

Research Article

Exploring the Meanings of Philanthropy in Rural Contexts: The Case of Zimbabwe

Tendai Murisa¹ 

¹SIVIO Institute, 6 Ashton Road, Alex Park, Harare

Contact: Email: tendaim@sivioinstitute.org

Published: 01 September 2020

ABSTRACT

The role and place of horizontally based forms of philanthropy has not been adequately understood or unexplored. There is very limited information on how ordinary Zimbabweans engage in acts of philanthropy. Is solidarity a part of philanthropy? There are many reasons to suggest that the solidarity evident in associational forms, which entail giving either of time, labour, or financial resources, is a vital dimension of philanthropy. The detailed discussion, through thick case study descriptions, explored the emergence of solidarity-focused associational forms within the newly resettled areas of Zimbabwe.

Key words: Economic growth, solidarity, horizontal philanthropy, rural livelihoods

INTRODUCTION

There are multiple forms and origins of philanthropy across Africa, beyond the commonly cited processes comprising economic growth, increase of high net worth individuals, and establishment of foundations. Instead, many other studies of agency are steeped either in ethnography or in the broad livelihoods framework have identified the various historical methods and innovations in which Africans demonstrate philanthropic behaviours towards one another and in the process, debunks myths of measuring philanthropy investments only in monetary terms. Others (Maphosa and Fowler, 2005) have gone as far as coining the term the ‘poor philanthropist’ to challenge scholarly traditions that fail to appreciate the diversities within the terrain of philanthropy.

The argument and case studies presented here sought to broaden appreciation of other modes of giving that shape and strengthen livelihoods in the rural areas. The study made a compelling argument to reconsider the different forms of cooperation and solidarity that citizens forge between each other on an everyday basis, as part of problem solving that significantly contributes to a nuanced but important understanding of community philanthropy.

The study was based on fieldwork carried out in Zimbabwe’s newly resettled areas. These areas remain isolated from donor/NGO-based circuits of support and the government has not been able to provide consistent support. In the absence of external support, the resettled communities have established various means of solidarity, which comprise but are not limited to, associations and networks of various roles and sizes to mitigate some of

the challenges that they face, such as deficits in productive assets, shortage of labour, and lack of advisory services. These community-based activities mostly happen far from the central state and are seemingly disconnected from broader local and national politics. The significance of this type of agency has not been adequately studied within the emerging field of horizontal philanthropy.

The case studies provided a basis for understanding the organic ways in which community philanthropy emerges. They contributed towards an improved understanding of a critical aspect of African philanthropy that is currently under-explored: the fact that, unlike in other contexts, citizens are producers of philanthropy rather than mere recipients.

The study specifies (i) the ways in which philanthropy-focused formations emerge, and (ii) the unique roles played by these formations. Studies that focus on how ordinary citizens establish their own philanthropy are important; they help illuminate an understanding of the potential for growing the practice of giving. Is it possible that “philanthropy in Africa can be viewed as a process, a way of life in which citizens take responsibility for as much as possible of what happens around them”, and engage in what Aina (2013, p. 27) further described as giving to help, giving to resist, giving to collaborate politically, and also “giving for development”. What would a new framework of philanthropy look like for scholars and practitioners? There are many other possibilities beyond the focus of this paper; however, it is important to flag that this form of philanthropy is spread across the continent and is known by a variety of names including, *harambee*, *ujamaa*, *vuk’uzenzele*.

Justification and Research Methods

Across Zimbabwe, rural livelihoods in their multifaceted nature are undergoing severe challenges. Poverty, characterised by an increase in the number of food-insecure households and malnutrition, persists throughout much of rural Zimbabwe. The country is seized with the questions of recovery from a multi-dimensional crisis and achieving equitable socio-economic transformation (Helliker and Murisa, 2020). There seems to be a consensus of sorts around attracting foreign direct investment and where possible resuscitating industries (SIVIO Institute, 2019). The country is on the verge of joining the rest of Africa in a race to the bottom, characterised by liberalising the economy in a manner akin to structural adjustment as part of a raft of measures to attract what has all along been elusive foreign direct investment. The envisaged growth measurement would probably be based on GDP growth, despite the number of credible studies that have debunked the association between GDP and societal wellbeing.

The current government strategies focus on reducing public spending and under such circumstances, social policy, inclusive of access to high quality education, community well-being, and health for the low-income groups, tends to be negatively affected. There is limited knowledge on how resources mobilised from locals either within the country or the diaspora are being utilised. The overarching government framework might, if not adequately tampered with, continue the process of dependency on foreign support.

The discussion in this paper focuses on enriching understanding of how communities engage in horizontal philanthropy. Previous studies (Moyo and Aina, 2013) have identified three seemingly distinct but interrelated expressions of philanthropy made up of horizontally based peer-to-peer giving, which at times has led to the establishment of community-based foundations, emergence of high network-based giving through foundations, and intermediary forms that aggregate resources from formal channels such as foundations (Murisa, 2018).

The discussion in this paper, based on case study analysis, focuses on a particular type of philanthropy, the forms of

solidarity forged by rural communities. These were previously studied, and include coping strategies, associational life, and rural agency (Murisa, 2013). The research informing this discussion is largely multidisciplinary, combining aspects of ethnography in the creation of thick descriptions of case studies detailing practices and forms of philanthropy with economics-based methods of investigating household incomes and expenditure in relationship with membership in community forms and sociological methods of interrogating associational life. Most of the data that informed this study was gathered through focus group discussions carried out in Goromonzi and Zvimba districts. The initial mapping studies and focus group discussions were held in 2008. In 2019, the researcher (author) and a team of research assistants carried out focus group discussions with the leader of the local community groups (LCGs). Furthermore, the research was also informed by an extensive examination of seminal works by Hyden (1983), Mafeje (1993), and Rahmato (1991). Despite the dated nature of these publications, they remain relevant in explaining rural social organisation and agency.

Background

At its core, the idea of a community includes norms and forms of solidarity, which other Africanist scholars (Moyo, 2013) claimed should be studied as practices of philanthropy. Solidarity in this context refers to organic grassroots-based responses to market and the failure of the state to deliver on the promise of development. Alternative social organisation arrangements have emerged as a coping mechanism and these have been referred to as “economies of solidarity” (Schervish, 1998, p.600). It is these economies of solidarity that Schervish (1998) referred to as acts or modes of giving and care in response to the needs and wants of the under-privileged in society or by extension to what citizens do to and for each other.

Once the idea of philanthropy is broadened beyond the narrow definition of giving by one to many, to include processes and platforms of giving by many (community) to many or many to one, then the task of understanding

Table I: Multiple Forms of Philanthropy

Element	Peer-to-peer-based Forms of Giving	Intermediary	HNWI-based Foundations
Funding	Depend on member contributions	Fundraise from many sources including foundations	Funded by founders
Fundraising Membership	Can fundraise for resources Relational: Have members	Transactional: Have funders and grantees	Can Co-fund with others Transactional: Have grantees beneficiaries
Focus	In-ward looking focus on members' needs	Balance focus between funders and grantees	Driven by founders' vision of social change
Resource direction	Many to one/ many to many	Many to many	One to many
Governance	Norms and values within society	Founding documents and Board of Trustees	Founders with/or Board of Trustees

philanthropy in Africa becomes more complex and requires a more multi-disciplinary approach. The discussion that follows, attempts to present a more holistic analysis of the emergence, forms, and practices of philanthropy across Africa.

Norms of Philanthropy in African Forms of Social Organisation

Scholars argue that philanthropy is informed and shaped by a particular region's history, traditions, and in the case of Africa, her struggles for liberation and post-colonial identity and being play a major role. The literature (Aina and Moyo, 2013, Hodgson, 2013) recognises that certain norms and organisational forms within the philanthropy space have become universal across regions, and in Africa these have been influenced and shaped. Africa has also played a huge role in shaping some of the models of philanthropy, such as crowd sourcing. The distinctions are necessary and significant lest every form of philanthropy taking place on the continent is reduced to African. Philanthropy in Africa takes many forms, but it is also subject to the influences and activities of global private foundations extending charity to Africans.

The phenomenon of African philanthropy has a longer history than what many would like to acknowledge. Although the continent is made up of different cultures, it has a very long tradition of giving, solidarity, and community, the essence of modern-day philanthropy. A number of scholars (Muris, 2018, Aina, 2013; Moyo, 2013) have discussed the various African forms of social organisation, and the interactions of individual households within a community to demonstrate how a system of care, welfare, and solidarity is in-built into the social organisation of production, consumption, and accumulation.

Aina (2013, p. 8) summarised that what is often referred to as agency or "indigenous philanthropy" comprised local grassroots giving and care built on internally derived practices of mutual aid, reciprocity, solidarity, and social obligation. He proceeded to argue that these groups tend to be somewhat effective regarding their delivery of care and support, in relation to the social needs of their constituencies. In addition, they are exemplified by mutual aid groups, burial societies, healing societies, grassroots trade associations, and the local credit associations that are precursors of today's microcredit and convivial groups.

The roots of present-day philanthropy are based on the pre- and post-colonial communitarian forms of social organisation. These discrete networks create relations of giving, which function as the glue that binds humanity, promoting solidarity and integration. The resultant philanthropy provides the energy that animates collective action, unity, and self-reliance as well as the transformation of economic and social relations. Collective action was mostly evident in the way communities pooled their productive assets and labour to enhance efficiencies in agricultural

production. In times of production distress, the community utilised a communal granary set aside for welfare. Labour shortages and productive asset deprived households received support from the community to till the land in order to enhance their capacity and avoid hunger.

Admittedly, the studies that have helped to shed light on African social organisation rarely describe these discrete networks of solidarity and the different forms of agency as part of philanthropy. Moyo (2014, 2016) argued that perhaps the problem is with the term philanthropy, which suggests a conscious form of stepping aside to help, while in the African contexts discussed above, everyday forms of giving are a natural instinct and in-built into cultural practices. These practices often meet their constituents' needs, in terms of relationships between equals and peers. A closer analysis and comparison with community foundations such as the Cleveland Community Foundation and many others that emerged from Fred Goff's initiatives in the US, suggest that there are similarities especially in terms of the aspiration to leverage local resources and strengthen communities (Beito, 2000).

Debates on Horizontal Philanthropy

Based on the above, the dominant thread of African philanthropy is that it is mostly horizontal, peer-to-peer, solidarity-based, and codified in *Ubuntu* (I am because you are) or in collective formations such as *Harambee* (East Africa), *susu*, or *Vukuzenzele* in some parts of Southern Africa. Moyo and Ramsamy (2014) cite the self-reliance of *Harambee* (let us pull together) as successfully contributing to the building of more than 50% of the secondary schools in Kenya. Wilkinson-Maphosa et al (2005) wrote about Africa's poor philanthropists, based on the horizontal forms of giving, in an age where philanthropy has mostly been dominated by the super-rich.

Horizontal philanthropy as a concept stands in contradistinction to vertical forms of philanthropy, which essentially refers to giving by the rich to the poor. Quite often, philanthropy is only associated with the acts of giving by the rich to the poor and is mostly measured in monetary terms. However, if philanthropy is indeed about the love for humanity, surely money is not the only solution for each need. Moyo (2013, 2016) and Mahomed's (2013) writings argued for a broadening of the gifts associated with philanthropy beyond money, to include time, labour, skills, and other forms of care that humans can provide. They argued that extra-financial forms of philanthropy are in most instances based on peer-to-peer formations. Fowler and Maposa (2013) argued that one of the signature marks of horizontal philanthropy is the predominance and significance of personal knowledge of the other, as the system cannot function effectively based on anonymity.

Others (Kingman and Edwards, 2006) dismissed the term horizontal philanthropy, arguing that the term stretches the concept of philanthropy beyond reasonable

limits and mislabels behaviours that are better described as mutual aid and solidarity. They rejected horizontal philanthropy as solidarity that is defined and based on familial and kinship networks. However, such a narrowing of peer-to-peer support cannot be empirically justified using the distance rule between the giver and the recipient, which states that philanthropy should essentially be comprised of giving to non-family members. In response to Kingman and Edwards (2006), and indeed many others who are sceptical of horizontal peer-to-peer philanthropy, the following is offered.

As already mentioned there is a growing voice of African scholars defending the existence of horizontally based giving as the dominant expression of philanthropy on the continent. Is this peer-to-peer (horizontal) giving made up of only inter-family support? Platforms or institutions in which this peer-to-peer giving takes place such as in stokvels, labour and asset pooling formations, and community chests are not necessarily organised according to the logic of familial or kinship ties; the rationale for collective action takes many forms beyond identity. Studies (Barr, 2004, Dekker, 2004, Murisa, 2011) on how collective platforms for pooling together resources emerge, have demonstrated the various ways in which strangers from different backgrounds, resettled together, were able to establish platforms for peer-to-peer-based giving and solidarity within a very short space of time. The existence of these informal networks and institutions has been studied under the broad rubric of agency, social capital¹, and collective action. Philanthropy, even in its most limited sense, or the act of giving, exists in these spaces.

Probably an asset-based approach provides a more comprehensive framework for understanding the different types of giving that take place within these peer-to-peer formations. Many of the communities, which on the outside seem poor, have the following assets: high levels of trust, labour and physical assets (albeit limited and unevenly distributed), minimal savings, limited incomes, and at times a unique advantage such as abundance of a certain natural resources or proximity to a city, among others (Pennekamp and Focke, 2013).

An asset-based approach to horizontal philanthropy embraces the following:

- The greatest, though certainly not the only, assets a community will have, it already possesses, if only latently;
- Communities hold an untapped wealth of knowledge and the potential for successful strategies to create the change they want in every community.
- The wealth of communities, of which financial is only a part, is dispersed and not concentrated among certain groups; and

- The knowledge that advances an idea or understanding necessary to unleash a community's next success is often hidden in plain sight, obscured by a limited belief in who might have the knowledge and what background or experience might generate it (Pennekamp and Focke, 2013).

Peer-to-peer giving happens at all stages or cycles of life from birth until death (Moyo, 2013), towards a social or public good. Moyo (2013) asserted that horizontal giving is in fact the foundation around which an African's life and his or her development revolve. Communities use existing assets to strengthen their livelihoods and at times they receive external support through government or NGO-based interventions.

At this stage, the rebuttal might remain that most of the forms of cooperation discussed are inter-family support. Do we still have pristine, kinship-based communities in the rural areas? The onset of colonisation led to migration within and out of the rural areas, affecting kinship-based communities. The current rural space is no longer dominated by the logic of kinship forms of organisation; in many cases, it looks like strangers moved and resettled together and over time have forged some form of relationship. The studies carried out by Barr (2004), Dekker (2004) and Murisa (2011) demonstrated how strangers resettled together managed to forge and establish communities and recreate mechanisms of peer-to-peer giving.

Horizontal philanthropy is not without its own challenges; (i) it does not necessarily increase assets beyond the sum-total of what is already within the community, and in many cases, what exists may not fundamentally transform livelihoods. (ii) In times of famines or disasters, entire communities can be affected, and in the process deplete commonly held assets, effectively rendering a community dependent on outside support. (iii) It can also be captured by negative cultural practices such as patriarchy and in the process subjugate women and exclude certain households, based on suspicions of witchcraft.

Some of the questions to be answered in this study include: (i) how are these philanthropy focused formations established, and (ii) what are the different roles that they serve. Several studies (Barr, 2004; Dekker, 2004; Moyo et al, 2009; Murisa, 2009; 2011; Scoones et al, 2010) on resettled communities in rural Zimbabwe found that one of the first things resettled households did was to establish some form of associational activity, which contributed towards giving in the form of from many to many.

History of Community-Based Philanthropy in Zimbabwe

A mosaic of associational forms that include loose unstructured networks such as civic engagement associations, residents' associations, neighbourhood watch committees, faith-based associations, loans and savings associations, women's associations, burial societies, and professional associations are active across the length and breadth of

¹For the purpose of this study social capital is made up of the interactions among groups and individuals such as networks and the norms and trust that facilitate cooperation for mutual support.

Zimbabwe. Although exact statistics on the total number of local organisations in Zimbabwe are not available, it is estimated that at least 44% of the households in customary areas belong to some form of an association with more than 56% in newly resettled areas (Murisa, 2009). Those studying community-based organisations found at least 3 000 local organisations spread across Zimbabwe (Murisa, 2009). Another study by Arnaiz (1998), on rural responses to economic reforms in Shamva district, found that over 50% of the households belonged to a local farmer association. In the urban areas, local residents' associations, loans and saving associations, and bereavement assistance associations, have emerged in almost all residential areas. Three years after resettlement, 10.7% of resettled households had already established local associations (Moyo et al, 2009). Recent studies of newly resettled communities found the same dynamic: the formation of voluntary associations to address various challenges and to take advantage of opportunities within the socioeconomic environment (Murisa, 2011). The immediate concern of many resettled households was to forge new social relations through the formation of local associational forms. These associations are mostly aggregators of individual efforts, and they contribute to combining and amplifying voices of individuals. They are at the core of establishing a sense of community within many residential areas.

Solidarity through Associations in Rural Zimbabwe

A variety of hierarchical associational forms, including local and national representation, was in operation, and there was overlapping membership of these organisations. The associational forms had ostensibly been established as part of an effort to improve the capacity of rural households to recreate the conditions of their existence. Rural on-farm grievances could be grouped into two sets: production constraints and exchange constraints (Bratton, 1986, cited in Murisa, 2009). Production constraints include the unavailability or unaffordability of inputs (credit, seeds, and fertiliser), and lack of labour and productive assets. Exchange constraints include unfair prices, limited access to market, and exploitation by middle persons who offer below-market prices for commodities. The next section covers the various activities in which structured rural associations engage to mediate the social reproduction challenges of individual rural households.

Collective Action through Labour and Asset Pooling

Rural households enter into a variety of associations in order to address production constraints (Bratton, 1986; Moyo, 2002; Arnaiz, 1998, Murisa, 2009). Labour and productive asset constraints have provoked localised forms of action such as entering into labour gangs (Ranger, 1985; Bratton, 1986). Collective action in the form of labour pooling has

a longer pre-independence history. Ranger's (1985) study quotes the Makoni District Native Commissioner's July 1910 report to the Native Affairs Department, explaining how the people of the district were able to increase their hectareage by working together in labour pools.

While on patrol in the Southern part of the Makoni and Chiduku reserve ... many kraals [villages] I visited I found gangs of young men engaged in threshing corn and in breaking up new lands for the coming season (Ranger, 1985, p. 65).

Labour pooling is one of the most common activities in Zimbabwe's customary areas (Bratton, 1986). At times, the associations that emerge from this activity expand into asset pooling. The local organisations formed at this level have operated under different names, which suggests their purpose as "asset-sharing associations" (Arnaiz, 1998, p. 65) and "mutual support networks" (Rahmato, 1991, p. 12). They tend to be informal and are frequently invisible to outsiders. The participating individuals are few in number and the networks formed are based on the proximity of residence or kinship ties.

Forging New Communities

The fast-track land reform programme implemented by the government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) led to significant social change within the rural areas. Approximately 160 000 families were resettled in areas previously inhabited by approximately 4 000 large-scale farmers. The changes entailed not only an increase in the number of plots, but also changes in how land was held. Previous owners held land on a freehold title basis, while post fast-track, all agricultural land was nationalised and the new land beneficiaries now hold land under state issued leases and permits. Beyond the manner of access to land, significant change had also happened in how these new communities emerged and organised themselves to use land. These land use patterns did not necessarily conform to the preferences of the former owners

Since 2000, the newly resettled areas have been characterised by the simultaneous emergence of local platforms of solidarity, which operate within the framework of horizontal philanthropy, discussed above. The formations included loose networks and structured associations. Loose networks of cooperation included activities such as reciprocal labour hiring arrangements. These arrangements included using one pool of semi-skilled workers, such as mechanics, tractor drivers, seedbed handlers, and curing experts. Farmers formulated an agreement as to when these workers' services would be required on each farm. These arrangements also applied to the hiring of general casual workers. Other activities included engaging in combined farming operations. This involved the pooling of resources to crop a piece of land after which they shared the output, depending on the resources contributed. Resettled households also pooled available labour from different households to carry

out a specific task, such as harvesting on a single plot over an agreed amount of time, which was then reciprocated to all the households participating in the group. This practice is also known in Shona as *nchimbe* and in IsiNdebele as *ilima*. It is common in customary tenure areas, where the available labour is mostly family labour, which might not be sufficient to carry out such tasks in a short space of time. The practice of *nchimbe* or *ilima* has been exported to the newly resettled farmers.

Background: Emergence of LCGs in Goromonzi and Zvimba

Earlier district level studies (Murisa, 2007; 2009; 2013) found that structured multifaceted LCGs were emerging on almost every former large-scale farm in Goromonzi and Zvimba. Eight groups, based in Goromonzi and Zvimba, were selected for further study. The selection of LCGs was influenced by the need to show internal variation among the groups and the extent to which size determined the activities performed within the group. Preliminary criteria for selection included the levels of membership, land use patterns among the members, and activities of the groups. These variables provided initial information on how solidarity emerges, which also suggested possibilities of other differences in the manner in which the groups operated. Furthermore, the selection criteria also considered how the analysis of each case study would contribute towards a deeper understanding of the emergence of solidarity-based philanthropy, and its role in supporting or strengthening livelihoods.

Six groups were selected in Goromonzi and two in Zvimba. The membership in the identified groups ranged from as low as 10 to as high as 75. For purpose of analysis the groups were further disaggregated by size into small (1 to 19), medium (20 to 30) and large (31 and above). The small and medium formations occurred mostly in Goromonzi, while Zvimba was dominated by large formations. Two reasons helped to explain the difference; initially, some groups in Goromonzi, at Dunstan farm, had managed to mobilise more than 50 members each, but the extension officer responsible for the area advised them to split into smaller structures. This was based on the preferred land use, thus enabling ease of extension support and financing arrangements (Interview with District Extension Officer, Goromonzi).

It is easier for groups in Zvimba, such as Chidziva and Zhizha, to mobilise all the households resettled on a former large-scale farm, while in Goromonzi former large-scale farms, such as Dunstan, were 6 000 hectares before the 'fast-track' subdivisions. Dalkeith farm in Zvimba was subdivided into 75 A1 plots and all the recipients belonged to Chidziva Farmers' Group. While Dunstan was subdivided into 240 A1 plots, which, according to the extension officer, would have been difficult to manage as one local farmer group. Furthermore, land use patterns and preferences vary among the newly resettled in areas where the former large-scale

farm had more than 1 000 hectares, thus making it difficult to coordinate the activities of the land recipients as one entity. At Lot 3 of Buenavista Farm, all 40 A1 beneficiaries belonged to the Tagarika Irrigation Group, suggesting that the number of A1 plots on a former large-scale farm and availability of inherited productive infrastructure such as irrigation equipment had an influence on the manner in which the groups mobilised for membership. Table II provides a summary of the groups under study.

The largest group in the sample, Chidziva, is located at what used to be Dalkeith farm in Zvimba district within the Banket area. At the onset of fast-track, it was reported that the Chidziva lineage elders sent an emissary to President Mugabe to renew their restitution claim of Dalkeith farm, which is approximately 20 kilometres out of Banket². They argued that the land on which the farm is sited used to belong to their ancestors. In 2003, they formed a formal local farmer group focused on sourcing of inputs and coordinating the use of the irrigation equipment inherited from the previous large-scale farmer.

The second group in Zvimba is Zhizha (which means fresh harvest), based at Whyhill farm, 17 kilometres to the east of Banket. The plot was subdivided into 62 A1 units, and at the start all households belonged to the same group, until 2006 when thirty-one households split to form another group. Zhizha is composed of land beneficiaries who came from the neighbouring Chirau and Zvimba customary lands. The group was formed to ensure equitable and optimum usage of inherited irrigation equipment through joint production and marketing of wheat. The group's activities were seasonal; it took a more active role during winter when they grew wheat. During this period, the group took on a collective approach towards the production of wheat; members combined their six-hectare plots of land as a group source for wheat inputs, and used the available irrigation capacity to water the crop. At the end of the season, the group was responsible for marketing the wheat, and they shared the returns equally. During the summer season (period of rain fed agriculture), the group focused on the procurement of inputs for members, but production was individually organised at household level with the group coordinating the usage of irrigation equipment if and when it was required to supplement rainfall. The crops grown by the members during the summer season included tobacco, maize, and soybeans.

In Bromley, three farmer groups emerged from the original big group, Budiro. When farm production began in earnest in 2003, the resident extension officer³ was actively

² Interviews with Zvimba District Extension Officer, June 2018.

³The GoZ Extension Officer has also been offered an A1 plot within Dunstan farm. He and his family live on what used to be the farm manager's house. He has a very technical approach to group formation and views them as purely platforms for extension and prefers smaller groups. His wife, also a GoZ extension officer is responsible for a farmer group of 40 A1 household.

Table II: LCGs

Name	Area	Year of Formation	No. Sampled	Total in Group	Category
Batanai	Goromonzi	2004	11	25	Medium
Budiriro	Goromonzi	2005	10	10	Small
Chidziva	Zvimba	2003	59	75	Large
Muswiti	Goromonzi	2005	9	15	Small
Salt-Lakes	Goromonzi	2005	11	16	Small
Sweraumire	Goromonzi	2004	15	21	Medium
Tagarika	Goromonzi	2003	30	40	Large
Zhizha	Zvimba	2004	18	31	Large

(Author, 2008; 2019)

involved in plot demarcation and when planning for production, urged the beneficiaries to establish small groups according to preferred land use. In 2005, two maize producing groups, Budiriro (Shona for development/progress) and Muswiti were eventually formed in response to the advice given by the extension officer, and because the members felt it was easier to coordinate smaller groups. During the same year a small group of 16 seemingly wealthy A1 farmers came together to form a tobacco growing group called Salt Lakes⁴. This group of farmers entered into a tobacco contract farming agreement with an agent for a multinational tobacco company Salt Lakes Limited.

Tagarika Irrigation Group was made up of all the A1 households resettled on what used to be Lot 3A of Buenavista Farm. The land beneficiaries inherited irrigation equipment that was being used on the whole farm. Initially the mechanism responsible for the coordination of the equipment was the Committee of Seven, but the structure became political. It was being used as an instrument for the mobilisation of land beneficiaries for political party activities such as the purchase of party cards. The meetings were more focused on discussing political matters at the expense of focusing on agricultural production issues. Therefore, the land beneficiaries decided to establish a production oriented structure. Unlike Zhizha, members in Tagarika maintained the individual farms for production, and the group only intervened to coordinate use and access to irrigation equipment, thus ensuring fair distribution; along with maintaining the equipment in good working condition.

Warrendale farm is approximately 15 kilometres away from the Goromonzi district office, and was subdivided into 40 A1 units, of which 25 came together to form Batanai Farmers' Group. The group members grew mostly

maize. In 2004, prior to the formation of the group, most of the members belonged to unstructured productive asset sharing networks, where they combined individually owned productive assets in preparation of land for cropping and harvesting of crops belonging to the members of the network. Next to Warrendale is Bellaview farm, which was subdivided into 38 A1 units. The beneficiaries, with the assistance of the village head and extension officer, formed a group that they called Sweraumire (keep on standing).

Processes and Rationale behind Formation of LCGs

Almost every former large-scale farm (especially those that had been subdivided into A1 plots) visited in Goromonzi and Zvimba had some form of solidarity activity taking place, but these activities varied, along a continuum of loosely organised and unstructured to more visible and highly structured groups. Various reasons were cited by local informants (Interviews with extension officers and local farmer group leaders) for the emergence of these LCGs in newly resettled areas, which ranged from purely economic survivalist imperatives to more strategic ones, such as seeking increased capacities to penetrate the market. The processes of formation and formalisation varied, but in some cases, these groups emerged from the unstructured mutual support networks established at the onset of land redistribution, while in other instances the groups had a pre-land reform basis of formation, especially those that mobilised because of inclusion within a lineage framework.

Locating Catalysts behind the Formation of LCGs

The formation process was initiated either by land beneficiaries, or in certain instances, encouraged and supported by outside agents such as local extension officers, the state owned agriculture bank, or private sector actors. Actors behind the formal establishment of groups varied, and at times group members had a number of conflicting discourses on the origins of their groups. A common pattern can be decoded within the maze of narratives, based on the size of the group and the availability of a common resource

⁴Salt Lakes is an American tobacco multinational company that entered into an agreement with a consortium of mainly A2 farmers growing tobacco but within the consortium one of the leading A2 farmers also acts as an agent for A1 farmers in interested in growing tobacco.

Table III: Catalysts for Group Formation

Category	Group (size)	Actor (s) behind formation	Common Resource
Large	Chidziva	Respected lineage member with modest post-secondary education and idea endorsed by lineage elders	Inclusion within lineage group and water source
	Tagarika	Local extension officer invited to assist establish group Local farmer who used to belong to an LCG in customary areas and extension officer	Irrigation Equipment
	Zhizha	Deposed leader with assistance from extension officer	Irrigation Equipment
Medium	Batanai and Sweraumire	Local farmers, local political functionaries and extension Officer	Potential of capacity to jointly harness inputs & other productive equipment such as tractors
Small	Budiro, Muswiti,	Current leader and extension officer	Potential for improved extension support and
	Salt-Lakes	Salt Lakes agent and current leader	Potential for inputs and secure market

(Author, 2008; 2019)

that members wanted to exploit to their benefit. Table III provides a summary into the process of the formation of the groups.

Chidziva was the only instance where members were already within a firm circle of inclusion and association prior to the establishment of the farmer group; the majority of the members belonged to the same lineage group, and were resettled on the same former large-scale farm. Motivation for the formation of the group emerged out of the realisation of potential benefits that could be derived from collective action, especially when interacting with the outside environment. The leadership that had been involved in lobbying for land based on traditional claims, gave way to the younger members of the lineage group to lead the process of establishing the group. One of the lineage members was tasked by the lineage elders to pioneer the establishment of the community group based on his previous agricultural experience and modest education. Local extension officers were also invited to provide assistance in the establishment of structures within the group. Two common resources were initially used to justify mobilisation into a group: common lineage background⁵ and the existence of a water source that could be used jointly for irrigation purposes.

In the case of Tagarika and Zhizha, the availability of irrigation equipment provided an incentive for collective action. Both these groups were situated on farms where the members were resettled into village type A1 plots, and had arable plots adjacent to each other and within reach of available irrigation infrastructure. The groups responded to the need to utilise the infrastructure optimally; in addition, from 2003 the Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) began a drive for the growing of winter wheat within the newly

resettled areas and farms that still had functional irrigation equipment. Extension officers were very active in providing technical support for production and made suggestions for the organisation of the farmers into production groups. The Zhizha Farmers Group at Whyhill Farm within the Banket area in Zvimba emerged out of such processes and the role of the local extension officer was quite pronounced in the formation of the group.

At Tagarika Irrigation Scheme, the imperative for the group was the need to maximise the potential from the inherited irrigation infrastructure, and the initiative was conceived by local farmers before the GoZ drive for wheat production. The leader of the group used to belong to an LCG in a customary area and mobilised his neighbours to form the group. The initial motivation for the formation of the group was to ensure equitable access to irrigation equipment among the members and maintenance of the irrigation equipment. A roster for the use of irrigation equipment was developed within the group, and in cases where certain households did not need to use the equipment, for instance if they were not utilising the land during winter, they ceded their rights to others, but were still liable for the maintenance costs of the equipment. The group also established a committee to maintain the irrigation equipment.

The process behind the formation of medium groups was complex and prone to a number of interpretations, which at times conflicted. The groups were situated on farms where they did not inherit any productive assets for joint use, and their association was based on perceived benefits of sourcing agricultural incentives as a group and pooling their own labour and assets. The initial impetus for group formation however, came from the perceived benefits that could be derived from a more structured association after a number of conflicts had arisen within the unstructured labour and asset pooling networks to which the members used to belong. Local farmers and leaders (especially at Sweraumire) with professional backgrounds, fluent in English, and with claims of being politically connected,

⁵Field interviews with Gibson Manjinjiwa, (Chairman of Chidziva Farmer's Group) and Kapembeza, (Acting Agritex Extension Officer for the Bromley Area).

were at the centre of these groups. Membership levels varied according to their ability to mobilise the required resources for the groups. In both cases, local political functionaries such as the village head, took credit for these formations. Local extension officers also provided support for the formation of the groups.

The small groups such as Muswiti and Budiro emerged because of the advice of the local extension officer to split Budiro into smaller groups. Since resettlement, extension officers have been the state's most visible agents in the newly resettled areas; beyond extension support, they also took over the responsibility of distributing agricultural inputs. In Goromonzi, one of the strategies for improving productivity among the newly resettled A1 land beneficiaries entailed promoting association within small and manageable groups. The extension officer responsible for Wards 21 and 22 explained that although farm production was still individually organised, collective action within small groups was encouraged for accessing inputs, collective savings, and, ease of extension support. The experiment seemed to have worked well at Dunstan farm where three small groups with an average membership of 13 had emerged according to similar land use preference; Muswiti and Budiro comprised essentially maize growing households, while Salt Lakes was composed of tobacco growers. Beyond associating based on common crop preference the groups also ventured into joint savings. The initial impetus for association within Salt Lakes LCG came from the Salt Lakes multinational local representative.

Member Expectations from LCGs

Earlier studies (Bratton, 1994) of local farmer community groups based in customary areas found that most of these associations were focused on production enhancing activities, which was mostly achieved through labour and asset pooling. The overarching concern within the membership was to cooperate for improved agricultural production. Members of these new formations seemed to favour an

inward looking approach, which entailed mobilising internal capacities such as labour and personal savings with the help of others. Inward looking activities of local groups such as asset and labour pooling functions, collective production, and marketing of commodities fell into the 'from many to many' frame of philanthropy. They had a pre-independence history and were widespread within customary tenure areas. Member expectations of what the group should cover differed from one area to the next, and they depended on the actual local constituents and the level of exposure to the perceived potential benefits of local associational activity in addressing identified challenges.

Actual Activities of LCGs

The nature of LCG responses were mostly defined by the socio-economic circumstances of their membership. As already mentioned, the onset of fast-track reform was also associated with the weakening of capacities within the agro-supply industry that had been developed over a period of more than 100 years. One of the reasons behind the mushrooming of these LCGs was related to the weak capacity of both the market and the state to supply inputs such as seed, fertiliser, and other necessary chemicals timeously. Second, the landholdings in the newly resettled areas averaged six hectares of cropping land per household; significantly larger than the two hectares per household that prevailed in customary areas, thus making it necessary for the newly resettled to think beyond their own capacities and to consider mechanisms of creating solidarity. Most of these new formations had been established as part of an effort to mobilise solidarity that enhanced the productive capacities of the beneficiaries. The mapping of farmer group activities with members led to the development of the matrix in Table IV.

The matrix shows the different LCGs' initiatives in responding to identified production constraints and the manner of response ultimately shaped the group's approach to enhancing solidarity. An analysis of the various approaches that LCGs used to support production

Table IV: LCG Production Intervention Approaches

Category	Group	Size	Marketing Approach
Low Cooperation	Budiro	Small	Individual
–individual production	Muswiti	Small	Individual
–access to group sourced inputs			
–joint pooling of savings			
Medium Cooperation	Salt Lakes	Small	Group
–individual planning of production	Batanai	Medium	Individual
–joint pooling of labour & assets	Sweraumire	Medium	Individual
–joint hiring of productive assets such as tractors	Tagarika	Large	Individual
–access to group sourced inputs			
High Cooperation	Chidziva	Large	Group
–seasonal joint production	Zhizha	Large	Group
–use of group sourced inputs			

(Author, 2008; 2019)

capacities among their members led to the development of categories of cooperation. These categories attempted to capture succinctly the manner in which these groups mobilised help from one another. The process of category development also entailed identification of common aspects among the groups with regard to production enhancing interventions. Beyond size, the LCGs had been further disaggregated into three categories: (i) low co-operators, (ii) medium co-operators and (iii) high co-operators.

The small LCGs supported individual production by helping them to source inputs through mobilising of savings throughout the year and purchasing inputs as a group. However, mobilising savings was negatively affected by the hyperinflationary environment that characterised Zimbabwe between 2006 and 2008. The activity recovered between 2013 and 2017. Budiriro and Muswiti were classified as low co-operators, the members only came together to pool savings and source for inputs. Once these had been attained, the members reverted to individual production and the marketing of consumption of the produced commodities. However, during the interviews some of the members of the group identified labour and asset sharing as part of the official activities of the groups.

The medium co-operator LCGs were involved in the sourcing of inputs from the state. They engaged in asset and labour sharing schemes. The majority of the groups under study were classified as medium co-operators. This category was made up of small, medium, and large groups. Salt Lakes was the only small group involved in joint pooling of labour and group marketing of tobacco. Salt Lakes took up, as one of its activities, the joint hiring of specialised labour and utilised it as a group. This kind of labour pooling was different to the most common labour pools in that it involved special skills (such as treatment of seedlings and curing of tobacco) that were hired from outside and then used to service the needs of all members. Asset pooling was one of the key activities of the group.

The medium groups (Sweraumire and Batanai) combined externally focused resource mobilisation for inputs and credit, and had limited asset sharing and labour pooling. Most of the subsidies were sourced from GoZ agencies. Sweraumire was involved in labour pooling only, while Batanai was involved in asset pooling with limited labour sharing. These groups worked closely with local extension officers who commanded a lot of respect within the groups. A smaller labour pooling committee was established within Sweraumire to facilitate the deployment of labour. Every household was expected to release two members to work on the designated fields. Despite the availability and joint use of irrigation equipment, Tagarika remained a medium co-operator because production and marketing were still the individual's prerogative.

Beyond the sourcing of inputs for members, some of the high co-operators engaged in seasonal collective production and marketing. The groups mobilised all the necessary inputs and managed the production and marketing

of commodities. In many instances, group marketing of commodities was the result of collective production, except for the Chidziva case where other mobilising factors contributed to limited joint marketing. Zhizha was the only group that perfectly fitted the category of a high co-operator. During the preparation of the winter wheat crop, the LCG took over land preparation, sourcing of inputs, and all the irrigation responsibilities. At the end of the cropping season, the group marketed the entire crop that the membership identified as surplus and distributed the profits equally. During the summer agricultural season, (November to February) Zhizha focused on sourcing of inputs for group members who reverted to individual production. Chidziva on the other hand was potentially a high co-operator, but joint production had been constrained by the dysfunctional irrigation equipment. Its unique mobilisation advantage was that the membership belonged to a similar lineage group, therefore reducing the burden of building group ties based on the need to optimise agricultural production. Furthermore the group was a beneficiary of a GoZ input scheme (Operation Maguta) and it was required to produce a certain tonnage of maize for the Grain Marketing Board (GMB), this contributed towards joint marketing of commodities and as of 2008 the list of commodities that were jointly marketed within the group included maize, tobacco, and soybeans.

The capacity to mobilise internal capacities of labour and productive assets varied across groups and the data showed that the bigger the group, the more able it was to respond to the interrelated constraints of farm equipment and labour shortages, based on the twin strategy of internal mobilisation and harnessing the support of external service providers. The act of seeking external support to overcome production constraints (especially inputs and credit) seemed to be the initial point of convergence among the newly resettled areas. This was common among all the groups except for the Tagarika LCG, which until 2007 was not involved in the sourcing of inputs and even after that, the leadership was reluctant to list the sourcing of inputs as one of its priority activities.

Assessment of the Strategy and Tactics of LCGs

Although LCGs had emerged on almost every farm, their ability to effectively create solidarity and reverse farm production constraints within the newly resettled areas was limited by a number of factors external to the groups.

On one hand, these formations seemed to be an organic response, and on the other, they fitted part of a strategic response to internal capacity constraints and weak policy framework. The appreciation of these dichotomies within the groups varied, some of the leaders (especially at Chidziva and Salt Lakes) saw their efforts as contributing towards a greater goal of improving production while others (such as at Zhizha and Sweraumire) ascribed group formation and activities to the imperatives established by the local bureaucracy to improve input support. The groups

under study combined short-term solidarity with a more long-term approach to organising themselves. The short-term survivalist forms of solidarity included joint sourcing of inputs and other production enhancing support such as land preparation, asset pooling, and the more long-term tactics included mobilisation of own savings, entering into innovative agricultural financing agreements such as contract farming schemes, and joint marketing of commodities. The smaller groups such as Muswiti and Budiriro appeared to be proactive and strategic, as they concentrated their activities around mobilising their own savings.

Mobilisation of Savings

The ability to mobilise savings was critical for accumulation of on-farm assets, ensuring the ability to pay for other social services and as a safety net in case of droughts or any phenomena that might negatively affect production. Only three groups within the sample were involved in the joint mobilisation of savings and the operation of a savings account with a commercial bank. Agreed amounts were set-aside every month for deposit into the savings account. Funds from these initiatives were deployed towards a number of social and production activities, which included building a church, holding funerals, purchasing of groceries, and purchasing of chickens and feed for small chicken

projects. Furthermore, the availability of records of savings enabled the groups to access loans from the bank. On one occasion, the extension officer and the village head at Dunstan Farm called for all land beneficiaries to contribute towards the purchase of a pump to be used in the garden where each beneficiary had 0.3 hectares of land. Savings within Salt Lakes worked slightly differently, to finance joint production and marketing activities.

Incomes derived from market gardening activities were apparently a major source of savings used within the rotating savings. These incomes varied with seasons and the leadership had to regulate the amounts to be dedicated towards savings. Some of the groups, such as Batanai and Sweraumire, were not engaged in joint savings but were under pressure from their membership to expand into the activity. Eight women members within Sweraumire established a parallel rotating savings club based on common membership of the group. The leadership is aware of the new development but was wary of taking up the activity as a formal activity of the group because they were not sure if all members would meet their obligations. Apparently, some of the male members were concerned about the effect of inflation. Collective activity in joint savings was one of the activities that suggests long-term thinking and possibilities of some level of autonomy in terms of group activity.

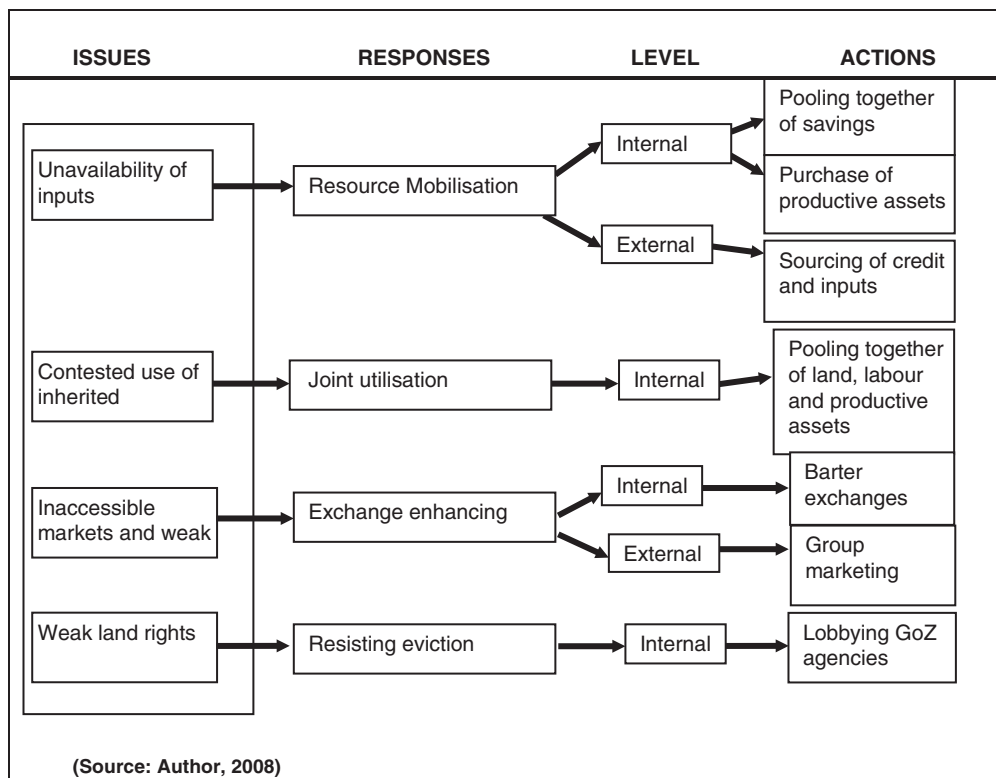


Fig 1: Issue-Activity Matrix

Asset and Labour Pooling

Asset and labour pooling were the second most common activity within the LCGs, approximately 68.7% of the sample was involved in labour pooling, while 27.6% were involved in labour sharing organised by their respective groups. These activities occurred mostly within the medium and high co-operators and in most instances, they formalised these activities through the creation of sub-committees to manage the activities. The low co-operators kept the activity outside the scope of the formal LCG, and preferred to utilise the informal unstructured networks to organise these functions.

Respondents within the medium and high co-operators found group approaches to land preparing beneficial as this contributed towards an increase in the amount of land utilised from an average of two hectares per household to an average of four hectares. At Chidziva, most of the members interviewed attributed their increasing yields to the labour pooling, which enabled them to plant in time for the rains. A considerable number of households within Chidziva and Batanai could not afford to hire a tractor individually, prior to group formation, but since joining the groups, they had managed to utilise the service of a tractor. Labour pooling seemed to work most efficiently, where it was managed by a specific sub-committee that drew up a calendar of activities and specified the labour requirements from each household. Sweraumire and Chidziva established such committees and in the former, it was led by the village head who was also a member of the group. Figure I provides a comprehensive analysis of the forms of solidarity that these groups produce

CONCLUSION

While LCGs emerged on almost every former large-scale farm converted into A1 plots, they remained different in terms of roles and activities. A number of interviewed members of LCGs associated their ability to expand their hectareage of cropped area with the intervention of the groups. On average more than 60% of the members, since joining the groups, were able to expand their cropped area from an average of two hectares to between four and five hectares (Based on Focus Group Discussion held with LCG members). According to the members, the LCGs contributed towards improved production. In Goromonzi, the members of groups identified the introduction of the mobilisation of savings as a game changing innovation.

However, there was a need to take cognisance of a number of internal and external challenges affecting the groups before a conclusion could be made on what these case studies suggested in terms of the development of philanthropy in Zimbabwe. The horizontal community-based formations were neither homogenous, nor did they articulate a common philosophy of self-reliance. Rather the groups were dominated by the struggle for immediate survival with limited focus on establishing long-term strategies within their groups. For instance, within Batanai, a division between

leaders and members emerged on the basis that the former was not forthcoming in terms of the contributions towards asset and labour pooling.

Another critical question that arose from the discussion was whether these forms of solidarity suggested organic horizontal philanthropy. In essence, such a form of philanthropy was associated with creating synergistic capacity among the members through the mobilisation of internal abilities such as own resources, which include labour, assets, and savings. The synergy was created in order to maximise returns for the group. This phenomenon was not isolated to newly resettled areas but was found across most of rural Zimbabwe; it included cooperation around labour, assets, inputs, and marketing of commodities and state led cooperatives. Prior to independence a number of small-scale farmers organised themselves into labour, input, purchasing, or marketing cooperatives (Kriger, 1992). After independence, the GoZ introduced collective farms as part of the resettlement programme. The LCGs in the newly resettled areas displayed varying tendencies of horizontal philanthropy from proto-type collective agriculture, such as within Zhizha where they pooled their labour and assets and then shared the benefits, and other limited forms, which included, combined savings, asset, and labour pooling. The small LCGs in Goromonzi were mainly active in mobilising savings, and they contributed towards a philosophy of independence from the state for subsidies. The act of pooling savings was mostly limited to small groups.

Furthermore, do these formations suggest the need to rethink mainstream development models away from the state and NGO-based models and instead focus on supporting what already exists within communities? The battle against growing inequality, limited employment opportunities, and poverty suggests the need to first understand what communities are already doing. Interventions of support should aim at strengthening solidarity-based community philanthropy as way of building resilience at a local level.

REFERENCES

- Aina, T. A. (2013). *The State and Philanthropy in Africa: Framing the Context, Giving to Help, Helping to Give*. Senegal: Amalion Publishing.
- Aina, T. A and Moyo, B. (2013). *Giving to Help, Helping to Give, The Context and Politics of African Philanthropy*. Senegal: Amalion Publishing.
- Arnaiz, M.E.O. (1998). 'Coping with Economic Structural Adjustment: Farmer Groups in Shamva District' in Masuko, L. (ed.), *Economic Policy Reforms and Meso-Scale Rural Market Changes in Zimbabwe: The Case of Shamva*. Harare: Institute of Development Studies.
- Barr, A. (2004). Forging Effective New Communities: The Evolution of Civil Society in Zimbabwean Resettlement Villages. *World Development*, 32(10), pp. 1753–1766. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2004.06.007>.
- Beito, D. T. (2000). *From Mutual Aid to the Welfare State: Fraternal Societies and Social Services, 1890–1967*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. <https://doi.org/10.1086/322216>.

- Bratton, M. (1986). Farmer Organisations and Food Production in Zimbabwe. *World Development*, 14(3), pp. 367–384. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750x\(86\)90075-6](https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750x(86)90075-6).
- Bratton, M. (1994). Micro-Democracy? The Merger of Farmer Unions in Zimbabwe. *African Studies Review*, 37(1), 9–37. <https://doi.org/10.2307/525112>.
- Dekker, M. (2004). Risk, Resettlement and Relations: Social Security in Rural Zimbabwe. *Tinbergen Institute Research Series*, 331. Amsterdam: Thela Thesis and Tinbergen Institute.
- Hodgson, J. (2013). The Case for Community Philanthropy: *How the practice builds local assets, capacity and trust and why it matters*. Flint, MI: Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, Aga Khan Foundation, Global Fund for Community Foundations and Rockefeller Brothers Fund.
- Hyden, G. (1983). *No Shortcuts to Progress*. London, Heinemann Educational.
- Kingman, A. and Edwards, J. (2006). Who's Afraid of Mutual Aid? *Alliance Magazine*, 11(1), pp. 43–45.
- Helliker, K. and Murisa, T. (2020). Zimbabwe: continuities and changes. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 38(1), pp. 5–17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001.2020.1746756>.
- Kriger, N. J. (1992). *Zimbabwe's Guerrilla War: Peasant Voices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1159760>.
- Mafeje, A. (1993). Peasant Organisations in Africa: A Potential Dialogue Between Economists and Sociologists. *CODESRIA Bulletin*, 1, pp. 4–5.
- Mahomed, H. (2013). Shifting Currents in African Philanthropy. *Alliance Magazine*, 18(1), pp. 1–3.
- Moyo, S. (2002). 'Peasant Organisations and Rural Civil Society: An Introduction' in Romdhane, M. and Moyo, S. (eds.), *Peasant Organisations and the Democratisation Process in Africa*. Dakar: CODESRIA.
- Moyo, S. Chambati, W., Murisa, T., Sibiza, D., Dangwa, C., Mujeyi, K. and Nyoni, N. (2009). Fast Track Land Reform Baseline Survey in Zimbabwe: Trends and Tendencies. Action Aid Paper, AIAS.
- Moyo, B. (2013). 'Innovations in African Philanthropy' in Moyo, B and Aina, T (eds.), *Giving to Help: Helping to Give: The Context and Politics of African Philanthropy*. Amalion Press. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0899764016649567>.
- Moyo, B. and Ramsamy, K. (2014). African Philanthropy, Pan Africanism and Africa's Development. *Development in Practice*, 24(5–6), pp. 656–671. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09614524.2014.937399>.
- Moyo, B. (2016). African Philanthropy at the crossroads: Changing the relationship between civil society and government. *Alliance forthcoming September*.
- Mr. Kapembeza, Acting District Extension Officer for Zvimba District (Banket, various interviews between May 2007 until October 2008).
- Murisa, T. (2007). *Social Organisation and Agency in the Newly Resettled Areas of Zimbabwe: The Case of Zvimba District*. Harare: AIAS.
- Murisa, T. (2009). An analysis of emerging forms of social organisation and agency in the newly resettled areas of Zimbabwe, the Case of Goromonzi and Zvimba districts (*Doctoral dissertation, PhD Thesis, Rhodes University*).
- Murisa, T. (2011). Local Farmer Groups and Collective Action Within Fast Track Land Reform in Zimbabwe. *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 38(5), pp. 1145–1166. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03066150.2011.634502>.
- Murisa, T. (2013). 'Social Organisation in the Aftermath of "Fast Track": An Analysis of Emerging Forms of Local Authority, Platforms of Mobilisation and Local Cooperation' in *Land Agrarian Reforms in Zimbabwe*. African Books Collective. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvk3gnsn.13>.
- Murisa, T. (2018). *African Philanthropy: Evolution, Practice and Change*. Highlife Foundation.
- Pennekamp, P. H. and Focke, A. (2013). Philanthropy and the Regeneration of Community Democracy. *National Civic Review*, 102(3), pp. 47–57. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ncr.21135>.
- Rahmato, D. (1991). Peasant Organizations in Africa: Constraints and Potentials. *CODESRIA Working Paper Series 1/91*. Dakar: CODESRIA.
- Ranger, T. O. (1985). *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe*. Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House.
- Scoones, I., Marongwe, N., Mavedzenge, B., Mahenehene, J., Murimbarimba, F. and Sukume, C. (2010). *Zimbabwe's land reform: Myths and realities*. James Currey: Suffolk. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1471-0366.2011.00342.x>.
- Sibanda, A.E. (2002). 'Voicing a Peasant Alternative: The Organisation of Rural Associations for Progress (ORAP) in Zimbabwe' in Romdhane, B. and Moyo, S.(eds.), *Peasant Organisations and the Democratisation Process in Africa*. Dakar: CODESRIA.
- SIVO Institute. (2019). *First Year of the 2nd Republic: A Report on Government Performance*. Harare: SIVIO Institute.
- Wilkinson-Maphosa, S., Fowler, A., Oliver-Evans, C. and Mulenga, C. F. N. (2006). *The Poor Philanthropist: How and Why the Poor Help and Give Each Other*. Cape Town: Compress.

