisted when in need' (Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2004: xi). This follows the South Africa philosophy of ubuntu.

Ubuntu

Since the end of apartheid, ubuntu has become one of the most important keywords in South Africa. While difficult to translate into English, it is generally understood to mean 'I am because we are' (*umuntu ngabantu*) or 'a person is a person through others'. It stresses mutual assistance, reciprocity, caring and sharing. The morphological structure of the word 'ubuntu' consists of the prefix *ubu*, indicating a general state of being, and the stem *ntu*, meaning person or the nodal point at which being assumes concrete form – such that *ubu* and *ntu* are mutually founding in the sense that they are two aspects of being, an indivisible wholeness (Ramose 2001: 1). Similarly ubuntu is 'the whole-hearted identification of the self with the other, so that self-determination can only be achieved through dependence on the power of another' (Shutte 2001: 2). In other words, while individual autonomy is encouraged, it is simply the other side of relatedness, to wit the sinews of autonomy are located in a community. This mutual reinforcement of self and other is captured and encouraged by means of proverbs, idioms and aphorisms in numerous African languages:

- Sesotho – *Motho ke motho ka batho* (a person is a person by other people);
- isiZulu – *Umntu ngabantu* (a person is a person through, or by means of, other people);
- Xitsonga – *Rintiho rinwe a rinusi hove* (one finger cannot pick up a grain);
- Chichewa – *Ali awiri ndi anthu ali ekha chinyama* (those who are more than one are people and she/he who is alone is an animal).

As these aphorisms demonstrate, ubuntu denies the reduction of the human being to a singular self. The individual is an abbreviation of a community, and a community is the amplification and self-actualisation of the individual. However, some scholars point out that in terms of this perspective, the individual is not a supine self acting mechanically at the beck and call of the communal structure; rather, community refers to an organic relationship among component individuals (Mkhize 2003: 9).

Two defining attributes of ubuntu are relevant to understandings of philanthropy and mark its distinction from its capitalist counterpart – they are related. The first is an understanding of the human being and the second is that ubuntu is anchored in plenitude (as opposed to scarcity).

First, from an ubuntu perspective, philanthropy is more than a mere exchange of goods or services. It suggests the recreation of humanity, or 'the whole-hearted identification of the self with the other' (Shutte 2001: 52). Put differently, there are no distant strangers. There are no 'free gifts' and no aliens as Alain Testart (1998) would have us convinced. For him, when a passer-by offers money to a beggar in a city, it is an exchange between distant strangers; the exchange creates no expectation of any kind of reciprocation by either and the transaction suggests no interdependence between the two. The ubuntu view of this transaction does not see the two parties as aliens. The very act of giving/receiving is reciprocal *a priori* in that humanity is being constructed; it is a process of mutual recognition. Thus, giving and receiving

are more than material exchanges of goods or services. And quite importantly, philanthropy is not merely a patrician concern for the good of the poor. The giver actualises her humanity through the act of giving. The giver and receiver are mutual bearers of humanity. Giving is investing in oneself, or *ukupha ukuzibekela* as the Zulu people put it. The conventional vertical lines of philanthropy are therefore breached. The Batswana people say *moeng goroga re je ka ag* (come guest, we feast through you).⁴ It seems Ralph Waldo Emerson had something similar in mind when he declared: 'The only gift is a portion of thyself. Thou must bleed for me. Therefore the poet brings his poem; the shepherd, his lamb; the farmer, corn; the miner, a gem; the sailor, coral and shells; the painter, his picture; the girl, a handkerchief of her own sewing' (Emerson 1909: 230). In other words, giving is not the privilege or burden of the rich; all people can give.

Second, while conventional understandings of philanthropy are based on the theory of scarcity, ubuntu views of the same are grounded on plenitude. To neoclassical economic thinkers, the attraction of capitalist modes of production and exchange is that capitalism generates maximum returns from presupposed preliminary conditions of scarcity.⁵ Abundance (of supply or demand) is a fundamental problem, as in Lionel Robbins' (1945: 16) oft-quoted definition of economics as the scientific study of 'human behaviour as a relationship between ends and scarce means which have alternative uses'. Even the most affluent capitalist economies operate on the principle of severe scarcity. It is the fundamental determinant of value and the fuel for modern capitalism (Kincaid 1983: 407). Conventional views of giving are informed by this view as well. Philanthropy is seen as a necessity in light of the scarcity of resources. Scarcity is an inescapable constraint and ineluctable fact of political and socioeconomic life. From an ubuntu perspective, however, this notion of scarcity is at best contrived or artificial. There is nothing inherently natural about the scarcity of time or wealth; it is our creation – the bankruptcy of our morality and understanding of our relationships with ourselves, others and the environment. Furthermore, rectifying the problem of scarcity is not a matter of scientific-technological mastery of the environment, as dominant economic theories will have us believe. There is always enough for everyone to share and everyone has a share in everything. As the Zulu proverbs go: *izingane zandawonye zihlephulelana inhloko yentethe* (children who belong together will share even a grasshopper's head) and *akudlulwa ngendlu yakhiwa* (one does not simply walk by when a house is being built).

4 We are grateful to Kabo Botlhole for this translation.

5 Even if modern capitalism is based on scarcity, individualism, private ownership, etc., there are indeed different institutional arrangements that give capitalism many accents. We are simply focusing on the dominant expressions of capitalism here. See Screpanti E (1999) Capitalist forms and the essence of Capitalism. *Review of International Political Economy* 6(1): 1–26.

The institutionalisation of horizontal philanthropy in South Africa

This chapter focuses on two case studies of horizontal philanthropy in KwaZulu-Natal. The first is that of a rural settlement in the Maphumulo Municipality north of the city of Durban. The second is that of Clermont, an urban township located within the eThekweni Municipality on the outskirts of Durban.

The chapter draws from two research studies. The first study was carried out as part of the Centre for Civil Society's Young Researchers Philanthropy Initiative on giving and helping among the poor in Maphumulo, KwaZulu-Natal (2011). This study was qualitative in nature and semi-structured interviews with purposively selected households and identified key informants were used. A sample of 20 households and 5 key informants representing local authorities and civil society formed the basis of this study.

The second study expanded on research carried out on the subject of ubuntu in Clermont, west of Durban, by one of the authors. A combination of qualitative methods was used for this study, primarily ethnographic field research. In addition to participating in the activities of community groups, the research benefited from unstructured interviews of leaders and representatives of 23 community organisations and non-governmental organisations in the township. The interviewees included organisation directors, coordinators, financial supporters, and service providers and recipients. The objective was to develop an understanding of the meanings ascribed to ubuntu and the relevance of this worldview to the work of those interviewed. This was supplemented by unstructured interviews with some 70 community members. The study was expanded on in 2011 by both authors and involved follow-up interviews with key informants who are active within the *stokvel* under study. The two case studies were chosen as they represent manifestations of horizontal philanthropy in rural and urban KwaZulu-Natal respectively.

The institutionalisation of horizontal philanthropy in both case studies reflects the way people mobilise and pool their resources in response to a need or problem (Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2004: xi). It also indicates that 'help' or 'giving' is not always voluntary but may be driven by social duty or a moral obligation emanating from a shared identity premised on a common humanity (Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2004: xi). It further confirms that principles of reciprocity and cooperation grounded in mutual support are a defining feature of horizontal philanthropy (Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2004: xi).

Table 6.1 *Demographic and socioeconomic data in Clermont and Maphumulo*

	Clermont	Maphumulo
Population	51 411	96 730
Number of households	22 356	19 594
Female	24 960	43 221
Male	26 448	53 505
Unemployment rate	35%	49%
Unemployment rate (incl. discouraged workers)	40%	67%
Households reporting income less than R3 183 per month	80%	85%
Households reporting no income	23%	13%

Source: Calculated with data from Statistics South Africa, Census 2011

The Maphumulo case study

The Maphumulo municipal area, bounded by the Tugela River and 65 kilometres north of Durban, is agriculturally based with sugar cane being the main farming crop. According to the municipality's Integrated Development Plan, most people in the area rely on social service grants and informal trading for their daily subsistence. The 2011 census recorded that the Maphumulo Municipality had a population of 96 730 with approximately 19 594 households. About 45% of the population was female. According to Statistics South Africa (2011), the unemployment rate was 49% (67% when discouraged workers were included) and 44% of the population was characterised as functionally illiterate (Murenha & Chili 2011: 5).

Respondents interviewed within the settlement indicated that 'help' or 'giving' within their community⁶ is both of a material and non-material nature. Material help or giving is carried out under what is referred to in isiZulu as *ukwenana* (borrowing). If a household runs short of food, candles or clothes, they borrow them from a neighbour. In most cases, the borrower is not expected to return the borrowed goods but is expected to reciprocate in kind. In the case of borrowed money, however, there is an obligation to repay. A respondent indicated: 'If I do not find money to pay back, I give them (the lenders) a fowl in return' (Murenha & Chili 2011: 14). Non-material help or giving occurs during a crisis or to sustain the community. An example of the former is members of the community coming together to rebuild a homestead

6 For the purposes of this chapter, the term 'community' is used to denote members of households within the two research areas.

destroyed by fire (Murenha & Chili 2011: 14); an example of the latter is to help and contribute towards a funeral, including gathering firewood, fetching water and slaughtering a cow (Murenha & Chili 2011: 14).

Motivations for helping or giving, according to respondents, included 'friendship', 'good neighbourliness' and 'love'. However, they also highlighted a basic response to 'need': 'I give because I grew up struggling and know what it is not to have' (Murenha & Chili 2011: 15). In this context, there are two philanthropic practices within the isiZulu culture that shed light on help and giving within the Maphumulo settlement. The first practice is *ukusisa*, whereby a community comes to the aid of a family by giving the family a cow, goat or chicken for five to ten years. This gives the family the ability to plough or to have milk and eggs. The second practice is *ilimo*, whereby a community pool resources and efforts to build a family a house or plough someone's field (Murenha & Chili 2011: 15).

The principles upon which horizontal philanthropy is based in the settlement include reciprocity and cooperation, as indicated by the material and non-material nature of help or giving. Respondents indicated, however, that the nature of this philanthropy is changing and declining. Reasons cited included unemployment, drought, the rising cost of food, the state grant, selfishness and 'hardheartedness' (Murenha & Chili 2011:16). The interviewees claimed that in days gone by food was grown and so was more abundant and easier to share than food that now has to be bought, often at high cost. The extension of the state grant to a larger rural population in the province was also seen as having affected the practice of philanthropy in that people expect to receive rather than to give; they assume that their neighbours who are recipients of the grant are provided for adequately. The 'love of money' was attributed to selfishness and hardheartedness – a respondent claimed, 'They will not give you for free; they want you to buy' (Murenha & Chili 2011: 16).

The Clermont case study

Clermont is a township 15 kilometres west of Durban, stretching across some 1 600 acres of the hills flanking the Umngeni River. As Table 6.1 shows, the 2011 census recorded Clermont's unemployment rate at 35% for the age group 15 to 65. This figure rose to 40% when discouraged workers were included. According to the 2011 census, there were 51 411 residents in 22 356 households in Clermont. As in many other townships, Clermont is marked by poor socioeconomic conditions: About a third of the households reported incomes of between R0 and R4 800 per annum; and 80% of the households cited annual household income of R38 200 or less (or about R3 183 per household per month).⁷

7 Information from Stats SA, Census 2011.

Help or giving in Clermont, according to our findings, is embodied in a number of civil society organisations active in the township. These organisations are survivalist in nature and provide critical services such as HIV and AIDS education, feeding schemes, self-help projects, saving schemes or *stokvels*, and burial societies (Ngcoya 2009: 24). While the work of these organisations is for the most part adaptive, they also focus on economic empowerment. The Masiphekisane Caring Co-op, a *stokvel* or saving club, is one such example. A *stokvel* is constituted when a group of people enter into an agreement to contribute a fixed amount of money at regular periods. The pooled money may then be drawn by participating members either in rotation or at a time of need (Lukhele 1990). The term *stokvel* has been linked to 'stock fairs' where poor farmers pooled their resources to buy livestock (Scott 2005, cited by Seleane 2008: 121). The Masiphekisane Caring Co-op has been in operation since the mid-1980s and has approximately one hundred members, all of whom are women. A member who was interviewed claimed that it was decided at the outset that the *stokvel* would be a women's organisation and that if men were interested, they would have to form their own organisation (Nyembezi interview 2011).

The *stokvel* was initiated by a single mother who was struggling to make ends meet and approached members of the community to come together and form a support base for the provision of food. Masiphekisane, which means 'let's cook together', is a cooking scheme structured under the leadership of an elected chair but with no committee, as the members took a decision to avoid setting up structures that would facilitate inequality. The members each contribute about R50 per month and the money is used to purchase groceries which are shared among the members. Respondents indicated that the *stokvel* represents a significant method whereby families are fed on a monthly basis. There was also a clear sense of pride and empowerment in the organisation. One of the respondents noted, 'our members do not collect the social grant' and 'we have never considered approaching local government or our local ward councillor for any kind of help' (Nyembezi interview 2011).

Many survivalist organisations, such as the Masiphekisane *stokvel*, are motivated by responses to a lack of local-level service delivery and national economic policy failing to be socially progressive (Habib 2005). Clermont respondents also understood these responses within the ambit of ubuntu as 'sympathy', 'empathy' and 'care', which is not part of dominant notions of individualism and economic structures. Respondents also pointed out, however, that ubuntu should be seen as a way of life rather than as a means of adapting to situations where there is no alternative (Ngcoya 2009: 22).

While help or giving in Clermont occurs through civil society initiatives such as *stokvels*, a sense of social division is seen to have hampered the principles of reciprocity and cooperation grounded in mutual support. A respondent who was interviewed claimed that the decline of ubuntu in the township was related to

divisions between those who held title deeds to their homes and those who lived in informal dwellings known as *imikhukhu* (shacks) or are referred to as *abantu bangaphandle* (outsiders). Shack dwellers settled informally in the township from other townships and rural areas and are seen by some permanent residents as the source of crime and trouble in Clermont (Ngcoya 2009:18). This social distinction is also reflected in the conflict over access to services and resources in Clermont. For example, a respondent argued: 'It is difficult for an original resident of Clermont to gain access to the taxi business. Our own children do not get housing subsidies from the government; they go to *abantu bangaphandle*. We pay high rates and yet service delivery is poor. There is a lack of jobs ... People are lazy today and they want to get money fast. In the old days, people didn't work but they cared for each other' (Ndunduma interview 2006).

Horizontal philanthropy in Maphumulo and Clermont

The institutionalisation of horizontal philanthropy in both the Maphumulo and Clermont case studies reflect the findings of the Wilkinson-Maposa et al. (2004) seminal study on horizontal philanthropy in southern Africa. In the poor,⁸ rural context of Maphumulo, help or giving reflects the way people mobilise and pool their resources in response to a need or problem. This seems to occur spontaneously and automatically, and includes material and non-material forms of philanthropy. In the poor, urban context of Clermont, help or giving takes a more structured, organised form within the realm of civil society, with the *stokvel* being an example.

Motivations for philanthropic behaviour in both case studies indicate a strong acknowledgement of the idea of shared identity and common humanity. In Maphumulo, philanthropic practice is underscored by indigenous understandings of help and giving (*ukusisa* and *ilimo*). In Clermont, philanthropic understandings extend to an empathy that is not regarded as operative in Western notions of individualism and structures of economy.

Maphumulo and Clermont further reflect the way horizontal philanthropy has evolved and changed in relation to socioeconomic conditions. In the case of Maphumulo, principles of reciprocity and cooperation underlying philanthropic behaviour are affected by economic trends that promote profit making and socioeconomic trends such as the social grant, which seemingly absorb the space occupied by mutual support networks. In the case of Clermont, social distinctions between formal residents and informal residents have compounded conflict over access to services and resources, and undermined the trust and loyalty required for reciprocity and cooperation.

8 For the purposes of this volume, the term 'poor' refers to the inability of individuals, households and communities to command sufficient resources to satisfy a socially acceptable minimum standard of living. This follows the definition of poverty put forward by Julian May (1998: 3).

Horizontal philanthropy and processes of local governance and policymaking

The practice of horizontal philanthropy in South Africa, as evidenced by the case studies, is motivated by various socioeconomic needs compounded by the African National Congress (ANC) led government's shift in macroeconomic policy from one favouring significant socioeconomic goals (RDP) to one prioritising neoliberalism (GEAR) which has failed to alleviate poverty and eradicate inequality (Bond 2000). The systems and structures that support neoliberal practices hinder the processes of horizontal philanthropy. The Clermont case study is a good example of the way in which limited services and access to opportunity cause social divisions that reduce the practice of ubuntu. It is interesting to note, however, that methods of socioeconomic redress such as the social grant may also negatively impact ubuntu, as evidenced in the Maphumulo case study where the social grant was named as one of the reasons for the decline in giving and helping between community members. In other words, efforts to alleviate poverty and improve community strength often have unintended consequences that undermine indigenous support mechanisms. The eThekweni Municipality's community-based planning (CBP) initiative is a good example.

The eThekweni (Durban) Municipality participated in the CBP initiative as part of its Integrated Development Plan process. This initiative was aimed at devolving decision-making about small discretionary funds (R50 000) to facilitate a development process to communities in each city ward. The objective of the initiative was to 'get communities to take control of their lives and welfare by capitalizing on their inherent strengths ... (and to) empower and encourage communities to move away from a dependency syndrome and become self-sufficient' (Angamuthu 2006: 52). While this initiative was expounded as a way to expand local participation and community empowerment, it was criticised for simply transferring difficult predicaments from municipal officials onto communities without providing the resources to resolve these predicaments (Ballard et al. 2007: 273).

Initiatives such as the CBP reveal that local government authorities are comfortable with community arrangements such as those displayed by horizontal philanthropy in Maphumulo and Clermont. Indeed, respondents in the Maphumulo case study noted that the mayor actively motivated and encouraged members of the community to help one another (Murenha & Chili 2011: 15), while various non-governmental organisations in the Clermont area were subsidised by the government to run required social programmes (Ngcoya 2009: 14). The outcome was that horizontal philanthropy was practised as a survival tactic, but its mechanisms were nevertheless hindered by neoliberal practices and consequent socioeconomic redress. To shift the burden of state responsibility, policy-makers have promoted initiatives under the banner of community 'engagement' and 'empowerment'.

Indeed, local, provincial and national authorities have also used the term 'ubuntu' to further these goals. The Department of Public Service and Administration states that ubuntu forms a key part of its vision to transform the new public service in the manner of its Batho Pele (people first) programme. In their handbook for community development workers, the Department notes:

The role of local government in development is important because it is the branch of government closest to the people ... Training is a key aspect in the transformation effort, but so too is the embedding of the traditional value system of ubuntu that places collective advancement above narrow individual interests. (Department of Public Service and Administration 2007: 12)

Launching the Older Persons Act in July 2010, former Minister of Social Development Edna Molewa said:

One of the main areas of focus of the Act is the protection of our senior citizens from all forms of abuse ... Of importance and worth mentioning is that this Act is intended to enable intergenerational care and support within families and communities, and thus promotes the spirit of ubuntu. I am sure that all of us have been inspired by yesterday's intergenerational dialogue between older persons and young people in this municipality.⁹

The state's favourable use of ubuntu highlights the complex and contested nature of indigenous knowledge. We are aware that focusing on indigenous mechanisms of giving does not mean that they are unanimously shared or understood. While an ancient philosophical tradition, ubuntu is bound up in many contemporary political and economic equations which, as we have shown, reflect contradictions in the way it is deployed by different sectors (the state and civil society organisations, for example).

Additionally, the resurgence of these indigenous forms of horizontal philanthropy forces us to ask some difficult questions about the current neoliberal global order. What are the socioeconomic structures that force 'poor' people to dig so deep into their indigenous value systems in order to merely survive? We need to ask ethical questions about the need for philanthropy in the first place. The more important question to ask about philanthropy is not 'How much can we give to alleviate want?' but 'What are the socioeconomic conditions that generate such destitution?' The irony is that by failing to challenge the structures that breed misery in the first place, conventional understandings of philanthropy display an indifference to the suffering of others. As interviewees pointed out, an understanding of giving from an ubuntu perspective emphasises the social context in which giving takes place.

9 Address by the Minister of Social Development, Mrs Edna Molewa, on the occasion of the official launch of the Older Persons Act, KwaZulu-Natal, 15 July 2010. Available at http://www.dsd.gov.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=245&Itemid=128

However, valourising ubuntu and other indigenous perspectives of giving does not mean we are blind to how they can be misused. Indeed, the idea of giving for the 'good of the community or humanity' can be exploited. For example, in biomedical research, patients often give their organs and tissues in order to help with further research. Yet as the famous legal case *Moore v. Regents of the University of California* showed, medical researchers often convert patients' cells into patentable intellectual property and keep the financial profit of the research without sharing it with patients who gave for 'the good of humanity'.¹⁰ One of the most telling consequences of neoliberal economic policies (especially privatisation) is that while profit is often individualised, risk is collectivised. In other words, risk is shared, but not profit. As other researchers have pointed out, the South African government has found ubuntu useful to delegate its functions to communities, thus abrogating its social responsibilities.

Ubuntu and philanthropy

This chapter focused on the way conventional views of giving have dominated the study of philanthropy. Too often, philanthropy is seen as a vertical relationship and the focus is usually on what rich individuals or institutions are doing to alleviate poverty. More often than not, the research on philanthropy is also defined by its strong bias towards economic (material) issues. The research presented in this chapter demonstrates that giving is not exclusively of material goods of economic value; services, non-material mutual assistance and the general circulation of resources are recognised as part of lasting philanthropic contracts that bind people together. Since giving appears in such varied forms, the theoretical rudders of philanthropy need to be expanded to focus not only on treasure, but also on time and talent.

A related point is that indigenous philanthropy balks at being forced into neat theoretical and conceptual boxes. It would be unwise to retrofit indigenous philanthropic practices into conventional approaches. It is the received notions of philanthropy that need to be expanded and corrected in order to understand the multiple forms of philanthropy that exist in South Africa and elsewhere. One of these dominant views of philanthropy that this research challenges is the bias towards organised structures or institutions of philanthropy. Giving flows through the capillaries of individual and community networks and is not always manifested in formal structures, organisations or institutions. It does, however, need to be viewed at multiple levels: At the micro level (individual/community), the meso level (informal organisations such as *stokvels* or cultural institutions such as *ukusisa*, *ilimo* and *ukwenana*) and the macro level (government, corporate and national civil society institutions).

10 See Merz JF, Magnus D, Mildred K & Caplan A (2002) Protecting subjects' interests in genetics research. *American Journal of Human Genetics* 70(4): 965–971.

It is not just individuals who carry out philanthropic exchanges; groups and communities also give, not necessarily out of altruism but because they understand their own humanity to be inextricably bound up in the wellbeing of others. This research emphasises that these indigenous mechanisms of support should not be romanticised. Ubuntu is not a simplistic ode to a pre-colonial nirvana. It is about the present and it challenges the dominant understandings of philanthropy. Yet it is contested and deployed by different actors within a complicated socioeconomic order wherein its relevance is constantly challenged. That is why, instead of conventional approaches to philanthropy, Fowler's (Chapter 9 in this volume) and Wilkinson-Maposa's (Chapter 10 in this volume) conceptual frameworks (which are based on 'horizontal philanthropy') are useful as they challenge the ways in which philanthropic practices can be institutionalised, motivated and based on the principles of reciprocity and cooperation where givers are receivers and vice versa.

While this study focused on ubuntu, the global research record is replete with examples of other worldviews. For example, in Indonesia many indigenous communities practise *gotong royong* (mutual aid).¹¹ Like ubuntu, this worldview holds that the individual does not live alone in the world, but is part of the community and the natural and spiritual universe. The *ayllu* or *wachu* in Peru has also been revitalised by indigenous societies in Bolivia and Ecuador. In India, *swadhyaya* is a process of self-study and self-development that contends that 'one is impoverished without the other' (Giri 2011: 20). Critically examining the relevance of these indigenous philosophical positions will enrich traditional/normative understandings of philanthropy.

11 See Quebral M & Terol N (2002) *An introduction to Asian philanthropy and NGOs, Asia-Pacific Philanthropy Consortium, investing in ourselves: Giving and fund raising in Asia*. Manila: Asian Development Bank.

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Interviews

- Interview with Ndunduma Clermont resident and title-holder, Clermont, 10 January 2006
- Interview with Masiphekisane Caring Co-op member Mrs Nyembezi, Clermont, 1 March 2011

7 *Reciprocity as power, influence and obligation: Evidence from using diaries in Gum Tree Road, Cato Crest and Zwelisha, KwaZulu-Natal*

Kamna Patel

Reciprocity can, where the exchange is voluntary and altruistic, be an act of kindness, charity or generosity (Wright 2001). It can also be an expression of power that is tied up with social obligations, wealth and influence (Mauss 1923/1954). The act itself typically conveys and contains the cultural values and behavioural norms of a particular society. Acts of reciprocity between individuals within a community are increasingly referred to as 'horizontal philanthropy' or 'community philanthropy', implying that a poor person who is the beneficiary of a gift can also be a benefactor (Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2005: vii). This is distinguished from vertical or conventional philanthropy, where a wealthy benefactor gives gifts to poorer recipients. Horizontal philanthropy, where it is conceptualised as 'self-help', is said to be a foundation for aiding improvement to survival (short-term immediate welfare) and wellbeing (longer-term multidimensional welfare) in ways that can empower individuals. This conceptualisation, however, can represent an incomplete picture of the flows of power that drive and direct philanthropic giving between individuals.

Research on horizontal philanthropy is relatively new. This chapter aims to contribute to the growing body of literature on horizontal philanthropy through the use of gift diaries that illustrate and explain experiences of reciprocity among residents of three low-income settlements in and around Durban, South Africa, in 2009/10. The chapter offers a 'snapshot' of how reciprocity was experienced by 24 individuals over a relatively short period of time (a month per person). Data from the gift diary illustrates who gave and how often, what was given, the purpose of giving and the obligation recipients felt to reciprocate. Through an analysis of these data, the study argues that for many who live in low-income settlements reciprocity is essential for survival. However, as displays of power between individuals, acts of reciprocity can also indicate obligation and indebtedness both within the family and between individuals in general. This may run contrary to the self-help ideal to which horizontal philanthropy is purported to contribute.

Theories of giving and receiving

There are many studies on philanthropic giving. They tend to focus on professional giving, for example the distribution and motivation behind trust funds, corporate grants and philanthropic foundations. These are conventional, vertical practices

in philanthropy. Everatt et al. (2005: 276) argue that much of the literature on philanthropy, which originates from European and American scholars and thus carries a European and American orientation, is loaded with assumptions inappropriate for the contexts in developing countries in general and South Africa in particular. These assumptions are principally that the rich give to poorer sections of society, they are often motivated by benevolence and paternalism, and the causes they support are often based on the desires of benefactors and not necessarily the needs of beneficiaries. Everatt et al. (2005) give many examples of philanthropic acts and institutions in South Africa that challenge these assumptions. For example, *stokvels* (revolving credit funds popular among groups of poor people) deliver assistance on the basis of the needs of their members. Such institutions are traditional vehicles for philanthropy and may have greater cultural legitimacy than conventional vertical philanthropic practice. The role of family and kinship is also neglected in the conventional international literature on philanthropy. Familial obligation extends beyond the nuclear family and includes cousins, grandparents and distant kin. Here, the motivation to give and receive is not benevolence, paternalism or altruism, but a deep sense of mutual obligation and necessity.

The literature on horizontal philanthropy identifies the inadequacy of conventional international literature on the topic. Based on empirical fieldwork in four African countries, Wilkinson-Maposa et al. (2005) developed a new theoretical framework within which to situate giving and receiving between people in similar socioeconomic situations in southern Africa. The practice is theorised as: 'Informed by a moral philosophy of collective self [or *ubuntu*], horizontal philanthropy is a need-impelled, reputation-mediated, network-based system of mutual assistance affording self-respect, mutual survival and joint progress' (2005: 106). Where horizontal philanthropy is driven by social duty, an unanswered question is: what does social duty among the poor say about power in their communities, where community is not a geographically bound space, but – as understood by Wilkinson-Maposa et al. (2005: 79) – a network of social relations conceived by individuals based on a host of variable criteria that can include rural–urban linkages. Theories of reciprocity, as opposed to theories of philanthropy, may therefore be of greater relevance to describing and explaining acts of giving and receiving that embody interpersonal relations of power, authority and obligation.

Theories of reciprocity are most commonly associated with cultural anthropological studies investigating power dynamics within and between rural and/or tribal communities. For example, Bronislaw Malinowski's (1922) findings on reciprocity were based on his observations of exchange in and among island communities in Melanesia. He argued that exchange was governed by rational rules seeking to advance self-interest. Exchange in the communities he studied was highly individualistic and not culturally embedded (a position contrary to that of his contemporary, Marcel Mauss). Malinowski's ideas were further developed by Homans (1958) into a theory of social behaviour as exchange, or rational-choice theory. Homans shifts from a

sociological lens to an economic one, arguing that individuals only enter into an exchange if there is equilibrium in the value of the goods being exchanged (in other words, that there is an obvious and worthwhile benefit to both parties entering the exchange). Malinowski and Homans' perspective on reciprocity is agency-centric. To them, acts of reciprocity and exchange are not engaged in for mutual wellbeing or any public good. While public good may be produced as a by-product of acts of reciprocity, the motivation for exchange is self-oriented and calculated to benefit oneself or one's immediate family.

Unlike Malinowski, Mauss (1923/1954), who also worked in Melanesia, observed that exchange was not always rational, self-interested and undertaken by independent individuals. In the communities he observed, general acts of reciprocity were an integral part of a society ordered by kinship relations and common interest. This meant that in some communities an older person would give gifts to a young person because the social norms and rules of behaviour demanded it, and without any expectation that they would receive a gift in the future. Rather, social obligation demanded that when the young person grew older, they – bound by the same social norms – would give to a young person. The specific rules of transaction were part of society, and gift exchange was an articulation of the social order. In some communities, gift giving was an expression of power and superiority; neglecting the obligation to reciprocate a gift crystallised an individual or family's insubordination (1923/1954: 72). The value of the gift itself mattered less than the actors and the action involved in giving and receiving.

Both Malinowski and Mauss agree, however, that acts of reciprocity reveal something about social relationships and the nature of society. The act of reciprocity, or its absence, can identify power dynamics and social interactions between individuals, and it can indicate levels of social cohesion or fragmentation. Both only apply theories of reciprocity to non-industrial societies. While Malinowski's appreciation of reciprocity (when developed into rational-choice theory) can be easily applied to industrial societies, this is more difficult for Mauss's ideas. However, according to Gouldner (1960: 171), 'the norm of reciprocity is universal ... although ... its concrete formulations may vary with time and place'. He argues that in all societies a measure of reciprocity is evident in systems of governance, behavioural norms and values. What is culturally specific is: Why does the exchange occur, and what does it mean in terms of social rules and ordering?

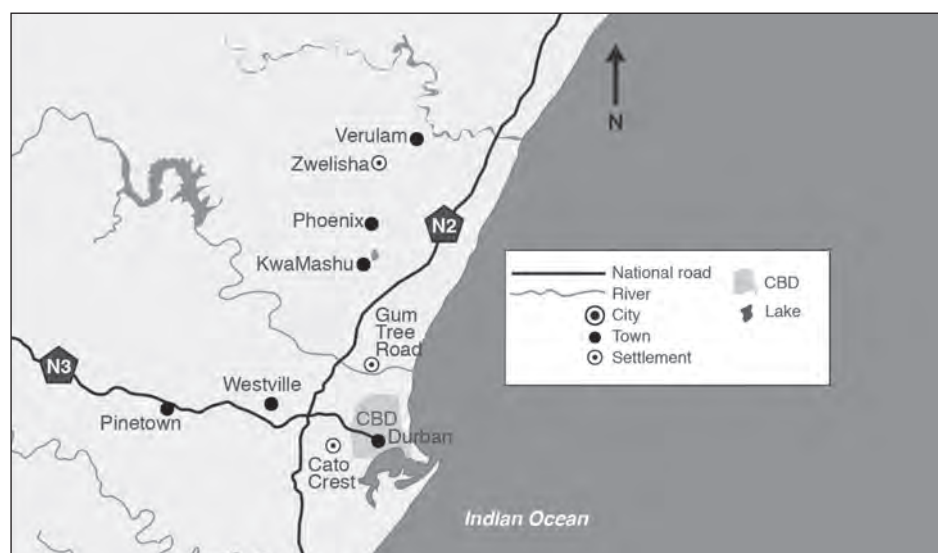
This chapter focuses on informal and irregular acts of giving and receiving among individuals who live in low-income settlements in Durban. The settlements are urban in nature, thus situating theories of reciprocity in an urban industrialised context. This is not unusual; other literature, principally on social relations and social networks, locates reciprocity in urban industrialised contexts. For example, Moser (1998) and Woolcock (1998) argue that social relations and networks (sometimes called social capital) operate according to norms of reciprocity and trust apparent in both rural and urban societies. In this chapter, acts of reciprocity in the study sites

are regarded as symbols of social relationships and interpersonal power relations. The importance of social relations and networks, which are vehicles for giving and receiving, in low-income settlements is discussed in the next section with reference to existing literature and the situation of the study sites.

Social relations in informal and formal low-income settlements

The three study sites are in and around the city of Durban in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. The first site is an informal settlement called Gum Tree Road; it is 7 km north of Durban's central business district (CBD). The second site is Cato Crest, a mixed site of informal shacks and newly formalised houses; it is 5 km west of the CBD. The third site is Zwelisha, a newly formalised settlement built on the site of a previous informal settlement. Zwelisha is located between two major towns in northern KwaZulu-Natal, Phoenix and Verulam (see Figure 7.1 for a location map of the sites, not drawn to scale). All three are low-income settlements. The residents of all three sites were until recently or still are shack dwellers.

Figure 7.1 *Map of the settlement sites*



Source: Map redrawn from sketch provided by author (2011)

International literature on low-income urban settlements contends that social relations and networks define where and how people live. International and national migrants, it is argued, attracted by opportunities to participate in city life and secure better livelihoods, arrive in large numbers, typically without the security of a home or employment but with family connections (Gugler 1992: 159;

Nederveen Pieterse 2003). Urban residential clusters tend to form around kinship, and the new migrant initially builds associations for work, livelihood, housing and socialising within the cluster. Depending on the affluence and influence of residents of the cluster, it may be situated in a high-income suburban area, an informal settlement or somewhere in between. A new migrant will typically rent accommodation in one of the many types of urban dwelling available: a room in a house or shack, a backyard dwelling, or a whole house or shack depending on his or her affluence, plans to stay in the city, and whether he or she is accompanied by family (Gugler 1992: 163; Durand-Lasserve & Royston 2002: 5).

New arrivals in informal settlements typically arrive from rural areas and negotiate their access to the settlement through family or friends already living there. Cross (2002: 202), in her discussion of urban informal tenure in Durban and Cape Town, illustrates how families who move to an informal settlement typically seek out the local leadership through a social connection and ask permission to settle there. She argues that this system is an adaptation of rural rules on tenure arrangements, where the core elements of introduction and permission-seeking are evident. Also evident is how this process establishes order and hierarchy within an urban informal settlement. Following Maussian gift theory, the leadership's gift of land to individuals and families who have asked permission is an expression of power and superiority that establishes the subordinate position of the newcomer; this may also place the newcomer under an unspecified obligation to both the leadership and the person who facilitated the introduction.

In the study sites, 20 of the 24 residents interviewed had gained access to the settlement through a friend or relative already living there who granted permission to the newcomer to build a shack on 'their' land, directed them to vacant land elsewhere in the settlement, or informed them of land and/or a shack for sale or rent in the area. Many had also received help with constructing and/or maintaining their dwelling. Where, as in the cases of Gum Tree Road and Zwelisha (when it was an informal settlement), local rules demand that newcomers are introduced to settlement leaders, the family member or friend who facilitated access to the settlement made the introduction. The very entry of a newcomer to an informal settlement suggests that they are socially connected. Three of the 24 residents identified themselves as 'first settlers'; as such, they recalled that there were no neighbours or leaders to ask for permission to settle. These early settlers typically went on to form the first leadership and establish the rules of entry for subsequent settlers. One of the residents in Gum Tree Road, who did not know anyone in the settlement, adopted a different and unusual strategy; she went to the settlement, asked around for members of the leadership and directly requested permission to settle.

After a newcomer has settled, new social relations within the settlement and existing ones inside and outside of it continually develop, expanding and contracting an individual's 'community' over time. This community is important to the survival and wellbeing of residents of informal settlements. However, as discussed later in

the chapter, specific aspects of one's 'community' (such as reciprocal relations) can have a geographical focus. This chapter investigates one manifestation of the social relations between an individual and his or her social contacts, namely acts of giving and receiving; it explores, over a period of one month, how such acts are experienced by one party to the exchange and identifies the flows of power apparent therein.

Measuring reciprocity

Theories of giving and receiving, and the prevalence of social relations and networks in informal settlements, raise interesting questions on the characteristics of reciprocity in an urban low-income settlement. The research questions developed for this study are: how is reciprocity experienced by individual residents, and how adequate are existing theories of gift giving and receiving for explaining why such acts occur and with what effects? These questions are explored through six subquestions: who gives and receives and how often; what is given and received; what is the motivation of the giver and are there any accompanying expectations; under what conditions are gifts received; does the recipient feel under any obligation to reciprocate; and, if a gift is reciprocated, how is this done?

The data to address these questions are drawn from a wider dataset originally collected for a multimethod qualitative PhD research project. Data were collected between September–November 2009 and February–July 2010 from 24 residents of three low-income settlements in and around the city of Durban.

Gum Tree Road, Cato Crest and Zwelisha were selected on the basis that they typify important settlement types in the metropolitan area. Although they are distinctive sites with particular histories, at some point in time they are (or have been) labelled 'informal settlements' by the state, they typically house low-income members of urban society, they all fall within the administrative boundaries of eThekweni municipality, and they are of a similar size (between 500 and 1 500 households) and population density.¹ There is no reason to suppose that the distinctiveness of these sites means they are not typical of other settlements.²

The respondents in the study were selected through close collaboration with a research assistant who lived in each of the settlements. Initially, the research assistants approached individuals they knew based on a brief to build up a mixed group of respondents. To ensure a wide variety of opinions and experiences, the respondents included men and women; young adults and the elderly; foreigners and South African nationals; and owner-occupiers, tenants and landlords. The aim was to reflect diversity within the settlement, rather than producing a representative sample. Following an initial sample selection by the research assistants, respondents

1 Metro Housing, eThekweni Municipality, email message to author, 29 September 2009.

2 Barbour discusses the distinction between typicality and representativeness, and argues that typicality is a fair consideration in selecting any sample (2008: 19).

suggested individuals they knew who might cooperate with the study and whose characteristics contributed to a mixed sample. Through this 'snowball effect', 24 respondents took part in the study, 8 in each of the 3 settlements. The sample was not representative of the population (residents within the settlement), nor did it aim to be. In this qualitative study, the aim of the research was to explore and present individual's experiences, in this instance of reciprocity, in depth. The data collected and analysed presents 24 different and insightful experiences. Table 7.1 presents an overview of the characteristics of the respondents.

Table 7.1 *Overview of respondents*

Code	Age	Gender	Nationality/ Ethnicity	Other members in household	Tenure status
Gum Tree Road					
GRT1	39	Female	amaXhosa (SA)	Lives alone	Shack owner-occupier
GRT2	29	Male	amaZulu (SA)	Lives alone	Shack tenant
GRT3	42	Female	amaXhosa (SA)	Lives with husband and five children	Joint shack owner-occupier and landlord
GRT4	31	Female	amaZulu (SA)	Lives with boyfriend and three young children	Shack-owner occupier
GTR5	27	Male	amaZulu (SA)	Lives with girlfriend and their baby	Shack tenant
GTR6	58	Female	seSotho (SA)	Lives with 15 family members (over three generations)	Shack owner-occupier
GTR7	42	Male	Malawian	Lives with girlfriend	Shack owner-occupier and landlord
GTR8	32	Female	amaZulu (SA)	Lives with her three children	Shack owner-occupier and landlord
Cato Crest					
CC1	42	Male	amaZulu (SA)	Lives alone	House owner-occupier and landlord
CC2	59	Female	amaZulu (SA)	Lives with her two adult children and many grandchildren	House owner-occupier and landlord
CC3	22	Male	amaZulu (SA)	Lives with brother (a minor)	House owner-occupier
CC4	50	Female	amaZulu (SA)	Lives with husband and three adult children	Transit camp residents (awaiting a formal house)
CC5	29	Male	amaZulu (SA)	Lives with three adult siblings	Shack owner-occupier
CC6	57	Female	amaZulu (SA)	Lives in a cluster of shacks owned by close family members	Shack owner-occupier and landlord
CC7	57	Female	amaZulu (SA)	Lives in a cluster of shacks owned by close family members	Shack owner-occupier
CC8	36	Male	Lesotho	Lives in one room with 10 other tenants	Shack tenant

Code	Age	Gender	Nationality/ Ethnicity	Other members in household	Tenure status
Zwelisha					
Z1	68	Male	amaZulu (SA)	Lives with wife	House owner-occupier
Z2	23	Female	Zimbabwean	Lives with husband and their baby	House tenants
Z3	46	Male	Indian origin (SA)	Lives with wife	House owner-occupier
Z4	38	Female	amaZulu (SA)	Lives with her three children	House owner-occupier
Z5	39	Male	amaZulu (SA)	Lives with wife and their two young children	House owner-occupier
Z6	34	Female	amaZulu (SA)	Lives with boyfriend and their four children	House owner-occupier
Z7	55	Female	amaZulu (SA)	Lives with her three adult children and many grandchildren	House owner-occupier
Z8	45	Female	amaZulu (SA)	Lives with her three adult daughters	House owner-occupier

Over a period of nine months, these 24 residents were interviewed and asked to keep a 'gift diary' to record acts of reciprocity in which they were either the benefactor or the recipient of a gift. Each person kept their diary for a period of approximately one month. Most were kept in English; some were written in isiZulu and translated into English at a later stage, by a research assistant fluent in both isiZulu and English, for analysis. The diaries were designed to capture data on giving and receiving rather than solicit thoughts and opinions, as in a conventional diary; they had a uniform format that respondents were asked to complete (an example is illustrated in Table 7.2). Unlike with conventional diary methods (for example, Meth 2004), the research agenda was explicitly set by the researcher.

It was explained to the respondents that they were to complete a diary entry every time they gave or received a gift; an item was considered a gift only if money had not been exchanged for it (that is, it was not a commodity). Three semi-structured interviews were conducted with each respondent at various points during the month-long diary entry period. During these interviews, diary entries were reviewed and the motivations for and expectations of giving and receiving discussed. These interviews provided an opportunity to triangulate the information in the diaries. However, it was not possible to check the veracity of the entries. This is not considered a limitation, as the aim of the study is to share experiences of reciprocity as they are understood and engaged in by residents of low-income settlements; of greater importance to this study is that the voices and experiences of the respondents are recorded and retold with authenticity.

Table 7.2 *Structure and example entries of a gift diary*

Date	Item	Time/Good	Received by	Given by	How often this week?
12 March 2010	Babysitting	Time – 3 hours	M'du (neighbour)	Kamna (me)	2
13 March 2010	Oranges	Good	Kamna (me)	Sarah (sister)	1

As a research method, the 'gift diary' was suited to this type of study which aims to give a real-time 'snapshot' of the state of social relations and flows of power in an area. It provided data on the day-to-day ties that matter most to the respondents in terms of survival and wellbeing. Alongside the data from the interviews, the diary proved to be a useful focus point to gain insight into attitudes towards reciprocity in urban areas.

The analytical framework of the study required an examination of who gives gifts, how often, what they give, and why gifts are given and received. Frequency counts are mainly employed to address the 'who', 'how' and 'what' questions. The why question principally explores the motivations for and expectations of giving and receiving, using narrative-analysis techniques. Because the data on which this study draws offers a 'snapshot' of individual acts of reciprocity, it is not possible to meaningfully comment on the broader socioeconomic, cultural and political environments in which acts of reciprocity take place. However, it is worth noting that the broader environment is likely to affect acts of reciprocity, for example specific social policies may affect the resources poor individuals can access, which may in turn affect their need and willingness to enter into exchanges with others within their community.

Other methodological challenges concern the quantity and quality of the data collected through the diary. Some respondents took to the exercise and reported the exchanges in which they participated in great detail, but others did not. The reasons for poor reporting included functional illiteracy, resentment over what some felt were very personal questions and the general methodological limitation of the selective nature of memory recall (Alaszewski 2006).

Reciprocity in low-income settlements in Durban

Dominant themes on patterns of giving and receiving that emerged can be structured in four parts. The first part is the 'geographies of exchange' and it explores the role of space in determining the parties to an exchange. The second and third parts, 'exchange for survival' and 'exchange for wellbeing', examine what is given and received, how often and to what effect. The figures in these parts illustrate what reciprocity looks like to the 24 respondents in the three settlements; the data is not statistically representative. The fourth part is 'the role of power, influence and obligation'. It examines why individuals

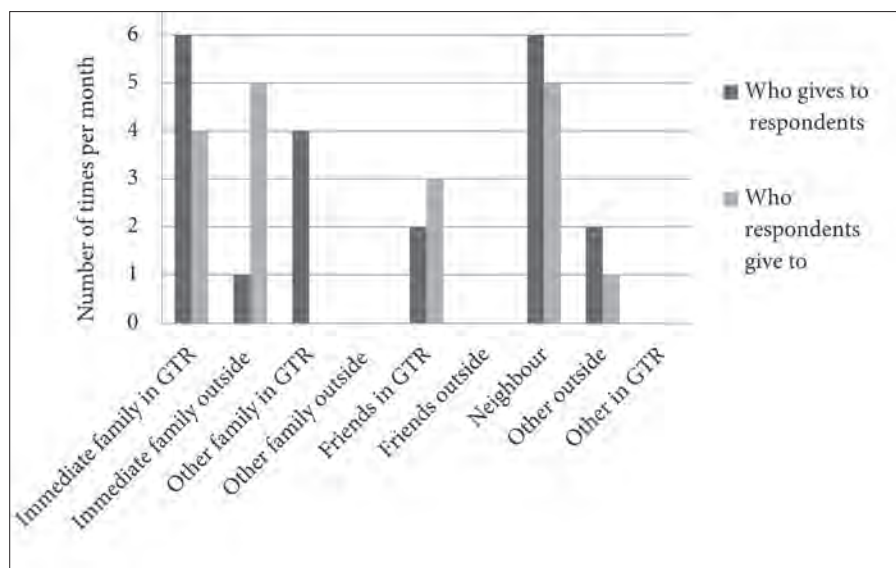
give and receive; and it explores the motivation of respondents to give, receive or reciprocate gifts, their expectations and their sense of obligation.

The geographies of exchange

The social-relation networks of the respondents set the parameters of gift giving and receiving. These parameters are the respondents' conceptualisations of 'community', which are broader than geographically bound spaces (as found in other studies, such as Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2005). Figures 7.2, 7.3 and 7.4 illustrate who gives to respondents, who the respondents give to and how often. In Gum Tree Road, the immediate members of a respondent's family within and outside the settlement feature particularly strongly as a party to gift exchange (Figure 7.2); in Cato Crest wider kinship networks outside the settlement feature strongly (Figure 7.3). Yet, overall, the figures reveal that across all three study sites, space-based communities (that is, social networks within a respondent's own settlement) appear to be the strongest influence in setting the parameters of exchange.

In Gum Tree Road, an informal settlement of approximately 400 households, eight respondents completed gift diary entries for one month from mid-March 2010 to mid-April 2010. Over this period, 21 gifts were given to respondents, mainly from immediate family members (grandparents, parents, children, partners and siblings), neighbours and friends within the settlement. During the same period, 18 gifts were given by respondents, mainly to neighbours and immediate family also within the settlement (see Figure 7.2).

Figure 7.2 *Gum Tree Road: Who gives and who receives*

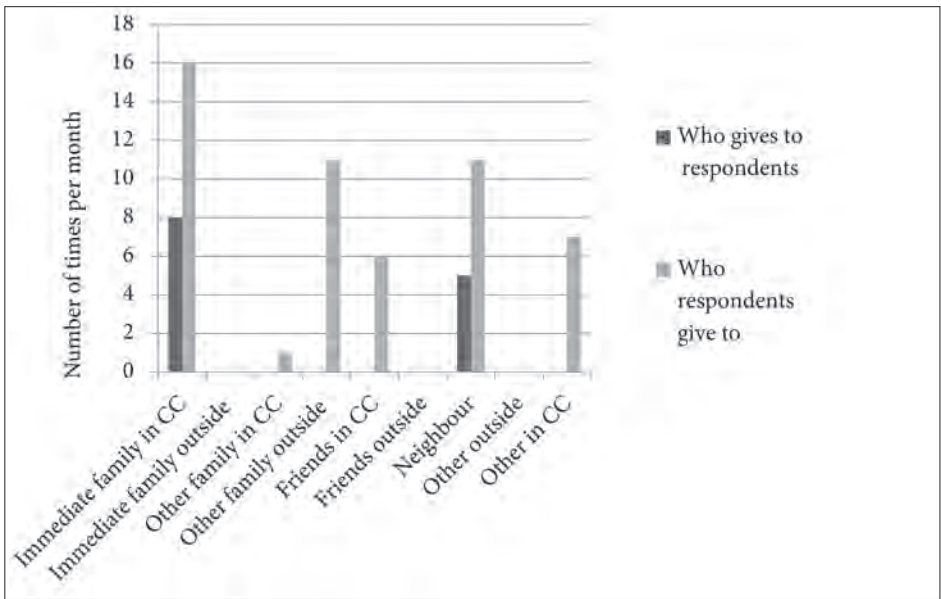


In this snapshot of Gum Tree Road, gift giving and receiving appear to take place predominantly within the settlement. This suggests that an individual's pattern of giving and receiving is tied to geography and the physical proximity of benefactors and recipients.

Where respondents in Gum Tree Road give outside the settlement, they give to members of their immediate family, suggesting that distance may not be a hindrance to maintaining relationships with close family. The five gifts were reported by two respondents who had visited 'home' in northern KwaZulu-Natal and took gifts for parents and grandparents who still live in their areas of origin, as is the social custom. One of the respondents (GTR5), a young man who had moved to Gum Tree Road five years prior to the study to look for work, took a gift for his grandmother; the other (GTR8), a successful landlady in the area and relatively better off, took several gifts for her parents.

The overall importance of space to reciprocity networks is also apparent in Cato Crest, a mixed settlement of shacks, formal houses and a transit camp for residents awaiting relocation to a formal house within the settlement. There are approximately 15 000 households in the settlement. Two respondents completed diary entries for one month between mid-October and mid-November 2009, and six respondents completed diary entries for one month between mid-March and mid-April 2010. Over these two periods, 13 gifts were given to respondents and 52 gifts were given by respondents to a variety of different people (see Figure 7.3). The parties to the exchanges almost all live in Cato Crest.

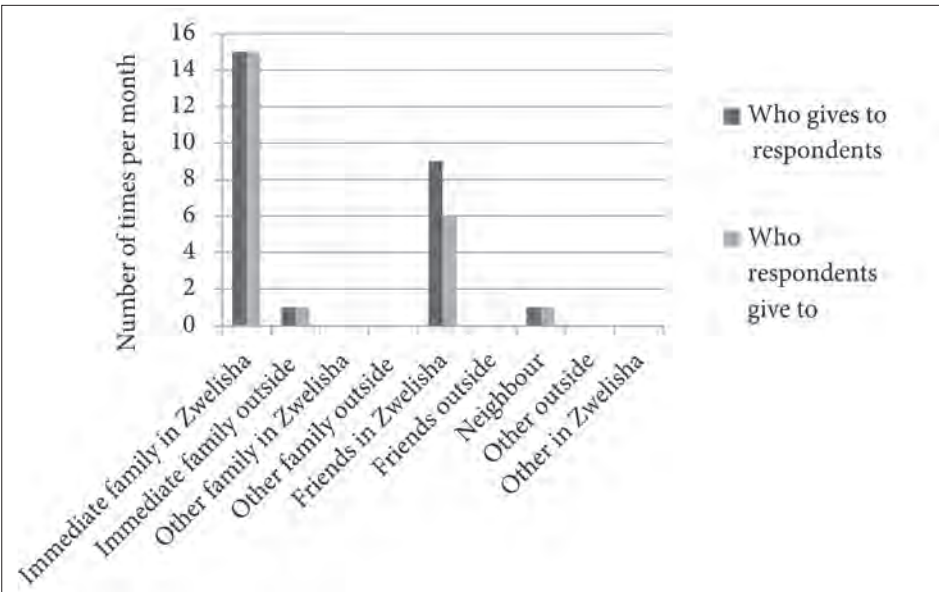
Figure 7.3 *Cato Crest: Who gives and who receives*



Six respondents (from eight) gave only to other individuals within the settlement (specifically to immediate family, friends and neighbours) and all received gifts only from other individuals living in Cato Crest. However, two respondents (CC2 and CC7) reported giving more widely and more often. Both are older Zulu women living with large families; both consider themselves 'first settlers', having settled in Cato Crest in the early 1990s; and both are sangomas (witchdoctors). The first woman (CC2) lives in a formal house with her two surviving adult children and many grandchildren (including several who are orphans). She frequently travels outside the settlement to administer traditional medicine to relatives who summon her. The treatments she administers usually require recurring visits (in Figure 7.6 this is captured under the 'medicine (time)' column). She considers her medicinal abilities a gift from her ancestors and so does not charge her patients. The second woman (CC7) lives in a cluster of shacks surrounded by her immediate family. She too considers her medicinal abilities a gift and does not charge the people she helps, instead gifting them the medicinal herbs and plants that she grows in a plot outside her shack (in Figure 7.6 this is shown under the column 'medicine (good)'). Her patients live in other parts of Cato Crest. Alongside medicinal plants, she grows vegetables and fruit for subsistence purposes, which she gives to members of her immediate family and which make up most of the family's diet. This suggests that apart from individuals who feel driven by their spirituality to help others, respondents give and receive to those who live in close proximity to them.

In the third settlement, Zwelisha, an in situ upgrade now formally housing approximately 500 households, the formally housed respondents made diary entries for one month between mid-May and mid-June 2010. Over this period, 26 gifts were given to respondents and 23 gifts were given by respondents; almost all the exchanges were between immediate family and friends inside Zwelisha (Figure 7.4). The absence of exchange with individuals outside the settlement suggests that, for these eight respondents, giving and receiving is closely tied to geography and the spatial relationship between benefactors and recipients. However, that exchange within Zwelisha is limited to immediate family and friends also suggests that these residents of Zwelisha have a different type of relationship with their neighbours than the respondents in Gum Tree Road and Cato Crest. This indicates that proximity is not the only driving factor in determining practices of giving and receiving. Because neighbourly exchange occurs in Gum Tree Road and Cato Crest, this finding raises questions about why the social rules and behavioural norms in Zwelisha appear to differ, in particular whether the replacement of informal housing with formal housing during the process of upgrading contributes to reduced or altered interactions with neighbours. Unfortunately, the available data do not permit a detailed analysis of why respondents in Zwelisha do not enter into exchanges with neighbours more often.

Figure 7.4 Zwelisha: Who gives and who receives



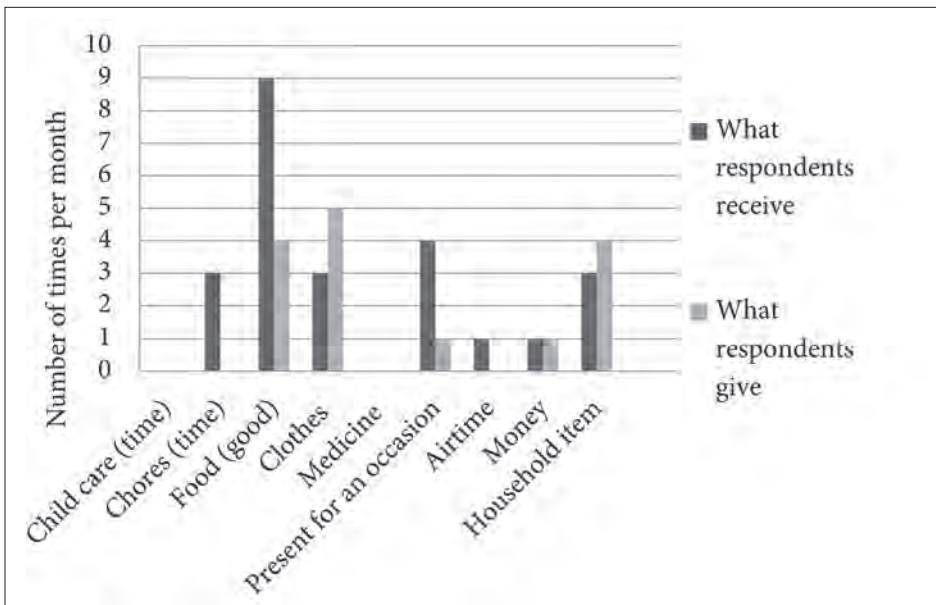
Exchange for survival

The theories of horizontal philanthropy suggest that exchanges are an essential part of a poor person's coping strategy. The findings of this study support the importance afforded to networks of exchange for individual survival and wellbeing, although the findings justify a distinction between exchange for survival and exchange for wellbeing.

In Gum Tree Road, most often the types of gifts given and received by respondents were foodstuffs and clothes, often in small quantities (see Figure 7.5).³ For example, one respondent (GTR1) had received a single tin of baked beans, a pumpkin and a bottle of fizzy drink. Money was rarely given or received but where it was exchanged, the amount was small (not more than R50) and the exchange occurred between people who share household responsibilities: a young man (GTR5) living with his girlfriend and their newborn baby gave his girlfriend (who was not working at the time of the study) some money for her personal needs and an older woman (GTR6) living with three generations of her 15-member family was given money by her eldest son who lives in his own shack in another part of Gum Tree Road. These quantities and the frequency of the receipt of food in particular suggest that respondents depend on members of their reciprocal network to contribute to their survival and that these networks overall have few resources to share.

3 Time is not recorded in hours, but by the number of occasions on which a respondent gave or received time.

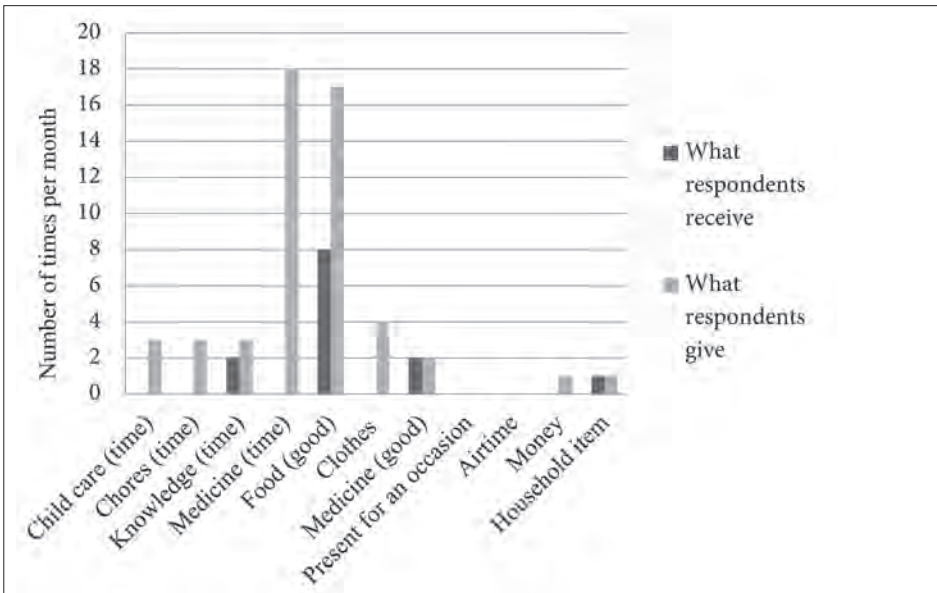
Figure 7.5 *Gum Tree Road: What items are given and received*



In Cato Crest, aside from two respondents (CC2 and CC3), most respondents (as in Gum Tree Road) give small amounts of food to friends and immediate family, including packets of crisps or fruit and vegetables grown in backyards that are used to supplement diets. There seems to be little difference in the giving and receiving patterns between people with similar social characteristics (in terms of ethnicity) and income, but there do seem to be differences between individuals who live in different types of housing, that is a shack, transit camp or formal housing (see Figure 7.6 on page 124).

Interestingly, and unlike in Gum Tree Road, many respondents give their time to others in ways that contribute to the survival of the family unit. In particular, grandmothers (for example CC2, CC6 and CC7) give their time to look after grandchildren while the parents of the children are away working or looking for work. In one case, the respondent (CC6), who lives in a cluster of shacks with her immediate family, also undertakes household chores for her children who live in their own shacks; for example, she hand-washes their clothes and scrubs pots and pans. This respondent is a widow and has not worked for many years, mainly due to poor health. At 57 years of age, she does not qualify for an Old Person's Grant (a pension) and is thus dependent on her immediate family for survival. Her feelings and thoughts on this dependence are explored in the following section in terms of her role in maintaining cultural custom.

Figure 7.6 *Cato Crest: What items are given and received*



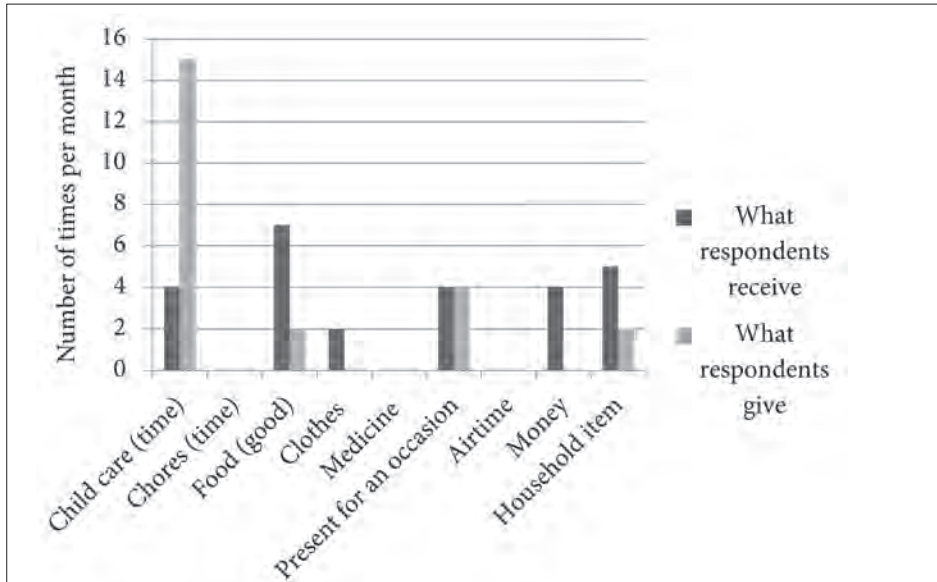
Exchange for wellbeing

In Zwelisha, the items that are given and received by respondents appear to contribute to an individual or family’s wellbeing more than their immediate survival. Gifts of foodstuffs to and from the respondents in Zwelisha feature less prominently than in the other settlements, and presents for special occasions feature more highly (see Figure 7.7). The special occasions include birthdays, Mother’s Day and Easter; the frequency of such presents reflects the number of occasions that occurred during the month in which diaries were kept. The presents tend to be household items of some quality or luxury items such as handbags (Z8) or crockery sets (Z8, Z7 and Z6), suggesting that the respondents in Zwelisha do not depend on gifts for their survival. Instead, gift giving and receiving (especially outside one’s immediate family) seems to play a role in building trust and consolidating friendships.

As in Cato Crest, older respondents tend to give of their time to look after their grandchildren to enable their adult children to work without having to pay for childcare services (for example Z1, Z6 and Z7). Time given to childcare by the respondents was generally reciprocated by their adult children through luxury gifts. Unlike in Cato Crest, where only women respondents give or receive childcare help, in Zwelisha a grandfather (Z1) collects his grandchildren from school daily while his daughters are at work. Also, unlike in Gum Tree Road and Cato Crest, the giving and receiving of time for childcare occurs outside immediate family relations but only on irregular occasions (that is, it is not a dependable source of gifts). For example, a respondent (Z4) reported that she occasionally helps her neighbour who runs a crèche, watching over the children if the

neighbour needs to go somewhere and asks for help. On such occasions, the woman who receives help ensures that the respondent's time is compensated with gifts of food or meals, so as to not to appear to be taking advantage of her.

Figure 7.7 *Zwelisha: What items are given and received*



The role of power, influence and obligation: why people enter exchanges and the effects of doing so

This part of the analysis focuses on the reasons why people give and receive, their motivations and their expectations, and whether they feel obliged to reciprocate for a gift. It identifies the role of power, influence and obligation as both an underlying reason behind exchange and an effect of it. The analysis draws on data collected from interviews with the respondents, but relates only to the period during which diaries were kept and to the items that were given or received.

For respondents across all three settlements, the reasons why they gave a gift or why they think they received a gift can be categorised as follows: (i) to reciprocate an earlier gift; (ii) to fit in with cultural custom; (iii) to mark an occasion with a present; (iv) for spiritual or religious reasons; (v) because a respondent is able to help or is in a position that requires the help of others; and (vi) traditional vertical philanthropy.

(i) Reciprocate an earlier gift

For most of the respondents, the principle of reciprocity guided exchanges with neighbours and friends inside the settlement. In Gum Tree Road, respondents

explained their interactions with neighbours thus: 'I see my neighbour every day. Sometimes she gives me things, sometimes I give her' (GTR6 interview, 12 April 2010). Another (younger) woman in the settlement explained gift exchange with her neighbour by saying, 'She gave me a drink last Thursday, so when she was thirsty I gave her a drink' (GTR4 interview, 6 April 2010).

In Cato Crest and Zwelisha, the same principle guides exchange with neighbours. The principle does not seem to vary according to tenure type, gender or nationality (although a foreign national is more likely to have a smaller 'community' in or close by the settlement with which to engage in exchange). A foreign national in Cato Crest who worked as a builder recalled, 'I helped my neighbour to fix her water pipe. I saw they were struggling with these jobs and I have the skills, so I helped them out. I also get water from here – so I should help out' (CC8 interview, 23 April 2010). Generally, gift exchange with a neighbour seems to be driven by a cycle of reciprocity in which a gift is reciprocated on a like-for-like basis and as quickly as possible. This may indicate that gift giving between neighbours is tied to power and indebtedness, and that reciprocating a gift is considered to repay the debt and rebalance power in the relationship.

However, even among friends, there is still a strong motive to reciprocate gifts, although the return gifts are not always of equal value, nor are they necessarily reciprocated quickly. A woman in Gum Tree Road explained: 'I lost my cell phone, so [my friend] gave me her spare old one. She doesn't want it back; she said I can keep it' (GTR1 interview, 10 April 2010). The high value of such a gift suggests a different type of relationship with friends than with neighbours when it comes to exchange. In the same case, the recipient and benefactor already had a well-established reciprocal relationship – the recipient reported that she had bought a fridge but for lack of space was keeping it with the benefactor, who in exchange was able to use the fridge. A high level of trust and interaction already existed between these two women. In Zwelisha, a young woman from Zimbabwe frequently engages in gift exchange with a friend in the settlement, also from Zimbabwe. She said, 'She gives to me and I give to her. She trusts me. We are both from Zimbabwe ... I don't feel like I have to give to her, but I will in the future' (Z2 interview, 27 May 2010). The friendship between the two women, and the exchanges it engenders, has built trust between them, strengthening their interpersonal relations. However, the respondent was still conscious that not reciprocating a gift might strain their relationship and thus noted that she felt obliged to reciprocate to maintain the relationship.

(ii) Cultural custom

Across all three settlements, cultural custom and social obligation explain why giving and receiving occur within families and especially among immediate family members. In Gum Tree Road, one respondent (GTR1) draws on traditional gender roles in order to have the grass by her shack cut: she asks her aunt's son, who lives close by in the settlement, on the basis that, 'He's the boy in the family – he must do it' (GTR1 interview, 10 April 2010). The obligation between non-immediate family

members can be activated because both live in the settlement. However, familial obligation among immediate family members appears to exist even if they do not live in the same settlement. For example, as discussed earlier, two respondents in Gum Tree Road bought gifts for family members when they went 'home' to visit relatives. Similarly, in Zwelisha, an older woman received a present from her son who 'lives in Inanda; he came to visit me and so bought me a gift' (Z8 interview, 2 June 2010).

Occasionally, non-family members in a settlement also feel bound by social obligation and cultural custom. An older woman, entirely dependent on her immediate family for survival, also receives small gifts of food from a long-time neighbour. She says, 'He's my neighbour but he helps me. He knows [that] I'm an old woman' (CC6 interview, 12 November 2009). Her survival depends on these hand-outs from family and neighbours who are daily witnesses to her poverty. This raises an interesting question: If the respondent did not live close to her immediate family, would the obligation for them to give be as strong as it appears to be at present? Currently, the respondent's situation suggests that she is indebted to her family, and although they appear to be driven by a sense of duty, this does not redress the power imbalance in the relationship between the respondent and her immediate family. Drawing on Mauss's findings on intergenerational reciprocity, it is possible that the younger members of her family are redressing the power imbalance that exists from the years of support and care she provided in the past, or that younger people are bound by the social rules governing reciprocal transactions to take care of the elderly with the expectation that they too will be taken care of when they are older. These are possible interpretations of the data. Without the view of her family, it is not possible to develop a more conclusive interpretation.

An element of reciprocity can also be embedded in cultural customs. In Zwelisha, an older woman recalls, 'My daughters regularly give me money for groceries and to pay bills' (Z8 interview, 2 Jun 2010). An older man says, 'I look after my daughter's children every day after school. Sometimes they give me something [in return]' (Z1 interview, 9 June 2010). Where reciprocity and cultural custom are closely related motives to give and receive, the interactions appear usually to occur between immediate family members.

(iii) To mark an occasion

It seems that the giving and receiving of presents, whether between friends or family members, are engaged in on special occasions to show affection. The exchange of presents was most prevalent in Zwelisha among respondents who live in formal houses and appear financially able to afford such exchanges. The principal motive guiding such exchanges is the nature of the relationship between the benefactor and the recipient. One respondent gave a high-value gift of a dining set to her sister for Mother's Day, explaining that 'She's the eldest and since we lost our mother as children ... she looks after us' (Z6 interview, 9 June 2010). Another respondent in Zwelisha gave a high-value gift to a woman in the settlement whom she says is 'like a mother

to me. Whenever I have a problem, she's the only one I speak to' (Z8 interview, 2 June 2010). According to these respondents, presents are eventually reciprocated on birthdays or at Christmas, but their motive is not the expectation of a return gift.

(iv) Spiritual or religious motivation

As discussed previously, two older Zulu women in Cato Crest feel spiritually inspired to give their time and medicinal plants in order to heal others, both within and outside the settlement. One woman (CC7) explained, 'I'm inspired to help people by my nature. If I see anyone suffering I try to help, especially the orphans. This [is what] drives me. Helping others helps me to feel peaceful' (CC7 interview, 31 March 2010). Neither of these women expects to receive gifts in return for their help or reciprocal behaviour. Other respondents declared that they are religious and that religious, particularly Christian, principles guide their behaviour and interactions with others. However, during the month-long period in which they kept gift diaries, no other respondent said that a gift was given because of a religious or spiritual motivation.

(v) Give because of being asked to

This category of motivation to give and receive applies mainly to respondents who give of their time to help someone else. For example, a young man in Cato Crest (fluent in English and isiZulu and regarded as a knowledgeable figure in the area) was asked by friends, family and other people in Cato Crest to help them complete official forms and job applications. He says, 'I help with these things because I can. I'm unemployed just sitting here, I can help someone' (CC5 interview, 14 April 2010). His unemployment means that he has plenty of spare time and by helping others in the way they ask, he is able to offer assistance without any real cost to himself. This does raise issues about the future obligation of the people he helps, and suggests that power in the relationships is not balanced but firmly tipped towards the respondent.

(vi) Traditional or vertical philanthropy

There is only one example in the data of what can be described as a traditional or vertical act of philanthropy where someone who is wealthy gives a gift to someone who is poor. A Xhosa woman in Gum Tree Road (GTR1) works as a domestic cleaner in the house of a (relatively) wealthy white woman. During the diary period, her employer had given her a household item. She explained that whenever her employer, whom she addresses in the diary with the title 'Mrs' (for everyone else, she uses their first name), 'has extra she gives me, or if she doesn't want something' (GTR1 interview, 10 April 2010). This type of giving is perhaps the clearest example of unequal interpersonal power relations. The respondent receives wages for her work, but does not have any sense of obligation to reciprocate the gift. In accordance with Maussian theory, her inability (for cultural and economic reasons) to return the gift may cement her position as subordinate to 'Mrs'.

Theoretical implications of practices and experiences of reciprocity

This chapter offers a snapshot of individual practices and experiences of reciprocity in low-income settlements using diaries. Based on the sample size and snapshot approach, the findings are indicative rather than comprehensive and insufficient to develop any new theories of giving and receiving. The value of the study is that it enables an exploration of the relevance of existing theories of giving and receiving, in particular Maussian theory of gift exchange as power, with respect to the time and space in which the reported acts occurred.

According to Mauss (1923/1954), in gift exchange, the value of the gift matters less than the actors and action involved. The data suggests that this may not be accurate in describing exchanges between neighbours where the value of the item given or received does appear to matter: cycles of like-for-like exchange appear to guide neighbourly relations. In exchanges between friends and family, in contrast, it seems that the actors and the actions are more important: exchange is driven by a number of motivations and is rarely like for like, but there is usually an obligation to reciprocate. This suggests that if a gift is not reciprocated, it can lead to one party being indebted to the other. The interaction of obligation and benevolence is most stark within families. More powerful members of a family can aid the survival of weaker members through gifts of food and medication, although this can simultaneously burden the weakest members of a family with an obligation to repay. Underlying the interpersonal relations that make up an individual's 'community' are flows of power, and exchange within the 'community' can either upset or redress delicate power balances. Given the relationship between exchange networks and space, it is possible that these power balances speak to localised aspects of social order within a settlement.

The theoretical implications of these findings reach further. Dominant understandings of horizontal philanthropy carry a strong discourse of 'self-help' and a focus on 'indigenous' or 'traditional' vehicles for exchange. Acts of exchange between people in low-income areas are often presented as positive engagements for survival and wellbeing. Based on the evidence presented in this chapter, such acts of exchange do aid survival and wellbeing. However, the act of exchange (as opposed to the content of the exchange) may not be positive for all parties concerned. Theories of horizontal philanthropy fall short in capturing the power dynamics in exchanges between people who are helping themselves or others. Theories of reciprocity, rooted in early anthropological studies of the cultural value of exchange, can better identify and explain the power, influence and obligations embedded in and interwoven through acts of exchange that help the urban poor to secure their survival and wellbeing. This study thus puts forward a case for a reconceptualisation of horizontal philanthropy so that it acknowledges the role of reciprocity in engendering and consolidating power dynamics between poor individuals.

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8 Narrating the gift: Scripting cycles of reciprocity in Gauteng

Carolyn Stauffer

Horizontal philanthropies reside at the intersection of South Africa's past, present and future. These philanthropies divulge information about kinship structures, expose complex class allegiances and disclose information about key resource transfers that often go unscrutinised in the public discourse. This chapter examines research on the giving practices of a purposive sample of black¹ professionals in Gauteng province, South Africa. Findings from the research challenge two central assumptions regarding philanthropy: that it is a predominately unidirectional activity and that it manifests primarily in vertical formats. The research found that giving practices pivoted on cycles of exchange embedded in deeply cultural and historically situated dynamics. More specifically, the research explored four paradoxical findings among respondents in the Gauteng context.

First, while horizontal philanthropy specifically exhibited as a *bridge across composite family and community systems*, it also heightened dissonance around customary versus contemporary identity allegiances. Second, respondents suggested that giving was regularly used as an instrument to *placate growing class divides* as benefactors were increasingly feeling the pull of their own upward social mobility. Third, respondents exhibited a *bias towards non-institutional giving*, choosing instead relationally accountable one-on-one and in-kind transfers as their favoured methods of philanthropy. Fourth, while horizontal philanthropies were frequently conceived of as *exchanges across generations*, in the Gauteng context they patterned themselves in terms of the younger generation supporting their community forebears.

A common theme weaving together all of the above findings was that horizontal philanthropy was born out of a symbiotic and frequently uncomfortable interdependence between givers and receivers. Protocols of giving were thus simultaneously used as instruments of reciprocity and resistance; this was the case both for benefactors and recipients, but each for different reasons.

1 While constructions around race are notably historically variable, in this research the term 'black' refers to persons who self-identified as black Africans. This did not include persons of Indian or coloured origin.

Philanthropies in context

Two decades into its democracy, South Africa exhibits social cartographies of simultaneous exclusion and embrace. On the one hand, legislative fiat embraces inclusive and expanded opportunities for all citizens; on the other hand, exclusionary socioeconomic realities remain widespread and persistent. Moreover, with 32% of the population still living below the poverty line, material conditions of survivalism remain an ongoing reality for large swathes of the population (Mosoetsa 2011: 24; Statistics SA 2014).

Coupled with material conditions of contingency are new and re-emergent practices of giving that manifest specifically in horizontal formats. Such philanthropic practices deserve more concerted attention as they have frequently been obscured within the public domain. While, to date, academic and policy debates have focused primarily on state deliverables, less attention has been given to how giving practices on the individual and community levels are inadvertently subsidising social expenditures (Morris 2003: 2; Habib et al. 2008: 21). This chapter highlights the *patterning* of these often invisible, yet very significant, horizontal resource flows.

Unveiling hidden transcripts

In his seminal text *Domination and the arts of resistance: Hidden transcripts*, James C Scott investigates narratives that dig deeply into the subversive actions of 'offstage' resistance movements. In the tradition of Gramsci and other subaltern theorists, Scott uncovers platforms of power that manifest in what he calls the 'infrapolitics' of dissident subcultures (1990: 183). Scott suggests that the power of these dissident subcultures is not found in declarative performances or dramatic public displays but instead in daily acts of resistance that subtly and yet stealthily rescript norms of social interaction (1990: 19). Daily acts of dissonance subvert cooption into mainstream political and economic life; the power of these actions lies in the everyday nature of their exteriority.

In addition to his focus on subtly penetrative forms of resistance, Scott's analysis yields another important observation: the counter-hegemonic impulse can best be understood through the lens of dissidents' own narratives. This is the case insofar as the 'voice' given to dissidence is the key to its agency. Dissident narratives are thus not just about life; they inhabit and create subaltern life. This chapter builds on these assumptions by highlighting giving patterns as a platform for the 'infrapolitics' of resistance² and by featuring respondents' own narratives as the primary mechanism of exposition.³

2 Throughout this research, 'resistance' surfaced in respondents' giving narratives as both a political and a personal motif: politically as a form of subtle defiance against the hegemony of neoliberalism and personally in terms of resistance to the coercive pressure to fulfil provisioning functions for extended family and community members.

3 For more on the power and formats of narrative discourse, see the works of Derrida (1978), Ricoeur (1984), Riessman (1993) and Baudrillard (2001).

The research featured in this chapter was conducted in Gauteng province and employed a mixed-methods approach that included quantitative as well as qualitative elements.⁴ The research design⁵ comprised a purposive⁶ sample of Gauteng's black professionals and was conducted on two levels. The first was by means of a survey to collect respondent biographical information and data on the levels, types and frequency of respondent giving habits. Giving behaviours were measured in terms of money, goods, and time or expertise conveyances. Second, in-depth interviews were conducted with respondents, during which their social-investment histories, resource exchange mores and current giving practices were documented. This more qualitative aspect of the research employed narrative analysis and elicited an understanding of the rationalities, meanings and subjectivities attached to respondents' giving repertoires.

The findings of the research pivoted around responses to four key areas of inquiry:

Why: What motivated giving?

Who: How were recipient pools identified and prioritised?

How: What levels, frequencies and formats characterised giving?

Where: What were the primary locations, functions and outcomes of giving?

Why: Asset pooling and collective mobilisations

In his seminal text *The gift*, Marcel Mauss suggested that gifts function as a kind of 'currency' within the ambit of exchange relations (Mauss 1966: 21). Mauss saw gifts as reciprocity currencies that engage the needs of the giver and recipient in an ongoing chain of obligation. According to Mauss, the links in these exchange chains are mediated through cultural rituals and protocols (1966: 12). As such, exchange rituals function as cultural productions defined by, and deeply embedded within, a customary and historical context. Within the historical and cultural context of Gauteng, research participants cited gift-giving as an embodiment of this chain of reciprocity:

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- 4 The research comprised qualitative narrative analysis of 36 in-depth interviews and a survey to quantitatively analyse demographic and giving data. While the research by no means claims to be representative of the Gauteng population more generally, it does attempt to represent the qualitative features and quantitative characteristics specific to the respondent group.
 - 5 A comprehensive (25-page) description of the research methodology is available in Stauffer (2010).
 - 6 The respondents were chosen on the basis of purposive sectorial representation from within the following seven employment sectors; health, business, education, security, technical, religious and NGO. Equal numbers of respondents were selected from each field.

It's that clear in the township: if you give, people will give back ...
It's a *form of currency* that what you do for other people they will do
back for you; everything that we do is a currency between people.⁷

Respondents explained their giving in terms of historic and cultural practices that maximised the benefits associated with 'pooling' human and material resources. They suggested that resource pooling activities originated primarily in response to two factors: the need for cooperative risk-reduction strategies and in terms of boosting the potential for collective mobilisation.

When asked about their giving practices, respondents first cited the pooling of resources in practices such as *stokvels*.⁸ The *stokvel* system was described as a non-formal and alternative banking system used by black communities during apartheid. *Stokvels* functioned as credit and saving schemes for community members who otherwise were excluded from the formal banking system. As a parallel capital accrual location, the *stokvel* system yielded reliable and satisfying dividends to members participating in these collective 'giving' schemes:

Black people had no access to credit ... Now that is why if you go back to *stokvels*, the *stokvel* system was a banking system actually for black people. Even if now, I mean, you even see it with people from home [rural areas]; people who are trying to have a pool, to pool their resources. Then it became a savings scheme as well. That's why now even banks are into it now; they have *stokvel* accounts because *it was a way of ... putting resources together*.⁹

While giving practices emerged from the benefits associated with pooling resources, they were also cited as drawing from deep cultural meanings. A frequently cited cultural norm associated with giving related to conceptions of ubuntu. Traditional practices of ubuntu functioned as mechanisms that re-embedded resources into the community as opposed to having them expropriated externally. In this regard, ubuntu activities bolstered mores of giving that systematically folded assets back into the community's exchange chain.

It's not a modern concept, it's an age-old tradition. You know, that we rally around a cause. And this you will find in a number of African communities [and] ethnic groups. I haven't come across the one that does not have something like that. You would find *letsema* in Setswana, you will find *ilima* in Zulu ... The typical explanation of *letsema*, it is when I'm in need, the people around me are going to come and

7 LB1 interview, Soweto, 31 August 2007.

8 *Stokvels* are informal and rotating savings and credit associations that were used by black communities during apartheid and are still widely used today. For the most comprehensive research done to date on this phenomenon, see Lukhele's work, 1990.

9 JM1 interview, Greenside, 7 November 2007.

contribute with whatever they have ... *We're guided by that principle, to rally around a call.*¹⁰

Rallying around political empowerment was also noted as a reason to engage in giving. This was the case specifically in light of the call for 'comradeship' during the struggle and in tandem with the realisation that the potential for political change hinged on collective forms of mobilisation. 'Comradeship' narratives legitimised the enlistment of resource flows during the struggle and have since served to normalise giving expectations.

Well you know during 1976, there was a real spirit of, well we use[d] the slogan, 'Each one, teach one'. It's a very interesting slogan, which meant that if I know something I should pass my knowledge to other people. So you're not paid to do that. But you felt like it was my responsibility to help other people ... So it can not only be 'each one, teach one' but also 'each one, help one'.¹¹

Let's use the example of the solidarity among workers, especially unionised workers in mines, you know. The, that's, it's one thing that you cannot put to words – but they always look after each other. If you fire one, the whole mine shuts down, because workers always support each other ... But that solidarity and comradeship has always made sharing much more easier.¹²

While cultural giving protocols related to *stokvels* and ubuntu were noted quite consistently by respondents, these notions were also problematised. Respondents commented on the ways they felt the current government had appropriated ubuntu rhetoric as a means to 'off-load' provisioning responsibilities onto the shoulders of local communities. They noted that they felt that the historic camaraderie of the struggle was quickly deteriorating in tandem with growing political and class fragmentations within black communities.¹³

Who: identity politics and non-institutional allegiances

Accompanying increasing segmentations within black communities has been a resurgence of questions (and angst) around allegiance and identity. These questions were found to reside at the fulcrum of the 'who' question and informed the way that respondents chose their beneficiaries. The research findings indicated that gift recipients were specifically chosen based on their capacity to reinforce two key respondent priorities: *identity* and *solidarity*. These two priorities substantiate

10 MM3 interview, Pretoria Central, 17 October 2007.

11 MP1 interview, Fourways, 25 May 2007.

12 TM2 interview, Sunnyside (Pretoria), 27 August 2007.

13 For more on growing class segmentations, see the work of Seekings and Nattrass (2005).

a significant body of literature that suggests that many forms of giving operate on the logics of allegiance. In keeping with Maussian conceptions, gifts are conceived of as protocols that bolster group identity and reify community solidarity. In Maussian terms, 'each gift is part of a system of reciprocity in which the honour of giver and recipient are engaged. It is a total system in that every item of status or of spiritual or material possession is implicated for everyone in the whole community' (Mauss 1966/2007: foreword)

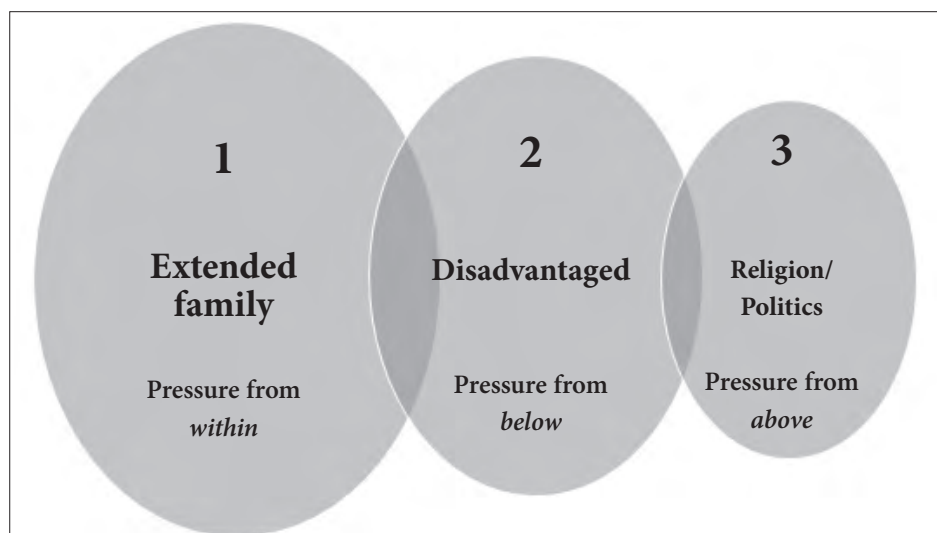
In this type of reciprocity system, goods and services are conceived of as assets whose transfers concretise and reinforce identity and affinitive schemas. Building on Maussian assumptions, Goran Hyden suggests that the social relations embedded within these types of giving systems¹⁴ comprise of:

a network of support, communication and interaction among structurally defined groups, connected by blood, kin, community or other affinities ... It links together in a systematic fashion a variety of discrete economic and social units which in other regards may be autonomous ... These are 'invisible organisations' which tend to be too readily forgotten ... (1983: 8)

The research findings confirmed that respondents viewed giving practices as protocols that indicated who was inside (or who outside) their circles of primary affinity. More specifically, respondents aligned their giving habits in tandem with three primary beneficiary groups. These 'circles of solidarity'¹⁵ (see Figure 8.1) represented (in order of priority) the three groups to which respondents indicated they felt the highest levels of social responsibility. These areas of affinity were also the sites that respondents suggested leveraged the highest levels of relational pressure on them to fulfil provisioning/giving roles.

14 Such definitions echo Durkheim's (1997) work on the nature of 'mechanical solidarity' as well as Tönnies's (1887) writing on the structure of *gemeinschaft* communities. Both of these theorists alluded to the emergence of economic organisation as a product of social relations, and not the other way around. While no suggestion is made here that an essentialist or idealised replication (or insertion) of these concepts into the Gauteng context is appropriate, it is legitimate to say that some of these theoretical overtones surfaced in respondents' narratives.

15 The 'circles of solidarity' model was created in response to narrative analysis grids and therefore does not assume to quantify exact response percentages but rather focuses on narrative domains.

Figure 8.1 *Circles of solidarity model*

Extended family networks: pressure from within

Respondents suggested that their first giving priority hinged in large part on their enmeshment within composite and extended family networks.¹⁶ They intimated that giving habits in these contexts were influenced by interdependencies that emerged in response to historic conditions of migrancy and economic hardship. According to respondents, kinship circles foisted an ‘added care burden’ upon them because of a history of interdependent community relations. They indicated that the social mores emerging from this history inadvertently pressured them to ‘give back’ to their extended family and community-of-origin members who still remained significantly economically or structurally vulnerable. Respondents communicated the dynamics of this phenomenon as follows:

The meaning of being ‘black’ is that you have some poor people in your household.¹⁷

For instance there’s one in the family that’s educated, so the rest of us are not. So we are still going to depend on it [the educated ones]. And also we also don’t feel very well to be driving in those beautiful cars. *They call it the ‘Black Diamond’ but your mother is struggling somewhere in Soweto ...* I mean, can you just imagine many of us we still, my mother is still there, you know. And you can’t just go out there, and overlooking your mother

¹⁶ In the context of this research, philanthropy was defined as giving to ‘non-nuclear others’.

¹⁷ MN1 interview, Braampark, 6 July 2007.

who's struggling ... So, the reason that motivates people [to give] is that even though I have this beautiful things, I still have a family. I still have my mother, I still have my father and my sister.¹⁸

Another respondent suggested that mutual support vectors were a critical part of economic resilience for extended family networks still experiencing economic constraints.

There's lots of positives, not negatives, just in terms of being able to help out. If I'm limited to just my immediate family – it's so sad. Whereas I know that when I need help, I'm going to everyone. I'm calling my cousins; I'm calling my grandparents ... So I get more help; unlike if I know that I'm limited to just my mom and just my dad, *which doesn't work in the end when you need lots of things* ...¹⁹

Respondents also compared the giving expectations associated with this extended family 'added care burden' to what they perceived to be the giving expectations experienced by their white professional counterparts.

I think that one of the challenges that we face is that you kind of live this middle lifestyle that you are expected to feed into. [But it is] difficult for you to catch up with your *white counterparts, whose parents don't expect anything from them; neither do[es] the[ir] community*.²⁰

Coupled with the above-mentioned 'added care burden' dynamics were broader changes that respondents suggested were impacting on giving practices. Respondents indicated that kinship networks were structurally and functionally being altered. Moreover, they communicated that extended family support structures were being increasingly ruptured by shifting residential arrangements, growing economic prospects for emerging professionals and the increasing nuclearisation of black middle-class households.

The marginalised: pressure from below

While giving practices bolstered filial *identity* within kinship circles, respondent narratives identified *solidarity* with the poor or marginalised as their second giving priority. This proved to be the case even in the absence of filial relationship and was enacted regardless of the cultural or racial identity of recipients. Recipients' low socioeconomic status proved to be a stand-alone motivator for benefactor giving and ranked directly after kinship as the second most frequently cited giving criteria.

Why did circumstances of economic marginalisation feature as giving motivators above and beyond factors such as religious, political or racial affiliation? While the

18 MP1 interview, Fourways, 25 May 2007.

19 TT1 interview, Parktown North, 6 November 2007.

20 NM1 interview, Braamfontein, 23 October 2007.

respondents were middle-class²¹ professionals who had achieved tertiary or higher levels of education, most of them did not come from families of origin that boasted these same work or educational attainments. Moreover, 74% of the respondents came from families where parents were 'unemployed, unskilled or semi-skilled'. Families of origin were consistently characterised as locations where progenitors suffered economic hardship and/or underemployment.

What the above points to is that most respondents were in an age band²² that had first-hand experience of pre-1994 structural disadvantages. In this regard, due to their own recent personal experiences of disenfranchisement, respondents demonstrated high levels of empathy and resonance with those segments of the population that still existed on the economic fringes. This 'solidarity' with the marginalised exhibited in several key formats within respondent narratives. The first format related to respondents who experienced heightened levels of anxiety around poverty:

But then what you find is that for [us] who came from the poor communities, it's like [we] strive for money as a way of replacing the thing – that if I get money my problems will be solved. And that is accompanied with a lot of anxiety around poverty – where you find that the people have money but it was so painful to be poor, [that] they become so anxious about not having money. *So I think your own woundedness and areas where you were wounded as a child – defines what you see as [the] quest.*²³

The second 'solidarity' theme that emerged revolved around what one respondent described as the 'privileged complex'.

It's the 'privileged complex' that you kind of have. That you can't really enjoy what you have because you know that there's people who are suffering ... It's part of investing back into the community ... You really see how much people are suffering and you almost feel like *you owe the community because you're the privileged one – you were able to escape – you were all affected, [but] you are the one who's benefiting.*²⁴

21 In this research, respondent 'class location' was gauged in terms of both 'objective' and 'subjective' elements. 'Objective' indicators of class were based on three measures: educational level, a measure of occupational status and a respondent's income. These measures are considered 'objective' insofar as they charted concrete and quantifiable material conditions experienced by the respondents. 'Subjective' measures of class were gauged in terms of narrative analysis grids that corresponded with Erik Olin Wright's work on gauges of 'class consciousness'. For more on objective and subjective measures of class location used in this study, see the work of Mann (1973), Erikson and Goldthorpe (1992) and Wright (1985, 1989, 1997).

22 The respondents were 25 to 55 years of age during the study.

23 NM1 interview, Braamfontein, 23 October 2007.

24 NM1 interview, Braamfontein, 23 October 2007.

The third 'solidarity' theme that surfaced related to giving as an instrument for expunging the guilt that respondents associated with their own newfound enfranchisement.

As black people, we are expected to give, right. How much of it will be guilt? A lot of the philanthropists across the world are not giving [like this].²⁵

You [attend these 'elite' events and you] just want to cut off the [poor] community; of seeing this community every day, and of even going to Soweto. I'm tired of this [constant association with the poor]. I said 'You know what, *in our language they say 'poverty smells' – it means that! But it is not just the smell – it's sticky. Ja, it sticks to you, [and] you want to get it off ...*'²⁶

As portrayed above, partnered with narratives of solidarity were increasing levels of vocalisation that highlighted respondents' 'resistance' to the provisionary roles they were expected to play. They described how reducing or setting boundaries on provisioning mores frequently resulted in substantial levels of interpersonal stress and community conflict. Many respondents expressed ambivalence about the tension between their own personal advancement and their contributions towards others' advancement, and characterised these two spheres as 'competing interests'.

Religion and politics: pressure from above

The third giving priority that emerged in respondent narratives related to participants' relationships with larger macro-level institutions. 'Church and state'²⁷ emerged as two such locations that critically shaped respondent giving habits. In this regard, the pattern that surfaced begs the question whether respondent giving habits were primarily institutionally or non-institutionally aligned.

Repeatedly punctuating respondent narratives were comments that communicated they felt let down by a non-provident state. Respondents suggested that support roles were hoisted upon them by default, more specifically by the state's absence on critical issues and/or by ineffective systems of public support. They alluded to the fact that this dynamic served to exacerbate support demands and entrap them in the filial and economic support functions mentioned earlier. In this regard, the participants communicated that they experienced pressure to activate giving leveraged on them simultaneously from *below* and *above*.

I think in the whole new system, [the] 'new' South Africa even from a

25 JL1 interview, Roodepoort, 31 October 2007.

26 GM1 interview, Soweto, 22 August 2007.

27 The term 'church and state' is used here metaphorically insofar as respondents came from the Christian, Muslim and African traditional religions.

national point of view, it's been more of the government going to the rich people, and speaking of black empowerment, affirmative action, accelerated growth and then going to the poor, and telling them 'Vuka uzenzele', meaning, you know 'Stand up and do it yourself'. So it's almost as if the system in itself creates some kind of division where, to the Tokyo Sexwales, it's easy for them. But to someone in Sweet Water squatter camp the story is 'Surely you can do something on your own' – That's just the way.²⁸

I guess I'm disillusioned, mostly with [the current] government. And I've seen how they've changed, how their value system and everything have just changed, drastically. And I think maybe [I'm] disillusioned and angry at them for not necessarily making it easy for people to get access to resources that are available within government ... And for me that was an unfortunate situation that *the institution that we thought would help [us], is [now] the institution that is blocking [us]*. So I can't; I don't see why. If [I have] my small pennies, I wouldn't take a penny to government.²⁹

The research found that confidence levels in the effectiveness of the current government were at overall low levels,³⁰ and that these were twinned with respondent narratives that communicated a general mistrust of state institutional powers more generally. Ambivalence towards the current government was cited in relation to slow or failing delivery systems, corruption and a lack of effective consultation with multiple stakeholders. In light of this, respondents communicated that they preferred to engage in personal philanthropy and work on the 'individual level' towards poverty alleviation within their own circles of relationship and affiliation.

In terms of religious philanthropy, 81% of the respondents stated that their religion 'required' of them to give, some in the form of a tithe (Christian faith), some through Zakat almsgiving (Muslim faith) and others by means of sacrificial tributes (African traditional religions). In comparison to other potential partners in the national 'upliftment' agenda (such as government, business or foreign donors), the respondents' faith ideations featured as the third strongest giving motivation for a number of significant reasons.

First, respondents narrated their religious giving in ways that decoupled them from their institutional formats. Religious organisations were identified as sites for social and material resource exchanges, processes that resided within the ambit of highly interactive membership systems. This dynamic highlighted the finding that

28 TS1 interview, Douglasdale, 9 May 2007.

29 TM1 interview, Sunnyside (Pretoria), 19 May 2007.

30 Eighty two per cent of the respondents said that they did not feel the government is successfully addressing the most critical issues currently facing the nation.

respondents tended to see religious institutions as significant locations for social capital support rather than as 'institutions' per se.

Let me put it this way, [I have confidence] not in a formal sense of the church ... I have confidence more in terms of it as a helping community, more individual than as an organised structure in terms of church. But then I would say that it's more [about the power in] community church members outside the formal structure of the church ... So it's not really a religious structure that you align yourself with ... but it's the individuals and those strong relationships who you happen to have connected with. *So it's not the structure that you have allegiance to, it's actually the people.*³¹

Second, in terms of their relationships with both government and religious institutions, respondents suggested that they were generally wary of institutional power. This was due in part to lowered confidence levels that mirrored ruptures within black solidarity politics but was also cited in relation to a history of non-institutional alignment during apartheid. Interestingly, respondents answered that they gave to 'individuals' three times as often as they gave to 'organisations' (inclusive of organisations such as the church or other religiously affiliated entities). In light of this, respondents explained why their giving exhibited on the 'individual' level as opposed to within 'institutional' giving formats.

I feel it's also linked to the abuse of power. *If you give, you're giving to a very powerful structure which can end up just abusing like the previous government have abused the powers they had.* So rather help people [on] an individual local level rather than a structure that is not meeting their needs.³²

I think that the institutions of government, the whole way in which democracy works, is still very alien to people. So it is not part of their chosen responses ... they have to develop the trust levels. There isn't a history ... I suspect that with time, people might very well feel that that's the way it go[es]. So institutions, *the institutional way of solving problems I think is by and large still a foreign thing.*³³

In answer to both the 'why' and 'who' questions, this research surfaced a problematised view of horizontal philanthropy. This was the case insofar as horizontal philanthropies were found to be firmly embedded within kinship and community exchange systems. These systems strengthened traditional asset pooling benefits as well as respondents' capacity for historic political mobilisation. In terms of the logics of giving within contemporary South Africa, giving mores primarily fed into identity and solidarity schemas. These schemas, though increasingly being

31 VM1 interview, Ruimsig, 25 May 2007.

32 SL1 interview, Douglasdale, 16 May, 2007.

33 MN1 interview, Braampark, 6 July, 2007.

ruptured, still held significant levels of normative power in revealing allegiances and shaping giving priorities.

How: Social capital transfers and the meaning of contradictory class locations

The third part of the research rubric focused on the *levels, types and frequencies* of respondent giving. Findings in this segment revealed high overall levels of giving, twinned more specifically with elevated forms of 'social capital'³⁴ transfers. In this context, social capital flows were gauged in terms of in-kind and time/expertise investments. Respondents reported that, as opposed to singularly transferring financial assets, their giving was much more diversified; a majority of the respondents was engaged in this on a weekly or monthly basis.³⁵

Accompanying the above survey results were interview questions that inquired about the meanings attached to these diverse giving platforms. Respondents indicated that social capital transfers were frequently chosen above (or as a complement to) financial giving because these formats more effectively precipitated the upward class mobility of recipients. Ironically, the interview findings also revealed that these giving formats surfaced respondents' marked ambivalence towards their own 'contradictory' class locations.

Levels of giving: comparative outcomes

Overall, respondent giving was found to exhibit at exceptionally high levels in comparison to other locations around the world. In terms of financial giving, on average the respondents spent 13.5% of their reported income on the support of non-nuclear others. These giving levels are exceptional in terms of their contrast with northern-hemisphere countries around the globe. For instance, the Charities Aid Foundation (2004) found that in the UK in 2004/05 the average percentage of personal salary (income) given to non-nuclear others was 0.8%. Even in the USA, where levels of charitable and philanthropic giving are said to be higher than those of their continental counterparts, rates of 0.7 to 3% are generally recorded (Walker & Pharoah 2002: 33). This is inclusive of religious charitable giving, whose augmentation to the total still only computes to the equivalent of 0.76% of the GDP in the UK and 1.75% of the GDP in the USA.

In relation to more substantive trends within the sub-Saharan region, the findings of the respondent group were in keeping with literatures that suggest that high rates of giving frequently exhibit in this context within the parameters of support networks

34 For a more extensive study of social capital writ large, see the works of Bourdieu (1986), Coleman (1988) and Putnam (2000).

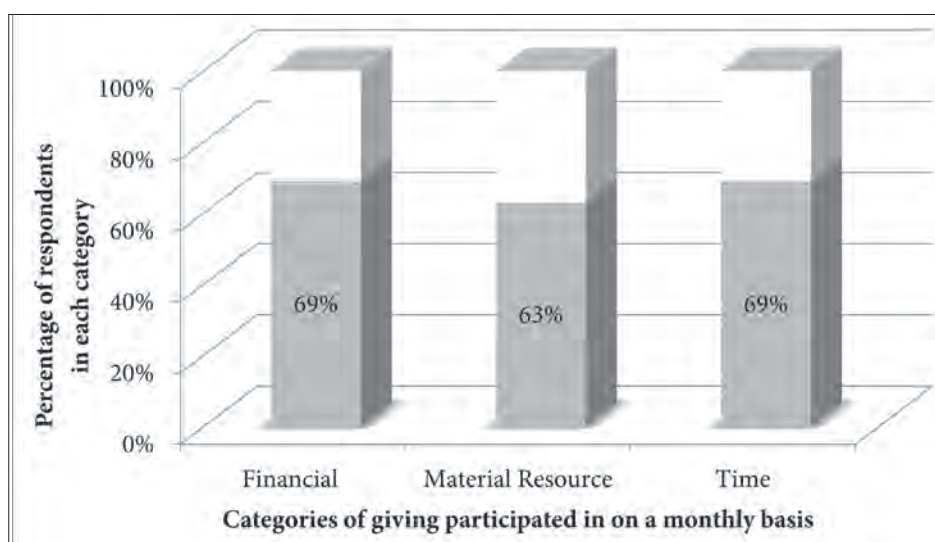
35 Eighty-eight per cent of the respondents said that they gave on a daily, weekly or monthly basis. For a more complete breakdown, see Stauffer (2010: 306).

among local populations, particularly evidencing themselves within disadvantaged communities (Patel & Perold 2007; Ross 2005).

Types of giving: social capital flows

Coupled with overall high rates of giving were also dynamics related to the ‘types’ of giving respondents engaged in. Giving types were measured in terms of three kinds of transfers: monetary, material/in-kind and time/expertise. The findings related to these three tiers revealed that the distribution of transfers was remarkably evenly matched between all three of these kinds of giving.

Figure 8.2 *Categories of giving by month*



The first observation that emerges from Figure 8.2 relates to the presence³⁶ of time/expertise and material/in-kind transfers as salient giving platforms.³⁷ Respondents suggested that these non-financial platforms were specifically chosen because they added an extra layer of accountability to the benefactor–recipient relationship. Respondents said that they chose these more ‘relational’ giving platforms to ensure that recipients used gifts in ways that fostered the recipient’s class mobility and ‘future prospects.’ The underwriting of employment or education-related activities thus

36 Figure 8.2 assumes a frequency of giving of *at least* once a month, but also includes the possibility for a *more frequent* giving pattern within a 30-day period.

37 Each of these figures emanates from a universe of 100%, so that roughly two-thirds of the respondents were involved in *each* type of giving (though not necessarily the same respondents in each category).

became some of the most often cited outcomes that respondents supported because these activities were perceived to increase the potential for recipient class mobility.

I will actually make a typical example ... He [recipient] had a phone and then his cell phone was, you know, it sort of fell down – it stopped working. And so he wanted a [new] cell phone. I said ‘No, you don’t need a cell phone right now’. So actually he can still wait up to a certain time ... So basically [these] are issues like luxury. But if he says to me ‘I need shoes for school’, then I would definitely buy the shoes for school ... I would actually gladly do that. And I think that has been one of the important issues that drives me to say ‘It’s not only about giving – *it’s also about helping somebody else to see his life in the coming five years, ten years time*’.³⁸

But for somebody who just wants money for clothes when they call you; they never call you to ask like ja, ‘I need to go for a driver’s license; I need money to do that’ – or something that will help them for the future – to take them out from where they are. But if they will just ask for money for clothes or shoes – that’s really just depressing ... That is why I say: [invest] in the time and effort to get the person to be someone, *[to] propel [them] into their future*.³⁹

The social capital investments that respondents made in recipients’ lives had many expectations and outcome ‘strings’ attached to them. This confirms the two-way nature of the giving cycle that was noted earlier. It also highlights the way that respondent giving aligned itself with particular patterns of inter-class relations. In this regard, the research found that while giving protocols evidenced some similarities between a joint sense of benefactor–recipient ‘class consciousness’, it simultaneously reified their often very contradictory and divergent class trajectories.

Stratifications and the role of giving in inter-class relations

Respondents said that they participated in giving as a means of navigating increasingly complex inter-class dynamics within black communities.⁴⁰ They communicated that they used giving as a regulatory device that softened growing class divides between

38 MP1 interview, Fourways, 25 May 2007.

39 EM1 interview, Douglassdale, 10 November 2007.

40 The argument could be made that with the mobility advancements of black professionals, what we are currently witnessing is a restructuring of horizontal philanthropies into more vertical formats. While this may happen increasingly over time, it is important to note two ways in which the respondents of this study were *not* following traditional philanthropy trajectories: givers remained committed to giving within circles of known affiliates (they rarely gave to strangers) and they gave through the auspice of their own agency (they predominately avoided institutional auspices). Both of these deviations from the norm point to a different giving and philanthropy paradigm.

themselves and community-of-origin members. As a mediatory mechanism, however, giving proved to be either a source of social disruption or social cohesion depending on its capacity to placate the needs of all the parties involved. In their narratives, respondents voiced growing ambivalence about their own class locations in response to these complex dynamics. This was particularly the case in terms of how historic categories of race were now being overlaid with emergent aspirations of class.⁴¹

At this point, I think class is a 'new consciousness'. I don't think it still entirely defines the black members of [the] middle class in that the second nature – at the heart – the black middle-class [person] is a black man or woman. And that's why I say [that] to entrench it ('class') – you probably need a hundred years [of] this 'class thinking'.⁴²

I truly believe that we are at a time where everything is based so much on tradition, and the 'colour' of who we are as a tradition. Black people can be upward and can own, and can have butlers, and can have these things, but the problem is that – *for most black people this is not a black thing to do*.⁴³

So you find that the inequality gap between the 'haves' even with black people, those who have money – just continue to acquire more money. And those who don't have money – continue to suffer, and they continue to be poorer. *So it is hard to balance the two*.⁴⁴

As race and class have become increasingly conflated at the intersection of giving practices, respondents communicated that they struggled in bridging their own class interests with the class interests of their recipients. This dynamic mirrors the larger national debate on pursuing a neoliberal economic growth trajectory versus following the more collectivist ideology of the struggle. Respondents stated that this issue hit home directly at the level of their pockets and in terms of their perceptions regarding whose responsibility it should be to 'carry' the economy.

And when you pay tax or when you look at your pay-advance, and you see how much they've taken tax, you get angry when students are on strike! Do you know how much I pay for [these] guys to study?

Ah, and you know, on the other hand, you really appreciate that the money (taxes) is being spent to uplift the lives of the people. But as

41 While the respondent group came from families of origin that were predominately characterised by low socioeconomic status, this is not to say that there were not historically *significant* stratifications within black communities more generally. For more on stratifications in black communities during apartheid, see Brandel-Syrier's *Reeftown elite* (1971).

42 MN1 interview, Braampark, 6 July 2007.

43 LB1 interview, Soweto, 31 August 2007.

44 MM2 interview, Braamfontein, 28 August 2007.

an individual of course ... my fear is that we might become a grant economy, where a lot, a lot, a lot, a lot, a lot of people depend on grants ... and that will stall the economic growth.⁴⁵

While respondents clearly identified with various 'working-class' value schemas, their own current class location complicated these allegiances. This paradox caused respondents to experience the dissonance of 'contradictory class locations';⁴⁶ locations in which they suggested they were experiencing 'tectonic' changes.

I think what's happening with us as the current middle class – we are the transition. *One foot is in the suburbs but our other foot is in the townships* ... You know you can't stay in the suburbs forever. What the black middle class do is that they go Monday to Friday, they stay in the suburbs. But Sundays, you know ... [they are in the townships again].⁴⁷

The transition is very tectonic; it's not just superficial movement. It is [a] movement of peoples, definitions of who we are.⁴⁸

Respondents communicated a discomfort with the way their class 'location' and class 'consciousness' were frequently at odds, and said that they felt that affluence was not yet fully 'normalised' in their experience. Interestingly, they tended to identify communities of origin as having a consolidated class location, whereas they did not yet refer to their own professional class as an internally cohesive entity.⁴⁹ Moreover, respondents' class locations were depicted as dissonant cognitively (ideologically), materially (in terms of multiple demands on their resources) and socially (in terms of the simultaneous pressures of 'professional life' as well as 'customary demands' on their time and schedules). In this regard, respondents described themselves as being at the cusp of changes that left them in 'limbo' and in the anomic space of competing normative systems.

Where: Gifts and the payoffs of transgenerational investments

In his classic article 'The forms of capital', Pierre Bourdieu expanded notions of 'capital' beyond the singularity of Marx's economic and material conceptions. Bourdieu added non-material forms of capital such as social, cultural and symbolic capital to the equation (1986: 241–258). He interrogated entrenched forms of inequality and found that capital could be found in less tangible formats, for instance in the symbolic

45 TM2 interview, Sunnyside Pretoria, 27 August 2007.

46 For more on the concept of 'contradictory class locations', see Erik Olin Wright (1985, 1989, 1997).

47 NM1 interview, Braamfontein, 23 October 2007.

48 LB1 interview, Soweto, 31 August 2007.

49 This is not to say that the *very rapid consolidation* of black professional identity is not imminent.

capital embedded in the status associations of education. Moreover, these alternative capital locations, though often more hidden, still exert tremendous influence on the distribution of power in terms of access to resources.

According to Bourdieu, these additional forms of capital could be strategically acquired and exchanged or converted into accumulated forms of capital over time. The 'time' interval between social capital investments and their ensuing yields was critical for Bourdieu. He suggested that most social capital investments ('gifts' as such) could best be understood from within the horizon of multiple time frames as givers and receivers engaged in a delicate dance that gauged how long 'due returns' could be delayed or postponed.

Bourdieu also focused on social capital as an asset that highlighted the power (and payoffs) of associational linkages and social networks. According to Bourdieu, 'different individuals obtain a very unequal return on more or less equivalent capital, according to the extent to which they are able to mobilise by proxy the capital of a group ...' (Bourdieu & Nice 1990: 2; author's emphasis). This led him (in conjunction with Loic Wacquant) to put forward the following signature definition:

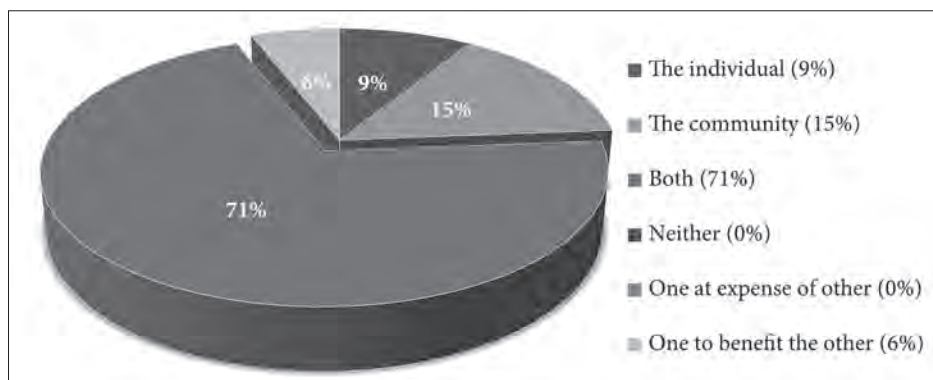
Social Capital is the sum of resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a *durable network* of more or less institutionalised relationships ... They may also be socially instituted and guaranteed ... by the whole set of instituting acts designed simultaneously to form and inform those who undergo them; in this case, they are more or less really *enacted and so maintained and reinforced, in exchanges*.⁵⁰ (1986: 249, author's emphasis)

The cogence of notions of social capital to this research rests on two key elements: the role of networks and the idea of gift transmissions across time. Networks were found to be central to the giving equation insofar as giving was not engaged in as a once-off civic activity but was rather enacted as a form of alternative power (in some instances even as a form of resistance). Transmissions across time were central in the research context in that they were found to buttress specific patterns of social capital transfers between generations.

Networks and the morphology of giving

Bourdieu understood what he called the 'game rules' of collective social relations, namely that giving is not just about individual interests but about group interests (1990: 111). While group membership may well pay significant individual dividends, it also opens up access to a broader resource base from which the group as a whole can benefit.⁵⁰ The majority of the respondents saw their giving practices through the lens of this kind of networked world in which giving was not only instrumental individually but also benefited the community as a whole.

50 For more on this, see the work of Granovetter (1973) and Castells (2000).

Figure 8.3 *Beneficiaries of giving*

While respondents narrated their giving practices in terms of a shared system of benefits, they also communicated that they felt this shared canopy was rapidly collapsing and that the morphology of giving was changing. They suggested that the impetus for giving (a common cause, identity or enemy) was declining and that this would increasingly alter giving patterns.

I think also apartheid made people to be more united in a sense that there was a – we were fighting for one cause. In ‘Democracy’, whoa! We are divided as a society, even those who we used to be united with. There’s more division with Democracy; we’re no longer ‘United we stand – divided we fall’. No, I think that slogan is now just a stand-around ... It’s kind of like [now] ‘I can do whatever I want’. But that ‘Doing what I want’ also has a lot of repercussions in a sense that there’s nothing in place for those that do not have the literacy to go up ... *I think [giving] has changed during the Democracy era.*⁵¹

I think we’re going to a situation where people would be thinking more about themselves. Okay now, more especially youngsters. [This is] for instance, one of the challenges that we have today ... The now generation ... they are more concerned about themselves, and about sports, than really helping and encouraging [other] people and all that.

*So [that] type of giving, also giving up your time for the benefit of the community, is also fading away, you know. Again, that’s one of the spirits that I think is really diminishing in our people today.*⁵²

In many regards, respondents presented themselves as a kind of ‘border’ generation sandwiched between narratives of collective giving during the resistance movement

⁵¹ TM1 interview, Arcadia Pretoria, 19 May 2007.

⁵² MP1 interview, Fourways, 25 May 2007.

on the one hand and the new post-1994 enfranchisements on the other. They communicated that the mystique around the struggle's 'freedom fighters' was quickly dissolving as many previous comrades were abdicating their counter-hegemonic activism to the encroachments of material accumulation. In tandem with this, respondent giving practices could be interpreted as their attempt to finally complete an unravelling struggle project. This was a task that they engaged with not structurally but rather through their individual-level giving.

Social mobility and intergenerational transfers

Another of the dynamics that surfaced poignantly in the research related to the ways that giving structured intergenerational relations. The salient issue in this regard revolved around the following conundrum: with the marked rise of economic mobility among black professionals over the last two decades, how have families of origin contributed to enhancing black professionals' economic escalations and, in response, what do these families of origin now expect in return? These dynamics drew attention to the provisionary 'role reversals' that were being played out on the philanthropy stage.

Respondents intimated that due to the economic restrictions apartheid imposed on black working-class parents, their offspring could not rely on the economic wealth of their forebears as a launching pad for their (the next generation's) economic opportunities. Instead, parents relied on their children as the ticket to better future prospects:

Your parents were sort of spending a lot of money on you hoping that one day you become a doctor or a nurse and a teacher and then you relieve them. I mean, the parents would say 'When my child grows up, she will be a doctor, and then all our sufferings will end'. Like I said they don't actually tell you directly. Actually they tell you indirectly that once you become a teacher, 'Then my sufferings will be, will be all gone'; those sort of things ... In the township, people [we]re relying on others to provide for them, [so that] parents [we]re relying on their children for their needs ... In those cases [it] was: *'If my children can go to school, then they will support me'*.⁵³

Parental social capital 'investment' in the next generation was seen as a mechanism that could yield social mobility payoffs across time.⁵⁴ This model overturns 'classical' conceptions of capital accumulation across generations, which assume that older generations will underwrite younger ones. Instead, respondents suggested that resources now flowed from the young to the old: at markedly early stages in life and at higher-than-usual levels. In the post-1994 context, the young prodigies that

53 MP1 interview, Fourways, 25 May 2007.

54 For more on how social capital is transmitted across generations, see Portes (1998).

the older generation had invested in (today's respondents) were expected to convey benefits and support back to their forebears and communities of origin. Historic intergenerational 'gifts' were now considered ripe for repayment.

Horizontal philanthropy and the logics of resistance and reciprocity

The inquiries featured in this chapter began as an exercise in social cartography. The intent was to map out the borders and boundaries that structured giving patterns among a purposive sample of black professionals in Gauteng. Now coming full circle, the chapter ends by highlighting how the respondents bisected several significant 'boundary lines' in the ways that they enacted their giving practices.

In answering the 'why' question, the research found that respondent giving was deeply embedded in cultural practices that reinforced cooperative acquisition. This was the case insofar as cooperative acquisition functioned as a risk-reduction strategy as well as a platform for collective mobilisation. Both the notions of ubuntu and the struggle meta-narrative served as cultural schemas that exerted tremendous power in motivating and structuring giving. Respondents communicated that through their giving, they chose to activate these 'cultural capital' motifs because this helped to bridge what they saw as the growing chasm between their customary and contemporary identities.

In response to the question of 'who' respondents chose as their giving beneficiaries, identity politics and non-institutional allegiances emerged as organising themes. Composite family systems and community-of-origin members surfaced as the first recipient pool, followed by recipients whom respondents viewed more generally as 'disadvantaged'. Respondent narratives indicated that identity was bolstered through their giving within extended family networks, while giving to the economically marginalised reinforced their sense of solidarity. A strong suspicion towards institutional allegiance resulted in giving formats that were primarily individually and relationally negotiated as opposed to institutionally mediated.

In terms of the structure of giving, the question of 'how' was investigated in relation to the levels, types and frequencies of giving. On average, the respondents spent 13.5% of their income on the support of non-nuclear others, an amount that is remarkably high by international standards. The majority of the respondents said they engaged in giving on at least a monthly basis and that most of their giving took the form of in-kind contributions. Respondents indicated that they chose this format because it contributed to accountability within cycles of reciprocity that extended across time.

Reciprocities across time were also cogent to the issue of class allegiances. While most respondents' material circumstances placed them on the road toward upward class mobility, their ideological class consciousness frequently belied this trajectory. This contradictory class location placed respondents in a quandary that was nicely

addressed through their giving: through their philanthropic practices, they were able to placate the dissonance of growing class divides while simultaneously serving the interests of the economic system that was benefiting them. Perhaps more importantly, respondents were able to use the power and privilege gained within their new class locations to channel resources back to progenitors. They did this in significant and sacrificial ways that reversed provisioning cycles across generations.

As an overarching theoretical rubric for horizontal philanthropy, exchange 'cycles' featured as a key theme in respondent narratives. This was the case insofar as giving was used as a type of transactional language between respondents and beneficiaries from communities of origin. Communities of origin regulated giving in ways that ensured respondent adherence to reciprocity norms; likewise, respondents vocalised specific desired outcomes that they intended to foster through their bequests. Giving transactions thus surfaced the presence of forms of simultaneous reciprocity and resistance between givers and recipients. A symbiotic and mutual co-dependence existed between respondents and beneficiaries, with each exerting negotiating power over the other so as to exact a 'just price' for reciprocal exchanges. Moreover, respondents were able to effectively enact their giving practices precisely because the logics of their actions blended both economic and social rationalities. This research asserts that it is this significant melding together of economic *and* social rationalities that serves to buttress and reinforce horizontal philanthropy.

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9 *Changing direction: Adapting foreign philanthropy to endogenous understandings and practices*

Alan Fowler

'It is impossible to understand the prospects for development policies and projects without knowing the characteristics of social relations at both micro and macro levels, whether and how these levels articulate with one another, and how this degree of articulation has emerged historically.'

Michael Woolcock (1998: 12)

This chapter is a practice-oriented contribution to understanding philanthropy in South Africa, with broader implications for this field of work. It reports on previous studies involving the author on whether and how foreign-inspired philanthropy in the country can recognise and take on board deeply rooted, pre-existing traditions of helping or 'gifting'.¹ Research described by Susan Wilkinson-Maposa further elaborates on and tests the validity of the metric involved (Wilkinson-Maposa 2011).²

Commencing in 2003, a comparative study in four countries in southern Africa identified a sophisticated endogenous system of 'horizontal philanthropy' between people who were (self) identified by their communities as 'poor' (Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2005).³ Obviously, 'horizontality' is not an exclusive province of relations between poor people. However, the research focus on poor communities stemmed from a critical questioning of external philanthropic set-ups dedicated to poverty reduction that were being replicated in the region. The original study identified five constituent elements of this lateral system. They differ markedly from the 'vertical' philanthropic thinking, positioning and practices of local community foundations typically modelled on forms emanating from the United States of America.

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- 1 Philanthropy cannot be properly translated into vernaculars, while the notion of a gift and gifting resonate with African experience and language (Fowler 2016).
 - 2 This chapter gratefully draws from Wilkinson-Maposa's critical inputs.
 - 3 Funded by the Ford Foundation, the research initiative was entitled the Building Community Philanthropy Project (BCPP), located at the Centre for Leadership and Public Values at the Graduate School of Business, University of Cape Town. The subsequent phase was entitled the Community Grantmaking and Social Investment Programme (CGSI).

Subsequent empirical study involving three South African civil society organisations (CSOs) – one community foundation (CF), one trust and one operational non-governmental organisation (NGO) – provided demonstration cases of changing functioning in order to become more ‘horizontal’ in thinking and practice (Wilkinson-Maposa & Fowler 2009). These organisations introduced organisational reforms that would, in the late Claude Ake’s terms (1988), build more on the indigenous rather than impose exogenous norms and other requirements on existing arrangements.

From this empirical grounding, the chapter describes how a horizontality measure proposed by Wilkinson-Maposa (2011) can assist in illuminating and determining the extent to which philanthropic understandings and practices in South Africa take cognisance of the endogenous. Put another way, this horizontality metric provides a fresh yardstick to judge organisational behaviour seeking to incorporate endogenous systems of helping.⁴

The following section introduces the essential features of ‘horizontal’ philanthropy of community (PoC) as an embedded system of mutuality and philanthropy practised by poor people in sub-Saharan Africa. These features are then counterpoised with the ‘vertical’ equivalents (PfC) typically found in gift or grant assistance from external sources. The relationships between the two are illustrated by means of a ‘philanthropic arc’ (Wilkinson-Maposa & Fowler 2009: 41).

Then follows a discussion of a theory of organisational capabilities and capacity development allied to an instrument whereby an organisation can assess the degree to which its helping behaviour corresponds to that of the communities or constituencies it intends to assist. The concluding section is a discussion of the ‘transposition’ of horizontal metrics into practices that can improve the developmental effectiveness of micro-philanthropy.

Horizontal philanthropy among poor people in southern Africa

Applying grounded theory, the study on how, why and when poor people help each other involved respondents acknowledged as poor by and from within rural and urban communities in Namibia, Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe. A principle outcome was identifying an embedded system of socioeconomic helping relations comprising five key elements and associated rules. The system functions with positive and negative feedback loops, which reinforce compliance and/or sanction transgressions in help relationships described in Wilkinson-Maposa et al. (2005: 81–84).

While viewed as informal by outsiders, such a system is regarded as formal by those within and a critical factor co-determining their social relations. In real time, the horizontal system updates both personal and community decision-making scripts

4 I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for this observation.

that influence access to and denial of help – implying a gain or loss in social capital. Based on the empirical work, the following sections describe the principal elements of horizontality and then the basic rule-decision process.

Characteristics of horizontal philanthropy

The system of horizontal helping among poor people in southern Africa combines five dimensions in dynamic interaction between types of actors, the substance of help transactions and varied motivations. The five dimensions are discussed below (Wilkinson-Maposa & Fowler 2009: 19–23).

Needs and networks: The type of need determines the social network or help circuit selected. Unmet daily needs, unresolved problems, vulnerability, coping with emergencies and facing urgent unexpected demands are common features of living in poverty. The nature of the ‘demand’ for help influences the type of help network approached for assistance. Pooling resources to create a strategic reserve, seen in burial societies, illustrates one type of network that can be called upon that is governed by pre-determined rules. ‘Borrowing’ a daily commodity of which one has a shortage from a neighbour based on reciprocity is another.

Range of capitals mobilised: This is the range of material or non-material resources given or received in a transaction. Some help (such as advice, prayer or facilitating contacts) are types of capital not depleted by use. Material assistance may not be easily replaced or repaid. An important value of assistance is the act of giving, not just its market worth.

Intention and motivations – maintaining and moving: People judge help in many ways. An important distinction they make is between ‘maintenance’ help (that is a transaction to work against further regression into poverty) and ‘movement’ help (a transaction to help escape deprivation).

Norms and conventions in decision-making: These are criteria for making decisions about who to help, or not, against the expectations, terms and conditions that are applied and widely understood. These rules are not static. They are calibrated towards each individual relationship and are updated transaction by transaction.

Philosophy of the collective self: Help is premised on being one amongst many not solely on being an individual (the notion of ‘ubuntu’.) An ability to help is a signifier of a particular moral philosophy that calls for revision of subconscious adoption of Western normative explanations of personal behaviour and concepts such as volunteering (for example, Butcher & Einhoff 2016).

Differentiation in system functioning are found between urban and rural settings, as well as between genders and age groups that need not be elaborated here. The point is that these findings confirm a high level of social integration that offers developmental potential in constructing programmes that respect what is already

an embedded system. This condition is critical because: 'People make development sustainable only in as far as its content becomes an integral part of their lives' (Ake 1988: 21). But is PoC something to be *built on* or is it a system with features that can be *built from* to modify the thinking and practices of aid agents? Put another way: Are horizontal help relations a platform at the disposal of aid or a guide for how aid could be usefully transformed on the continent (Wilkinson-Maposa & Fowler 2009: 45–47)?

Do the high levels of integration characterizing indigenous social relations in many poor communities actually constitute a resource that can be used as a basis for constructing substantive development programs? If so, how? (Woolcock 1998: 181)

This query implies that an external intervention requires a developmental practice that acknowledges pre-existing social arrangements in a way that integrates with the indigenous rather than subordinates. But satisfying this requirement can be easily turned into a new form of exploitation. For example, Robert Muponde's (2011) reading of Zimbabwean novelist Tsitsi Dangarembga's work illuminates foreign philanthropy as an exploitive, instrumentalising adjunct to neocolonial penetrations, subordinating indigenous cosmovisions and knowledges in more subtle ways. He articulates it thus: 'The world view of the receiver is very important, and more participatory and deliberative democracies need to be instituted so that the receiver of philanthropic aid does not feel insulted and disempowered, ironically, by the act of being upraised' (Muponde 2013: 80).

With direct links to sustainability, building on the indigenous has for many years been a development mantra (see for example Cernea 1993). More recent variants of local 'ownership' and 'home-grown' solutions to development issues show that Cernea's advocacy falls short of its promise. This is not because of the fallacy of the original arguments. Rather, inadequate adaptation can be attributed to the inability of major aid agencies to overcome systemic problems that treat social institutions in utilitarian ways and the inability of industrialised philanthropy, perhaps with the exception of micro-finance, to make a substantive difference to the practices of foreign assistance.

Experience shows that the principle of building on is more likely to mean co-opting and 'externalising' what is local rather than localising what is external. A typical reason is that local institutions are made carriers of 'projects'. Yet this is not how they have evolved and function naturally. Another demand is to become responsible for managing and accounting for activities financed by others, but using foreign systems and standards that do not resonate with local norms and practices. Examples where the indigenous is built on dictated from above are unilateral rules applied to people's 'participation' and the view of 'empowerment' as more choice, allied to citizens having to take over responsibilities from (failed or inadequate) states.

The prospect that a better understanding of endogenous systems of help will be misappropriated cannot therefore be discounted. There are contradictory signs of this likelihood. One stems from the penetration of Brazil, China and India as new aid donors on the continent whose interests and capabilities steer them towards (large-scale) infrastructure and economic projects. However, in offering South-South economic role models without universalist Western ‘prescriptions’, an implicit acceptance of the ‘indigenous’ may increase the significance of this principle for African governments in an updated Scramble for Africa (for example Southall & Melber 2009). Conversely, there are signs of corporate social responsibility (CSR) replicating the behaviour of traditional aid donors in taking a utilitarian position on endogeneity (Van Cranenbergh & Arenas 2012). Approaches to CSR on the continent point to a continuity in foreign-led development issues that ‘civilise’ embedded social structures that must and can be countered (Adanhounme 2011). If this does not occur, CSR ‘naturally’ subordinates indigenous values, norms and processes and ‘spins’ information in ways that advance public reputation (Munshi & Kurian 2007).

An alternative principle is to build from the indigenous. That is, to understand and apply what is found locally in order to, first, modify the internal systems and behaviour of external agencies to better match what is already going on. Second, is to establish similar institutions, but with different development functions, that can avoid the drawbacks of indigenous arrangements such as gender exclusion and capture by the better placed. ‘Building from’ means to borrow and learn from people’s lived reality without causing damage to what already works. It signifies respectfulness and dignity for the poor, a relational condition that is critical for sustainability and empowerment.

The system of horizontal philanthropy can serve as a metric against which ‘vertical’ resources (such as project financing and grants) can be assessed, limitations diagnosed and remedies identified. This is because, collectively, people who are poor have established their own rules and standards that guide their inherent helping relationships and decision-making, which need to be recognised as important, endogenous points of reference for outsiders.

Performing a philanthropic act in poor communities can be understood as the outcome of a decision-making process that follows a more or less similar sequence (Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2005: 82). A point of departure is the setting, which determines if the assistance is urgent – the result, for example, of an accident – or more ‘normal’ such as borrowing a piece of equipment. Consideration of helping can be triggered through an observation by or a request to the potential giver. The trigger translates into a ‘filter’ that is a test of (1) the eligibility of the potential recipient, (2) the specifics of the request, and (3) an assessment of the demand in the light of the giver’s available resources. If all prove acceptable, a range of help options and conditions can be negotiated, for example whether it is a gift or a loan to be returned in the same form or in kind, over what time frame and what the sanction will be for non-compliance.

Depending on the circumstances, a case of eventual non-compliance can act as negative feedback on the recipient's reputation that comes into play the next time filtering occurs. Conversely, conformity with what was agreed can enhance reputation and trustworthiness. Both outcomes can influence the individual and collective stock of social capital as a function and product of interconnected networks of reasonably stable, enduring and valued social relations (Fowler & Wilkinson-Maposa 2013).

There are differing schools of thought about how this intangible capital is generated. For Robert Putnam (1993, 2001), capital resides in – and is an outcome of – the collective of social relationships. It derives, in part, from the moral imperatives and values – particularly trust – that reciprocity embodies and relies on. For Nan Lin (1999, 2001), social capital is more contractual. It is to be found in the aggregate of expected return on investment made between individuals within the network and their links to resources in markets. Whatever the case, the critical point is that philanthropic acts are one cornerstone of the social fabric that external actors need to understand and assess in terms of their own practice.

The philanthropic arc

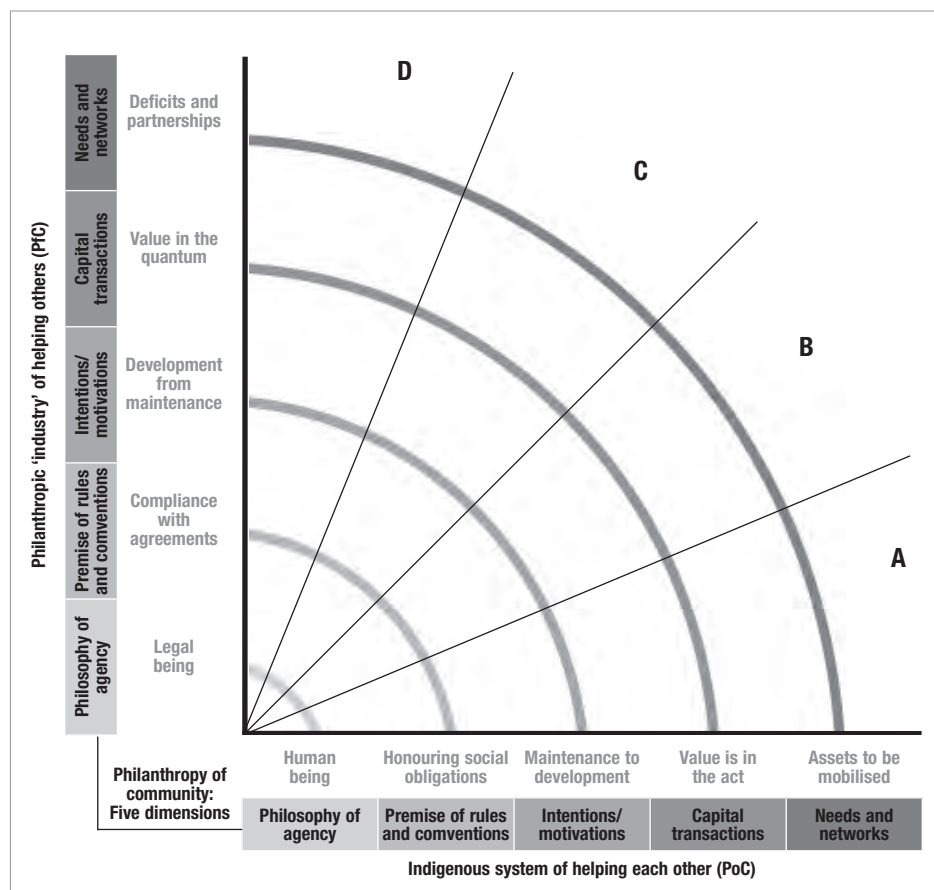
One way of undertaking such a self-diagnostic task is by juxtaposing characteristics of horizontal philanthropy of the poor and the vertical granting of industrial philanthropy and its offshoots, such as community foundations. An approach to doing so is illustrated by the 'philanthropic arc' in Figure 9.1.

In terms of each dimension of horizontality, the extremities of each arc can be categorised in terms of the theory of change, operational practices and metrics associated with international aid (for example Riddell 2007) and those of self-formed community-based entities (for example Collier 1999; Bebbington & Carroll 2000; Mubangizi, 2003). While somewhat stereotypical, doing so results in the comparison reflected in Table 9.1 (Wilkinson-Maposa 2011: 6).⁵

Each axis is specified in terms of the five dimensions of PoC. However, each dimension is translated in terms of core attributes of indigenous systems of help, horizontally on the one hand and vertically with attributes of the philanthropic industry's grantmaking to community (PfC) on the other hand. For example, in terms of the philosophy of agency, PoC's attribute is that of a human being while there is greater reliance on legal identities recognised by the government for PfC, particularly citizenship and registration as a corporate body or formal organisation with defined governance structures.

Similarly, with PoC, greater attention is paid to non-material capitals of culture and symbolism such as respect for age or hierarchy. Though somewhat formulaic, to sharpen ideas, the model allows a development organisation to position itself within

5 As part of the Community Grantmaking and Social Investment (CGSI) research programme, this table was jointly developed by the author and Susan Wilkinson-Maposa.

Figure 9.1 *Philanthropic arc*

Source: Wilkinson-Maposa and Fowler (2009: 44)

the quadrant and its subdivisions.

There is no a priori reason to suppose that the five arcs are of equal significance in relation to context, time frame or type of community development organisation (CDO). Indeed, a more reasonable proposition is the opposite. As each arc is subject to different but interdependent forces, variations in positioning are to be expected. For example, the original research identified urban–rural and age-related differences in helping patterns that should logically be found in PoC’s systemic features (Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2005).

As can be seen, this model introduces a set of characteristics of endogenous processes that can be used as a reference point for development organisations interested in better appreciating and building from indigenous systems of help. A potential

Table 9.1 *Comparisons of PfC and PoC metrics*

	Vertical (Exogenous)	Horizontal (Endogenous Exogenous)
Needs and networks	Premised on (material) deficits and needs to be satisfied.	Premised on capabilities and assets that are already deployed to survive.
Range of capitals	Premised on value in quantum measures of inputs, outputs and outcomes. Relational value lies in efficacy of resource utilisation.	Premised on capital lying in the social transaction of intangible and tangible resources. Relational value lies in rooted processes.
Intentions and motivations	Premised on people escaping poverty as a 'threshold' condition.	Premised on resilience to cope with poverty as a dynamic condition.
Norms and conventions	Premised on agreements negotiated against 'standard' external norms and compliance enforced by recourse to law and third parties.	Premised on socio-historical context of values, rules and conventions beholden to collective sanction.
Philosophy of collective self	Primacy of recognition of a legal being with uniform rights and obligations.	Primacy of recognition as a human being with identity and dignity.

advantage of doing so is to bring vertical practices closer to those that are already trusted and self-sustaining. To this end, during collaboration with CDOs in 2008 and 2009, the potential and practicality of PoC-inspired changes in organisational behaviour were investigated (Wilkinson-Maposa & Fowler 2009). The participating organisations were:

- The Greater Rustenburg Community Foundation, North West, which introduced a PoC-based way of mapping community assets;
- DOCKDA Rural Development Agency, Northern Cape, which applied PoC insights to alter their practice of home-based care for the terminally ill;
- Ikhala Trust, Eastern Cape, which broadened the range of capitals it would deal with and investigated how to ascribe them with monetary value, and worked with the Jansenville Development Forum to measure the value of community assets.

Using a four-stage cycle of grantmaking, adopting a PoC view resulted in a number of gains (Wilkinson-Maposa 2009: 11–16):

- A more sophisticated language for dialogue, which resulted in a relational shift from the concept of external assistance to collaboration and working for rather than working with the community;
- A finer-grained mapping, appreciation and valuing of community assets as critical contributions to change;
- Complementing existing tools and methods, an impact-monitoring and evaluation instrument was designed that can track both positive and negative changes in community as a result of donor interventions.

These preliminary outcomes suggest the worth of a horizontality measure, such as the index proposed by Wilkinson-Maposa (2011), against which external CDOs can

assess the extent to which their behaviour reflects endogenous systems of helping. In the following section, the theoretical and practical features of a measure and a method calling for empirical testing and validation are described.

Moving towards horizontality

A horizontality measure could assist an organisation involved in, for example, community development and poverty reduction to judge if and how their behaviour respects and reflects indigenous systems (Wilkinson-Maposa 2016; Chapter 10 in this volume). It can also assist in making change in organisational capacity towards horizontality. Organisational behaviour is the product of many factors and as many theoretical explanations (for example Scott 1987, 2008; Hatch 1997). For our purpose, most appropriate are theoretical frameworks that: (1) take developmental outcomes into account as organisational purpose, and (2) are sensitive to processes of behavioural change such as those required to move along the philanthropic arc. The recent literature on aid-related capacity development provides a relevant analytic frame work based on five organisational capabilities (Baser & Morgan 2008). Together, these capabilities interact to produce ‘capacity’ understood as an outcome experienced by the external environment. The five capabilities are described in Fowler and Ubels (2010) and practically described in Keijzer et al. (2011). These sources are discussed below.

The capability to act and self-organise

The first core capability may appear obvious, yet its absence weakens efforts at building any kind of broader capacity. Organisations must be able to have volition, to choose, to exert influence, and to move and develop with some sort of strategic intent. From this perspective, capability is about human, social, organisational and institutional energy. It is about the ability to work properly: to plan, take decisions and act on these decisions collectively. For this, an organisation needs, for example:

- Structures that can function efficiently with available resources;
- Ability to properly mobilise financial, institutional and human resources;
- Committed and stable, inspiring and action-oriented leadership – and the acceptance of the leadership’s integrity by staff;
- Executive structures with a legal basis to make binding commitments;
- Effective monitoring of the work plan.

The capability to generate development results

The second capability is the most widely used way of thinking about capacity issues. A first type of development results is improved capacity itself. Capacity building is a crucial developmental goal in its own right that entails equipping an organisation or an individual with the attitudes, values and behaviours they need to make progress. A second type of result is programmatic, for example outputs and outcomes in the

form of better maternal health, improved environmental protection policies or declining levels of poverty. In sum, this core capability concerns the organisation's skill to ensure that it produces what it has been established to do. To deliver on development objectives, it is important, among others, to have access to:

- Current and future financial resource bases and the ability to generate own financial resources (members, services/products or subsidies);
- (External) knowledge and information sources;
- Human resources;
- Adequate facilities, equipment and premises;
- Agreed standards and performance measures equal results.

The capability to relate

The third capability is to achieve a basic imperative for all human systems (that is, to relate to other actors within the functioning context). This capability is particularly relevant in countries that are still struggling to put in place an effective institutional and organisational infrastructure. The ability of an organisation to learn internally and to adjust to shifting contexts and relevant trends is mostly influenced by the following factors:

- Internal openness to learning (including acknowledgment of mistakes);
- Active pursuit of internal (organisational) learning on performance and strategy;
- Confidence to change: leaving room for diversity, flexibility and creativity;
- Ability to analyse current political trends, awareness of external market development and understanding of the consequences for the organisation;
- Use of opportunities and incentives.

The capability to adapt and self-renew

The fourth capability is adaptation and self-renewal. Capacity, from this perspective, is about the ability of an organisation or system to master change and adopt new ideas. Relevant factors in this capability concern, for example:

- Relational competencies to build and maintain networks with domestic actors relevant to the realisation of societal outcomes;
- The ability to build and maintain relationships within its own set-up/structures, where communication plays a key role;
- The ability to build and maintain relationships with international organisations for the acquisition of funding;
- Political legitimacy, social credibility and reputation;
- Integer leadership and staff;
- Operational credibility/reliability;
- Participation in coalitions;
- Adequate alliances with external stakeholders.

The capability to achieve coherence

All organisations, indeed all human systems, must deal with the tension between the need to specialise and differentiate and the need to bring things together and achieve greater coherence. This is the fifth capability. A main factor here is the strength of an organisation's identity, self-awareness and discipline, which includes:

- Clear and coherent mandates, vision and strategy, which is known by staff and used by management to guide the decision-making process;
- Well-defined internal organisational principles on mandates, operations and human resources management;
- A planning, monitoring and evaluation (PME) system geared at monitoring fulfilment of the operational principles;
- A leadership committed to achieving coherence between values, principles and operations;
- An ability to balance stability and change;
- A consistent quality, style and reliability of management.

Transposition

A participatory process of transposition, signalled by Wilkinson-Maposa (2011: 13), can produce metrics to assess movement towards or away from horizontality. However, there is no one-to-one correlation between these elements and a radius of the philanthropic arc. Rather, as explained by complexity theory applied to organisations (Axelrod & Cohen 2000) and to development work (Rihani 2002; Ramalingam et al. 2008), organisational behaviour is a non-linear emergent property. Consequently, constructing metrics requires a process of 'translation' that relies on logical inference to 'transpose' an observation or finding from one analytic category to another. This means that findings about the signifiers within each organisational element are to be 'combined and relocated' to the five domains of PoC and five types of capability that produce horizontal capacity. This process is ideally undertaken as a multi-stakeholder endeavour using well-established participatory practices. Participants would include constituencies collaborating with a CDO, as well as CDO staff and independent observers. A practical way to articulate positional change is by means of participants judging capabilities before and after capacity development interventions, in terms of their perception of movement between the normative and functional 'end points', as illustrated in Table 9.1,

Organisational behaviour has both tangible and intangible effects. Extensive study on social capital and institutional reform in the context of development work signals the significance of intangible features in determining efficacy. Consequently, movement involves 'blending' horizontal and vertical premises, qualitative and quantitative measures, and tangible and intangible features of change within particular geo-historical contexts. Caution is therefore required in applying measures across different organisations or relying on aggregation across different parts of an

organisation. The way of arriving at organisational change is usually as critical as the actual outcome. While this is true for many aspects of participatory approaches to development, the salient difference is the reliance on horizontal – rather than vertical – metrics as the starting point.

In development work, power asymmetry is often such that the ‘measures of the measurer take preference over the measures of the measured’ (Taylor & Soal 2003). In other words, in the first instance, what is valued satisfies external norms and (accountability) needs. This chapter considered a development proposition that there are practical ways to build from endogenous systems of socioeconomic relations for exogenous actors that wish to do so. What horizontality implies is an ability to undertake a systematic and grounded approach to organisational reform that takes the indigenous as the point of departure. In this sense, there is no longer an excuse that practical ways of building from the indigenous are not possible.

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10 *African philanthropy: Advances in the field of horizontal philanthropy*

Susan Wilkinson-Maposa

It is only in the past decade that the field of research in African philanthropy concerned with the models, mechanisms and norms of giving for poverty reduction, social change and social justice has begun to emerge. While some studies have been done by scholars, the majority are from philanthropic organisations, international development organisations and conference papers (Dalberg Research and Dalberg Global Development Advisors 2013) and emphasise the institutionalised philanthropy field. While this sheds light on corporate, private, family and community foundations and trusts, giving by small and medium enterprises, high-net-wealth individuals and the poor recede into the background of the landscape. However, it is only when the full range of giving is researched that the study of African philanthropy will be able to weave together its various narratives linking diverse practices for maximum effect.

Toward the goal of a comprehensive understanding and improved and integrated practice, this chapter focuses on the field of horizontal philanthropy, which is arguably much larger and more prevalent than the institutional field. This is for one simple reason: horizontal philanthropy – essentially norms and conventions of self-help including mutual assistance and reciprocity – is organic and part of how things are done in the day-to-day lives of ‘ordinary’ people. Mahomed (2014: 8) maintains that in the study and practice of philanthropy, this type of philanthropy has largely been ‘ignored or deemed inconsequential and not seen as part of the mainstream philanthropy narrative’. However, this does not have to be the case. Beyond its widespread presence and significance in contexts of poverty and collective cultures where a philosophy of ubuntu – a common humanity (Mottiar 2013) prevails, horizontal philanthropy has the potential and promise to expand the resource base for development projects by casting all individuals as potential donors. This approach is in keeping with and reinforces frequently espoused values of local ownership based on principles of endogenous development (Fowler & Wilkinson-Maposa 2013; Wilkinson-Maposa 2015). Such an approach enhances the sustainability of development efforts because changes that become embedded in what people do naturally are more likely to endure.

The purpose of this chapter (following on from Alan Fowler’s chapter, Chapter 9, in this volume) is to consider what research means in the area of horizontal philanthropy. It investigates what has been done and reflects on what needs to be done to advance the field. To do so, it demonstrates that the theory of horizontal

philanthropy – documented in the *Poor philanthropist* series and associated other publications developed over the 2003 to 2009 period – can be widely applied. The author has used it in studies to: develop new tools for the application of endogenous development principles; develop horizontality indicators for the assessment of community grantmaker behaviour; establish survey questions for capturing horizontal philanthropy in national giving and volunteering surveys; and, finally, identify four structural types of philanthropy for refined categorisation and analysis.

The chapter is divided into four sections. It first discusses the study of horizontal philanthropy, then presents its theory before detailing how this has been applied to generate new knowledge contributing to the philanthropy discourse and practice in Africa. It concludes with a consideration of what needs to be done, that is where openings for future research exist.

The study of horizontal philanthropy

What is horizontal philanthropy?

Horizontal philanthropy – also known as ‘philanthropy of community’ – is relations of help among and between people as exemplified in self-help and grounded in principles of reciprocity and mutual assistance. It is a practice common among the poor yet not exclusive to them. Material and non-material resources are mobilised and channelled to where they are needed most. The system is largely ‘informal’ (non-institutionalised), yet it is not random. Norms and conventions are widely practised and understood, yet not necessarily ‘written down’ (Wilkinson-Maposa et al. 2005). Moyo (2013: 45) adds that horizontal philanthropy is an expression of solidarity underpinned by forms of social capital that act as social control mechanisms.

For a flavour of its practice, Moyo’s (2013: 48) list of seven expressions found across the continent is illustrative and includes burial societies; hometown associations; rotating savings clubs; cooperatives; *stokvels*, harambees and merry-go rounds; mutual aid, including labour-intensive activities such as house construction and ploughing; and traditional loaning of cattle for milk and farming, usually by a local wealthy person. Mottiar (2013), referencing Zulu traditions in South Africa, elaborates by describing three practices grounded in the principle of ubuntu. These are *ukwenana* – a person receives, intending to return or reciprocate in kind yet the giver knows this may not happen; *ukusisa* – a giver will hand over property (such as cattle) to people who do not own any and the recipient will keep the offspring but return the cattle; and *ilimo* – people who need help will stimulate giving by providing food and drink and inviting people to assist them to plough or harvest their lands with the understanding that they will reciprocate and do the same at a later date.

The rationale for studying horizontal philanthropy

A question that can be asked by academics and practitioners alike is: Why should horizontal philanthropy research be supported and promoted? The answer is simple and has three dimensions.

Horizontal philanthropy is diverse and pervasive on the African continent. Across the continent, individuals, groups and communities mobilise resources to get them to where they are needed. Tamzin Ractliffe, writing in *Global Philanthropy* and quoted in Moyo, sums it up in this way (underscoring that to overlook organic giving norms would be remiss):

There is in South Africa and Africa broadly, a deep-rooted tradition of giving and mutual helping. It is perhaps these terms that are best able to describe the philanthropic activities of the large majority of the populace. Indeed 'giving' resonates much more strongly within South African society on a broad level, covering everyday acts of kindness as well as planned giving by ordinary people within and between communities. (Moyo 2013: 46)

Horizontal philanthropy provides all other types of philanthropic practice with strategies, practices, motivations and values that can be tapped into for sustainable development. For five decades, development thinking argues that change will only endure when it is embedded in the everyday lives of people. Scholars – including Ake (1988), Uphoff (1992) and Chambers (1983, 2005) – maintain that development assistance must start with and build from what exists. While this kind of development does not discount or discard external assistance, it requires aid to build from what is local. Rather than external resources and ideas taking the lead, the stimulus for development must be local knowledge, practices and norms. Horizontal philanthropy is thus a foundation or cornerstone from which other philanthropic types can take a cue.

Horizontal philanthropy can expand the donor base for other development efforts. Lester and Lindsay (2009) argue that seeing all individuals as donors or potential donors who belong to norms and conventions in a community can be a way to expand the 'donor' base for projects from 'within' the community itself. Similarly, Charities Aid Foundation, South Africa (CAFSA) is considering the ways in which non-traditional civil society donors, including corporations and individuals, can inform new or diversified funding strategies for civil society organisations in the wake of reductions in external funding from traditional donors (namely, international governments or organisations).

Influence and evolution

There are many points of discourse in the study of philanthropy that address the field of horizontal philanthropy. One influential starting point is the research

monograph *The poor philanthropist: How and why the poor help each other* by Wilkinson-Maposa, Fowler, Oliver-Evans and Mulenga, published in 2005. This research monograph, the result of the Building Community Philanthropy Project (BCPP) funded by the Ford Foundation and carried out at the University of Cape Town, examined how and why the poor in four southern African countries help one another. As detailed in the theory section of this chapter, this publication coined the term 'horizontal philanthropy' and conceptualised philanthropy as multidirectional, juxtaposing organic traditions for resource mobilisation in African societies to more institutionalised formations aligned with the aid industry and called vertical philanthropy. Additional writing – including short articles or reports – have sharpened the focus and distinction between vertical and horizontal acts. To illustrate, Mottiar stresses that givers and recipients are equal in the philanthropic act (givers are not 'richer' than the recipients) (2013: 3), while Knight (2012) emphasises that horizontal philanthropy requires people to give of their own assets and resources. Furthermore, the work of Darryl Lester (President of Hindsight Consulting, Inc. and founder of the Community Investment Network in the United States) draws the connection between horizontal philanthropy and 'collective philanthropy'. This is exemplified in the tradition of giving circles whereby 'people organise and pool their time, talent and treasure collectively, and redirect these collective assets strategically to benefit their community' (Lester & Lindsay 2009: 6). This correlation highlights that horizontal philanthropy can be individual-to-individual as well as collective action, whereby individuals pool resources to address the need of one, a few or many.

Additionally, and informed by practice, advocates of community foundations – in particular the Aga Khan Development Network, the Aga Khan Foundation USA and the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation – have compared community philanthropy and horizontal philanthropy. In a report entitled 'The value of community philanthropy: Results of a consultation', Knight (2012) maintains that participants understand community philanthropy as 'local people helping each other, by sharing resources for the common good', underscoring a human impulse rather than an organised form of giving. He goes on to say that this 'is a naturally occurring asset, found in all communities and cultures, and encouraged by all major religions and traditions' (2012: 3).

Finally, the report 'Sizing the field: Frameworks for a new narrative of African philanthropy', written by Dalberg Research and Dalberg Global Development Advisors and produced by the African Grantmakers' Network (2013), offers three critical contributions. First, they advocate for the continued relevance of 'ad-hoc and informal models for giving' (2013:81), arguing that the vast amount of non-formal philanthropic activity must be acknowledged and documented, as failure to do so would simply continue to discount it and do nothing to encourage this pro-social behaviour. Second, they offer a four-part framework of African philanthropy conceptualising horizontal philanthropy as a 'many-to-one model' (2013: 8) whereby people within a specific community or network, guided by a spirit of self-help,

mobilise responses to a specific need within a community. A final contribution is identification of 10 areas for future research in African philanthropy – a contribution explored in the conclusion.

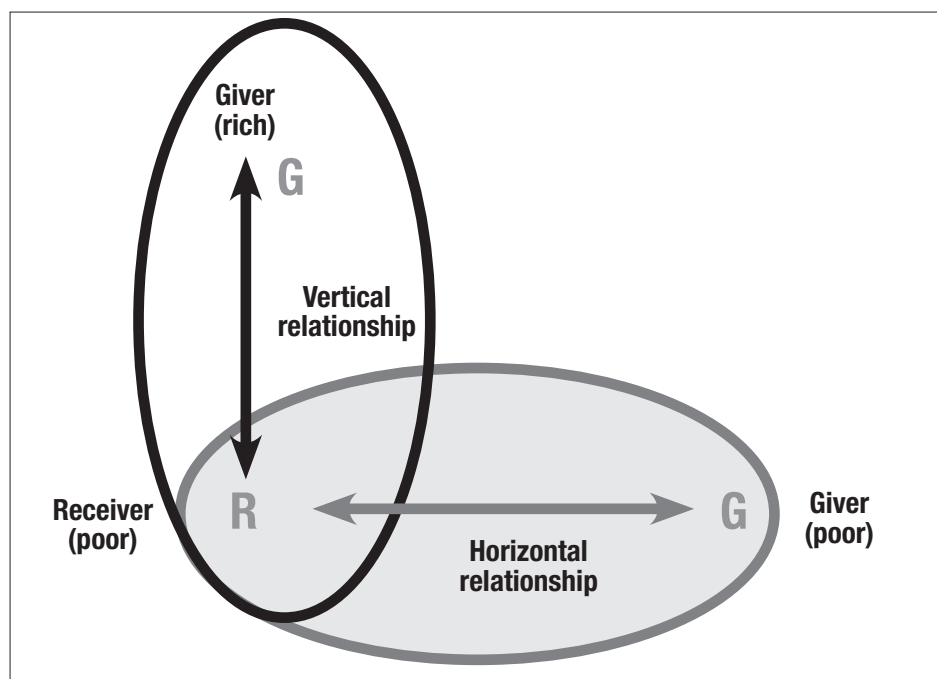
The theory of horizontal philanthropy

The theory of horizontal philanthropy, previously introduced as the outcome of a six-year inquiry documented in the *Poor philanthropist* series, is premised in four ideas: a multidirectional framework, three analytic categories, five dimensions and the principle of ‘blending’ that are detailed below.

A multidirectional framework

The conceptual framework and starting point for the BCPP was to appreciate horizontal philanthropy as part of a multidirectional philanthropic framework. Accordingly, Figure 10.1 illustrates that it is not only the ‘rich who give to the poor’ for a vertical transfer of resources from the ‘haves to the have-nots’ as resources also flow ‘among and between the poor’. This challenges the idea that being a donor is a preserve of the wealthy when, in fact, anyone can give to others.

Figure 10.1 *Multidirectional philanthropic framework*

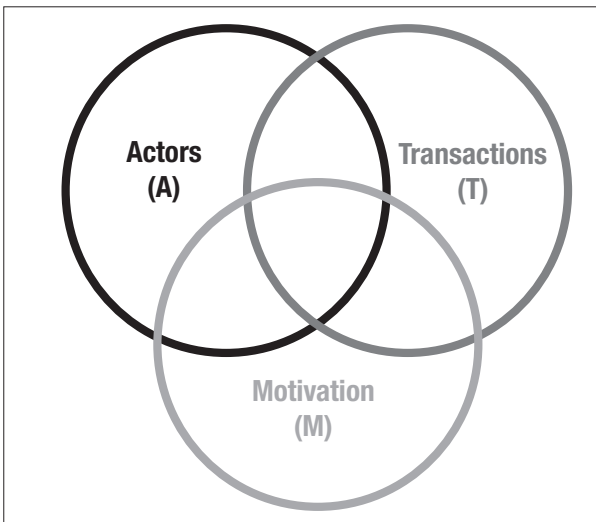


Source: Wilkinson-Maposa et al. (2005: 13)

Actors, transactions and motivations (ATM)

To research acts of giving, the BCPP needed a set of analytic categories. ATM – actors (A), transactions (T) and motivation (M) – proved serviceable. ‘A’ refers to those who give and/or receive help, for example extended family members, neighbours, the church or a development project. ‘T’ refers to the nature and type of help given or received, for example money, material goods, emotional support or time. ‘M’ is a reference to the impetus for giving or receiving, for example altruism, beneficence or personal benefit. The three concentric circles in Figure 10.2 illustrate that these characteristics interconnect and overlap.

Figure 10.2 *ATM analytic categories*



Source: Wilkinson-Maposa et al. (2005: 13)

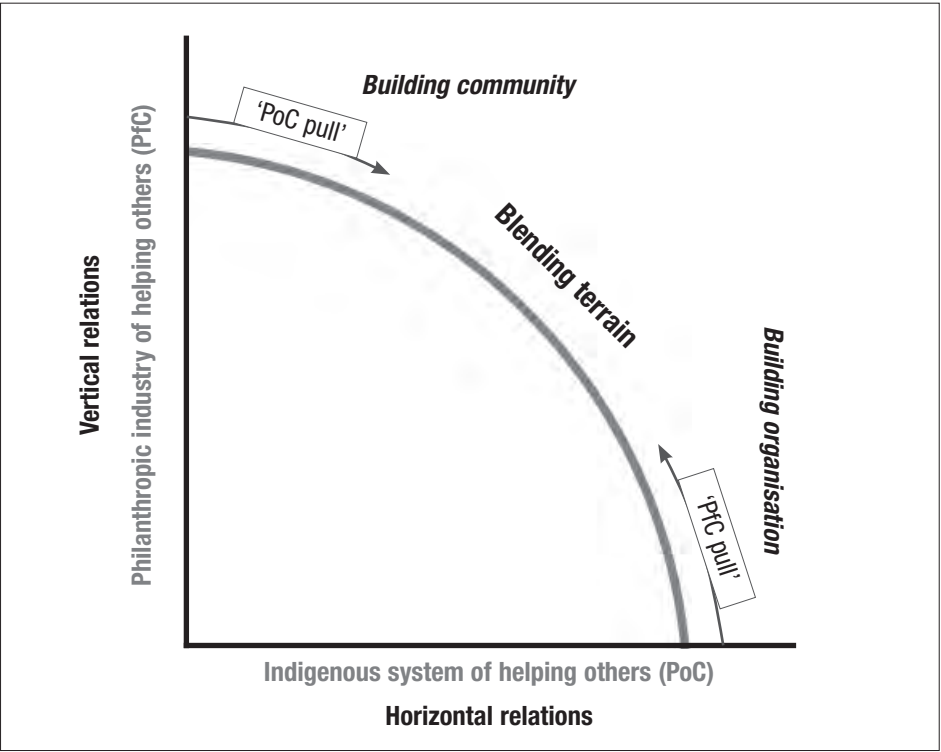
Five dimensions

Analysis of the BCPP's research findings revealed five key characteristics of horizontal philanthropy. While these are detailed elsewhere in this volume (see Table 9.1, this volume), it suffices to say that each dimension looks at a different aspect of the philanthropic act: *Needs and networks* considers the 'who' or the recipient of giving; *range of capitals* focuses on the content (that is, 'what' is given); *maintaining and movement* is about the 'why' (that is, purpose or intention behind the giving) while *norms and convention* draws attention to 'how' decisions about giving are made; and, finally, the *philosophy of collective self* considers the way in which community is viewed and how individuals are located within it. These five dimensions of horizontal philanthropy (as illustrated by Fowler in Figure 9.1) can be juxtaposed with vertical philanthropy, forming a philanthropic arc.

Blending

While horizontal and vertical philanthropy form an arc – representing a range of possible behaviour – social-action research carried out by the Community Grantmaking and Social Investment programme (CGSI), a follow-up to the BCPP, demonstrated that vertical and horizontal philanthropy can blend. This means that the behaviour of a development actor – for example an international aid organisation, a local NGO or a community grantmaker – can exhibit the characteristics of both verticality and horizontality. As illustrated in Figure 10.3, the point along the arc at which they blend reflects the strength or direction of the pull toward one axis or the other (Wilkinson-Maposa & Fowler 2009). Community philanthropy organisations (CPOs) that assisted in developing this concept put it simply: a horizontal (PoC) pull downward (imitating how people in community are prone to help one another) is about ‘building community’, while a vertical (PfC) pull upward (reflecting the aid industry’s favoured way of mobilising resources) aligns with building up the community grantmaking organisation.

Figure 10.3 *Blending zone*



Source: Wilkinson-Maposa & Fowler (2009: 9)

New forms of knowledge in African philanthropy

This section describes the direction and ways in which research in the field of horizontal philanthropy is unfolding to generate new knowledge by applying the theory discussed in the previous section. This is done by summarising the contributions of four studies carried out in South Africa. It details the focus of each study, the relevant aspect of theory drawn upon, the methods used, the new knowledge generated and the space that has been opened for meaningful research in the future.

Study 1 New instruments for community grantmaking practice

To promote endogenous development, four instruments were developed using social-action research and added to the toolkit available to community philanthropy organisations (CPOs). Three tools were developed from 2006 to 2009 under the auspices of the CGSI in partnership with three grantmakers in South Africa. These are the DOCKDA Rural Development Association in Kimberly, Northern Cape; the Ikhala Trust, Eastern Cape; and the Greater Rustenburg Community Foundation (GRCF) in Rustenburg, North West. Each CPO applied one or more dimensions of horizontal philanthropy theory to their practice as a way to start with and build from the endogenous. The intent was to provide ways in which external development assistance, in this case CPOs, can tap into local norms of giving to improve their own effectiveness. Each instrument is detailed below, drawing on extracts from *The poor philanthropist III: A practice relevant guide for community philanthropy* (Wilkinson-Maposa 2009).

Tool 1 PAIM – the Philanthropy of Community Assets Inventory and Mapping instrument

PAIM, developed and pilot-tested in three communities by the GRCF, focused on the dimension of needs and networks and used participatory rural rapid appraisal techniques. The objective was to listen to what a diverse cross-section of the community had to say in order to surface the help circuits that people in a community use.

The GRCF started by recognising ‘help’ as an asset and type of agency that communities mobilise to address needs or problems in order to bring about change. In development projects, however, it is often the case that organisations appreciate that communities have assets and not just problems, yet it is seldom the case that ‘the act of helping’ is acknowledged as an asset. The tendency is to favour more physical and visible assets, such as a community hall or natural resource. Accordingly, the GRCF developed a way to correct this.

PAIM involves five steps:

Step 1: **The inventory record** collects information on the help circuits in a community (that is, who gives and who receives).

- Step 2: **PoC asset mapping** enables the community to ‘write’ its own story by visually mapping (drawing) the information identified in Step 1.
- Step 3: **The checklist** consolidates the information, highlighting who the critical actors are, how accessible they are and how frequently they are used. This gives a sense of the proportionality between the actors that make up the help landscape, including internal and external ones.
- Step 4: **Crafting a list of reputable individuals/organisations** identifies those that are ‘helpful’ in the community and considered guardians of the PoC.
- Step 5: **A debrief** shares the results with the community for vetting and verification.

The demonstration case revealed that PAIM works best when:

- The facilitators/researchers want to learn about what exists rather than coming with assumptions to test.
- Community workshops surface the broad understanding of what is going on, while household surveys can drill deeper into a specific findings.
- The facilitator/researcher allows the community to lead. This is done by handing over the pen and paper and letting the group decide how to draw and code the helping map.
- The community should be allowed to share information with which they are comfortable. This avoids emphasising sensitive information that can cause tension.

The GRCF was consequently able to generate a baseline of the ‘giver profile’ and draw out the relative proportion of local and external acts of help. Furthermore, the GRCF learned that the PAIM process as well as the information it generated had the power to change the community’s perceptions of themselves.

Tool 2 PMVA – Philanthropy of Community Measuring and Valuing Assets

The PMVA, developed and demonstrated by the Ikhala Trust, focused on the range of capitals dimension by using a ‘12-month community calendar’ that allowed 13 community-based organisations (CBOs), all members of the Jansenville Development Forum (JDF), to do two things: first determine the amount of volunteer time, money and other in-kind/goods that a community contributes to its own development and, second, assign a financial value to it.

The Ikhala Trust knew that figures for municipal expenditure, provincial government allocation and corporate social investment as well other types of development assistance existed; however, what was not counted and recorded was citizen contribution to local initiatives and development. Yet, in Jansenville, the community is very proactive and determined to improve its own wellbeing. People and organisations do a lot to help themselves but, despite all their efforts, no one can say exactly ‘what’ and ‘how much’ the community mobilises for its own development.

Accordingly, the Ikhala Trust developed tools and techniques to assign a value to what local organisations received from individuals and businesses in the Jansenville community.

The PMVA involves six steps:

- Step 1: **The organisation profile** records the focus and activities of the CBO.
- Step 2: **Taking stock** documents what the CBO has (for example, 10 volunteers) and what it has achieved.
- Step 3: **The scribble sheet** provides a place to record what members are saying.
- Step 4: **Recording the amount of community help given** is done by recounting, for the last year, who volunteered and where financial or other donations came from and their amounts.
- Step 5: **The tally sheet** adds all of the monthly contributions for an annual total of volunteer time, financial and in-kind donations from the community.
- Step 6: **The convertor sheet** assigns a financial value to this based on what the community thinks it is worth. For example, if someone volunteers for a chicken project, the CBO members decided to value this contribution based on what a local chicken farmer pays his labourers.

The demonstration revealed that there are a number of factors to consider when measuring and valuing the help that communities contribute to their own development. To illustrate:

The term ‘volunteer’ is understood in different ways. In some cases, people get a stipend; in other cases, their expenses are reimbursed; and in other cases still, volunteers are out of pocket for their transport cost and air time.

All organisations are different. Some get external funding, while others rely solely on volunteer and community contributions.

Flexibility has to be exercised in establishing a rate for labour. To arrive at an hourly rate, we used what made the most sense to the organisation. In some cases, comparable paid work in the local area was discussed and rates were established on this basis. In other cases, organisations that had received funds in the past and paid staff used those remuneration rates to value volunteer time.

For a retrospective study, assigning a value to an in-kind contribution was cumbersome and not very reliable. Accordingly, the Ikhala Trust did not try to value in-kind contributions but described it instead. However, if the exercise is done in real time, it is easier to keep track of and record a financial value for goods.

Relying on recall – how much people remember and how reliable that information is – is always a concern. In this case, however, many organisations had volunteer rosters with which to work. Assistance could also be so unusual or sporadic

(for example, the donation of a sign for an organisation or the donation of a tea set for a raffle) that the group could use memory to record the contribution. It was therefore necessary to build in a margin of error for estimates of help given based solely on memory.

By following the six steps outlined, all 13 members of the JDF were able to calculate the volunteer hours and cash contributions they had received in the preceding year. The figures that were compiled were impressive. In response, CBOs came up with a number of ways to use this information to benefit themselves. They: (1) began to record contributions in writing to keep better track of what they receive from the community; (2) tried out the process in other groups to which they belonged (for example, a women's church group); and (3) began to see that recording a person's contribution and valuing it were motivational and people took pride in 'doing overtime' or 'going the extra mile', seeing this as positive rather than a burden. The CBOs and the JDF came up with a number of ways to use this information and found it empowering, as detailed in the following quotations:

'In our fundraising we can now point to our local contribution or local income with confidence because we have a value for it. We no longer thumb suck our own contribution'

'We are already using the information to motivate project members to keep doing the work and also to motivate new volunteers.'

'This makes us more confident to approach funders – we do not feel like beggars.'

Tool 3 PIME – Philanthropy of Community Monitoring and Evaluation

PIME, developed by DOCKDA, focuses on all five dimensions of horizontal philanthropy theory to develop an impact assessment tool. As its starting point, DOCKDA wanted to assess the effect that one of its grantee partners – Tshepong Home Based Care – had on the community's own norms and behaviour related to caring for the sick. Using the most significant change (MSC) evaluation technique based on storytelling, PIME set out, first, to identify the points at which external aid interacts with community self-help and, second, learn about the quality of that interaction (that is, does it support, diminish or have no effect on how people help one another).

Working in partnership with Tshepong, their home-based care workers asked their clients: What do you think has been the most significant change in how people help each other in Galeshewe since Tshepong started offering its services to the community?

PIME follows four steps:

Step 1: **Preparation** establishes the area of change to focus on.

Step 2: **Implementation** collects stories and reviews them together with those who collected the data.

Step 3: **Analysis** examines the meaning of the stories against the five dimensions of PoC and maps them against a set of predetermined change categories.

Step 4: **Learning** revises the process as necessary to fit the context.

In developing this methodology, some critical questions arose. First: In order to gain insight into the impact of development assistance on all five dimensions of PoC, was it necessary to ask specific and narrowly defined questions or would a broader question do? DOCKDA learned that in the case of caring for the sick – an area where both external and internal systems are present and visible – it was sufficient to ask a broad question. Yet, in an area where internal help is not as evident, it might be necessary to do more probing. A second challenge was who should analyse the stories. DOCKDA grappled with how inclusive this process should be and wondered whether detailed analysis of the stories would be a burden on the home-based care workers. They settled on a process whereby these workers, working in small buzz groups, would read the stories and identify the ones they felt were most important. Then the facilitation/research team took this short list of stories and analysed them. The third issue was how the quality of change in PoC can be interpreted. DOCKDA settled on three traits that could be useful categories, namely: does the external assistance strengthen PoC (make PoC more robust), deplete PoC (reduce the presence of internal help) or displace PoC (relegate or sideline horizontal philanthropy).

By following these steps, DOCKDA learned that the insight PIME generated is neither conclusive nor definitive but speculative. As such, it offers organisations a point from which they can begin to appreciate and probe further the impact of their work. PIME has the potential to inform and influence performance metrics and indicators used for monitoring and evaluation by adding to the measurement framework the impact of a grant on people's ability to help themselves – a counterpoint to creating dependency.

Study 2 A metric to gauge the behaviour of CPOs

The influential work *On the brink of new promise* (Bernholtz et al. 2005) identified a dilemma for community foundations. The problem is that foundations profess that community is central to their practice and a strategic asset, yet in reality they focus on strengthening their own internal developments. Self-correction, however, is difficult – if not impossible – in the absence of any systematic and verified way of determining what a focus on community looks like in practice and how to determine the slant toward verticality or horizontality in behaviour. As discussed by Fowler in this collection, the author's PhD thesis (Wilkinson-Maposa 2015) responded to this problem by developing a horizontality gauge built around the five dimensions of horizontal philanthropy used in combination with four elements of an organisation's behaviour (organising arrangements, social factors,

technical know-how and physical setting) provided by Porras and Hoffer (1986). This instrument, called the horizontality gauge, enables a CPO's staff to gauge the 'horizontality' of organisational behaviour. Using an individual questionnaire, staff score behaviour 20 times on a Likert-type scale and then provide a narrative statement illustrating a corresponding behaviour. The numeric scores are compiled and presented on the philanthropic arc. The results are then discussed and interpreted through a facilitated process using open-ended questions to consider the alignment between practice and aspiration and to identify the direction (vertical or horizontal) in which a CPO is being 'pulled' (see Figure 10.3).

This new knowledge can enhance prospects for improved performance by narrowing the gap between what CPOs aspire to and their actual practice vis-à-vis community. These findings can be employed longitudinally within one organisation to track changes in behaviour over time. The information can also be used to identify and understand any potential behaviour patterns or trends found among CPOs based, for example, on their grantmaking model or funding structure.

Furthermore, this new knowledge affects the ability to conduct meaningful research on what an organisation claims to do and actually does. Based on the preliminary research findings, it appears that doing so could affect the ability to address further research questions related to the effect of the donor/funding environment on CPO behaviour and, specifically, how CPOs manage competing demands to be accountable to the back donor as well as the community. It could also generate information on and the ways in which CPOs 'blend' the vertical pull (see Figure 10.3) (to make room for aid-industry requirements and policy). The attribute of blending is a very real matter of financial survival in an increasingly competitive funding environment. Yet, sensitivity to the horizontal pull – making room for local practices – is also a very real concern of maintaining credibility and sustaining demand for services from grantee partners and communities. The knowledge, when used comparatively across a body of organisations, will expand our conceptual understanding of 'blending' and shed light on the diversity of practical modes used by CPOs.

Study 3 A national survey instruments for giving and volunteering

Responding to the reality that national and global comparative surveys on individual giving and volunteering are prone to collect data on 'formal' acts – those by, with and through CAFSA commissioned Social Surveys, a research consultancy, in partnership with the author, to design an instrument that captures 'informal' acts – namely those that are done directly person to person, belonging to more interpersonal social systems. The method of survey instrument design using horizontal philanthropy theory drew on the three analytic categories (i.e. ATM) (Figure 10.2) to inform a line of questioning and used existing knowledge on local philanthropic practices to develop closed codes to analyse the data.

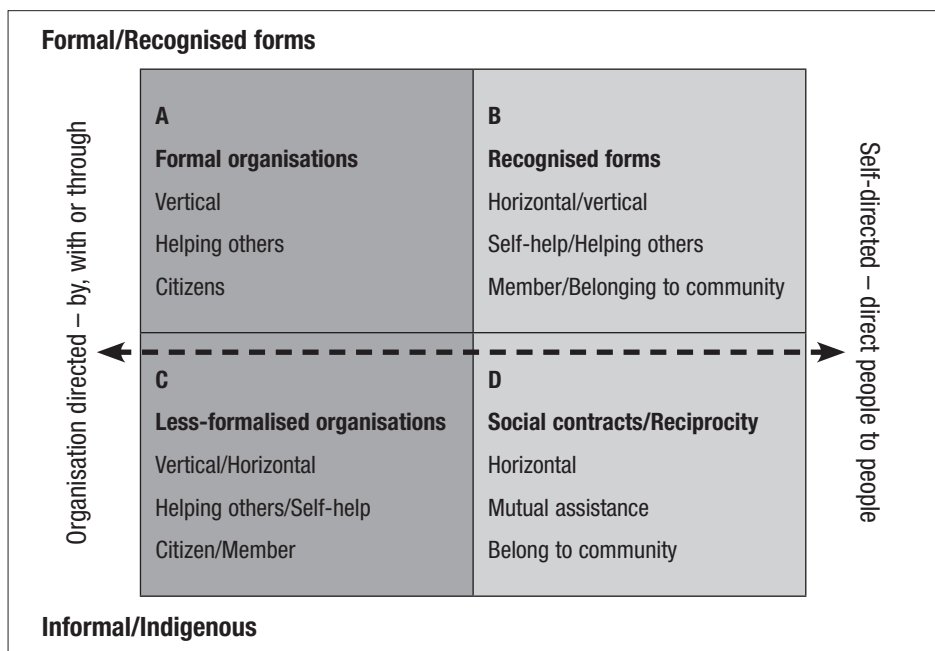
This new knowledge can enhance the prospects for a more complete understanding and profile of giving and volunteering, including scale, quantum and diversity of 'formal' and 'informal' expressions in a particular setting or context and moment in time for insight into proportionality or weighting. The simple provision of information to national government, strategic thinkers and policy makers as well as, for example, civil society organisations can enhance prospects for creating a favourable environment as well as fundraising by knowing more effectively who can be motivated to do what, how, and for which cause or interest.

This new knowledge affects the ability to conduct meaningful research in survey design customised to the philanthropic landscape, using local norms, practice, terms, codes and categories rather than those favoured by surveys designed for the Western/Northern context for a better appreciation of philanthropy in Africa on its own terms. It could also generate the basis for longitudinal or comparative studies to detect changes in the philanthropic landscape over time and between different contexts – an empirical basis from which an explanation for the contours of the landscape can be postulated.

Study 4 The philanthropic quadrant an analytic framework

A 2010/2011 study, supported by the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation and Southern African Trust and carried out by Social Surveys and the author, analysed data from a literature scan and formative research from across the African continent to surface how civil society is understood and expressed from an African perspective. As a counterpoint to Northern/Western-defined conceptualisations and expressions, the study came up with a model of four categories that articulates how civil society 'organisations' express themselves in African contexts. This model, presented by Russell and Wilkinson-Maposa at the 2011 African Grantmakers' Network meeting in Johannesburg and again at the 2012 ISTR Conference in Sienna (Italy) is based on a quadrant and employs structure as the organising construct. This author has adapted this model to philanthropy, as illustrated in Figure 10.4 and elaborated below.

First, the quadrant starts with the shape of a square, with each quad of equal size. The broken lines indicate that in particular situations, the relative distribution of each area – that is, the weight it carries within the terrain (its proportionality) – is not fixed but variable by context and situation. To illustrate, in the case of South Africa, the last decade witnessed a group in the number of private, family and corporate foundations. Accordingly, area A (Formal organisations) might occupy a larger proportion of the quadrant than it did a decade ago. The use of broken lines allows the model to be used as a diagnostic instrument capturing the prevalence of each structure within a particular situation, context or point in time. The philanthropic terrain can also be compared longitudinally and from place to place.

Figure 10.4 *Vertical and horizontal philanthropy quadrant*

Second, the quadrant model sheds light on two distinct philanthropic pathways. The left side of the quadrant, containing area A and C, is ‘organisation directed’. Here philanthropic activity is channelled ‘by, with or through an organisation’. An organisation intervenes, mobilises and channels resources on behalf of the giver and/or a cause or need. In contrast, area B and D, located on the right-hand side of the quadrant, are ‘self-directed’. Philanthropic activity is ‘people to people’. People – those who give and those in need who receive – intercede on their own behalf. The asking, negotiations and transaction are personal and recognised as their own. The effort is endogenous, (relatively) devoid of external influence.

Third, the figure illustrates that quadrant A (Formal organisations) is the exclusive domain of vertical philanthropy and quadrant D (Social contracts) favours horizontal philanthropy with a focus on reciprocity. Quadrant B (Recognised forms) and quadrant C (Less-formalised organisations) are less restricted and can be occupied by both expressions and the possibilities of blending.

This new knowledge based on structure focuses on observable philanthropic expressions and can enhance the prospect for a more comprehensive mapping and inventory of vertical and horizontal ones. It allows for meaningful research into the real issues, strains and inconsistencies that come from categorising African philanthropy. This information can shed further light on the notion of blending – linking up and integration of philanthropic types.

Future directions in the study of the field of horizontal philanthropy

This chapter began with the idea that the field of horizontal philanthropy should be explored as a critical part of expanding the study of African philanthropy. As demonstrated in the course of this chapter, horizontal philanthropy is a field to which its theory can be gainfully applied, with a coherent linking to research and practice. While applied work demonstrates the utility of theory to generate knowledge, application – to the extent that it brought it into the realm of critical discourses – offers its own kind of research into methods and future research.

This chapter established that diverse social science methods are relevant to the study of horizontal philanthropy. Grounded theory, social-action research, indicator development, instrument construction, survey design and the construction of analytic models have to date all been used to generate new knowledge. This work also demonstrates that research in horizontal philanthropy can contribute to areas for future research identified in the Dalberg Research and Dalberg Global Development Advisors' (2013) report, with a focus on questions related to: the scale and depth of each category of African philanthropy (Study 3 a survey tool); ways to deliver African philanthropy more effectively (Study 1 new instrumentation); key concerns, tensions and contradictions arising from putting African philanthropy into interrelated categories of local and foreign, the latter as a product of a grounded approach to research in four countries in southern Africa (Study 4 the vertical and horizontal philanthropy quadrant); and, finally, ways in which newer forms of philanthropy can support – rather than distort and displace – long-standing ones (Study 1 new instrumentation and Study 2 the horizontality profile).

In moving forward, the Dalberg Research and Dalberg Global Development Advisors suggest that research in the field of philanthropy should be cumulative, what they term 'additive', to learn and stimulate new questions and lines of inquiry (2013). This strategy is commended and applied in section three, highlighting implications that new knowledge from the four studies detailed in this chapter provided for unlocking other meaningful areas of research. In addition, however, a feedback loop built into all applied research is recommended. This will ensure that empirical findings and case studies contribute to the further conceptualisation of horizontal philanthropy and refinement of its theory. As demonstrated in this chapter, the outlay of effort and resources to generate theory is an investment in improving both practice and stimulating next generation research.

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Dominant narratives of philanthropy often portray Africans as recipients of aid, usually from well-endowed, Western almoners – the West distributing charity to impecunious Africans. The contributors to this volume turn this argument on its head and ask: what about the beneficent spirit of multitudes of Africans whose acts of generosity sustain millions of their compatriots?

This volume illuminates philanthropy in Africa through case studies and ethnographic material across a number of themes: cycles of reciprocity among black professionals, social justice philanthropy, community foundations, as well as ubuntu and giving in township and rural settings. Leading thinkers on normative aspects of philanthropy in Africa also critically explore the theories, perspectives and research on philanthropy. *Philanthropy in South Africa* will be an invaluable resource to foundations, civil society organisations, researchers, policymakers and students of giving patterns in South Africa.

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‘Those working in the field of philanthropy in Africa and elsewhere will benefit from the theoretically and practically rich material covered in this volume. It is not a blind celebration of philanthropy in Africa as it critically engages the wealthy archive of indigenous forms of philanthropy in South Africa. By forcing us to return to the classical definition of philanthropy (love of humankind), the book covers the practices, variations and contradictions in African philanthropy.’

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