**BUILDING COMMUNITY PHILANTHROPY
SOUTH AFRICAN REPORT
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PREPARED FOR: The Building Community Philanthropy Project
Southern African– United States Centre for Leadership
and Public Values
Graduate School of Business
University of Cape Town
Contact person: Ms Susan Wilkinson- Maposa

PREPARED BY: Citizen Surveys
1st Floor De Waal House
172 Victoria Road
Woodstock
Cape Town
Telephone: 021 447 4484
Fax: 021 448 6312
Contact person: Ms Washeelah Kapery
E-mail: washeelah@citizensurveys.com

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Executive Summary

South Africa as a country is doing well, the economy is growing and its citizens are seeing the benefits of democracy, but the picture is not this rosy, especially for many of its citizens who are living below the national poverty line. The Human Development Report 2000 found that 48% of South Africans lived in poverty.

The Building Community Philanthropy Project has investigated the helping transactions between and by people of low wealth communities in identified low wealth areas in South Africa.

People of low wealth taking part in this study aptly describe their helping activities as "one hand washing the other". It is apparent from this study that people of low wealth have a well-defined sense of philanthropy and their solutions to problems experienced in the course of their daily activities are both practical and supportive.

The main actors in the giving of help are first and foremost neighbours, followed by close family, friends and organisations (church, societies, clubs and committees). The predominant receivers of help are close family, neighbours, friends and organisations. Although all informants stated that orphans, the poorest of the poor and those in urgent circumstances were their priority, this was not always the case.

Some informants felt as though they were in a period of transition, the 'old' way of helping unconditionally such as Ubuntu was becoming a rarity and instead a new approach such as clubs and societies was filling the breach.

The most common helping transaction was food followed by money. Life events using up the most resources were funerals. The most common form of mental support was advice of all kinds followed by prayer as the most common form of spiritual support.

It appears from the findings of this report that people of low wealth are able to perform a primary function of philanthropy, that of dynamic maintenance. Dynamic maintenance means that people of low wealth are doing more than just surviving; they are trying to move out and away from their current situation. To achieve dynamic maintenance people of low wealth practise the principles of philanthropy, that of altruism, reciprocity and co-operation. These principles are initiated by the primary human drives of reproduction, identity and happiness. These forms of prosocial behaviour are underpinned by the norms of reciprocity and social responsibility.

To bring about sustainable change, people of low wealth need to move from a state of dynamic maintenance to a state of shared movement. It is hoped that this material will provide insight for the development of a 'right' philanthropic intervention that will enable people of low wealth to move from a state of dynamic maintenance to one of shared movement.

Part One: Background

1.1 Introduction

The Building Community Philanthropy Project (BCP) is an initiative of the Centre for Leadership and Public Values (CLPV) at the Graduate School of Business (GSB), University of Cape Town (UCT).

The BCP Project, supported by the Ford Foundation, aims to investigate helping, giving and philanthropic practices of low-wealth grassroots communities. The project has been implemented in four countries, namely Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

This research attempts to break new ground as little is known about how resource-limited communities, with little or no government or donor support, historically and in the present, mobilize and utilize internal resources for survival and development purposes.

In building a picture of community-level philanthropy and indigenous models of giving, the BCP project intends to highlight successful self-help and development models, thereby exposing the potential of community philanthropy for development efforts. In addition, the BCP project aims at redefining community in terms of the helping relationships between members of the community.

It is deemed that this redefinition of community in terms of the helping relationships will play a vital role in influencing corporate social investment initiatives of big corporations as well as government and donor agency programmes. By understanding more about what makes indigenous models of philanthropy successful, the BCP project hopes to learn how best to support self-help activities, including Community Foundations and grass roots leadership.

The research problem rests within the field of inquiry into "community philanthropy" as it plays out in Southern Africa, as distinct from its operational concepts in other parts of the world. To address significant issues of social displacement, poverty, etc., various efforts, including community development approaches and more specifically models to stimulate the flow of resources, including community foundations have been taken up. However, it is noted that few interventions appear to build on, as a starting point, what already exists within communities themselves, in the form of self

help and reciprocity. In several respects the absence of this focus, to date, is not surprising as many practices are regarded as "normal" and are such a part of the fabric of everyday life that they are easily overlooked and go unnoticed. Many traditions and practices of help – be it financially or through volunteer time and labour - have stood the test of time including coups, wars, famine and not to mention the ever-changing winds of development theories, models and practices. Their longevity and resilience if nothing else, points us to the need to step back, observe and listen to learn more about what is actually happening "organically".

The specific focus of Building Community Philanthropy is on the "status of inquiry" into community philanthropy. A generally expected working definition, understands community philanthropy as "the act of individual citizens contributing money and goods, or volunteering time and skills, to promote the well-being of others and the betterment of the community in which they live".

Building on the above definition as a starting point, it is believed that in every country there exists a culturally specific concept and term for what we know as "community philanthropy". Generally, the term encompasses more than just giving money and has a broader meaning, which can vary from mutual self-help to community action for the good of the whole. The concept is also historically developed and influenced by socialisation and the impacts of the broader economic and political environment.

To paraphrase a participant at a recent Brussels meeting on this topic, "African philanthropy is not something that needs to be introduced by anybody because Africans have strong traditions of self-help, self-support, voluntary institutions, rotation credit, and associations like South African stokvels. But, we have not been able to tap into this tradition and don't usually think of its various expressions as development tools." Max Legodi, Community Foundations Manager, at the Southern African Grant Makers Association (SAGA), echoes the point that: "Community philanthropy is not something we celebrate; it is part of the ordinary way of doing things".

1.2 The BCP Research Inquiry Background

Background and Rationale

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

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

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

1.3 Description of Country Context

The Dutch East India Company established the first European settlement in Southern Africa in Cape Town in 1652. The colony grew quickly as Dutch farmers were settled to grow produce.

From the 1770s, colonists came into conflict with local chiefdoms and many decades of warfare ensued during which the colonists gained ascendancy over the Xhosa-speaking chiefdoms.

In 1806, Britain occupied the Cape, integrating it into the international trading empire of industrialized Britain. In 1834 slavery was abolished in South Africa and in 1834 the Voortrekkers began the Great Trek from the Cape Colony and away from British rule. Ultimately the Voortrekkers gained their

independence from British rule with the establishment of two land-locked, white-ruled republics, the South African Republic (Transvaal, 1852) and the Orange Free State in 1854.

In Natal, the Voortrekkers pushed northwards, further and further into the land of the Zulus, culminating in the defeat of the Zulus at Blood River 1838. This attempt at establishing a Voortrekker republic was short lived, however. In 1843, it was proclaimed a British colony. In 1860, Indian migrant workers arrived to work the newly planted sugar plantations. In 1896 legislation was passed limiting Indian immigration.

The discovery of diamonds north of the Cape in 1867 brought tens of thousands of people to the area around the modern city of Kimberley. In 1871, Britain annexed the diamond fields. The fact that the mineral discoveries coincided with a new era of imperialism and the scramble for Africa brought imperial power and influence to bear on Southern Africa as never before. Independent African chiefdoms were systematically subjugated and incorporated. The most dramatic example was the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879. In 1880, hostilities broke out between the British and the Transvaal Republic; the first Anglo-Boer War saw the defeat of the British at Majuba in 1881.

The discovery of the Witwatersrand goldfields in 1886 was a turning point in the history of South Africa. The demand for franchise rights for English-speaking immigrants working on the rich new goldfields was the pretext Great Britain used to go to war with the Transvaal and Orange Free State in 1899. The second Anglo-Boer war saw the application of a scorched earth policy and the establishment of concentration camps where not only white Afrikaners were interned but also many thousands of black Africans. Mortality rates were high, disease was rife and conditions untenable; many hundreds of dissidents, Afrikaners and blacks, were sent into exile to St Helena. The war ended in 1902 with the Transvaal and Orange Free State becoming British colonies. The Union of South Africa was created in 1910 comprising the Cape, Natal, Transvaal and Orange Free State. This was a white Eurocentric union in terms of political rights and powers.

Black opposition was inevitable and fuelled by a racially defined government who continually sought ways to maintain dominance of the majority of inhabitants. The Natives Land Act was legislated in 1913, which limited black

land ownership to existing tribal territories. Blacks were removed from the common voters roll in the Cape in 1936 and at the same time through the Native Trust and Land Act reduced black land ownership to 13% of South Africa's land.

Meanwhile, Afrikaner nationalism, fuelled by job losses arising from worldwide recession, was on the march. After the Second World War, in 1948, the pro-Afrikaner National Party (NP) came to power with an ideology that was to become infamous: apartheid, an even more rigorous and authoritarian approach than the segregationist policies of previous governments.

In 1961, the NP Government under Prime Minister HF Verwoerd declared South Africa a republic after winning a whites-only referendum on the issue. A new concern with racial purity was apparent in laws prohibiting interracial sex and in provisions for population registration requiring that every South African be assigned to one racial category or another.

Residential segregation was enforced, with whole communities being uprooted and forced into designated "group areas". At a time when much of Africa was on the verge of independence, the South African Government was devising its policy of separate development, dividing the African population into ethnic "nations", each with its own "homeland" and the prospect of "independence".   Rural reserves were by this time thoroughly degraded by overpopulation and soil erosion.

The introduction of apartheid policies coincided with the adoption by the ANC in 1949 of its Programme of Action; the ANC's Defiance Campaign was launched in 1952 and embodied a rejection of white domination and a call for action in the form of protests, strikes and demonstrations.   The continued dominance over the majority of inhabitants was further enforced with the Bantu Education Act and Separate Amenities Act in 1953, which led to the Freedom Charter being adopted by the Congress of the People in 1955. In 1956 Coloureds were removed from the voters roll and a demonstration against pass laws in 1960 at Sharpville led to the banning of the ANC and PAC.

In 1961, South Africa left the Commonwealth and became a Republic while the ANC adopted an armed struggle policy Umkhonto weSizwe. The year

1976 marked the beginning of a sustained anti-apartheid revolt beginning with the 'Children's Uprising' and the boycott of schools by many children. This was coupled with sanctions and isolation from the international community. In 1977 The United Nations Security Council imposed a mandatory arms embargo on South Africa.

After a drawn-out negotiation process, South Africa held its first democratic election in April 1994 under an interim Constitution and the country was welcomed back into the international arena.

The ANC (African National Congress Party)-led government embarked on a programme to reconstruct and develop the country and its institutions. This also entailed the division of the country into nine new provinces in place of the four provinces and ten homelands existing previously.

1.4 South Africa's Situation With Regard To People of Low-Wealth

In spite of South Africa's growing economy and development in general the plight of its low wealth citizens continues. The country's level of poverty is also linked to the history of apartheid, which encouraged a skewed income distribution and economic structure favouring white people through job reservation, the removal of blacks from the voters roll, the Group Areas Act, Bantu Education Act and Separate Amenities Act.

The system also perpetuated the colonial practise of extracting raw material for export and processing, thereby sustaining secondary industries overseas to the detriment of developing South Africa's own industrial growth. This meant that much of the country's primary wealth was retained by a minority group. The task of meeting the needs of the increasing impoverished majority fell to charities, trusts and non-governmental organisations.

During apartheid, formal employment was encouraged, job reservation was enforced and further education for black Africans was made very difficult. This meant the progress of black Africans was held back, forcing the majority into unskilled jobs.

Apartheid also promoted the economic theories of dualism and dependency. In late-colonial societies, small extractive / proto-manufacturing sectors coexisted with traditional sectors and it was assumed that the growth of the small extractive sector would absorb and transform the

traditional sector. Dependency theory in the '60s and '70s transformed the concept of dualism both qualitatively and spatially: the economically advanced core and the dependent periphery were seen as exploitative and causal, with the growth of the former dependent on continued underdevelopment of the latter. The theory also recognised the existence of multiple states of dependency, both within and between economies. The after-effects of this is currently experienced in South Africa and is described as the '70/30 society' where the majority of the population is subject to long-term unproductive and non-causal dependence on state welfare whose funds are generated by strong per capita growth accelerated by globalisation of production, which in turn, increases income disparities (1). This means an ever -widening gap between the haves and the have-nots.

Building on the Natives Land Act of 1913 and 1936, which decreased African ancestral lands to 13%, the Group Areas Act and ensuing forced removals placed millions of people into designated homelands. Pass laws and influx controls made travelling and finding work difficult, adding to the development of rural slums. The overpopulation of rural homelands and ensuing poor farming conditions without access to proper resources led to vast tracts of land becoming eroded, denuded and unsuitable for sustaining subsistence farming.

The Carnegie Report of 1996 documented that 2.3 million South Africans suffered from malnutrition, and 75% of poverty was concentrated in rural areas, especially the former homelands.

The country's Gina Coefficient profile reflects the aftermath of these times:

- 0.66 are African, 0.56 are Coloured, 0.52 are Asian and 0.50 are White.
- The Human Development Report 2000 found 48% of South Africans lived in poverty.

The Human Development Report 2000 identified the two poorest provinces as Eastern Cape and Limpopo, followed by KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga, North West and the Free State. Next were Northern Cape, Gating and finally the Western Cape with a poverty ratio of 20%. Limpopo had the lowest

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[1] Microfinance and Poverty Alleviation in South Africa, Ted Baumann, Bay Research & Consultancy Services, August

disposable income per capita and the lowest human development index followed by Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal.

In order to redress the injustices of apartheid and foster national reconciliation, the democratic government embarked on the implementation of a land reform policy to underpin economic growth and alleviate hardship and poverty.

- The redistribution of land, much of which is state owned, has been started. This is zoned for productive use as well as residential purposes and is on-going. In December 2000, approval was given for 1 505 914 hectares to be assigned to 91 000 households.
- The restitution of land to those affected as far back as 1913, is on going. By July 2001, restitution of 302 000 hectares had been effected.
- Tenure reform has given legal rights to people living on Development Trust land and former homeland territory.

A draft Communal Rights Bill is looking at the future of rural villages, which is home to a quarter of the population. This legislation will grant ownership of plots on an individual basis whereas traditionally it was the chief who had custody of villages established on communal land.

The target date set for the completion of all land claims is July 2005.

Ten years on, politically the country is more stable, and economically operates in an environment encouraging entrepreneurship and free-market practices. However, as well as having to deal with its historical legacy of inequality and in the redistribution of resources and services, three inter-relating issues appear to be impacting negatively on the lives of South Africans, especially people of low wealth:

- The spread of HIV/Aids, job losses and high unemployment levels.

The SA government currently provides support to approximately 9 million people marginalized by apartheid. Welfare funding is forecast to grow at an average annual rate of 11,4% to March 2008. This means that welfare grants will account for 3,7% of gross domestic product which at R64.1 billion, is 14,5% of non-interest spending.

2001

Social security payments play an important role in households. One grant helps provide food and security for between 7 to 11 people. Migrant contract workers, domestic workers, farm workers and people working in the informal sector at the time of their retirement and not covered by provident funds rely on government pensions to subsist. The spread of HIV/Aids has led to an increased demand for disability benefits, foster care for children orphaned by Aids, and institutional care. The Aids endemic has also required the elderly to act as caregivers. Child support grants assist the unemployed to provide food for their children.

For historical reasons the work force is under-skilled and in an economy driven by services and technology and less by traditional mining and manufacturing industries, unemployment is high at 36%. The majority of these unemployed are black men and women under the age of 35. There are four times as many unskilled workers as jobs available for them and twice as many skilled job opportunities as qualified workers which creates a bleak future as 54% of South Africa's population is under the age of 24.

The South African government is seeking ways to reverse this growing dependency on social services and although agreement has not been reached on the role of the state in providing jobs, the promotion of labour-intensive industry, programmes for skills development and job creation are recognised as a priority by South African stakeholders.

In light of this, and to determine the means by which sustainable livelihood and capital growth strategies are practised by people of low wealth to address their needs, an exploratory study focusing on help transactions was carried out to investigate how people of low wealth used their own resources for their survival and development.

2.0 Methodology

2.1 Objectives and Approach of the BCP Inquiry

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

2.2 Objectives

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

2.2.1 Methodological Approach

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

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

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[2]   Strauss and Corbin, 1998.

2.2.2.1 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework, illustrated in figure 2.1, contextualised horizontal philanthropy within a broader set of external force fields. It also allowed for internal force fields to be distilled and for "help" to be probed along a "volition/ascription spectrum". That is, the inquiry did not assume that "help" was voluntary or by choice, but endeavoured to test its motivation, allowing for the possibility that help could be ascribed or informed by duty and obligation. The terminology "help", a concept translatable into vernacular, as opposed to "philanthropy" was adopted. This term is simple, resonates in the research environment and denotes a transaction without implying business.

Figure 2.1 <u>Conceptual Framework</u>
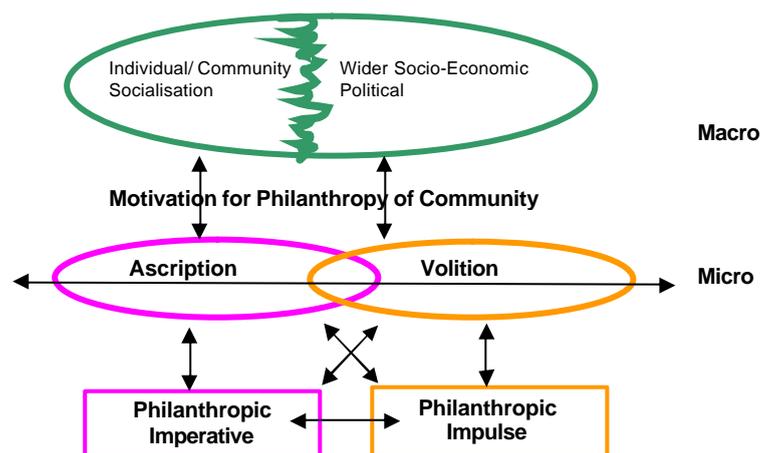
2.2.2.2 Core Questions

The conceptual framework above informed the four core research question:

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

2.2.2.3 Focus Group Protocol

The above questions were the foundation from which a focus group protocol was designed, tested and modified. Essentially the protocol had 10 steps: The first step was the screening and selection of informants, this was followed by step two, a brain storming session around "Help"; the third step was a filter of what is relevant to BCP and what is not; the fourth step was an interrogation of who do you go to for help, who should you help; step five was an interrogation of informant feelings, how did they feel when they are helped and how do you feel when you help; steps six and seven were distillation check points, where informants developed a giver and receiver matrix of the Actors, Transactions and Motivation discussed in the focus group; step eight was a checkpoint of what was missing from the matrices which had been raised in the focus group; step nine was a interrogation of informants perspective past and future changes of "Help" transactions; the final step was an opportunity for the informants to seek clarification from the researchers and raise any questions on the focus group process that they felt needed addressing.

2.2.2.4 Sampling Frame

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

2.2.2.5 Focus Groups

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

2.2.2.6 Distilling a Philanthropic Act

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

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

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

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

Figure 2.2 <u>Distilling a Philanthropic Act</u>
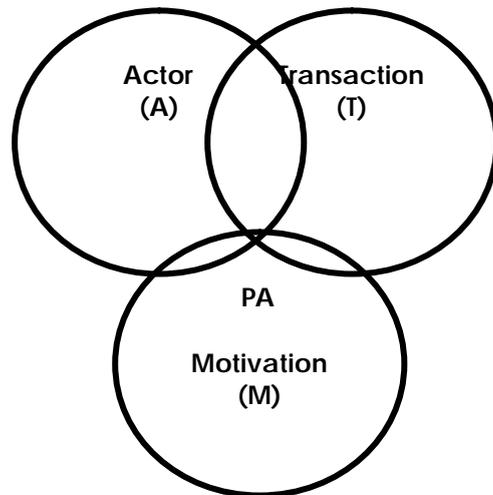
A national research design custom to each country was developed by the NRA's to implement the study. Derived from the local understanding of low wealth and in accordance with the sampling frame supplied by BCP, the research design implemented in Mozambique is provided in the following section.

2.3 Research Design

The BCP sample frame, developed collaboratively with the National Research Associates from the countries participating agreed that the first cut in developing the sample group would be low wealth. The second cut was livelihood type. This was then followed by ethnic-linguistic coverage, location – be it rural, peri-urban or urban, as well as age and gender considerations. The objective under a grounded theory approach was not to develop a representative sample but to capture a diverse range of experience.

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┌─────────────────────┐                    ┌──────────────┐
│ Location of low wealth │                   │ Primary      │
│ through Census      │         ⎫          │ Selection    │
│ Enumerator Areas    │         ⎬          │              │
└─────────────────────┘         ⎭          └──────────────┘
           │
           ▼
┌─────────────────────┐         ⎫
│ Livelihood Type     │         ⎪
└─────────────────────┘         ⎪
           │                    ⎪
           ▼                    ⎪          ┌──────────────┐
┌─────────────────────┐         ⎬          │ Secondary    │
│ Rural, Peri-urban, Urban │    ⎪          │ Selection    │
└─────────────────────┘         ⎪          │              │
        ╱    ╲                   ⎪          └──────────────┘
       ▼      ▼                  ⎪
  ┌────────┐ ┌────────┐          ⎪
  │  Male  │ │ Female │          ⎭
  └────────┘ └────────┘
      ╲          ╲
       ▼          ▼
   ┌──────┐    ┌──────┐
   │ Age  │    │ Age  │
   └──────┘    └──────┘
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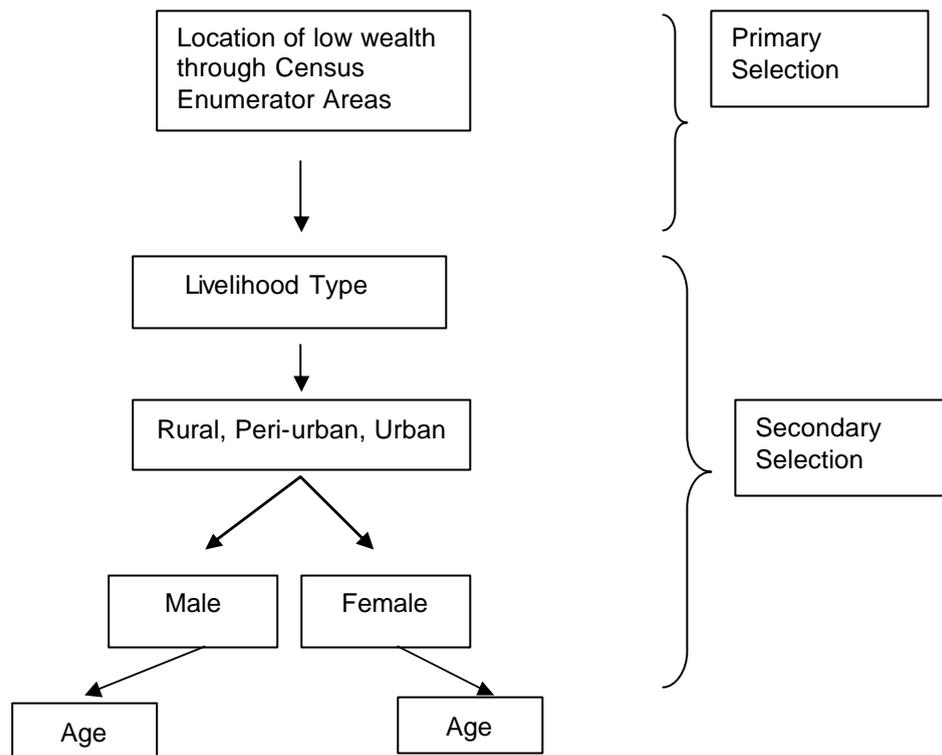
2.3.1 Rationale And Understanding Of Low Wealth

The ultimate objective of social development is to bring about sustained
improvement in the well being of the individual, family, community and
society at large. The reduction or eradication of mass poverty, inequality and
conditions of underdevelopment are widely accepted indicators of social
progress. The dimensions of social development are: social welfare; health;
education; housing; urban and rural development; and land reform.[3]

Social development, defined by Medley, J. in Defining social development:
historical trends and conceptual formulations, Social Development Issues, Volt
16(3), 1994, as a process of planned social change designed to promote
people's welfare in conjunction with a comprehensive process of economic
development.[4]

Set against this background, the first task for Citizen Survey was to establish
how low wealth would be understood in the South African context. South
Africa has reliable data supplied through Statistics South Africa, the October
Household Survey and Human Development Report, where conditions such
as basic needs of food, water, housing, health-care, mortality and education
and not only money were taken into account. Although for the purpose of

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[3] 1997 White Paper on Social Welfare

this study, low wealth was defined as a total household income of less than R899 per month, the sample selection ensured that the people under review were poor in other facets of their daily lives and not just in an income category and therefore was seen to be representative of those of low wealth.

2.3.2 Livelihood Type And Location

The variety of life situations found in South Africa influenced by low wealth indicators led to certain livelihood types being chosen for the survey.

- People dependent on migrant workers sending money back to their families in rural and peri-urban areas;
- Urban and peri-urban people existing on erratic formal and informal income-related activities in informal settlements on the outskirts of cities;
- Subsistence farmers in impoverished peri-urban and rural settlements battling to eke out a living from the soil;
- Grant-dependent households in urban, peri-urban and rural settlements i.e. child support grant, pension etc.

2.3.3 Type of household and length of time in the area

The structure of households and the household's duration of stay in an area were deemed relevant to a person's involvement in the area, such as their accessibility in receiving help and their motivation in giving help. In this way an assessment was made as to whether structure and duration were factors impacting on helping patterns.

South African poverty indicators showed women constituted the majority in this grouping, and that rural women were particularly impoverished. In light of these statistics and along with the increasing number of orphans having to look after siblings as a result of the Aids endemic, the structure of these households was included in the research design.

- Female-headed households
- Child-headed households where the primary care giver was under the age of 18 years
- Households established in the area for more than five years

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[4] Ibid

- Households set up in the area for less than one year.

2.3.4 Gender

From the pilot study of focus group discussions held in Cape Town, it appeared that the patterns of help were different in terms of gender. Females seemed to behave in a slightly different manner when it came to helping as opposed to males. This led to the decision that for each livelihood type, location, household structure and duration of stay, both male and female views would be captured.

2.3.5 Age

Set against the background of low-wealth indicators, emphasis was placed on age groupings to determine whether helping transactions were influenced by the age factor.

2.4 National Research Design

2.4.1 Summary Of Socio-Economic Profile Of Focus Group Informants

To meet the research objectives and the budget frame, 32 focus group discussions were conducted according to the following structure:

GROUP NO.	SIGNIFICANT CATEGORIES / AREA	AGE	GENDER
	WESTERN CAPE, KHAYELITSHA – URBAN		
1	Female-Headed Household	25-49	Female
2	Child- Headed Household	> 17	Male
3	Duration of stay > 5 years	50+	Female
4	Duration of stay < 1 year	25-49	Male
5	Income from wage - formal / informal activities	50+	Female
6	Subsistence farming livestock / land	25-49	Male
7	Sole income is from a Social Grant	18- 24	Female
8	Remittances from migrant workers	25-49	Male
	GAUTENG, THEMBISA – URBAN		
9	Female-Headed Household	50+	Female
10	Child-Headed Household	> 17	Female

11	Duration of stay > 5 years	25-49	Male
12	Duration of stay < 1 year	50+	Female
13	Income from wage - formal / informal activities	18- 24	Male
14	Subsistence farming livestock / land	25-49	Female
15	Sole income is from a Social Grant	18- 24	Male
16	Remittances from migrant workers	50+	Female
	EASTERN CAPE, UMTATA – RURAL		
17	Female-Headed Household	25-49	Female
18	Child-Headed Household	> 17	Female
19	Duration of stay > 5 years	50+	Female
20	Duration of stay < 1 year	25-49	Male
21	Income from wage - formal / informal activities	50+	Female
22	Subsistence farming livestock / land	25-49	Male
23	Sole income is from a Social Grant	18- 24	Female
24	Remittances from migrant workers	18- 24	Male
	LIMPOPO, BOCHUM – RURAL		
25	Female-Headed Household	50+	Female
26	Child-Headed Household	> 17	Male
27	Duration of stay > 5 years	25-49	Female
28	Duration of stay < 1 year	50+	Male
29	Income from wage - formal / informal activities	18- 24	Female
30	Subsistence farming livestock / land	25-49	Male
31	Sole income is from a Social Grant	25-49	Female
32	Remittances from migrant workers	18- 24	Male

2.5 Methodological Issues And Limitations

2.5.1 Accessing Communities

A critical concern in quality and ethically sound research is negotiating access to individual informants and communities. Having conducted numerous national research studies, Citizen Surveys was able to provide field staff who not only understood how to obtain the buy-in and cooperation of key community stakeholders and gatekeepers but who were also ethnically and linguistically matched to the informants under review.

The following community stakeholders were approached and asked to assist with the selection of informants in terms of the sampling specification.

- Indunas or chiefs of rural communities
- Community leaders / Local councillors
- Social workers in the area
- School principals, nursing sisters etc.
- Community-based or faith-based organisations working with people of low wealth

The screening questionnaire assisted in ensuring that informants met the low wealth specifications thus eliminating any possible bias by the stakeholders' choice in selecting informants.

2.5.2 Limitations, Challenges And Solutions

Informants in the discussion groups often focused more on events as shapers of helping transactions. These events had set corresponding helping transactions, which were governed by the accepted practises of the people living in that particular area and therefore could not be deemed to be representative of all people of low wealth.

To counteract any leading by the moderator and to achieve consistency in gathering data the same discussion guide and protocol format was used throughout the 32 groups.

The use of the matrix towards the end of the session helped to refocus the informants who were getting tired at this stage of the discussion. Informants seemed to relate well to the matrix exercise and were able to achieve consensus on the motivation behind giving and receiving (whether it was volition and ascription) and in rating the importance of the transactions.

A limiting factor was encountered when disseminating information from the matrix. The disaggregation of the matrix was problematic as detail and nuance were lost resulting in more generic data being captured.

Any work requiring translation is subject to the risk of some of its essence being lost during the process, each region had a particular descriptive language format, which may have been interpreted differently by an outsider.

Informants taking part in the focus group discussions were given refreshments and a cash incentive for their participation.

2.5.3 Further Investigation

As a result of the focus group discussions and in light of the data captured several potential case studies have been identified. This has been done so that a deeper understanding may be obtained on the forces and factors at play under certain circumstances.

Part TWO: Philanthropy Of Community Landscape

3.0 Major Findings

This section of the report examines how people of low wealth, in the four study sites, used helping transactions in their daily lives. The role of actors (the givers and receivers of help), the description of the help transaction that took place, and the motivation behind the transaction, are all discussed in detail. In this way major forms of help were mapped out to identify patterns, locate relationships, capture the rules of engagement followed in a help transaction and assess causation and trends.

3.1 Overview

As a preliminary comment, people of low wealth living in either rural or urban areas, surviving below the bread line or eking out an existence above the bread line, all had one thing in common in their co-existence in day to day living – the element of help. This was aptly described by one of the informants as "one hand washing the other".

Below is a summary of the main findings:

Help came in two main forms – a tangible material form such as cash, goods in kind loaned and goods in kind given; and a non-material form such as time, knowledge, intervention, physical labour and moral support. These two forms of help were not mutually exclusive and could, and were often, given simultaneously.

In respect to transactions, the term 'transaction' is the generic word covering the types of help given and received. The types of help emerging from this research study among people of low wealth were mental, emotional, spiritual and physical labour (non-material), and goods of material worth, including money. With the exception of food and money all forms of advice and

mental support along with physical labour assistance was given more frequently, distributed more widely and given more freely than goods of material worth.

To understand motivation and philanthropic triggers, the data was examined for consistency of behavioural patterns. The most common form of help given and received was food, closely followed by money. It appeared that goods of material worth, when given (and when asked for) were prioritised and the recipients selectively chosen. Interestingly, when receiving food from neighbours, family/relatives and friends (the most common source), informants gave similar ratings to both volition and ascription as motivators behind the giving and receiving.

Life events as well as emotional and spiritual responses initiate the act of helping (motivators), the most common and frequent life event triggering the biggest variety of help transactions, and experienced by all 32 groups was death. Funerals appeared to utilise a lot of scarce resources and worked accordingly to set rules of engagement well understood by the informants.

In general it appeared as though much of the philanthropic imperatives and impulses were triggered by primary human drives of reproduction, identity and basic feelings such as happiness, badness, and God caring i.e. emotional and spiritual responses largely driven by 'feelings'. The strongest basic feeling constantly referred to by informants when both giving and receiving help was happiness.

The main givers (actors) of these transactions were neighbours, family, and friends. Organisations (church, societies, clubs and committees) appeared to play a more formal helping role in the lives of the informants. Although informants during the discussions rated orphans, the poorest of the poor and those in urgent circumstances as priority receivers of help, the matrix showed that the bulk of the receivers were family, neighbours, and friends.

3.1.1 Transactions

A list of help transaction was drawn up from the data and organised into two forms of help; non-material and material.

Non-Material Help

- Advice
- Problem solving
- Conflict resolution
- Idea generation
- Sharing skills
- Information sharing
- Emotional support
- Comfort
- Consolation
- Encouragement
- Spiritual support/ Prayers
- Assisting those in trouble
- Assisting with depression
- Giving love
- A hug
- Working and pulling together
- Standing together for solidarity

Physical Labour (Non-Material)

- Organising and fetching identity documents, death certificates
- Sharing casual jobs, job opportunities, utilising job connections
- Crime protection, prevention, patrolling, whistle blowing, catching thief, call police, assist victims of crime, visit the person you know in prison.
- Caring for neighbour's children, bathing, feeding, homework, fetching from school and the crèche.
- Caring for the sick, calling ambulance, giving medicine, first-aid, HIV/Aids education, accompany to the clinic, doctor, and hospital. Visit the sick. Assisting at clinic. Assist the injured.
- Repair and rebuild houses - mend walls and leaks, make bricks and attend to plumbing.
- Garden, clean yards, , grow vegetables
- Cook, clean, laundry, ironing and other household chores.
- Fetch water and firewood, cut thatching grass.

- Plant, plough, hoe, weed, harvest, slaughter livestock.
- Put out fires, save belongings from burning shacks.
- Finding and hiring transport push starting cars and giving directions to those who are lost.
- Form groups, clubs, and societies. Organise projects.
- Take care of the elderly, assist pensioners at pay points, bathe parents, collect grant money, and accompany the elderly to visit their family, or to church, funerals.
- Lobby authorities,
- Clean streets, clean the 'area' (suburb).
- Take children to shops; help children cross the street, help look for lost children, look after money, look after keys, wash car.
- Organise soccer playing and choir practice for orphans. Take orphans to Child Welfare.
- Dig grave, build coffin, collect money, dishes and pots, plan work schedule, cook, clean and prepare food, bake bread, sing at funerals.
- Escort home, sleep with bereaved family and take children to a place of safety.
- Give place to plant in field, fetch animal feed, seeds, fertiliser, herd cattle.
- Physically stopping a fight, guiding blind people, help sell goods, pick up cardboard, tins, iron for the dump and recycling,
- Push trolley, help carry loads, fetch stock
- Help neighbour, watch neighbour's house, do errands, teach mathematics, tutor, correct and discipline children,

Goods Of Material Worth

- Money,
- Venture seed capital
- School fees, school donations
- Food
- Blankets, wash cloths, towel
- Clothes, shoes, school uniforms
- Candles, matches, lamps, lights, paraffin
- Shelter and accommodation
- Share electricity, telephone, cell phone
- Lend oxen, tractor, chickens for breeding,
- Sheep, chickens, goat, cow
- Firewood, coal
- Coffin, cupboard
- Beer, drinks
- Veterinary medicine, seeds, fertiliser
- Pots, basin, cup, dishes, spoons
- Gifts
- Chicken feed
- Buy stock

These two main forms of help were broken down further into nine pillars of help.

1. Material form involving money such as cash for payment, venture seed capital, purchasing stock.
2. Material form involving money given as a gift or donation.
3. Material form involving money as a fee for service.
4. Material goods in kind given such as medicine, blankets, animal feed.
5. Material goods in kind lent, such as sharing electricity outlets, telephone, chickens for breeding.
6. Non-material involving physical labour.
7. Non-material involving knowledge such as farming skills, information.
8. Non-material involving interventions such as problem solving, conflict resolution, advice.

9. Non-material involving moral support such as prayers and emotional support.

The intersection between transactions and actors indicated neighbours played a pivotal role in both giving and receiving material help and as such, represented a significant pattern of a helping relationship in the philanthropic landscape.

The intersection between a transaction and its motivation indicated that where the transaction involved non-material help and physical labour, this philanthropic impulse or imperative was ascriptive.

When goods of material worth were given to close family such as children and parents and to neighbours both volition and ascription were interchangeable driving forces. This contrasting view appeared to depend on a variety of factors and as such, provided insight into the rules governing or influencing help transactions. For example:

- Availability - whether money or food was available to give,
- Proximity - where the priority lay as to the closeness of the person asking to the person giving and,
- Reciprocity - whether the person giving had ever been the recipient of help from the person asking.

Non-material support in the form of advice, emotional support and knowledge was rated as ascriptive, very important, and done 'very often'.

Job opportunities and work contacts fell into the same category but from a frequency point of view, the opportunity to share work contacts and to tell of job opportunities did not happen very often.

The rules of engagement for this type of helping transaction were less complicated and operated more on a 'when and where' -it –could-be- applied basis.

When the actor was an organisation such as a burial society, funeral club, grocery club, church, help groups, sports clubs, stokvels, and where its existence was dependent on regular monetary contributions, the giving was compulsory and rated as important.

The location of informants (rural, peri-urban or urban) was not an influencing factor on whether they belonged to an informal or formal club or society, but

age did appear to be a deciding influence. Joining these societies was perceived to be very important to informants falling into the 25-49 year grouping, followed closely by the 50+ years grouping. It appeared from the data that clubs and societies were seen to be vehicles leading to a 'shared movement' away from, or out of, a specific situation.

Informants of all ages had strong connections to the church in both giving and receiving roles, and depending on the specific situation, the church as an actor, was able to provide 'dynamic maintenance' (meaning a positive change) leading to shared movement (meaning a more lasting positive change) in most helping transactions.

Street Committees held a more complex role in urban and peri-urban situations, in that they too, like informal and formal societies, collected money for funerals and in some localities initiations, but were sometimes called upon to fulfil the role of advisors and providers of emotional support in times of death, crime or fire. They were used to resolve conflict, take part in prayers, protect informants from crime, and in some instances help with finding jobs, cook at funerals and take care of the sick and destitute.

3.1.2 Motivators

Motivators can be described as 'when moments' or philanthropic triggers or drivers that inform a help transaction.

These include life events such as: - Funerals, weddings, birth, circumcision, initiation, ancestral celebrations, a 'thanking God' celebration and harvest time.

Situations involving HIV/Aids, crime, illness, accidents, occasions of danger, fire, unemployment, hunger, homelessness, troubles in general and income generating projects.

The help transactions triggered by these events and situations, were supported by a range of values, which included the following:

Emotional and spiritual responses initiated by feelings of reciprocity, empathy, sympathy and mercy.

Religious belief appeared to be of influence when informants gave reasons as being their conscience, and God, love, suffering and struggling as being motivating factors.

Other responses appeared driven by a sense of sharing, a form of exchange and as a way to get prosperity and good luck by taking it in turns.

Sometimes it was seen to be humanitarian or a way to build friendship in the community.

For others it was family obligations, a sense of responsibility, a desire to help, a way of uniting in business, a sense of wanting to help, a form of tradition and culture (Ubuntu).

It was also seen as a way of caring or even by currying favour. On a more negative note it was thought to create grudge if you did not assist.

For most informants it appeared the reaction came from the heart; "You just do it," and "You have experienced it yourself".

These philanthropic triggers shaped by the informant's primary human drives can be collated into three philanthropic principles:

Altruism – giving the individual self-respect and a sense of belonging.

Reciprocity – giving the individual mutual support.

Co-operation – giving individuals, taking part in the transaction, mutual development.

3.1.3 Actors

Besides neighbours, close family, friends, organizations, orphans, the poorest of the poor, and depending on the occasion, locality and circumstance, the actors became more widely spread.   Actors included priests, church elders, councillors, social workers, teachers, the disabled as well as the mentally retarded, pensioners, school children, indunas, sangomas, school principals, businessmen, specific organisations, specific family members, certain targeted individuals, God and Ancestors.

The transactions were often influenced by culture and traditions, for example circumcision rites and ancestral practices and prominent life events such as funerals. These events also utilized considerable resources but as these motivators were regarded as compulsory, actors were required to give what they had.

These patterns manifested themselves consistently throughout the study where variations occurring were shaped by the location, age and sex. To provide a fuller picture, the findings were grouped into the following sub-categories:

- Females and Males;
- Rural and Urban;
- Age group
  - 13 -17 years;
  - 18 – 24 years;
  - 25 – 49 years;
  - 50 years and older

3.2 General Overview Of Females And Males

From a gendered perspective, women and men demonstrated diverse philanthropic impulses and behaviour.

The findings indicated women were household-centric and more innovative and practical in finding ways to supplement their income. Women belonged to a wider variety of informal and formal clubs and societies and ones more inward looking such as the grocery club, exchange club. The importance of clubs, groups and societies in help transactions in the lives of women should not be underestimated and it is suggested that this view be investigated in a

further study to ascertain whether these clubs, groups and societies would be correct intervention points.

Men appeared more self-focused and seemed less motivated to change their circumstances. This seemed to be a result of the men not being sure of what to do and how to go about it. Men belonged to fewer societies and ones more formal in nature and outward looking such as the farming organisation and school committee. The reason why it appears as though men were more involved in individual orientated help should be investigated in a further study in relation to the type of help intervention involving the needs of men.

These gendered findings do not appear to be influenced by age or status i.e., married, unmarried, receiving a grant or informally employed.

In looking to understand primary human drives behind the helping transactions of men and women, in terms of the way their self-interest would affect their philanthropic principles of altruism, reciprocity and co-operation, the data examined the way men and women spent their time and how their feelings affected their philanthropic triggers.

Men tended to spend their spare time with friends playing sport, drinking beer, discussing careers, talking about government projects, participating in crime patrols, sharing farming skills and accompanying people to accomplish various chores.

Women spent their free time engaged in activities around their home, spending time with their family and neighbours as well as spending time with their church and women's groups. Among the younger women, activities involved sport, music, reading, their school, their church and socializing with friends.

Only women spoke about physically expressing feeling of love towards others i.e. hugs. They also spoke more about the role of God, as an actor, in helping transactions. This came in the form of spiritual sustenance and faith in that God would take care of, and see to their needs. Women described their relief in being able to rely on God by handing over troubles one had no control over. This was described as "a handing over to Jesus", and enabled the informants to focus on what they could do under the circumstances. This philanthropic function had God as the actor, playing a role in dynamic

maintenance i.e. a positive change in outlook giving a sense of movement in the right direction and away from the untenable situation.

Women also described God, as a motivator of help, meaning that they, as givers of help, would obtain God's blessing in return for helping others. Alternatively women also described helping as a way of thanking God for having something to give others in need. Being the recipient of help meant the transaction received was a form of payback from God. A celebration thanking God for being there in times of trouble was deemed to be important and was done by organising a religious service at home and inviting your neighbours and people in the community.

Both genders spoke about the role that emotions played as motivators of help. These covered reciprocity, empathy and sympathy and love and were not dependent on location, status or age. Both genders also recognized that jealousy had the ability to destroy the practise of philanthropy.

Gender differences noted in help transactions involved the following:

Men often helped with money. This was given in the form of donations to school, for business purposes i.e. buying stock, collecting money on behalf of others, taking care of / looking after money, and raising money for funerals.

Gender seemed to influence the giving of money in helping transactions, in that men and women outside of the family circle do not borrow from or lend money to each other.

Helping transaction roles were segregated between the sexes, particularly in the area of working with money, roles and tasks undertaken at funerals, and roles and tasks for projects. Projects appeared to run along the same gender lines.

Both genders were equally concerned about not being able to maintain their basic needs, not having a job, not having a regular subsistence, the high unemployment rate, going to bed hungry, and the high crime and mortality rate. Furthermore, they tended to have a growing sense of helplessness in not being able to provide the bare essentials for their families.

Both genders were focused on boking for ways to create an income and follow up any possible employment leads or connections.

Both sexes had clearly defined help transactions during funerals. Women tended to draw up a roster of work, brought along pots, dishes, and drinks

and took part in any cleaning and washing that needed to be done and in preparing and cooking the food.

When men were present their task was to dig the grave, slaughter the livestock, collect dishes and in some cases make a coffin out of a cupboard. Of note, however, were instances where men cooked, cleaned and washed and women slaughtered livestock and dug graves.

Both sexes contributed candles, matches, food and money towards the funeral.

Consensus between women and men was apparent in their view of the future where:

- **From a negative point of view -** concern was voiced about being caught in the middle of a culture of Western values and democracy where being self-focused and self-reliant meant moving away from traditional values underpinned by the spirit of Ubuntu. Ubuntu was understood to mean a compulsion to assist your fellow man regardless of who they were. Both sexes agreed that diminishing resources would have a negative impact on helping patterns exacerbated by increasing feelings of jealousy from those who have nothing, to a breakdown of trust between people as crime escalated because of increasing poverty.

- **From a positive point of view –** it was thought that people would always help, especially those who had the resources to share. It was felt that Ubuntu principles were regenerating as the youth had role models to follow in the family and in the community. It was also felt that by interacting more, people would become more aware of each other's difficulties and so would know how to help. This belief was illustrated by the following phrases, "helping will not change as we see the importance of it" and "the more we pull together the better things will come".

3.2.1 Female Overview

In terms of motivation women appeared to have a strong sense of unity and belonging where it was felt that standing together would achieve solidarity which would lead to change. The hope that conditions would change for

the better was pinned on social development, democratic freedom and in the role of self-help groups. This outlook underscored the important role clubs, groups and societies played as actors in the daily transactions of women. These associations assisted women in maintaining dynamic maintenance (a form of movement bringing a positive change in a specific situation – a primary function of philanthropy) and included:

- Street committee
- Stokvel
- Exchange club
- Cooking club
- Grocery club
- Funeral group/burial society
- Family society, Parent society
- Initiation society
- Blanket society
- Dishes society
- Working society
- Hoeing society, Planting society
- Women's league, Women's guild

Outside of household chores, spare time was spent at church, singing in the choir, giving advice, socialising and sharing ideas with neighbours, friends, and family. Gardening and planting, listening to the radio or watching TV at their neighbours and attending functions are other extramural activities. These activities were indicative of the presence of the principles of philanthropy in the lives of women – for example, self-respect and belonging acting as the trigger for altruism, mutual support the trigger for reciprocity and mutual development the trigger for co-operation.

Happiness was a primary human driver in women. Women defined happiness as having money, food to eat, paid debt, the sale of goods, having a job, having a house and having healthy children who attended school regularly.

The primary concerns of women related to not having money and food, and their children going to bed hungry. They worried about school fees, school uniforms, clothing, crime, the paucity of jobs and they were concerned with

who would look after their family if something happened to them. Single mothers and female heads of orphaned households felt the dependence of children and siblings as an added responsibility that had to be coped with in addition to their dealing with their own grief and sorrow. A number of women expressed feelings of depression about their situations:

- "What makes me not sleep is crime and the youth being destroyed"
- "There is nothing that makes me happy; I am just suffering"
- "What am I going to do in the morning?"

Looking at this situation through the lens of help, the reliance of women on the helping role of actors, such as neighbours, friends and family for emotional support, advice and supply of basic foodstuffs during these times, was significant. From a safety perspective the role of street committees in giving urban and peri-urban women a sense of safety and security indicated the importance of belonging to such a structure, be it formal or informal, where their basic needs were met.

The importance of nurturing in the lives of women manifested itself in the type of help transactions taking place. Philanthropic impulses or imperatives motivated by illness, injury, accidents and emotional responses (such as goodness of heart, sympathy, empathy, caring for one another, mercy) resulted in women undertaking the following:

- Caring for the sick, calling the ambulance, accompanying the ill to hospital, giving first aid, giving HIV education and medication, assisting the injured and taking the sick to a clinic.
- Caring for pensioners, bathing parents, taking the elderly to visit their family.
- Caring for neighbour's children, correcting children and helping them improve their behaviour, taking a child to a place of safety, encouraging children to go to school, doing homework, caring for orphans, helping children cross the street, fetching children from crèche.

Yet from a negative perspective it was only women who experienced the ridiculing from other women with regard to their lowly circumstances.

Women were concerned with security and there was a concentration of help activities relating to this aspect. For example:

- Watching out for the neighbour's house
- Looking after the neighbour's keys
- Calling the police
- Organise whistle blowing to call for help when being attacked, raped, mugged or physically assaulted
- Catch the thief
- Stop fights and resolve conflict
- Visit people close to you who are in prison

These forms of help triggered by feelings of vulnerability was a result of the high incidence of crime in the daily lives of women, and were seen to be interventions related to safety and security.

Access to social grants was seen as a positive contribution by government but RDP houses, toilets and taps (piped water) were still needed. In terms of help, fetching water and wood was deemed to be a very important function, done often and mainly for neighbours, family and friends. It was predominantly seen to be a voluntary task. Other actors given water and wood (food?) included orphans, pensioners, the church and societies.

Shelter and accommodation was a well-defined transaction and in the discussion groups, homeless street people were the prioritised recipients. However data taken from the matrix showed that family played a consistent, predominant role in both giving and receiving accommodation.

Orphans were taken to the nearest place of safety or to social workers. Youth councillors and social workers were involved in female orphan-headed households, as was the Church, which assisted with school fees, school uniforms and food.

From a help perspective, female orphans assisted with physical labour such as carrying loads, escorting people home, fetching water, and chopping wood. Women saw all help transactions involving orphans as compulsory and very important.

Women appeared not to borrow money and where it did occur it was in the form of capital loans to start a business. Money borrowed for this purpose did

not accrue any interest. Other money issues were related to school uniforms and school fees.

Help transactions involving women were generally of a non-material nature and often involved physical labour, which made up the bulk of the transactions. Women said it was easier to get help from people who knew you well, such as those who lived close by, like your neighbours who would never say no to your request for assistance.

Funerals were prevalent and the variety of help rendered by women were as follows:

- Mental, spiritual and emotional support – keeping the grieving company, undertaking prayers, listening to the grieving, drawing up a work roster.
- Physical labour – fetching the death certificate, washing, cleaning, preparing and cooking food, slaughtering livestock.
- Material goods – the provision of candles, matches, soap, money, food, beer, drinks, livestock for slaughtering.

The burial society or funeral group supplied the money, food, coffin, candles and the animal for slaughter (usually a sheep). Other actors were street committees who collected funeral donation money over and above that of the burial society, neighbours, family, friends, church elders and priest.

For women, belonging to a burial society was important   and was taken into consideration in the planning of their limited budget. To those women who had nothing (those without the financial means to join a burial society) the worry of how they were going to bury a family member was a constant concern.

Initiations, circumcisions and weddings required helping transactions involving goods of material worth:- a combination of money, towels, blankets, basins, washcloths, bed linen, clothing, food and drinks, slaughter livestock, gifts. Physical labour included slaughtering, cleaning, preparing and cooking the food. The actors involved were neighbours, close family members, and societies.

Women appeared to have clear rules of engagement when planned helping activities took place.

Women were concerned with society's move away from traditional culture. Ancestors as actors were included in helping transactions and holding an ancestral celebration was seen to be a motivating factor in a help transaction. Tradition and culture played an important role in family life as expressed in the following extracts:

- "Bantu thinking is changing to one of minding your own business."
- "Western culture is breaking down traditional culture leaving people stuck in the middle of nowhere."
- "We are caught between the old and the new and our children are not learning traditional ways of helping regardless of where the person comes from."
- "Moving away from a culture in which family comes first."

On the other hand some women felt -

- "Ubuntu is re-emerging"
- "People always help if they have something to give"
- " Youth are following the example of helping"
- "Humanity and improvement come through learning better things".

3.2.2 Male Overview

Men appeared to be more affected (mentally) with their state of unemployment and the fact they were unable to maintain their family commitments as determined by society's expectations of them, which resulted in stress. They also grouped assistance with depression and consolation as some of the non-material transactions they were able to give. A sense of helplessness was apparent in the following extractions:

- "People have changed. They've lost their understanding and respect for each other" .
- "No opportunities result in people doing bad things, everything revolves around money and those at the bottom suffer".
- "The high death rate means more expenses".

In order to examine the primary human drives behind philanthropic principles of altruism, reciprocity and co-operation, the data looked at what spare-time

activities men took part in. This often revolved around the church, school, the community and family – particularly wives and children if married or girl/boy friends if they were single. A more philosophical outlook was present when men gathered with friends and talk concentrated on their careers and the future, leaders working efficiently to deliver promises as well as involvement in the government's development projects. Soccer and volleyball were the most common sports and reading, singing, listening to the radio, watching television, having a braai and going to the tavern were other relaxing activities. Happiness was found in being able to obtain employment, having a bed, having access to water (farming activities), provisions for the house, receiving help and the care of the community.

The main concerns of men related to not having a job, violence, a doomed future, no money, no food, dependence on their mother, the increase in Aids, crime and child rape, tertiary and school fees, not being able to meet the needs of the family, Ubuntu disappearing, not having a wife, and up to nine people depending on one income.

Men identified the motivators of help as:

- hunger
- unemployment
- homelessness
- fire
- crime
- celebrations
- harvest time
- weddings
- bringing ancestors to a new home
- death
- birth
- initiations
- illness
- HIV/Aids
- accidents
- troubles
- organising income-generating projects.

Emotional responses acting as motivators of help included:

- empathy
- suffering
- sympathy
- reciprocity
- out of love
- tradition
- wanting to help
- And a duty to help.

Men had a sense of belonging in their communities and they played their role in the community by cleaning up the area, taking papers to the dump, cleaning the yard and the house. This was aptly described as; "One hand washes the other".

- Escorting drunk people home, taking orphans to Child Welfare, organising soccer and choir for orphans, doing errands, pushing trolleys
- Tutoring, assisting with mathematics, homework, sharing farming skills
- Advice on breeding and cultivation

Respect for the elderly comes across strongly as is their involvement in Street Committees and Neighbourhood Watch patrols. The lack of respect for the law is ascribed to fewer people practising Ubuntu, as people don't care. The discipline of wrong doers is felt to be part of the community's function because traditional methods are best.

- Assisting pensioners at pay points, collecting grant money, taking pensioners to church, funerals, and the clinic.
- Taking part in night patrols, assisting in fighting crime, alerting police, assisting victims of crime, resolving conflict.

Men, as actors in helping transactions, were involved in raising money for funerals over and above that supplied by burial and funeral societies.   Trust with money seemed to be a dominant value underpinning help transactions

between men and spaza owners, farmers and pensioners. This was shown by the latter entrusting men with their money in order to purchase:-

- Animal feeds, seeds, fertiliser, veterinary medicine
- Stock
- Provisions
- Collecting and looking after money
- Accompanying children to shops

The role of men during helping transactions involving funerals included digging graves and, in some instances, making coffins from cupboards. Preparations for funerals required men to collect dishes, slaughter livestock, sleep in the house of the bereaved, giving consolation, comfort and emotional support, and singing at the funeral service.

Other help transactions involved physical labour and included the laying of bricks, plumbing, building and repairing homes, herding cattle, ploughing, hoeing, planting vegetables and harvesting. Men rated these helping activities as very important with the most common actors being neighbours, friends and family. What was interesting to note was that involvement in planting vegetables and participating in self-help projects were regarded as voluntary whereas cultivating was seen to be compulsory. This differing perspective on these two types of help initiatives could be a result of the men's concern with status and pride influenced by gender stereotypical roles. In identifying actors involved in helping transactions men included actors with perceived power and access to greater resources, such as: businessmen, indunas, sangomas, doctors, school principals as well as neighbours, family, relatives, friends, councillors, social worker, teachers, priests and strangers.

The organisations men belonged to were fewer than those joined by women and appeared to focus on organisations geared towards development rather than mutual reciprocity. These organisations included stokvels, self-help groups, Child Welfare, school committees, street committees, a youth club, burial societies, and farming groups.

Men hoped that the future would improve and this was pinned on the following:

- "Changes are technology-driven and democracy has opened up things for improvement and people will get work and that will bring change and security".

- "If people sit back, get lazy and do nothing then change won't happen; we need goals and dreams to bring about change".

On a more pessimistic note: -

- "It's becoming difficult to help someone; you have to think before running to help as you can get robbed, into bad trouble and end up getting hurt."

- "Help used to be compulsory - now it's if you want to help".

- "Westernisation is bringing about change, people are thinking individually".

3.3 Overview Of Giving In Rural And Urban Communities

The main difference between urban and rural settings was between that of the actor and help transactions involving goods of material worth.

In urban and peri-urban settings help transactions were generally more structured and here trust and knowing a person well appeared to be influential motivating factors. This was shown by informants saying how important it was for both actors to have some form 'personal' knowledge about each other as distrust of strangers appears high. Associational help transactions in rural and peri-urban urban areas addressed needs such as planting and cultivating relating to subsistence farming and where mutual reciprocity occurred. The main actors were neighbours, friends and family members.   This is in contrast to urban areas where neighbours and friends play a more predominant role as family members are more scattered.

In the urban and peri-urban setting the growth of organisations – clubs and societies - were indicative of the escalating needs of the recipients in helping transactions involving goods of material worth to meet their daily shortfall. These informal and formal structures were more exposed to government initiated self-help projects and often served as a conduit for government to

get the message across to people living in those areas. This helping activity was seen to encourage mutual movement for those taking part in the intervention.

In urban and peri-urban settings the perception of crime being related to high unemployment levels was widespread and both factors appeared to be major motivators of help. A general feeling of mistrust was beginning to creep into communities and therefore the need to be closely acquainted with a person was a criterion for them to be included in a planned helping transaction.

In some instances, a help transaction seemed to be driven by a need to belong, for example:

- "Giving and receiving help builds friendship in the community"

In others it was seen to be able to provide movement in a positive direction away from a difficult situation, for example: People are motivated by a sense of 'self' to move from a situation or space of unhappiness (emotional, mental, spiritual) or pain (physical, mental, emotional) to a situation or space of safety, relief, comfort, happiness or hope.

- "Organisations set up will replace Ubuntu and government projects will help eradicate poverty and get people work".

Receiving help was perceived to be an encouraging motivator; and by a person communicating their needs to others and by accepting the role of reciprocity as the rules of engagement at play, meant the person was able to experience a sense of belonging to the area (in the area/to the community).

Differences between rural and urban helping transactions were found more in the interactive nature of the transaction. For example:

In the rural setting, the stretching of resources seemed possible, in that a little went a long way. People appeared more stoic as daily activities were often dependent on climatic conditions and therefore out of their personal control. Many transactions were of the exchange nature;

- redoing mud on walls, cutting thatching grass, repairing houses, making bricks
- hoeing – weeding and cultivating

- ploughing, planting and harvesting
- lending chickens for breeding purposes
- lending a tractor or oxen for ploughing
- sharing seed, fertiliser
- loans with no interest

Another common transaction in rural areas was assisting people who were lost by giving directions and by offering shelter.

In comparing urban and rural locations, a difference was found in the motivator and prioritisation of the transaction.

Rural

Unconditional help was a more accepted norm in the rural areas with the poorest of the poor and old people being given everything; however, rural orphans felt all forms of help were compulsory, in both giving and receiving.

- "It is too embarrassing to even think of helping someone in the hope of something in return".
- "I am going to give preference to the one who came first because I cannot know their types of problems. Even if my relative came last then he will be given last".

Urban

In urban settings the neighbour in their capacity as an actor, in both the giving and receiving role, seemed to hold a dominant and important position. This position was informed by proximity, meaning the physical location of the actors in the help transaction. This is illustrated below:

- "Your neighbour stays close to you and whenever you go out of your yard your neighbour is there. Your neighbour is the first one to come and rescue you because our families are far away. So the neighbour is the one that will tell your family what happened to you, so I will give my neighbour first."
- "I get help from my friend because my friend introduced me to his parents so they help me because I work for them".

3.3.1 Rural Areas

Recipients of help in rural settings were grateful and thankful their community was able to assist them in their troubles. The kindness experienced promoted a sense of belonging and in being united during difficult times. Traditional culture existed and the headman played a prominent role as an actor.

- "You might find the problem is too big to handle and that you need the headman and you explain your problems and they ring a bell. This summons the people and that's where the help comes from".

Jealousy, described as not wanting to see others succeed, was recognised as an obstacle that could ultimately destroy the act of helping. When a person was not able to help, feelings of guilt, sadness and a sense of badness were experienced. When a person asking was not able to be helped a sense of shame, hurt and disappointment, and a wish they could be more like others were prevalent.

In order to find out more about underlying values that trigger philanthropic transactions, rural activities were examined. Enjoyment focused on the church for both men and women; and sport for the younger members of the rural areas. The return to the rural areas of parents, children or siblings working elsewhere was looked forward to. The appreciation of weather conditions was common and thankfulness when it rained was universal. Access to piped water had made a difference to the time spent previously on carrying water and gave informants more time to spend gardening and planting. Happiness was defined as having food, a bed to sleep in and finding a job. Ways of supplementing income were often related to selling produce or selling physical labour by looking after absentee neighbours' fields and houses, assisting with ploughing, planting, hoeing, weeding and herding livestock.

Areas of concern were joblessness resulting in not having a regular income. This impacted on informants not meeting their daily needs such as: – food, school fees, uniforms, clothing and shoes. The increase in crime, HIV/Aids and child rape were issues keeping people awake at night and played a role in the helping transactions sought from actors such as neighbours, friends and family with regard to their safety and well-being.

Rural related concerns were –

- Weather conditions - drought, flooding, seasonal changes, heat, and sudden cold spells.
- Not having enough money to buy feed for livestock.
- Shortage of funds for farming – government-funded avenues were difficult to access; their own farming organisations were short of funds, or not having their own money to sustain themselves.
- For the self-employed, the difficulty lay in the area not having enough customers to make quantifiable purchases to sustain their enterprises.

Motivators for transactions

In rural settings, philanthropic drivers or 'when' moments motivating a help response were largely related to life events, emergencies and seasonal factors.

Reciprocity, altruism and co-operation were all elements found in the helping transactions and rules of engagement relating to initiations, weddings, funerals, bringing ancestors to their new home as well as situations in which thanks was given to God and ancestors.

Helping transactions were used to cope with instances of fire, homelessness, hunger, crime, illness and the effects of unemployment.

Seasonal triggers for helping transactions that were predominantly reciprocal in nature were:

- Spring for ploughing and planting.
- Autumn for harvesting.
- Uniting for business – a form of solidarity to achieve results.

Emotional triggers revealed emergent values behind transactions and these included:

- Chores in exchange for help and payment in the form of physical labour was reciprocity (reciprocal?).
- Being community minded was solidarity without reciprocity.
- And compassion and sympathy were the foremost values when dealing with suffering, the desire to help unconditionally.

In addition, tradition and practices of co-operation were cited as values underpinning help transactions. An attitude of 'keeping the peace' was also noted as by refusing to or being unable to help led to grudges being created.

Transactions relating to farming activities in a rural setting were triggered by the following philanthropic principles: mutual help to build social capital, reciprocity with obligation, altruism reinforcing a sense of belonging, solidarity without reciprocity. These transactions included the following forms of help:

Goods of material worth

- Loan with no interest, money to buy stock, money, school donations, school fees
- Firewood
- The loan of oxen or a tractor for ploughing and planting, and chickens for breeding; sharing transport
- Sharing seed, fertiliser
- Paraffin, candles, matches, lamp
- Donating livestock for slaughter at a life event (sheep, goat, chicken, cow)
- Produce given allowing the recipient to sell it for money.
- Dried mealies, pumpkin
- Sharing electricity and giving access to the telephone

Physical labour

- Fetch water, put out fire, save from fire
- Bake bread
- Plant vegetables, assist in harvesting, planting, hoe, weed, herd cattle, fetch animal feed, seeds, fertiliser, veterinary medicines
- Initiate self-help groups – Breeding Chickens Society, Sewing Club
- Involvement in projects – Library, Internet, Day-care

Non-material

- Advice on breeding, growing crops, cultivation in general

- Share income-generating ideas

More general goods of material worth were:
- Food, drinks, beer, salt
- Clothes, shoes, school uniform
- Accommodation
- Gifts
- Life event - coffin, blanket, towel, basin, cup, soap, plates, pots, spoons, washcloth.

Physical labour
- Informing others about part-time jobs, help sell goods, sharing a job at place of work
- Assist with mathematics, look after neighbour's children, take child to place of safety, encourage children to go to school, bathe neighbour's children
- Take pensioners to pay points, volunteer at pay point
- Take to clinic, fetch medicines, care for sick children, give medicine, teach Aids awareness
- Fighting crime, call police, assist those in trouble, protect against criminals
- Assisting the lost and homes (homeless), give directions, push cars, find transport
- Leading blind people.
- Clean yard, household chores, lay bricks, plumbing, fix house, clean street, build house, hold church service in the home.
- Assist with feasts and funerals, collect crockery, cutlery and pots, wash dishes, dig grave, sleep in the houses of bereaved family, slaughter livestock.

Non-material support
- Problem solving
- Information and advice
- Conflict resolution

- Love and emotional support, comfort
- Sympathy for the bereaved and spiritual support, prayer.

Actors

The rural landscape of actors differed from those in the urban one. Rural villages were sometimes still governed by traditional ways, which meant the headman or Induna, was an actor informants went to for help when the household was not able to provide help. In addition to the headman, traditional ways were still practised by elderly rural men who saw their role as one of assisting with discipline and in meting out punishment:

- "We go and sit together; we don't call the police because if we do they might put him away for years and then there will be no one to look after the cattle. So we call our own court and call the kid and advise him from there, the sentence is not in the Western (manner?)".

The only other outsider brought in to rural households in terms of helping situations the household was not able to handle, was the social worker. For example households appear to have established 'help' routes for more common everyday experiences such as asking the neighbour for food. In instances where help was needed outside their everyday experience or 'pool of resources' their alternative was the social worker.

Rural organisations were dominated by farming groups, village society and water committees.

The most common practises of help as shown on the matrix were between neighbours, family members and friends in spite of informants saying in the discussion groups that actors receiving priority help were the disabled, the poorest of the poor, children and orphans as well as the elderly. This finding resonates with a general pattern emerging in the help landscape whereby those perceived to be the most vulnerable in society were assisted and these were in actuality, the informants themselves. However, the underlying motive appeared to be compassion.

The future rural perspective was pragmatic.

- "You can't help someone with farming if the weather doesn't permit it".

From a positive aspect:-

- "It will be three times better than now because of the things we do as a community with all of us participating. Our children will not start from the beginning; they will just continue where we left off. There will be a lot of real change".
- "We'll always help each other in these ways. Yes, it's how we do it in the community, we always help each other."

From a negative perspective:-

- "In the past you could go to the local chief's farm and plough there for free – but now that thing doesn't happen anymore".
- "The drought has caused the change and we cannot help each other with livestock. South Africa's standard of living has dropped and a lot of things are happening so now people are afraid and there's no Ubuntu now".
- "People don't abide by the law - the elders are the only ones with respect. We have problems with people stealing our cattle and selling it".

3.3.2 Urban Areas

Recipients of help in an urban setting experienced a sense of calming down, a sense of encouragement and considerateness when they were included in a help transaction.

Underlying motivational values behind the help transaction appeared to play an important part in the receiving person's sense of well-being. For example:- Giving was understood to be from the heart and a way of showing respect and thoughtfulness. Informants experienced relief when they were in a position of being able to give when asked, as well as receiving when asking. This same sense of relief was also felt when they prayed and handed over their troubles to a higher power.

When a person was not able to help the general feeling experienced was unhappiness and a sense of "badness". When the person was not in a

position to give help with material goods other options were explored such as help in a non-material form:

- "Maybe I cannot help someone with HIV but I can give them advice; I will give him a hug".
- "I ask, can I help you by preparing porridge for you? Wash the pots and dishes for you?"

In order to find out more about underlying values that trigger philanthropic transactions, urban activities were examined. Enjoyment revolved around socialising with friends, neighbours and close family members. Activities organized by the church, school, clubs and societies were manifestations of being part of a caring community. Happiness was experienced when work was obtained that made available money for food, clothing and school fees. Sharing ideas and passing on information was an important function in day-to-day living. From this data, motivational philanthropic primary drivers appeared to be solidarity, support and feelings of well-being.

Helping transactions that took place in urban areas were created by concern focused on not having money, a shortage or absence of food, being unemployed and not being able to find work and in being unable to provide for their families. Concerns of those living in informal settlements included not having water, not having a house, and not having rent money.

Actors that assisted with dynamic movement – meaning a help transaction that brought about a positive change to the circumstance, were neighbours, friends and family members. These material forms of help were mainly food related, and followed a pattern of ascription triggered by compassion and was deemed to be very important.

Philanthropic 'when' moments triggering transactions were related to:

Giving birth, initiations, circumcisions, weddings, funerals, ancestral celebrations, and orphans. Other instances included hunger, accidents, fire, trouble, hunger, crime, illness, HIV/Aids, unemployment, being homeless, and organising projects to generate income.

Emotional triggers revealed emergent values behind transactions and these included:

- Reciprocity – in exchange.

- Religious belief strengthening psycho-social support - Caring for one another, God's blessing, and your conscience.
- Solidarity - Building friendship in the community.
- Altruism - sense of responsibility, desire, out of love.
- Compassion – in cases of abuse.
- Co-operation - Wanting help from the community.

Helping Transactions involved two forms – Material and non-material and the most common actors were neighbours, family members and friends. Burial societies were the most common organisations involved.

Goods of material worth were
- Money, school donations, school fees
- Coal
- Assisting with transport
- Paraffin, candles
- Donating livestock for slaughter at a life event (sheep, chicken)
- Sharing electricity and providing access to telephones
- Food, beer,
- Clothes, shoes, school uniform
- Accommodation
- Gifts
- Blanket, soap

Physical labour – non-material form of help:
- Fighting shack fires, putting out fire, saving from fire, rebuilding house (shack?), rescue
- Night watch crime patrol, crime protection, call police, assist victims of crime, catch thief, organize whistle-blowing for crime prevention
- Vegetable gardening, fetch water
- Finding transport, push trolley, wash car, push car, give directions
- Organise projects, form groups and clubs, join self-help groups

- Organise soccer coaching and choir practice for orphans, take orphans to child welfare, fetch and organise identity documents, fetch death certificate
- Buy stock for spaza owners,
- Telling people about jobs, network job connections, help sell things, sharing a job at place of work
- Tutoring, homework, look after neighbour's children, accompany children to the shop, help children cross the street, fetch children from crèche, correct children and tell them how to behave
- Assist the elderly, take pensioners to church and funerals, collect grant money, look after money, bathe parents
- First-aid, look after the sick, call ambulance, take to hospital, fetch medicine dispense HIV medication, give medicine, teach Aids awareness
- Washing, escorting drunk people home, tidy yard, cook, household chores, take papers to dump, recycle cardboard, tins, iron, repair leaking shacks, clean area (community)
- Collect dishes for funeral, sing at funerals, slaughter livestock.

Psycho-social and mental support - Non-material
- Problem solving, assisting those in trouble
- Information on income-generating ideas, farming skills and advice
- Conflict resolution
- Love and emotional support, comfort, consolation, a hug
- Working and pulling together, lobbying authorities
- Listening and spiritual support, prayer
- Assist with depression

Actors

Neighbours played a pivotal role in urban life, both in giving and receiving help. Close family and friends were more involved in helping transactions occurring around circumcision, funerals, births and weddings.

Street committees and the neighbourhood watch were specific to providing informants with a sense of safety and protection. As an organisation, urban

street committees were used to interface with other levels of civil authority in the form of lobbying for change, or were used as a more formal structure with which informants were able to voice their displeasure at a current circumstance.

Actors involved with psycho-social support such as assisting with depression were friend, neighbour or close family member. These actors were interchangeable, in that they were givers as well as receivers.

Clubs, groups and societies were the main actors dispensing goods of material worth such as money from stokvels, or groceries, dishes etc as determined by the organisation's function. These organisations were often the only means by which the goods could have been acquired due to the member's low wealth situation.

Increasing crime has led to a feeling of mistrust between people living in urban and peri-urban areas. This has resulted in stricter rules of engagement in helping transactions involving material goods. This means that givers of help want to know the person fully before going ahead with the transaction. For example:

- "You don't know this person, so you must study him and see what type of person he is; because we come from different areas we need to get to know each other and become friends and then we help each other."

Individual actors in the urban setting were mainly neighbours, close family members, friends. After this came the elderly, orphans, the poorest of the poor, councillor, social worker, teacher, Ancestors, or the 'person who thinks of me'.

Urban organisations included the church, burial society, stokvel, youth club, Child Welfare, school society, family society, parent society, exchange club, cooking club, funeral group, initiation society, grocery society.

Urban specific actors taking part in urban related help transactions were street committees, night watch patrols, businessmen, doctor, sangoma, and street people. The appeared as though the function of these initiatives was to bring about some form of shared movement.

The future from an urban perspective was viewed as:

Positive

- "There will be change now that these small organisations have just started. These organisations help people and give them ideas so that they are able to know what to do to uplift our community. Even the youth are trying and in this way our economy will grow".
- "I think if people in the community become committed to change and get the involvement and commitment of the businessman and rich people to share their resources with us in the manner needed then the changes can occur".

Negative

- "People who are able to help are moving away from the townships to the suburbs so they lose touch with the needs of the township."
- "The lack of jobs leads to poverty and poverty is destroying Ubuntu morality."

3.4 Overview Of Community Philanthropy Among Various Age Groups

3.4.1 Child-Headed Households (13 -17 Years Of Age)

This age grouping was made up of:

- rural, male and female heads of households
- urban, male and female heads of households

The general outlook was one of acceptance of their lot and ultimately of hope. The children's interaction with the community was good and a sense of gratefulness was experienced when help was received. All four groups had identified neighbours, relatives and friends as actors they turned to for help transactions involving food and money.

In order to find out more about underlying values that trigger philanthropic transactions, the children's interests were examined. Many relaxing activities were linked to events taking place at school such as the choir, playing with friends, learning, reading books and sport such as soccer and volleyball. Church and Sunday school were important as was 'going out' and being with people who cared and helped. Talking about careers and the future and

listening to music were also related to having fun. Happiness meant having money, working and sleeping.

Of concern were the education of siblings and the completion of their own schooling. In this area the church played an active role in assisting with school fees, clothing and food.

The stress and strain of trying to meet the needs of their siblings were apparent and a constant worry was who would look after the family if something happened to them. Not having money meant going to bed hungry, not being able to finish school, not being able to plant crops or buy much needed clothing and food. Not being able to find work and having to get an income of sorts by undertaking odd jobs left the children, head of households, feeling fearful of tomorrow.   To counteract this state of affairs the children turned to neighbours, relatives, friends, and the church. In one area, the children had developed a close relationship with their street committee in order to overcome their vulnerability.

Philanthropic 'when' moments triggering transactions in the lives of children were: Deaths and funerals, initiation, schooling, fire, homeless situations, hunger, illness, HIV/Aids and crime.

A worry for children in this age group was their inability to physically protect themselves in dangerous situations and this was of particular concern to girls.

The intervention used by these children to protect themselves and to give themselves a sense of control in an untenable situation was whistle blowing. This action was used to summon the assistance of neighbours, passers-by and the street committee. The insecurity felt at being exposed to violence gave rise to the feeling of a doomed future.

- "Thugs come in and rape us, take clothes and beat us up, so we organise people to walk around the streets at night so that when you blow your whistle they come to assist you".
- "We need water and flushing toilets in our shacks. We want to be safe in our shacks. There is lots of thieving".
- "If you have a problem you go to the street committee and they write you a letter to take to the social worker".
- "Sometimes we sleep with empty stomachs so we end up going to the social worker."

Emotional triggers revealed emergent values behind transactions and these included: compassion when seeing suffering, altruism and empathy as a result of 'having experienced it yourself', reciprocity, and solidarity in order to 'build friendship in the community'.

Help was perceived to be compulsory, especially from neighbours and to siblings. Reciprocity was the underlying value motivating help transactions with work colleagues and friends where help was seen as a two-way street.

Helping Transactions involved two forms – Material and non-material and the most predominant actors were neighbours, relatives and friends and the most common transactions involved food and money.

Material goods: Money, food, school fees, uniforms, clothing, shoes, using the telephone, blankets, and accommodation.

Physical labour – non-material
- Fetch water, put out fire, save from fire, rescue belongings from burning shacks
- Plant vegetables, cut wood, slaughter livestock, dig grave, fix leaking shacks, rebuild home, clean yard
- Lead a blind person, errands, escort home, make clothes, chores, organising and fetching identity documents
- Look after the sick, assist the elderly, first-aid, call ambulance, find transport, take to the clinic
- Homework, tutoring, look after neighbour's children,
- Neighbourhood watch, deal with thief, crime protection, whistle-blowing
- Telling people about job opportunities.

Pyscho-social support - Non-material: Consolation, advice, prayer, comfort, support, information, problem solving, resolving conflict.

Actors

Neighbours, family, relatives, teachers, school principal, the elderly, social worker, councillor, church, street committee, sports club, younger siblings, work colleagues, stokvel, burial society, neighbourhood watch.

Out of these, neighbours were found to play a very important role in supporting the child head of household, with both emotional and material support.

Teachers played an advisory role as well as being a source of encouragement in the setting of goals and priorities.

Social workers were only called upon after the child head of household, had first approached the neighbour or street committee or on the advice of the teacher.

Belonging to the stokvel and burial society was problematic as any form of self-generated income was erratic and grant money was fully utilised buying food.

Church involvement helped the child head of household cope with the needs of their siblings by seeing to their education while simultaneously seeing to their spiritual requirements. Any spare money was given to the church collection.

The term neighbourhood watch was interpreted as looking after the neighbour's property.

Future concerns centred on

- "Neighbours moving away means there will be no role models for the youth to follow".
- "Life as it is lived now is changing because people feel jealous and like to create misunderstandings".
- "Increasing crime, unemployment, poverty and ill health means there will be a reduction in help as many people will be in hospital and jail"
- "Creating distrust by saying you are bewitching that family kills kindness among young people".

A more positive future focused on

- "There are people always willing to help and share what they have."

- "People will always carry on helping".
- "In the future people will have moved from shacks to proper houses with water and flushing toilets".

Points of difference

The organisation as an actor, which rural boys and girls interacted with most, was the church whereas urban boys and girls interacted mostly with street committees.

Helping transactions involving physical labour and undertaken by rural boys and girls included the following: chopping wood, fetching water, lending chickens for breeding purposes, giving directions to those lost, assisting with farming-related chores – building a coral, herding cattle, planting, hoeing, and harvesting.

Although actors in both locations were involved in crime prevention and protection, it was the urban boys and girls who actively undertook crime patrolling as a help transaction.

Urban, boys and girls interacted with social workers. Only urban boys belonged to a stokvel and a burial society.

Rural, boys and girls received and gave to neighbours and remaining close family first. Only rural boys included actors such as the school principal, teachers and friends. Only rural girls included reciprocity as an underlying motivational trigger with people you work with as actors in a two-way-street scenario.

3.4.2 18 – 24 Year Olds

This age grouping was made up of:
- Rural, men, living on money sent by a family member working in another city, province or country.
- Rural and urban, men and women, obtaining an income from informal activities;
- Rural and urban, men and women, whose sole income was from a social grant;

Looking through the lens of help, the most dominant pattern emerging out of this age group was one where neighbours, family and friends played a

prominent role in help transactions as givers and receivers. Situations calling for food, money, sickness, advice, emotional support, clothing and 'care' services were prevalent in all livelihood types represented in the sample of respondents. Volition was applied to help with food, money and sickness whereas ascription was applied to advice, emotional support clothing and care services.

On a more general note, other help transactions taking place in the lives of these informants were shaped by unemployment and a bleak future. Aspirations of having a career were difficult to maintain in light of the dearth of jobs. Getting together to share ideas and plan projects to generate an income assisted informants in this age category in the sense that felt themselves gaining control over events.

Crime, celebrations, funerals, HIV/Aids, fire, homelessness, abuse, unemployment, income-generating projects, illness, and hunger influenced helping transactions.

Underlying values triggering emotional responses included the following:

> Reciprocity – 'wanting the community to return the help',
>
> Compassion – 'seeing the struggling';
>
> Altruism – 'unconditional help'.

Helping transactions involved two forms – material and non-material

Goods of material worth: Money, food, school fees, uniforms, donations for school, pay debt, clothing, shoes, using the telephone, sharing electricity, blankets, pots, dishes, soap, and accommodation.

Physical labour – non-material

- Fetch water, wash cars, put out fires, collect and wash up dishes, chairs for funerals, sing at funerals, assist with feasts.
- Gardening, assist with selling, collect donations, give directions to those lost, clean yard, clean up 'area' (community), lay bricks, mend walls, rebuild house.

- Escort drunk people home, household chores, cook, laundry, do errands, fetch water, look after neighbour's keys, push trolleys, push-start cars, recycle tins.
- Look after the sick, push those in wheelchair to doctor, fetch medicines, call ambulance, find transport, take to hospital, teach Aids awareness.
- Look after neighbour's children, accompany children to shops, coach orphans soccer and choir, assist with studies, take children to place of safety, help children cross the street, fetch children from crèche.
- Night watch, patrol streets, catch thief, stop crime, call the police, assist victims of crime, assist those in trouble, accompany to the police station.
- Buy stock for spaza owners, collect grant money, look after money
- Accompany the elderly to collect pensions and to church, do shopping for the elderly.
- Start clubs and societies, organize income-generating projects, tell people about job opportunities

The philanthropic pattern emerging here, as seen from the above list, was one where 'caring' services' played a dominant role in the lives of 18 – 24 year olds. This was rated as very important, frequently done and was seen as being compulsory.

Psycho-social support - Non-material: Comfort, advice, prayer, support, information, share ideas, and problem solving. These helping transactions were often underpinned by compassion and reciprocity.

Actors
From a philanthropic perspective, and outside of the dominant actors - neighbours, close family members and distant relatives - other actors played a more minor role. The latter included the mayor, pensioners, orphans, councillors, church, street committee, exchange club, cooking club, youth club, church group, stokvel, burial society, neighbourhood watch.

Future concerns centred on

- "People have lost their understanding and respect for each other".
- "Change is up to us; if we sit back and become lazy then nothing will change. But if we get out there and work towards upliftment then we will see the difference. It is up to us."
- "Increasing prices, high population growth, our irresponsibility, refugees from Africa and the crime rate are all making help more difficult as there is less to go around."

Those who envisaged a more positive future focused on

- "The Bible says God created people to be like Him, so when I look at the person next to me, who is just like me, then I am motivated to help. We have to build unity and respect, and you cannot take your wealth with you when you die."
- "Organisations being set up will replace Ubuntu and will help ease poverty and people will start working".

Points of difference

Rural, men, living on money sent by a family member

Help was spontaneously and altruistically given when another person's pain was felt; the giving to pensioners was deemed compulsory. Relatives were helped first. This livelihood type only supported the burial society.

Rural and urban, men and women with an income from informal activities

Both genders from a primary human drive perspective had happiness as a driving force, especially in relation to their livelihood. In such an instance, happiness was achieved when all the stock was sold.

Urban men displayed a strong sense of solidarity and altruism as underlying values behind help transactions. For example: they were involved in the crime patrol and saw to the community's well-being by escorting drunken people home and cleaning up their area to ensure there were no cholera outbreaks. Elderly people were treated with respect and a lot of these men's spare time was spent assisting pensioners. Spare time was also spent assisting

orphans. Neighbours and relatives were helped first. The majority of their helping transactions were deemed compulsory.

Rural women were more involved in child-related activities and in taking care of the sick. The councillor was the identified actor giving access to RDP houses, and advised which organisation actors needed to be approach for assistance. Clubs such as the youth organisation initiated projects for the library, Internet, and day care centre. The 10 plates and 10 cup club were used for funerals; another club encouraged children to attend school, and another got the homeless children into a place of safety. This data appears to show that women in this situation were influenced by shared reciprocity as well as solidarity as underlying philanthropic motivators.

Rural and urban, men and women, living on a social grant

The dependency of several people on one social grant was a common feature to both men and women, rural and urban. The difficulty experienced was in trying to stretch the money from this grant as far as possible.

Rural and urban women both exchange physical labour in return for help transactions, a form of benefice.   Help was often spontaneously given especially when triggered by compassion and altruism.

Urban men appeared involved in the daily structure of community life much the same as urban men with an income derived from informal activities. From a help perspective orphans and pensioners were looked after and helping transactions involved patrolling the streets at night as protection against crime. They also saw the majority of transactions as being compulsory.

3.4.3 25 – 49 Year Olds

This age grouping was made up of:

- Rural and urban men living on money sent by a family member working in another city, province or country;
- Rural women, whose sole income is from a social grant;
- Rural and urban, men and women, earning an income from subsistence farming or keeping livestock;
- Rural and urban, men and women, who had been living in the area for more than five years;

- Rural and urban women heads of households;
- Rural and urban men who had been living in the area for less than one year.

Upon closer scrutiny of the lives of this age grouping through the lens of help it is clear that, food and money were very dominant help transactions. It was this age group that was most affected by funerals and the ensuing help transactions. The other common tradition was that of initiations, which explained the importance of blankets and clothing allied to these two life events. Advice and emotional support as well as caring for the sick were deemed to be very important and were seen to be compulsory.

Reciprocity and benefice were an underlying value behind the general motivation of the age group as they sought helping transactions leading to work of some kind that would bring in an income. This group promoted the value of altruism and sought to teach their children the importance of helping. The practise of family values and cultural traditions for initiations and funerals were conducted along set rules of engagement and helped to counteract a feeling of helplessness.

Philanthropic triggers resulting in help transactions were influenced by funerals, weddings, circumcision, initiation, ancestral celebration, graduation, harvest time, robbery, rape, illness, accidents, occasions of danger, fire, repairing houses, the plight of the poorest of the poor, and for making friends. The show of solidarity and reciprocity was present in the way they undertook their help transactions.

For example: - 'one nation, one community".

Helping Transactions involved two forms – material and non-material

Psycho-social and mental support - Non-material
- Advice
- Problem solving
- Forming groups
- Conflict resolution
- Ideas on income generation

- Sharing farming skills and farming advice on breeding, growing, cultivation
- Emotional support
- Comfort
- Counselling
- Prayers
- Assisting those in trouble
- Assisting with depression
- Guidance
- Giving love, a hug

Physical labour – non-material
- Sharing casual jobs, job opportunities, utilising job connections.
- Crime protection, prevention, patrolling, catching thief, call police, visit the person you know in prison, help children move away from doing crime, assist victims of crime.
- Caring for the sick, calling ambulance, giving medicine, first-aid, Visit in hospital, give HIV/Aids medication, rescue.
- Plough, plant vegetables, find owner of wandering livestock, cultivate garden, herd cattle.
- Cook, clean, laundry, assist with initiation party, 'being a trolley man".
- Fetch water and firewood, cut thatching grass.
- Plant, plough, hoe, weed, harvest, slaughter livestock, fetch animal feed, seed, fertiliser, veterinary medicine.
- Put out shack fires, repair house, plaster mud on walls, build a home, make bricks, thatch roof, whitewash house.
- Form groups, clubs, societies and organise projects.
- Take care of the elderly, fetch water and cook for the elderly, assist with old-age home projects.
- Cleaning the 'area' (community).
- Collect children from school, educate children, assist with homework.
- Take orphans to Child Welfare, cook for orphans.
- Dig grave, build coffin, collect money, dishes and pots, clean and prepare food, bake bread, brew beer, sing at funerals.

- Escort home, sleep in the homes of bereaved family, take children to place of safety.
- Give place to plant in field, fetch animal feed, seeds, fertiliser, herd cattle.
- Intervening between people fighting, take papers to the dump
- Watch neighbour's house, teach mathematics, care for children.

Goods of material worth
- Money, interest-free loan, school fees, school and funeral donations
- Food, beer
- Blankets, wash cloths, towel
- Clothes, shoes, school uniforms
- Candles, paraffin, matches, soap
- Shelter and accommodation
- Share electricity,
- Loan oxen or tractor for ploughing, horse for transport, transport
- Sheep
- Firewood, seeds

Looking at the above lists, it appears that these helping transactions display a pattern of shared reciprocity which was used to maintain dynamic movement, in that the transactions brought about a positive change which may or may not lead to a shared movement. To get to a shared movement, the happiness of the individual spills over into the group, giving the group a greater chance of positive movement away from the prevailing situation.

Actors

Through the lens of help, dominant actors were neighbours, family and friends - particularly for transactions involving food and money.

Other actors included orphans, pensioners, children, the disabled, complete strangers, 'the person who thinks of me', priest, church, councillor, social worker, headman, sangoma, doctor, ancestors, secretary of the community, community police, youth organisation, women's club, street organisation,

funeral society, burial society, grocery club, blanket club, stokvel, church group, farming organisation, volunteer organisation.

The preponderance of organisations in this age group could be explained by the sense of belonging and solidarity with an underlying value of shared reciprocity and also by the fact that they were more exposed to the risk of life events calling for extra resources i.e. funerals, initiations, school fees.

Future concerns centred on
- "If unemployment gets worse and people who have jobs have less to spend then they won't be able to give anything; and if ill health keeps on getting worse then they won't be able to physically help either; but these would be the only reasons why people would stop helping."
- "Today people have stopped being people, in that there is too much crime and violence and too much distrust. People are not getting along too well, so people are reluctant to become involved."
- "We are not doing the cultural things we used to do, and we do not do what the white man does, so we are nowhere".

A more positive outlook on the future focused on
- "If we ever lost the means of helping each other we would need to come together like a family and prioritise what is needed and then work together to raise what is needed. This way of doing things and becoming involved would be compulsory".
- "The idea of Ubuntu is carried through in the clubs we form; we will always help each other."

Rural and urban, men, living on remittances from family members
Differing reference points
Actors, as helping organisations assisting with goods of material worth, were the farming organisation for **rural men** and the street organisation for **urban men**.

Mutual reference points: Neighbours formed part of a dominant helping pattern in both groups. Their mutual concern was their dependence on their

remittance, not having their own money, being unemployed and not having access to venture capital to buy stock.

Rural women whose sole income was from a social grant
This particular group was depressed and felt a sense of helplessness exacerbated by worrying about what would happen in the morning. Psycho-social support was deemed to be very important and advice along with emotional support was seen to be compulsory.

Differing reference points: In terms of a philanthropic principle it appeared as though informants were perturbed because solidarity was losing its value. This was expressed as "sadness with the move away from culture', and 'that children were no longer aware of traditions'.

Mutual reference points: This group gave assistance to orphans, pensioners and the sick. A prominent pattern was the reciprocal help dependency on their neighbour and in belonging to clubs and societies assisting them with transactions involving material goods. Outside actors such as the mayor, councillor, priest, community police and the social worker were the figures of authority approached for advice in trying to deal with a problem.

Rural and urban, men and women, earning an income from farming
Differing reference points
Urban women displayed solidarity and altruism as a dominant underlying value, it was felt that the Ubuntu principles of helping would be maintained. They also felt that everyone was entitled to be helped.

Urban men were concerned with shared movement rather than shared reciprocity. This was shown in their drive to get better access to water, expand their land so they can grow bigger crops and in the sharing of electricity i.e. using another person's electrical connection to draw off your power.
Rural men were concerned with shared reciprocity to maintain a form of dynamic movement. Helping transactions were driven by their concerns such

as the spread of Aids, the increase in crime, the rape of children, and inconsistent climatic conditions. They assisted themselves by clubbing together to buy animal feed and veterinary medicine and also shared electricity. Their sense of altruism was evident in their belief that complete strangers qualified for help.

Mutual reference points: Their reliance on helping transactions to meet the needs of their families. Their sense of solidarity was shown by working together to complete projects.

Rural and urban, men and women, living in the area for more than five years
Differing reference points:
Rural women deem psycho-social support to be very important and compulsory which they displayed by saying they went to the elderly for advice and that they readily volunteered. This group was involved in shared movement displayed by making bricks to build homes and were planning an old age home.

Urban men appeared to be motivated by the underlying values of compassion, reciprocity and altruism. Helping transactions were focused on cleaning up operations, giving shelter, which was deemed compulsory as was food, blankets, clothes, the protection of people against crime, school fees, and advising where to go for jobs. This group felt more confident about the future.

Mutual reference points: Solidarity and altruism were the dominant underlying value with help transactions focused on the care of the sick, the elderly and orphans.

Rural and urban female-headed households
Differing reference points
Rural women regarded help to be compulsory, with close family coming before the neighbour.

Urban women regarded help to be of a more voluntary nature with their neighbours playing a prominent role.

Urban women appeared to use loan sharks to access money for venture capital.

Rural women assisted in educating a child that was not their own. In turn the recipient (the child being educated) assisted with chores or undertook to, in the future, educate the child of their benefactor

Mutual reference points: Traditional values were displayed as a basis for help transactions. It was considered compulsory to assist parents and in instances where the parents were dead, interaction with ancestors was regarded as most important.

Rural and urban men living in the area for less than one year
Differing reference points
Rural men appeared to focus on shared movement and believed in tradition. This was shown in their helping transactions which included: organising themselves into groups to undertake farming projects such as raising chickens and growing vegetable. Undertaking a ceremony that brought ancestors to their new home to carry on traditional culture. Resources were shared with neighbours i.e. giving cattle manure for the garden and getting vegetables in return. This group had a completely unconditional belief in their approach to help: 'It is too embarrassing to even to think of helping someone in the hope of getting something in return."

Urban men appeared to be driven by obligation along with reciprocity and the development of social capital. They were more involved with clubs and organisations for schooling, groceries, funeral savings, burial society, street society and stokvels. Income was supplemented by being vendors.

Mutual reference points: Solidarity was the driving force behind philanthropic triggers. It was deemed to be very important to do things with and for the community. It was felt that in this way they became part of the community.

3.4.4 50 Years And Older

This age group comprised:

- Urban women living on money sent by a family member working in another city, province or country;
- Rural and urban women, obtaining an income from informal commercial activities;
- Rural and urban women, who had been living in the area for more than five years;
- Rural and urban female heads of household;
- Rural and urban men and women who had been living in the area for less than one year.

From a philanthropic perspective, patterns of help were influenced by tradition and a sense of solidarity and appeared to be governed by set rules of engagement, for example: The care of the family was a main priority although more immediate attention was given to and received from neighbours. Help was expected and readily given especially when it was of an emotional support nature and if the giver was familiar with the recipient. Respect was an important value and concern was expressed about changes such as the youth moving away from traditional customs.

Philanthropic triggers resulting in help transactions were influenced largely by death and the rules of engagement with regard to funerals. To a lesser degree other life events included celebrations, graduation ceremonies, thanksgiving ceremonies i.e. God and the ancestors, hunger, a sense of wanting to help orphans, the education of children and grandchildren, illness, injury, and troubles.

Emotional and spiritual responses were underpinned by feelings of reciprocity, altruism and compassion. Religious belief was also a motivating factor.

Helping Transactions involved two forms – material and non-material and the most common actors were family first and foremost, closely followed by

neighbours, and then friends. Societies were numerous and played a supporting role in helping transactions.

Psycho-social and mental support - non-material

Prayer and advice were the most dominant non-material help transaction. Other help transactions included problem solving, emotional support, and the sharing of ideas.

Physical labour – non-material

- Grow vegetables, tidy the yard, fetch water, reconnect broken water pipes, street cleaning, assist with plastering walls with mud
- Share information on where and how to get jobs
- Bathe parents, take care of children
- Take care of the sick, call an ambulance, assist the injured, clean up clinic
- Collect money for funerals, fetch death certificate
- Cook food for neighbours, assist with ironing and laundry, wash pots and pans for neighbours,
- Give directions to those lost, push-start a car, pick up cardboard and iron for recycling, find transport
- Organise projects i.e. sewing, breeding chickens, cultivate gardens
- Assist pensioners at pay points, volunteer at pay points, home-based care for old people.

Goods of material worth

Food and money were the most dominant help transaction followed by blankets and clothes. To a far lesser extent and mainly because of traditional practices, coal, soap, shelter and accommodation, paraffin, candles, school fees, firewood, gifts, beer, salt, transport, share use of telephone and matches.

Actors

In this age group, family members were deemed to be the most important actors, closely followed by neighbours and then friends. Other actors included orphans, pensioners, children, church elders, councillors, people

who sleep in the street, indunas, water committee, school committee, initiation club, grocery club, burial society, street committee, funeral plan, parent society, family society, self-help group and God.

Future concerns centred on
- "If things get worse then no one will have anything to give."
- "Poverty has changed things a lot - people cannot afford to participate in the grocery society anymore."
- "Some community members ridicule you by asking for your help when they know you have nothing."

A more positive outlook on the future focused on
- "Helping each other is here to stay. The reason it will remain the same is because this is what used to happen in the past, and we have learnt that this is the way it has to happen."

Urban women living on money sent by a family member
Differing reference points: Assisting the family was deemed compulsory for all transactions. Neighbours and friends were assisted in a voluntary manner with goods of material worth. When the helping transaction was non-material it was deemed to be compulsory. Anything to do with the church, funerals and the street committee was compulsory.

Mutual reference points: Informants in this category were of the opinion that help was given more freely and more widely in the past because there was work. They also felt that the shortage of resources and the difficulty in finding employment have meant that help was prioritised, to the detriment of the neighbour.

Rural and urban women, obtaining an income from informal commercial activities
Differing reference points
Rural women appeared to have specific helping transactions, which were driven by shared movement, for example: This group borrowed money for

seed capital and belonged to a village society. This society undertook to assist with repairing homes, food, clothes, money, firewood and water, weddings, funerals and traditional ceremonies. All transactions were deemed essential and therefore compulsory.

Urban women appeared to be influenced by reciprocity and belonged to several organisations i.e. street committee, initiation club, grocery club and burial society. Family and relatives came first and all help was deemed compulsory. However, help given to victims of shack fires was spontaneous and whatever was available at the time was shared. Solidarity was important and used as a helping transaction to stand together against injustice.

Mutual reference points: The church was a prominent actor, and religious belief was often a motivational trigger behind a helping transaction. For example, it was felt that "God has to be the first person to consult when there is a problem." "God should be invited when there are problems and when there is happiness."

Rural and urban, women, living in the area for more than five years
Differing reference points:
Rural women felt help was compulsory, irrespective of the transaction when you 'know the person fully' and this was especially evident when it came to assisting orphans. Food was grown and assistance from farmers was given in sharing seed for planting and oxen or a tractor for ploughing.

Urban women appeared to see helping transactions as a form of shared movement. For instance help was associated with success and seen as an opportunity for working together to achieve a result. They also associated crime, especially robbery with the high rate of unemployment and a way for the have-nots to get food.
Mutual reference points: Both groups felt helping in all forms was essential.

Rural and urban female heads of household
Differing reference points

Rural women displayed reciprocity and solidarity as underlying values during help transactions. They assisted with sewing, the cultivation of land and the breeding of cattle – more physical activities, and believed voluntary giving is essential. The church in this area was actively involved in the assistance of orphans.

Urban women appeared to have a slightly different set of rules for engagement, for example - this group was adamant that although everyone deserved help it was imperative to concentrate on the family and orphans. Sibling rivalry occurred in families where it was felt that by helping certain family members, a preference was being shown.

Mutual reference points: There appeared to be an urgency of purpose in both groups for dynamic maintenance to lead to shared movement. This means that it was not enough that helping transactions brought about some form of change, for example: 'We want to make things happen'. This group appeared more goal-orientated, and displayed a positive and optimistic outlook.

Rural and urban men and women living in the area for less than one year
Differing reference points:
Rural men seemed to be influenced by altruism and solidarity, which appeared as underlying values in their help transactions. This was displayed in their involvement in the care of pensioners and children. They also appeared to have a strong sense of community. Concern was expressed at the adverse climatic conditions and the under-utilisation of the land due to lack of farming capital.

Urban women were from a philanthropic perspective and were inclined to assist neighbours first as their families were far away. Volunteering was popular as was offering physical labour to undertake chores for neighbours when they were ill. This group was particularly concerned about the presence of Aids in their community; it appeared that prostitution as an income-generating activity was accepted. The resulting increase in Aids,

however, has meant that many families were now suffering deprivations as many of the sex workers were dying.

Mutual reference points: Solidarity and a sense of belonging were important to this group, which had a strong sense of wanting to assist the community in practical ways.

4.0 Interpretation

In using landscape imagery to describe a three dimensional view of low-wealth communities, one would describe *topography* such as mountains, hills, valleys and cliffs as daily living experiences and the community's various help transactions, in accordance to each one's *structure*, as tracks, paths, roads and highways.

Tracks can be described as spontaneous transactions i.e. an unconscious response to a situation eliciting an immediate action of either material or non-material form and governed by freedom of choice and not governed by feelings of obligations. Examples of this were found in situations empathically motivated i.e. a crying hungry child, an accident victim, a burning shack. Although informants spoke about orphans, widows and the poorest of the poor being high on the priority list to receive help, the opportunity for the informants to actually assist did not appear to happen very often. This conclusion can be drawn from the information obtained from the matrix where informants rated the frequency of giving and receiving transactions and occasions.

Paths are random transactions i.e. a conscious response resulting in a helping transaction of either a material or non-material form, to a situation governed by the intention to benefit another person and are given freely. Examples of this were found in situations where the behaviour of the actor in the giving role was motivated by their social construction of their perception of an altruistic relationship (the givers' subjective beliefs and viewpoints, such as Ubuntu, Gods blessings),

Roads are planned transactions i.e. situations where the transaction involves goods of material wealth. It is an intention to benefit another person and is asymmetrical, meaning a one-sided dependency exists although the roles of the giver and receiver are complementary. Examples of this were found in situations such as school fees being paid by a working person or the sharing of electricity or the lending of a tractor for ploughing,

Roads can also be used to describe transactions involving physical labour and non-material assistance where the intention is to benefit another person. These transactions are symmetrical, meaning the giver and receiver occupy equal positions and include examples of where reciprocity was the accepted behavioural norm such as during harvesting, planting, redoing the plaster on houses, singing at funerals and praying together.

Highways are frequently and well-used planned transactions with spirituality and culture playing a major role. A good example of this was found in situations where the helping transaction involved food – this form of material help was pertinent to all 32 groups, and was rated by them as taking place frequently and as very important. However, when giving to and receiving food from neighbours, family and friends, volition and ascription were fairly equally rated.

Bridges depict semi-formal community initiated societies and clubs put together by people, in the same situation, to assist with collecting money as a means of forced savings for a specific purpose. The activity of the association or club is one of dynamic maintenance, where the actors in the help transaction have organised a one sided social influence to achieve a strong sense of interdependence where the roles of both the giver and the receiver are complementary.

All of this forms a backdrop to community life with ***mountain peaks and hilltops symbolising*** celebratory life events, such as weddings, births, initiations, graduations and thanksgiving; and deep valleys and chasms symbolising tragic life events, such as unemployment, hunger, HIV/Aids, accidents, shack fires, crime and death.

To illustrate, a funeral is seen as a *valley* with the **burial society** acting as a *bridge* along a highway of funeral related transactions. The reason for depicting funeral related transactions as a highway is because the rules of engagement are clear and well defined within the community. The burial society can be described as a bridge as it is a one-sided dependency structure achieving a strong social interdependence where the roles of those involved are complementary. The burial society promotes a sense of caring and enables the bereaved member to maintain a modicum of control over an uncontrollable event. (See Table 1) It is also a situation where both material and non-material transactions happen simultaneously (cash, food, loan of dishes, assisting with digging the grave, helping to cook, working together, praying, and giving comfort). A funeral also demonstrates the triangular pattern of help transaction where the giver as God or ancestors give strength, love and comfort to the bereaved and blessings to the giver while the receiver in turn gives thanks to God for the assistance given.

Rivers are representative of government infrastructure such as schools, clinics, police stations, RDP housing, social assistance grants, government emergency relief schemes, piped water and electricity. Dams are likened to non-governmental organisations set up to augment delivery of services and ease the constraints experienced in community living.

To illustrate the importance of rivers and dams on the landscape:

> (EC, F, 18-24, Sole Income Grant) "Sometimes in the village when there is a hurricane and everything is destroyed the people get together and give whatever they can, maybe clothes, a plate, pot or spoon. The community and social workers report it to the government so that the government can fix the people's homes. People don't help each other by themselves".

> "There will be change now that these small organisations have started where they help people and give you ideas on what to do to uplift our communities. Even the youth are trying and in that way our economy will grow." (SUM2EIGT)

Plateaux and savannahs in the landscape of community philanthropy are representative of prosocial behaviour underpinned by the norm of reciprocity. These symmetrical help transactions involve a mutual exchange of favours, examples of which are harvesting, planting and cultivating or taking care of the neighbours children and property.

In summary, life forms (people, vegetation, animals i.e. forms that have a cycle of birth, growth, decay) in this imagery of landscape are made up of receivers, givers and facilitators with their shape and function determined by motivators behind help transactions and expected outcomes of help transactions. Outcomes of help transactions can be viewed along a continuum of dynamic maintenance at one end, leading to shared movement at the other end. This movement is one that is always positive and leads to a stronger sense of worth or capital.

To illustrate: the situation of a farmer lending a bull to breed with the cow of another farmer can be likened to a philanthropy intervention. This one-sided dependency initiative has a complementary role between the giver and the receiver as the cow produces a calf and milk as well as dung that can be used for fertilising gardens or strengthening floors.
(Group 6,EC,M,25-49, Subsistence farming) "It happens I don't have seeds and my neighbour gives me and when she doesn't have seeds she can get them from me. The other way we help is, I take my cattle and service my neighbour's cattle and I can take my cattle and cultivate my neighbour's land so she can plant her seeds."

The **weather pattern** is determined by the application of philanthropy components shaped by the correct format of the intervention. The format of the philanthropy intervention being either symmetrical i.e. one of mutual exchange where the receiver and giver are in equal positions and reciprocity is the norm, or asymmetrical i.e. a one-sided social influence where a strong social interdependence is achieved and the roles of the giver and the receiver are complementary and social responsibility is the norm:-

Clement weather (the right amount of rainfall and sunshine) is portrayed by symmetry, where reciprocity is the social norm, this involves help transactions such as: "You help your neighbour by giving them food when they need it and you help them in work they would be doing like shovelling mud." (Group 5, EC, F 50+, Informally employed) "If there is a celebration the family asks for hands to help or you can come with firewood or potatoes". (SRM3RIEC) Regular rainfall and the right amount of warmth and sunshine encouraging growth in the right season is illustrated where the receiver and giver are in equal positions and reciprocity is the social norm. An example of this was given as : "We form groups where we get together in hoeing season, if you don't come to my group then I won't go to yours, so you have to return this help." (SRM3RIEC)

The seasons are determined by the weather and can be likened to asymmetrical help where social responsibility is the norm. Seasons affect the 'life forms' in this landscape imagery i.e. spring is related to birth, new growth; In examples where the transaction has a one-sided social influence a strong social interdependence is formed such as : "Some of us live in shacks and sometimes it is dirty and a lot of papers, and we, as neighbours, will clean up and take all the papers to the dump. As neighbours we are very close." (SUM3D5GT) "What makes me happy is the progress we make, working together to take care of the pensioners." (SRM3SLLI) In asymmetrical help transactions the roles of the giver and the receiver are complementary and social responsibility is the norm. Examples of this are: - "We call the community to help you with a big problem." "If you have a small problem you only go to one person." "Poor people should come out and tell people they need help." "Sympathy makes people help." "I will always give food to children." "You always help your neighbour first." (SUM3D5GT) "There is help you give back and help you don't give back i.e. help you receive to celebrate the end of your mourning period you don't give back." "You have to help your in-laws at all times." "It is compulsory to help those who have helped you." (SRM3RIEC)

Asymmetrical transactions and the norm of social responsibility as well as symmetrical transactions and the norm of reciprocity ensure the correct cycle of the seasons. The seasons (symmetrical and asymmetrical help) play an important role in the maintenance and movement of 'life form cycle' in this landscape imagery. This is illustrated by: "We have just formed a youth-based organisation with aims and objectives driven by community-based projects like home-based care and teaching Aids awareness. We realised that sitting and doing nothing would rot our minds and we came up with fencing projects, repairing shoes, and vegetable gardening linked to feeding schemes. These are some of the things we do to alleviate poverty". (SRM3SLLI).

The cycle of the 'life forms' interacts with that of the seasons and this can be likened to PoC trends over time: "In the olden days, if you were a kid and you asked a question you got a sjambok, but nowadays kids ask questions." "In the coming years it will be three times better than now because of the things we do as a community with all of us participating." "People should understand we like being involved in community projects." (SRM3SLLI) "You have not been asked to do it, you are doing it out of the goodness of your heart." "You learn this from what you see around you, it's what your parents taught you, we follow in those footsteps." (Group7 F 18-24 WC Khayelitsha).

Each season has its own temperature climate that controls the stages of each 'life forms' cycle of birth, growth and decay. This temperature control can be likened to the role power plays during help transactions "I will feel bad because the person always gives me.".(SUM3D5GT) "People come looking for help night and day if you are a man." "The Induna is the direct link to the Ward Councillors and they can solve your problem; if there is a fire we tell the councillor who tells the police who tells the fire department." (SRM4D1LI) "The commitment from the people around the community can bring change such as the business man and even rich people if they are able to share whatever they have in that manner, there would be change." (SUM2EIGT) "If there is no money then you have no power." (SRM4D1LI)

In landscape imagery one can liken the **soil's fertility** to personal feelings experienced during help transactions by both receivers and givers. The richness of the soil is matched to feelings of happiness, which appears to be a main motivator in prosocial behaviour, that is, one of the primary human drivers. These 'personal feelings' in landscape imagery, which affect the soil's fertility is the point of interaction and interdependency between the weather, the earth (constituents of the soil) and the use of the soil by 'life forms' as in eating the grass if an animal, growing crops if a person, growing (turning carbon dioxide into oxygen etc) if vegetation, and the replacement of nourishment into the soil by-products of 'life forms'. (By-products being dung from animals, dead vegetation and life forms. A philanthropy intervention may be likened to a manufactured fertiliser, produced from the earth's minerals. This fertiliser, if correctly and appropriately applied, can restore the balance of nutrients in the soil). Examples of this given by informants:-

In landscape imagery when help can't be given it is likened to **poor soil** where only weeds can grow - "I feel bad and very worried, the pain, especially if it is somebody who usually helps you."(group 7 F 18-24 WC Khayelitsha)

In landscape imagery when help can be given it is likened to **fertile soil** where everything grows – "You feel happy because you have helped rather than just leaving that person without help." (SUM2SGGT)

This example, where feelings act as a motivator, when related back to fertility of soil is nature's **rich alluvial deposits –** "The inner part of my heart where you've got God makes you willing to help others, in town when you see a blind woman with a tin you donate R1 so they can sleep with something in their stomachs." (SUM2SGGT)

Access into this low-wealth landscape imagery is dependent on two factors prior to entering, observation and asking.

By observing the dynamics in the community the right people can be identified so an invitation to gain access to the community is obtained through genuine community representatives. By asking the community what solutions they have thought of that will change their circumstances and make

a difference, you acknowledge the community's sense of ownership and pride. By practising this positive process it is possible to move the help transactions along the continuum from dynamic maintenance to one of shared movement.

Multi - Dimensional Scaling

Table 1 below is an adaptation by van Heerden. B. 2004, of multidimensional scaling (Wish, Deutsch and Kaplan, 1976) and adaptations by van Heerden.B. 2004 of interpretations to the major findings (Berkowitz 1973; Bierhof 1980, 1984; Jones & Gerard 1967)

The adaptations to describe philanthropy among people of low wealth follow the perceived similarities and differences between help transactions, actors and motivators revolving around four dimensions:

- cooperative and friendly versus competitive and hostile;
- equal versus unequal;
- socio-emotional and informal versus task oriented and formal;
- superficial versus intense.

TABLE 1

	Dimension 3 SOCIO-EMOTIONAL AND INFORMAL		
C	Dimension 2 **EQUAL** (Those without resources or same situation)		**A**
Dimension 1 **Competitive & Hostile** Dimension 4 **Superficial** or less control over	Those who don't play by the rules	Orphans, the very poor	Dimension 1 **Cooperative & Friendly** Dimension 4 **Intense** Or more control over
	Those who ask and squander what's given	Neighbours, friends, relatives, strangers	
	Those in the community who know you have nothing but ask you so that you can be ridiculed	'Ideally run' mutual assistance groups and societies i.e. grocery club, parent society	
	Murderers, rapists	Church groups	
	Asking for assistance from someone who has & not receiving it	Neighbours, friends, relatives.	
	No employment, no jobs (situational)	Semi-formal groups, i.e. burial society, street committee	
	Not being able to see to family needs (personal)	Church, Priests, Deacons, church officials	
	No water, no electricity, no RDP housing (situational) HIV, crime	Induna, councillors, social workers	
D	Dimension 2 **UNEQUAL** (those with resources or different situation)		**B**
	Dimension 3 **TASK ORIENTED AND FORMAL**		

The above framework has the potential to contribute to the development of theory relevant to community philanthropy. The grounded theory approach used for this inquiry requires researchers to continually move between the data and existing theory, in search of understanding and to find an explanation. This supports a BCP premise that a theory of philanthropy of

community is likely to be found in a composite of theories. To explore this direction, the above multi-dimensional scaling framework can be approached from different theoretical perspectives.

In this interpretation, exchange theory takes into account historical and cultural processes and the concept of philanthropy among people of low wealth in relation to activities, sources of satisfaction, rules, skills required, concepts and beliefs, and power.

Equity theory suggests individuals try to establish perceived equality of the outcome. Social exchange theory views relationships in terms of rewards and costs to the participants (People being reluctant to ask for help that cannot be reciprocated and those unable to return help often suffering a loss of self-esteem. Giving without expectation of reciprocity to kin is perceived as an altruistic sign of love.

Explanation of Table 1 as it applies to POC

The multi-dimensional scaling framework is a tool that can assist to illustrate the PoC (philanthropy of communities) patterning and landscape, showing various combinations of ATM relationship and interplay. This is explained below.

Dimension 1 (cooperation and friendliness vs. competitive and hostile) and dimension 2 (equal vs. unequal) apply to the actors in the transactions whether giving or receiving and the type of transaction whether symmetrical or asymmetrical. For example, the most common material form of help transactions was food and money. These were mainly given to neighbours, family and friends. The actors from the perspective of Dimension 1, were motivated by relationships based on friendliness and cooperation and in

Dimension 2, shaped by perceptions of being equal i.e. actors in the same situation (neighbours) or being without resources (orphans).

Dimension 3 (socio-emotional and informal vs. task oriented and formal) and Dimension 4 (intense or have more control over vs. superficial or have less

control over), apply more to the help transaction, the tasks involved, the structures and the role and requirements of the actor. For example, in Dimension 3, socio-emotional and informal tasks when related to help transactions involve the rules of engagement practised in the area relating to help transactions i.e. help transactions during a funeral (the collection of dishes, the cleaning and preparing of food, prayers, emotional support) are non-material forms of help underpinned by mutual exchange where the subjective beliefs and viewpoints of both the giver and receiver have consequences for the development of the relationship. The aspect of Dimension 4 is that the actors have control over the help transaction taking place.

Quadrant A (more intense, more control over participation, more one- on-one interaction, more mutual exchange, symmetrical). These help transactions are predominantly of the non-material type, deemed to be very important and occur frequently. Food and money are also given, especially to neighbours and is reciprocated. Other examples are seeds, shared electricity and blankets.

Quadrant B (more intense, application by an individual for assistance, more of a one-sided social influence, asymmetrical). Examples here include school fees and uniforms paid for by the church or a working family member, or Street committees interacting with local councillors to improve local conditions.

Quadrant C (more superficial, one-on-one interaction influenced by motivational values and normative conditions) Examples here are illustrative of who the actors who would not be helped such as murderers and rapists.

Quadrant D (more superficial, a dependency situation inferring the recipient is weak, passive and cannot help themselves, less control over the event and situations that result in loss of self-esteem, depression, mental anxiety and loss of personal power). The scarcity of jobs, escalating crime and the increase of

HIV/Aids are illustrative of the situations faced by people of low wealth over which they do not have any control.

The rules of engagement practised by people of low wealth during help transactions appear to be widely endorsed by behaviour they believe ought to be performed.   For example, the strengthening of relationships leading to interdependency and a maintenance of intimacy in the form of trust, the returning of favours, the show of support, the volunteering in the time of need and the drive to make others happy.

It appears from the findings that there is more to the philanthropy practised by people of low wealth than just following the rules of engagement and the differing rules for neighbours, family and friends on the one hand and clubs, societies on the other hand. It is also underlined by values , beliefs, power and the roles of the actors. Power, as practised by people of low wealth appears to relate more to the possession of expertise and skills and the ability to bring about social influence.

Help transactions falling within Quadrants A and B and operating within the rules of engagement practised by the actors in Quadrants A and B have the ability to aid movement from a position of dynamic maintenance to one of shared movement.

4.1 Causal Conditions Of Help Transactions

Each transaction undertaken is governed by a life event or an emotional and mental response, which in turn is prioritised in accordance to the person's status and location.

> "If the problem is from my family then I help my family first, maybe there is a funeral and they need money. If it is only about money and it's my relative, neighbour and friend then I would use a scale and I would look for the urgent one."(SRM3SLLI)

> "Your neighbour is the first one to come and rescue you, because our families are far away. So the neighbour is the one who will tell your

family what happened to you, so I will give my neighbour help first." (SUM2EIGT)

"A person does not get the same problem so that is why you go to different people.". (SUF4D5WC)

"You get a shock when you go to a family member first and when you see that nothing is being done you will go to your neighbour." (SUF4D5WC)

A planned helping pattern largely involves goods of material wealth, followed by physical labour and non-material assistance.

As previously noted in the landscape imagery of POC in South Africa, planned helping with goods of material wealth is a conscious intention to benefit another person and is of an asymmetric nature, meaning a one-sided dependency exists although the roles of the donor and recipient are complementary.

Planned helping with physical labour and non-material assistance is a conscious intention to benefit another person and is of a symmetric nature, meaning the donor and recipients occupy equal positions.

The quotes below illustrate the planned nature of the transactions, their asymmetrical/symmetrical natures and complementary roles between the actors.

> "The mayor assisted them with the coffin and the undertakers. He has helped that family twice. That is why I can say, there is help from mayors. If there is a funeral the mayor is very understanding; he can do anything". (SUM2EIGT) (Asymmetrical, a norm of social responsibility)

> "I give you a chicken (hen) on loan because I want you to have more and then after you have bred chicks you bring it back". (Group 2 F under 18 EC Bizana 26/2) (Symmetrical, a norm of reciprocity)

Spontaneous helping is illustrated by the following quotes:

> "No, you are not looking to get anything, you are just helping them out." (SUM1NAWC)

> "If you see a stabbed person and you see that they are dying then you have to help." (SUM1NAWC)

In spontaneous helping two dominant actor patterns emerge. The actors either have strong church involvement or have more formal traditional cultural links. This points towards underlying values including religious values and those steeped in culture and tradition. From a Christian values perspective, reciprocity is frowned upon as the scriptures continually endorse that any 'giving' transaction should be specifically aimed at those who cannot reciprocate. Furthermore, the concept of Ubuntu promotes help transactions governed by freedom of choice and without obligation or reciprocity. The promotion of the concept is by example and the result of a deeply held belief that cannot be learnt or enforced by training.

These values are illustrated below in the words of focus group informants:

> "What motivates me to help someone is every Sunday I attend church and when I read the Bible I understand what the Bible says, it is holy and has stories based on truths." (SUM2EIGT)

> "It's what your parents have taught you; you see it happening so you learn this intuitively as you grow; we follow in those footsteps." (Group 7, F, WC, 18-24, Income social grant)

These quotes are interesting as they point toward the existing and potential influence that force fields, such as the church and family, can contribute to the promotion of community philanthropy.

Spontaneous help involve transactions of both a material and a non-material kind. The most dominant of which was food and money – material and advice, prayer and emotional support – non-material.

It is interesting to note that the philanthropic drivers most likely to trigger a philanthropic impulse into a philanthropic act were hunger, illness, accidents, death and seasonal chores.

A non-material transaction is seen to be obligatory and is given to all who require it regardless of status and location. These transactions generally encompassed advice, comfort, and information sharing. Feelings of obligations may be linked to promoting a sense of intimacy that is an important rule in sustaining relationships as feelings of cooperativeness and

friendliness assist in ensuring a sense of regularity and predictability. These components mean help can be relied on for the 'uncertain' future.

Passing on information relating to employment opportunities is deemed to be of the highest importance and is given to all actors (both individuals and organisations).

> **Positive:** "Maybe I hear of a job opportunity at my job. I can take that and tell him that there is this opportunity." (SUM3SLWC)
>
> **Negative:** "So he will tell you he doesn't have something even though he has it." (SUM3SLWC)

Transactions involving money are structured and variances in compulsory and voluntary giving exist within and between groupings. The term compulsory when used in relation to the giving of money to a group locates the transaction in a grey area where social and business norms interact. This transaction acts like a contract although not legally constituted. (It does not mean that no one breaches the contract; this does happen). The amount of money required for the group is generally agreed upon by all its members and has to be paid at the end of each month. This is said to be compulsory as you are expected to give the money without having to be reminded.

Examples of compulsory giving are stokvels, burial society, church, grocery club etc. Although the collection of money and semi-formal structure give the appearance of a business, these groups are more slanted towards being social support groups. As people living in informal areas have difficulty in accessing financial institutions, a forced saving society is formed among people living in close proximity to each other, or brought together by the same situation.

> "If you cannot give them money there are fines; let's say there is going to be another funeral, so for that funeral you are going to contribute R20 instead of R10." (SRF2EILI)
>
> "There are two ways of working with money. In some cases where you pay in the money every month and you keep the money in the bank, you either agree or elect three people who bank the money. In other cases where you collect the money all the time like from praying and

getting contributions, then that money is kept by one person at home."
(Group 7, F, WC, 18-24, Income social grant)

Funerals are structured and participation is obligatory for the close family and compulsory for the organisation involved if the member is up to date with their own contributions. The organisations involved are the burial society, street committee or funeral group. Further research in the form of a case study is recommended to shed more light on whether these semi-formal structures are symmetrical or asymmetrical in nature. If they are run in accordance to ideal principles of mutual assistance where all members are perceived to be equal and give equal input to decisions and given equal opportunity to undertake tasks and are afforded equal treatment, then they would be termed 'symmetrical'. However, in some groups it would appear that the treasurer and certain members make decisions.

The choice of the term 'compulsory' for semi-formal groups is because it is assumed that there is a form of constitution in place. The case study would be able to verify these types of details.

> "The trouble with burial schemes we have in the townships is that if you are behind by two months and then someone dies on the third month, even if you tell them your problem, they won't listen to you. It doesn't matter that I have been a member for more than five years."
> (SUM3SLWC)

The education of children is structured and of paramount importance. Acts of giving involve goods of material wealth - money for school fees, school uniforms and shoes. This transaction can also involve an exchange situation; when the school learner repays the giver by undertaking tasks for the giver or by entering into an agreement to assist the giver's child in the future. It appears that this form of agreement is structured around the norm of social responsibility. The other practice is a 'once off' action where the child's school fees may be paid for a term paid and no form of repayment is required. The motivation behind the donation is dependent on the relationship between the person asking, the giver and the receiver.

"We survive on the money my sister gets from her social grant and when we don't have anything my sister will ask her boyfriend to give me money in order to go to school." (SUM2SGGT)

"If I am not working and another person educates my children and they finish school and find jobs, it is up to these children to go back and say, 'Here mother, thank you very much for what you did for me.' So it's a conscience. If they don't have a conscience, they won't feel guilty. They will say, 'Well I don't care about that person', and they forget that tomorrow they might have another problem and they might need to go to that person again." (SUM3SLWC)

Circumcision and initiation rites are not practiced throughout the country and are therefore area specific. These events are planned, structured and involves goods of material wealth and physical labour. The transaction includes family, neighbours, and friends and in some cases an organisation.

"When there is an initiation ceremony, we decide to go to that person's home to give gifts; then when you have your ceremony they come and bring gifts. The act of giving back." (SUM3SLWC)

Farming activities are structured, planned in accordance with the seasons and climatic conditions and cover three forms of transactions. Participation is compulsory for the close family, but variance between compulsory and voluntary exists between groupings for neighbours, relatives and friends. The actors are informal clubs for hoeing, weeding, planting, cultivating. More formalised are farming groups and farming organisations.

Where reciprocity is prevalent the transactions are frequent and well practised. The understanding of the rules of engagement is clearly defined i.e. if you help you will be helped in turn. By applying the rule you are given a sense of belonging to the group in return for upholding the understood norm. The groups participating in farming activities rate reciprocal farming activities as important:

"Remember that if you don't come to my hoeing group, I won't come to yours, so you have to return this help.".(SRM3RIEC)

Receivers of help are prioritised in accordance with the situation and circumstance, their perceived status, and the availability of the resource to be given.

> "Even though you might not have things to plant or money for ploughing; when you talk to some people who have things they might give you their ox to plough or come with their tractor to help you, and your neighbour will come with a pot full of beans and mealies for you to plant."

> "If you do not say anything, people won't know you are in trouble. You have to talk to them. " (Group 3, F, EC, 50+ live in area more than 5 years)

Givers of help are identified in accordance with their locality, their relationship to the receiver of help and whether the giver has the resource asked for. This relationship status in most cases is determined by previous interactions between the parties and is not necessarily shaped by familial kinship.

> "We get together in groups of 10; one group will farm chickens and the other will cultivate food; those with tractors help and some will work with their hands; the work is divided equally." (Group 4 EC M 25-49 Less than 1 year).

Giving to organisations involves planned giving (usually money) and is compulsory i.e. the requirement of belonging to the society is the weekly or monthly payment. Advice and physical labour might also be given and are considered obligatory if applicable. These conditions appear to be influenced by the strong role played by Christian churches in community life

> "One hand washes the other." (SUM1NAWC).

> "During initiation we help in the same way for both boys and girls. We help by working if we don't have money to give; we help by gathering firewood, as this shows you are supporting them." (group 4 EC M 25-49, Less than 1 year)

Organisations in the giving role are merely performing the function they are designed to do. The transaction is clearly defined and operates in

accordance with set criteria. The role of the semi-formal farming groups is an area worthy of further research as it appears as though the initial setting up of the farming group is motivated by the desire for mutual assistance. However, whether the spirit of equity is practised evenly among all members needs to be verified.

Farming groups appear to work in two areas; as a form of a buying cooperative to purchase farming requisites and as a labour-sharing cooperative. Farming advice and the transferral of farming skills appear to be individually driven and given without obligation.

4.1.1 Patterns Of Transactions In Relation To Priority And Obligation

Priority and obligation appear to be influenced by whether the giver is in a position of control over what is requested from them. For example, whether the motivator behind the giving transaction appears to be influenced by the mood of the giver, manipulative intent, the amount or type of help requested and whether there is an opportunity to reciprocate.

Communities universally agree that help is prioritised and begins with orphans, the poorest of the poor, pensioners, children, neighbours, close family, and friends. All 32 groups taking part in the survey agreed that orphans and the poorest of the poor were a priority when it came to giving and receiving assistance. Planned giving involving organisations such as the burial society is seen as obligatory as the consequences of not giving means you will not be assisted should you have a death and is therefore considered a priority whereas giving to the sports club although it has to be done may not be prioritised.

> "We know one another and we know who are more poor than the others, so you help them, even if it's not a family member." (SUF4NAGT).
>
> "I will offer help first to the one who is more poor". " Normally I look at these people who don't have parents. " (SRF2EILI)

Physical labour is prioritised and obligatory when involving farming activities of planting and harvesting, traditional customs, and life events.

Random events involving physical labour are prioritised in accordance with the situation and circumstance.

> "You can assist your neighbour when he is out and doesn't know that his cattle have got out and you can bring them back in. So when the neighbour comes back only you know what happened." (SRM3REIC)

Planned and random events involving mental, emotional and spiritual support (non-material help) are prioritised, obligatory and given freely to all actors.

> "If there is a break-in or maybe something has happened, you should check your neighbour's house (the neighbour is away in Durban) to see what has been damaged and you then call the other neighbours in to decide what should be done". (SRM3REIC)

4.1.2 Planned Helping Patterns Involving Goods Of Material Wealth

When money is used in a transaction it is generally a planned and structured event. In other words, a conscious decision with the intention of benefiting another person.

It is structured in the sense that the rules of who is given the money and for what purpose it is given is clearly defined and understood by both parties and planned in the sense that it is given on a regular basis, for a set purpose and for a known period of time. The function of money in the transaction is a means to an end.

> "For the stokvel we save during the month and at the end of every month we pay this money and then at the end of the year we share the money." (group 7 F WC 18-24 social grant)

> "The help that is in our communities is one of working together with business and advising each other. Uniting in business. When I am cultivating I ask people to come and help me out and I pay them."

> "We form a group for buying, maybe seeds or fertilisers."

> "In my village we help each other out by going out to buy chicken feed and medicines for the goats we farm and breed so they don't die."

> "We have formed a constitution with guidelines that we all follow. We called it a manual and we signed it. We have a secretary, a treasurer

and a chairman. Then we opened a bank account. The things we grow we sell and the treasurer takes the money with two other members to the bank and then at the end of the year, we sit down and check how much money we have." (Group 6 M 25-49 EC farming)

4.1.3 The Pillars Of Help

Annexure 1 explains the pillars of help, where money may change hands as a fee for service, as a straight gift or donation, or as an interest-free loan. These include payments for societies and church tithes, venture seed capital, school fees and donations.

Although these transactions appear to be run along business lines i.e. payment is on a regular basis for a set amount and the agreement is conscious, the real purpose of the transaction is one of social support. In all these groups there are no hard and fast rules mainly because they are often community- and family-driven and play a strong social support service. Should a member not be fully paid up the group will take a decision on what should be done.

The burial society gets paid on set dates for set amounts and this is compulsory. When the burial society is notified of the death, the member is paid out in accordance with the agreed contract. This usually includes money, the coffin, livestock to be slaughtered, candles and additional food.

> "When someone dies you call them and they will collect the body and take it to their mortuary with their own coffin. When you tell them the burial date they will bring you a sheep, a lump sum and the coffin, according to your agreement." (group 3 F EC 50+ longer than 5years)

The grocery club functions on the same principles i.e. regular and set payments. At the end of the year groceries are bought and distributed among its members in accordance with the agreed contract.

> "We buy groceries with it, 12,5kg sugar and 12,5 kg maize meal and we give out to our members." (SUF4NAGT)

The initiation society collects set amounts on set dates and at the time of initiation, the member is paid out in accordance with the agreed contract. This usually includes money, food, blanket, basin, washcloth, towel, spoon, plate, soap, and clothing.

> "Initiating young girls into womanhood, you support each other. As community members, you take five litres of beer and if you have a sheep you take it there." (Group 6 M EC 25-49 farming)

Church tithes are understood to be obligatory by the giver although it may not necessarily be seen in that light by the church. In instances when the church becomes the giver it is to pay for school fees, school uniforms and shoes, food and to attend conferences. Most of the recipients are orphans and the poorest of the poor. With reference to **Annexure 3**, where the church is part of a triangular pattern of help, the church is able to play a facilitator's role by distributing collections to those who are in need and in accordance with the norm of social responsibility.

> "At Siziba people who are HIV positive are taken in and cared for by a church. We even take pensioners there, to the church, so they can be looked after." (SUM2SGGT)
> "The Roman Catholic Church pays the school fees and shoes.". (SRF4NALI)
> "The Roman Catholic Church helps the poorest of the poor and kids who don't have both parents". (SRF4NALI)

Money used for seed capital or for purchasing stock is given interest-free and paid back as the goods get sold or the crop is harvested.

The use of stokvel money is planned and structured, with compulsory and set payments on set dates. The money used in a variety of ways. Some street committees are involved with raising and distributing money in accordance with an agreed contract. In relation to **Table 1,** the transaction appears to be either symmetric if run entirely as a mutual -assistance transaction or asymmetric where power differences are present in allocating tasks and roles.

> "Each and every street has this thing of R10, so you help one another according to streets." (SUF4NAGT)

"I was helping him harvest so he gives me a few cents to buy whatever I wanted to." (SRM3RIEC)

"She borrows money to have capital as she sells food next to the hospital and then she has to pay back all that money."

" You borrow money to help with your work as hawkers but there isn't any interest; you pay it back as they gave it to you." (Group 5 F EC 50+ informal)

Contributions towards school fees become structured, planned and obligatory when the agreed contract constitutes an exchange situation between the recipient and the donor (the recipient doing chores for the donor or agreeing to pay the donor's child's school fees when the recipient starts to work). This appears to follow a norm of social responsibility, which prescribes that people should help others who are dependent on them. This is part of their socialisation process and emerges from a shared interpretation. In cases where once off payments are given the receiver is not expected to repay the money. This transaction is given out of free will and without obligation.

"Maybe this child doesn't have parents and the neighbour feels sorry for the child and that this child is bright at school, so they take this child and continue paying for the child's education and they decide maybe that when he works maybe he will give back." (group 6 M EC 25-49 farming)

Obligatory donations are monetary contributions to funeral collections, initiations and circumcisions. These events are structured and become planned when involving close family and neighbours.

"If I have a few cents I can contribute so you can go to the doctor." (group 6 M EC 25-49 farming)

Planned life events such as birth, initiation, circumcision, graduation, marriage, moving ancestors to a new home, thanking ancestors, and a funeral all use material resources. In accordance with custom and tradition these events require a certain combination of items from the following list: -

food, a slaughter animal, drinks, blankets, washcloth, towel, candles, matches, soap, salt, pots, basin, cup, dishes, spoons and gifts.

> "Relatives will buy things like blankets, wash cloths and basins."

> "We do the same as at weddings: we brew beer, bake bread and traditional food and samp. You take all this to their house where they have the ceremony to help them out." (Group 5 F EC 50+ informal)

> "When you bring your ancestors to your new home, you have a ceremony and you slaughter, others come and offer food." (group 4 M EC 25-49 less 1 year)

In farming areas, goods of material worth used in transactions are often borrowed from the neighbour, family or farming group or farming organisation. These goods include fertiliser, seed, livestock feed, a tractor or plough oxen, and veterinary medicines.

> "If I don't have a garden I can go and help cultivate your garden so you can share some of the harvest." (group 4 M EC 25-49 less 1 year)

The loan of breeding chickens also falls into this category. Reciprocity is practiced because giving these goods is viewed as a voluntary gesture for neighbours and friends, and compulsory for the farming group or farming organisation and close family. Variance is present for neighbours. Although circumstances i.e. sick animals needing veterinary medicine shape some of these transactions, the system in place operates within widely understood rules and is therefore structured and planned for. The seasons and cyclical farming activities are known and planned for, although not necessarily predictable.

Annexure 1 categorises these transactions as pillars of help. The structure of each transaction is either symmetrical or asymmetrical as determined by the underlying motivational values.

> "The women in the community get together and collect money and then they buy seeds and plant the garden and harvest the garden, that's how they help each other." (group 6 M EC 25-49 farming)

The sharing of electricity is a structured transaction as it operates within its own set of rules i.e. with the intention of benefiting the receiver although the giver will be incurring costs, which might not be repaid.

> "They let me connect my house from their electricity connection, they help me in this way". (SRM2RILI)

> "You buy it and get a slip and put it into your neighbour's electricity box and then you share the electricity". (Group 7 F 18-24 WC social grant)

4.1.4 Random Helping Pattern Involving Goods Of Material Wealth

Sharing a telephone, cell phone, a horse for transport, giving paraffin, firewood, coal, food and shelter are random acts determined by circumstance and situation. The goods given are of a practical nature in that it services an immediate need. The variance between obligatory and voluntary is determined by the situation. Here the term random refers to a conscious decision to benefit another person but giving spontaneously.

> "Because my brother is not married he is able to give money when he can." (group 4 M EC 25-49 less 1 year)

> "If your shack is burning and you need a cell phone to call for help, they will say Nobuletia has a phone and then she helps you."

The street committee and village organisation are also used as a structured vehicle, within random situations, for the collection of money, clothing and food and in the distribution of money, clothing and food i.e. in times of fire, flood, hunger, crime, destitution etc.

> "Women in the street committees tell people to come and work and they have promised us shelters where we can wash cars and clean the streets."

4.1.5 Planned Helping Pattern Involving Physical Labour And Non-Material Assistance

Crime, illness, unemployment, HIV/Aids, hunger, domestic problems, the education and development of children and a system of exchange motivate the following transactions:

- Crime watch, caring for the sick, caring for the neighbour's children, tutoring, assisting with homework , problem solving and conflict resolution, idea generation and sharing skills, praying, advice, fetching and carrying and undertaking errands, setting up groups and clubs, working and pulling together and standing together in solidarity.
- Organise soccer playing and choir practice for orphans. Take orphans to Child Welfare. Cook and clean for orphans.

Transactions involving planned physical labour exchange usually include:
- Garden, clean yards, cultivate, grow vegetables.
- Cook, clean, laundry, ironing, household chores.
- Herd cattle, fetch stock, and fetch animal feed, seed, fertiliser, and veterinary medicine.

"If I have money, then I buy two bags of cement and call my neighbours and we make bricks together, just enough to build a room, as to buy bricks is too expensive." (SRF3D5LI)
"If there is anything to do with hands, we help.".(SRF3D5LI)

A sense of belonging to a group with the purpose of controlling a situation and seeking a solution is a prime motivator behind planned helping patterns. The planning enables the stretching of limited resources and in cases of custom and tradition such as funerals, circumcision, initiation, birth and celebrations, the additional tasks undertaken by physical labour promote the well being and unity of the community whether rural or urban.

Schwartz and Howard (1981) use a process model of altruism specifying five successive steps:
   i. Attention includes the recognition of the distress and the selection of an effective help transaction and a self-attribution of competence.
   ii. Motivation is related to the construction of a personal norm and the resulting feelings of moral obligation.

iii. Evaluation of the consequences of the transaction centres on social costs e.g. disapproval/approval, physical costs, self-concept distress e.g. violation of self-image and moral costs.

iv. Defence mechanisms are assumed to reduce the likelihood of altruistic responses and are used to rationalise reasons for not helping

v. Behaviour depicts the decision arrived at after the process and involve behavioural freedom in acting altruistically.

"If you are troubled you go to your neighbours to talk about it, how you are struggling and you need to build a home, so people come and assist you with building your home without you having to pay them. It's important to get along with your neighbours. One can thatch the roof and the other can work with the mud." (group 4 M EC 25-49 less 1 year)

For example funerals require the following planned physical labour and non-material transactions:-

- Dig grave, build coffin, collect money, dishes and pots, plan work schedule, cook, clean and prepare food, bake bread, assist with the slaughtering of the livestock, sing at funeral
- Escort home, sleep in the home of bereaved family, take children to Place of Safety
- Offer prayers, comfort, and consolation, give love, and a hug.

In the care of pensioners, the planning occurs in chores undertaken on pension day i.e. accompanying pensioners to the pay point, standing in the queue, looking after money, going to the shop. Other transactions involve fetching water and firewood and undertaking errands for pensioners.

"I will fetch water and cook for the old person who is living alone in her home" (SRF3D5LI).

In cases of fire and adverse weather conditions planned physical labour includes:-

- Fix leaking house, rebuild house, mend walls, redo mud on walls, make bricks, fix plumbing, lay bricks and cut thatching grass.

Other planned physical labour transactions involving increasing income to appease hunger for example include:

- help sell goods, pick up cardboard, tins, iron for recycling,
- share income generating ideas
- share casual jobs

    "We collect tins and we recycle them; we clean on the sides of the road and then we collect donations from people who are passing on the road." (SRF2EILI)

4.1.6 Random Helping Patterns Involving Physical Labour And Non-Material Assistance

Fire, accidents, hunger, assisting with depression, praying, comfort, consolation and encouragement, and advice are all transactions spontaneously undertaken and include:

- Taking children to shops, helping children cross the street, looking for lost children, washing car, looking after money, keeping keys.
- Putting out fires, saving belongings from burning shacks.
- Push-starting cars, giving directions to those lost.
- Physically stopping a fight, leading blind people, pushing trolley and carrying loads.

    "If a house is on fire I must help, first by seeing if there's somebody in the house and help to get them out, and then help put out the fire." (SRM1NALI)

4.2 Purpose And Rules

The informant narratives reveal that a series of rules, commonly understood, shape and govern help transactions. For example most of the organisations require some form of material support as the main criterion for belonging. As a result membership is often limited. For example not many orphans belong to societies, whereas people in the 25 – 49 year age bracket do. Rules also appear to emerge based on actor type – that is for neighbours and family where the rule is often informal, reciprocal and equal-sided as opposed to those of clubs and societies where the rule is often formal, compulsory and

one-sided. The rules are also explored in terms of the principles that motivate transactions, including that of ubuntu.

Organisations exist as a form of forced saving in order to cope with the vagaries of daily living. Burial societies are the dominant form of organisation, and act as a form of insurance so that close family members are not burdened with added debt. Rules of membership are contained within these semi-formal or formal structures in terms of obligation (in giving regular set amounts) and in terms of what they receive. These terms are spelt out either in a verbal understanding or a documented constitution. Both formats carry rewards and sanctions that enforce the rules.

> "You can only join if you have money to pay every month and you must have 10 plates and 10 cups. The money is only needed when there is a death in the family." (SRF2EILI)

Access to resources provides a measure of safety while simultaneously enforcing a sense of belonging while the membership rules around the transaction give control to the situation and defines roles.

> "The first rule is to contribute money at the end of the month, you have to bring me the money without me telling you to." (SUM1NAWC)

For the poorest of the poor and orphans their inability to give regular set amounts excludes them from belonging. It then becomes the role of the street committee or community organisations to undertake funeral collections for them in their time of need.

Ubuntu is underpinned by a rule requiring an actor to give help at all times to whoever asks. As poverty appears to limit this approach informants are of the opinion that the increasing role of clubs and societies is one of replacing Ubuntu, which is felt to be dying out.

> "Because of the clubs we form, we will always be able to help each other." (SRF3D5LI)

To counteract the feeling of being caught in between events, which are having a negative effect on daily living, communities are putting planned structures in place that assist with the bringing in of order and a modicum of control, such as clubs and societies.

Reciprocity is an unspoken rule in many groupings where Ubuntu is perceived to be dying out.

> "You help your neighbour by giving them something they do not have and then what you do not have you can ask them for." (group 5, EC, f, 50+, informally employed).

Random acts of assistance appear to be shaped by a sense of humanity or self-experience and are consistently applied to like situations.

> "There are some people who are sick and cannot go to the clinic to fetch their medicine, and the clinic know who they are so you can go and fetch their medicine for them." (SRF2EILI).

The rule for Ubuntu is unconditional assistance to those who seek help. This includes everyone you know, be it family, relatives, neighbours, and friends to complete strangers. The concept of sharing what is available means a more equitable distribution of limited resources.

> "When a person comes to seek help from you, it's your duty to give help to that person." (group 7 F WC 18-24, SOCIAL GRANT)

Whereas reciprocity works on the assumption that something will be given in return when called upon, doing things for each other in exchange is a more definite and tangible action. The norm of reciprocity prescribing a mutual give and take is an implicit rule specifying what ought to be done.

> "I'll look at the person who helps me first, if a relative doesn't help me with anything – I mean how can I help her first?" (SRF2EILI)

The rule for assisting neighbours is gaining ascendancy over family and appears to be influenced by location i.e. your neighbour is in close proximity in urban situations and is therefore the first contact point especially when your family live further away. In rural situations your 'working' family member might be away so your first contact port of call will be the remaining family and then your neighbour.

> "I get help from my neighbour because my neighbour knows my problems well. She helps me with money and when I have it I pay it back." (SUF3NAWC)

The rule for approaching social workers or the headman was dependent on the gravity and nature of the situation. These were also determining factors in deciding whether to approach councillors, priests and church elders.

> "I borrow from the church and when I have it, I pay it back." (SUF3NAWC)

In general for rural informants, the first port of call is the close family for family problems and if this is not resolved, the matter is taken to the social worker or the headman. For urban informants, the first port of call is family members who live in close proximity (if any) or close friends.

Variances existed within groupings as to whether there were people who did not deserve help. The following were deemed to be unworthy of assistance:

- People with access to resources or people who look as though they have access to resources i.e. people with food, jobs and money.
- People with a disregard for others
- People who were wasteful i.e. using the money to get drunk
- Strangers
- Murderers
- Heartless and ungrateful people
- A borrower who never returns whatever they lent
- People who are not truthful and always have excuses as to why they can never assist you
- People who ridicule you
- The person you cannot trust
- The 'stingy' person

A contrasting viewpoint was that 'everyone deserves to be helped'.

4.3 Community Insights

A selection of community insights drawn from the narratives highlight the type of horizontal help transactions occurring in low wealth communities and helps to identify the external and internal forces fields at play. Specifically as noted below, informants note the phenomenon of social change, as part of the democratic transition in the country, the erosion of "traditions", crime, unemployment and HIV Aids. These are all factors and forces that impinge upon, inform and influence philanthropic behaviour. These insights are vital as they bring context to help transactions within a range of force fields.

> "Democracy brings changes." (SUM2SGGT)

The concern expressed is that Ubuntu, which is unconditional help given to all, is dying out and that something is needed to replace this tradition.

> *"We used to do things because we wanted to out of love, but now we have changed and we make a business out of helping someone. These days money changes the way you help each other."* (group 6 EC, M, 25-49, farming)

> *"Ubuntu is vanishing, it's complete, now the language is 'mind your own business.'"* (SUF3NAWC)

From a horizontal help perspective this may be an indication as to why there is such a variety of clubs and societies, as a way to control the 'unknown' future and to eliminate the degree of mistrust arising from a shifting, migrating population.

The increase in the setting up of clubs and societies as structures to collect and utilise money in the informal and unbanked market suggests an understanding of micro-economics and financial management.

> "In other clubs they make it compulsory that every member must borrow money, because the interest they charge generates more money. The problem is if you don't borrow money and the time comes to divide the money you find your name doesn't appear because you didn't work the system. You find out you are the only one that didn't borrow money." (SUM3SLWC)

> "These 15 grocery women meet every month and you can borrow money from them knowing you will have to pay interest, if you are an outsider you have to work through an insider."(SUM3SLWC)

A further case study of child-headed households is required to get a more complete view of support given by a community to a grouping of people traumatised by daily events of abuse, hunger and responsibility of dependants:

> *"The thugs come into our houses and rape us and take the clothes and beat us up so we are organising people to walk around the streets at night and monitor. There are whistles you blow and they hear and come and assist."* (SUF1NAGT)

Unemployment is seen to have a major influence on poverty while crime; HIV/Aids, the high cost of living, the increase in the population rate and the increase in refugees from the rest of Africa are exacerbating the situation.

> "My worries are crime and how it is destroying the youth". (SUF3NAWC)
>
> "These foreigners (Mozambicans) come here for business and take all our maize meal to their countries, and they take our money, they also steal." (SRF2EILI)

Rules, such as reciprocity, social responsibility and membership, underwriting the different transactions maintain a sense of equilibrium within the community and underscore the importance of creating a community made up of people who feel that they belong.

> "Because our homes differ in terms of income - where others have income and others do not have income, those with income give material help more than emotional help. Those homes with nothing give emotional help and their presence." (SUF3NAWC)

The display of rules gives strength to a society in transition. Previous skills taught through traditional customs included understanding the rules of hierarchy and respect, self-discipline, self-development and the handing down of knowledge and wisdom to the younger generation.

> "We are helping each other the best way we know how and we are working together. Our children have seen how we do things." (SUF4D5WC)

Concern was expressed that this form of socialization is not occurring anymore due to the move away from traditional ways, and because of this the 'youth were being destroyed'.

> "Some family members laugh at you when you have a problem." (SUF4D5WC)

Jealousy is being experienced in communities and it can be assumed that it is related to low self esteem exacerbated by the high unemployment rate. The youth and their families are being pressurized into finishing their schooling in spite of limited resources. The, after graduation, they are unable to find employment.

> "People are changing. They have attitude; for example we are both not working and he gets a job and he becomes reluctant to go

around with me as he goes around with other people who are working." (SUM3RIWC)

"Some people laugh at you when you have a problem and they say they want to see how you are going to get out of it." (Group 5 F EC 50+ informal)

The application of rules, the presence of hierarchy and respect, the sense of belonging and by implication self-affirmation are all components making up organisations within communities; street committee, parent society, stokvel, exchange club, cooking club, grocery club, funeral group, burial society, family society, initiation society, blanket society, dishes society, working society, hoeing society, planting society, women's league, women's guild, self- help group, Child Welfare, school committee, street committee, youth club, burial society, farming group.

The church plays an important role in setting up a clear system of values of what is right and wrong, and it also assists in supporting people to maintain and sustain those values. The parable of the Good Samaritan is an excellent example of how the Church illustrates "ideal" altruistic behaviour and although it appeared from excerpts out of this study that people aspired to reach this plateau, references were made with regard to a form of reward.

"If I give something, it is a belief that maybe tomorrow God will give me something good in return." (SRF4NALI)

The role of churches appears to be multi-functional in that as an organisation it receives donations and acts as a giver with spiritual, emotional and mental support as well as financial support. The church also acts as a facilitator between parishioners and any authorities the parishioner needs to confront. In this role the church is seen to be an equal power-broker between the two parties.

5.0 Implications

Low wealth communities have resorted to finding their own solutions. These solutions can be categorised as those of:

- a practical nature
- a strategic nature

There appears to be no hard and fast rules that can be used as a template for help transactions as many of the interventions are family and community driven and therefore influenced by each member's interpretation of shared events and socialisation processes. For example, if a family member dies, the family will gather to discuss how much each should contribute. But, this does not mean that everyone will contribute, and even if everyone does, it does not mean that each will contribute the same amount.

There is continuous overlap between what is obligatory, compulsory, important and acceptable. For example, if children of employed parents are orphaned, the people around will not necessarily come to the rescue. At the back of their minds they are querying why the parents failed to provide for their children. On the other hand, if it is a poor family then the funeral becomes everybody's business. The community becomes involved by helping the children with food and they will ensure that the orphans access social welfare grants.

5.1 Practical Solutions

- Crime prevention by employing concepts such as the neighbourhood watch, street patrols and whistle blowing.
- Allocating appropriate physical resources needed for funerals, initiations, circumcisions and celebrations. Using stokvels and other societies to attend to monetary requirements.

With reference to Table 1, the type of help transactions, the location of the actors, the motivations perceived to be behind the transaction will determine the correct applicability. Also taking into account historical and cultural processes and the concept of philanthropy in communities in relation to

activities, sources of satisfaction, rules, skills required, concepts and beliefs, and power.

5.2 Strategic Solutions

- The setting up of clubs, societies, groups and committees with a long-term view of bringing about change in the future.
- Income-generating projects that require less capital and faster turn-around time.

- Farming projects better suited to terrain and climatic conditions,

"There are a lot of things we can do when we get together. Breeding chickens, which the children can sell, so that we can get money and buy materials so we can make things with our own hands. If I get training for sewing then I can start sewing as that's when the money starts to come in. The hospital can hire us and we will sew for them. (SRF4NALI)

"These small organisations that have just started help people by giving them ideas of what to do to uplift communities. You know that the government has started many projects to get more people working." (SUM2EIGT)

5.3 Trends

In order to be able to support low wealth initiatives and mobilise resources timeously in response to meeting these needs, it is necessary to identify trends impacting on the lives of people of low wealth. Concerns expressed in the narratives of informants centred on unemployment and HIV/Aids. Informants perceive the increase in crime and the escalating cost of living as a direct result of unemployment. The devastating affect of Aids in the lives of informants is one of depleting already diminishing resources.

Five areas of concern have been identified:

1. Unemployment
2. HIV/Aids

3. Crime/Security
4. Education
5. Social grant system.

5.3.1 Unemployment

In a climate of increasing poverty and unemployment with resources becoming even more stretched, it appears as though people of low wealth become more entrenched with help transactions that do not use money as the medium of exchange. Instead they draw increasingly on other resources and assets such as physical labour, time and emotional support. Both men and women spend much time discussing entrepreneurial ideas on how to create an income. The access to capital to implement these ideas appears to be a big stumbling block, as people of low wealth do not generally have assets or bank accounts.

5.3.2 HIV/Aids

Owing to increasing mortality rates, significant resources are being allocated to deal with the Aids contingency. Help transactions involving HIV / Aids are deemed to be compulsory. In particular funerals absorb huge amounts of money and even though funerals are conducted according to traditional practises, people are finding it difficult to meet their monthly payment contributions to burial societies. To counteract this, street committees collect money donations from the street to assist families with their funeral requirements.

Related to the force field of the Aids pandemic, HIV awareness programmes appear to be a community focused initiative and involvement in home-based care is seemingly well practised throughout communities. Many neighbours assist in collecting medicines from clinics whose staff seem to know who their housebound patients are. This procedure is a move away from the norm and whether it is an informal relaxation of 'health procedure rules' or an accepted policy will only be determined by further research. The normal procedure is one of making patients attend the clinic to receive their medicine.

5.3.3 Crime/Security

Horizontal help transactions in coping with an increasing exposure to crime are deemed to be very important, especially for men. The most common semi-formal structure is that of the street committee and the neighbourhood watch / patrols. Orphan heads of household are particularly vulnerable and rely on members of the community to come to their assistance.

5.3.4 Education

Due to the importance assigned to education, a trend of spreading the cost throughout the community appears to be catching on. These horizontal transactions see to the costs for uniforms and transport to school. The main actors are the church, community-based organisations, family, neighbours and 'sponsors', it appears as though the norm of social responsibility is being pushed in order to get the identified "giver' to act altruistically. Further in-depth research is needed to verify this appearance.

5.3.5 Social Grant System

The need to supplement any social grant system or family financial assistance is well recognised and it appears as though there is still a widely held belief that a job would offer instant security. The groups of 50 + years and those below 25 years seem more accepting of the idea of self-employment and the good sense of working together to create projects.

6.0 Conclusions

Low wealth communities are resourceful and innovative and operate within formalised structures. These structures understand financial management and micro-economic conditions and community psychology.

The main reason why these communities are not able to bring about any substantive change to their condition is due to the rapid increase in the causal conditions relating to poverty.

- Rising unemployment, especially for school leavers
- Increasing crime and an ensuing sense of insecurity
- The increase in mortality, often Aids related
- Breakdown of family values and respect for humanity

Interventions need to address the low self-esteem present as a result of the socio-economic factors of not being able to find a job. This sense of low self-worth is exacerbated by the reality of not being able to provide for one's family.

The relationship of giving help and receiving help are complementary and need to be enforced throughout help transactions. The work of Fisher, de Paulo and Nadler (1981) underscores this process. By understanding donor characteristics (manipulative intent) and recipient characteristics (self-esteem), the philanthropy intervention in the form of aid characteristics can be clearly spelt out in relation to context characteristics where the recipient is given an opportunity to reciprocate.

Family values need to be given a chance to be implemented by increasing the sense of self-worth within family units. Future help transactions need to take into consideration the self-esteem of family members and their role in the transaction. **Table 1** indicates that the opportunity to take control of a situation and to be given the chance to reciprocate will enable an intervention to reach its successful conclusion. The mental and emotional health of a family unit is society's only aid-tool in coping with an uncertain future.

Community development programmes need to be initiated from within communities, through their self-help groups, via their existing channels and in accordance with their defined rules. The model of Brickman et al. (1982) uses responsibility attribution as a key concept. It distinguishes between responsibility for the cause of the problem and responsibility for the solution to the problem. Their compensatory model holds the help recipient responsible for the solution to their problem therefore after the elimination of the deprivation and recipients are considered responsible for their own future and competent enough to help themselves. (Bierhof, 1987c).

Sponsored education for low wealth communities and the implementation of a basic income grant and a more aggressive stance in sponsored health care in all areas of health and welfare. Finance Minister Trevor Manual's 300 page report on Trends in Intergovernmental Finances underlines the increasing dependence of poor families on social grants to sustain them. In April 2004 7.9 million people received grants and government expects an increase of more than 20% a year. R54.4 billion is budgeted for in 2007, meaning a 3.4% share of the GDP. Child support grants equalled R4.3million in April 2004 and are deemed to be government's most effective poverty-relief mechanism. The age limit is to be increased from 11 to 14 years. On the down side of government's support programme it was revealed that the Eastern Cape and Free State were registering unemployed people, not entitled to state support, for disability grants. It is government's intention to move away from cash transfers to broad-based development for the poor by creating opportunities to participate in the economy. However, what these opportunities will be, remains to be seen.

7.0 Lexicon

One hand washing the other

It's something you just do

It has always been like that. You have experienced it yourself

Helping will not change - as we see the importance of it, the more we pull together and the better things will become

Things have changed, People are different now

Funerals

Initiation for boys

Initiation for girls

The ceremony for moving your ancestors to their (your) new home

The ceremony for giving thanks to your ancestors

Thanking God

A handing over to Jesus

What makes me not sleep is crime and the youth being destroyed

There is nothing that makes me happy, I am just suffering

What am I going to do in the morning?

Ubuntu thinking is changing to one of minding your own business.

Western culture is breaking down traditional culture, leaving people stuck in the middle of nowhere

We are caught between the old and the new and our children are not learning traditional ways of helping regardless of where the person comes from

Moving away from a culture of where family comes first.

Ubuntu is making a comeback

People always help if they have something to give

Youth are following the example of helping

Humanity and improvement come through learning better things

"People have changed; they've lost their understanding and respect for each other."

"No opportunities result in people doing bad things. Everything revolves around money and those at the bottom suffer."

"The high death rate means more expenses."

"If people sit back, get lazy and do nothing then change won't happen; we need goals and dreams to bring about change."

"Westernisation is bringing about change, people are thinking individually."

"Giving and receiving help builds friendship in the community."

"Organisations set up will replace Ubuntu and government projects will help eradicate poverty and get people work."

Your neighbour stays close to you and whenever you go out of your yard your neighbour is there. Your neighbour is the first one to come and rescue you because our families are far away. So the neighbour is the one that will tell your family what happened to you, so I will give to my neighbour first."

"You might find the problem is too big to handle and that you need the headman and you explain your problems and they ring a bell. This summons the people and that's where the help comes from".

"People don't abide by the law - the elders are the only ones with respect. We have problems with people stealing our cattle and selling it."

"Maybe I cannot help someone with HIV but I can give them advice; I will give him a hug".

"I ask, can I help you by preparing porridge for you? Wash the pots and dishes for you?"

"Thugs come in and rape us, take clothes and beat us up, so we organise people to walk around the streets at night so that when you blow your whistle they come to assist you."

"We need water and flushing toilets in our shacks. We want to be safe in our shacks. There is lots of thieving".

"If you have a problem, you go to the street committee and they write you a letter to take to the social worker."

"Sometimes we sleep with empty stomachs so we end up going to the social worker."

"Neighbours moving away means there will be no role models for the youth to follow."

"Life as it is lived now is changing because people feel jealous and like to create misunderstandings."

"Increasing crime, unemployment, poverty and ill health means there will be a reduction in help as many people will be in hospital and jail"

"Creating distrust by saying you are bewitching that family kills kindness among young people."

"The Bible says God created people to be like Him, so when I look at the person next to me, who is just like me, then I am motivated to help. We have to build unity and respect, and you cannot take your wealth with you when you die."

"Organisations being set up will replace Ubuntu and will help ease poverty and people will start working."

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