

The Impact of International Non-governmental Organisations on the Response of Community-based Organisations to the HIV/AIDs related Orphan and Vulnerable Children Crisis in Zimbabwe: The case of Batsiranai and Danish Association for International Cooperation in Manicaland

Thesis submitted to London Metropolitan University in partial fulfilment for the Doctor of Philosophy.

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Dedication

**For my two brothers
There is potential for beauty**

Abstract

This thesis explores the relationship between an international non-governmental organisation (INGO) and a community based organisation (CBO) addressing the HIV/AIDs- related orphan and vulnerable children (OVC) crisis in Zimbabwe. The study engages with how INGOs have emerged as key conduits for development aid, rather than African governments against a backdrop of development strategies being dominated by northern perspectives at the expense of southern knowledge and cultures. However, there is a convergence of global policy view that at the local level, families and community initiatives and CBOs are crucial to addressing the OVC development agenda. In view of this, some critics have questioned the capacity of African families and even the very existence of communities. In spite of the considerable debates about INGOs' role in funding CBOs, this thesis is based on the assumption that external funding will be necessary for the foreseeable future. Against this background, this thesis aims to unravel assumptions and debates about communities and INGOs. Central is the question what partnership between INGOs and CBOs would entail, whether it is desirable and if so, how it can be promoted. The case study of Batsiranai, a CBO based in rural Zimbabwe and the Danish Association for International Cooperation in Manicaland (MS), the INGO which partly funds its work, is used to address this question.

The thesis draws on field work done in Zimbabwe and UK employing in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, participant observation, and documentary analysis. Research participants were selected to include six Batsiranai and two MS staff, seven key informants, HIV-affected six children, and fourteen volunteers.

The study shows the existence of a community as experienced by some residents of Buhera South District and OVC problem ownership in spite of the challenges. Volunteers are the bedrock of Batsiranai's response motivated by traditional cultural capital which operates as a system of solidarity. However, the concepts of "volunteer" and "volunteering" emerged as problematic due to the specific cultural ensemble prevalent in Buhera South District, which places "volunteering" in collectively structured obligations where individual choice is significantly constrained and shaped by the promptings of other community members. Most crucially this study shows that volunteers are poor people bearing the cost of real participation, in a

context lacking a welfare system for the poor. Hence the call for an acceptable token. While children receive various forms of support such as food and school fees Batsiranai has a full agenda without meeting their psycho-social needs. Psychosocial support appears a “soft” area of development due to limited resource allocation.

Findings show that partnership between an INGO and CBO is partially possible when power inequalities are honestly acknowledged and recognized as chronically problematic. It is apparent that Batsiranai, despite enormous pressures, is operating as the key front line provider of support and distributor of resources. MS is unusually flexible in comparison with most INGOs in its approach to development and was therefore able to go some way to implementing aspects of partnership: the lines of hierarchy were consequently flatter and links amongst stakeholders were simpler than would be the case with major INGOs. The analysis and experience of partnership between MS and Batsiranai shows that it is a resource demanding process, which requires a long period of time to produce desirable outcomes. However, to great extent, the contextual environment currently prevailing in Zimbabwe played against the partnership. *Nhimbe* emerges in this study as a traditional cultural resource which can be harnessed for INGOs and CBOs partnerships on OVC in Zimbabwe as a starting point to remedying the scarcity of southern knowledge and cultures in development. In establishing an INGO and CBO partnership on OVC, the former needs to be flexible from the onset and prioritize the latter’s institutional development, harness traditional cultural capital and listen to children’s voices. Volunteers’ should be given an acceptable token, and receive due recognition of their contributions. The state should create an enabling policy environment for OVC partnerships. Future OVC INGO – CBO partnerships in Zimbabwe are encouraged to harness *Nhimbe* as a way of creating a fusion, between northern and southern perspectives that is culturally and context appropriate.

Future studies need to further explore the applicability of the concept of “volunteering” and how participation costs can be mitigated, while preserving a community’s resilience. Batsiranai’s dependency on external resources calls for an exploration on how Zimbabwean Diaspora communities’ resources can be tapped within the context of development aid. *Nhimbe* remains a subject open to further research.

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- Key informants

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Last, but not least, to gracious John and his beloved wife, thank you for giving me a place and respite.

Acronyms

- ACHPR: African Commission on Human and People's Rights
- AU: African Union
- BEAM: Basic Education Assistance Module
- BSD: Buhera South Community
- CAQDAS: Computer assisted qualitative data analysis
- CARE: Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere
- CBOs: Community based organisations
- CCCs: Community Care Coalitions
- CCGs: Community Care Groups
- CIDA: Canadian International Development Agency
- CSOs: Civil Society Organisations
- DANIDA : Danish International Development Agency
- DfID: Department for International Development
- ESAP: Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
- ESRC: Economic and Social research council
- FACT: Family AIDS Caring Trust
- FBOs: Faith based organisations
- FGD/s: Focus Group discussion/ s
- FLF: Firelight Foundation
- FOCUS: Families, Orphans and Children Under Stress
- FOST: Farm Orphan Support Trust
- GOZ: Government of Zimbabwe
- HIPC: The Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative
- HIV/AIDS: Human deficiency Syndrome / Acquired immune Deficiency Syndrome
- HIVOS: Humanist Institute for Development Cooperation
- IBA: International Bar Association
- IDS: Institute of Development Studies
- ILO: International Labour Organisation
- IMF: International Monetary Fund

- IMF: International Monetary Fund's
- INGOs: International non governmental organisations
- IRIN : Integrated Regional Information Networks
- LFA: logframe analysis
- MS: Mellemfolkeligt Samvike
- MSiS: MS in the South
- MSTCDC: Mellemfolkeligt Samvike Training Centre for Development Cooperation in Eastern and Southern Africa
- NANGO: National Association of Non-Governmental Organizations
- NOCP: National Orphan Care Policy
- NEPAD: New Partnership for African Development
- NGOs: Non governmental organisations
- NORAD: Norwegian Aid for Development Cooperation
- NOVIB: Dutch organization for international aid
- NPA: National Plan of Action
- NZAID: New Zealand Agency for International Development
- OECD: Organisation for Economic co – operation and development
- POSA: Public Order and Security Act
- OVC: Orphans and Vulnerable Children
- PABs: Policy Advisory Boards
- PoS: Program of Support
- PRF: Poverty Reduction Forum
- PSLSW: Public service, labour and social welfare
- SADC: Southern Africa Development Community
- SAPRIN: Structural Adjustment Participatory Review International Network
- SAT : Southern Africa Trust
- SDF: Social Dimension Fund
- SIDA: Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
- SAPS : Structural Adjustment programmes
- NPA: The National Plan of Action for OVC
- PVO: The Private Voluntary (Organizations) Act
- UNAIDS: The Joint United Nations Programme on AIDS

- **UNCRC: United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child**
- **UNDP: United Nations Development Programme**
- **UNGASS: United General Assembly Special Session**
- **UNICEF: United Nations Children's Fund**
- **USA: United states of America**
- **USAID: US Agency for International Development**
- **WB: World Bank**
- **WV: World Vision**
- **YOCIC: Youth for a Child in Christ**
- **ZANU PF: Zimbabwe National Union of Patriotic front**
- **ZIMPREST: Zimbabwe Programme for Economic Recovery**

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Chapter Introduction

This chapter introduces the research question and presents the justification and rationale for this study, its aims and objectives as well as the thesis structure. It presents background regarding the connection between the HIV/ AIDS epidemic and the growing problem of orphans and other vulnerable children. In this section, statistical data are presented, orphaning patterns and the case of other vulnerable children who are not orphans discussed. Background on Zimbabwe as well as its response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic and OVC are presented as well as a brief account of Zimbabwe's relevant international commitments in respect of children. Definitions of key words utilised are also discussed. The central research question of this study is:

What is the nature of partnership between an INGO, MS and a CBO, Batsiranai, in their OVC work in rural Zimbabwe?

In addressing this question, the study engages with the case study of MS and Batsiranai and analyses *nhimbe*, a Shona traditional cultural resource with the aim of demonstrating the practical implications of the study within the Zimbabwean context. What follows is the justification and rationale for addressing this question.

1.2 Justification and Rationale for this Study

The orphan and vulnerable children crisis is a phenomenon that concerns the research, policy, and global community at large. HIV/AIDS has played a major role in exacerbating orphanhood world-wide. The involvement of the global north in constructing HIV/AIDS related orphanhood as *the* crisis facing children world-wide has been modified in recognition that additional vulnerabilities face children in high prevalence areas that HIV/AIDS related policy would do well to address. Hence the notion that there is an orphan *and* vulnerable children crisis. In Sub Saharan Africa, this crisis remains one of the most outstanding consequences of the epidemic due to its high prevalence within the region (Smart 2003). Most children in Sub Saharan Africa will continue to feel the impact of HIV/AIDS at different levels (UNICEF 2003) in tandem with the high levels of parental infection. The impacts of the epidemic on children are both negative and multifaceted; many in violation of their human rights. Foster (2002a) notes that in spite of HIV/AIDS being a key area of

concern over the last decades, the impacts of the epidemic on children did not receive much attention until the late 1990s, partly due “to the lack of any proven model of orphan support (Foster 2002b: 7). As Foster and Levine (1998), further contend, global policy makers and national governments were slow to respond due to the view that the epidemic was more of a health than development concern. Given this health driven focus, Foster (2002b) notes that international donors focused on medical oriented AIDs interventions with very limited attention to care at community and household level, partly due to the constraints posed by the project approach. But as has since been established, the children’s plight is many-sided and dispersed affecting education, health, economics, and children’s welfare among many other agendas touched by development agencies (Foster 2002b). While response tarried, researchers such as Preble (1990), Barnett and Blaikie (1992), Hunter (1990), Mukuyogo and Williams (1991), Sengendo and Nambi (1997), Barnett and Whiteside (2002), Foster et al 1995 and Ayeiko (1997) were instrumental in highlighting the negative impacts of the epidemic on children and the extra strain on communities caring for them. Ayeiko (1997) and Foster et al (1997a) particularly focused on the establishment of child headed households due to the epidemic in Uganda and Zimbabwe, a phenomenon then considered relatively new. The case of OVC is a cause of concern because of the multiple challenges children face and how these challenges are potentially detrimental to their personal development as is well documented by researchers (e.g. UNICEF 2003, Foster et al 1995, Naerland 1993, Sengendo and Nambi 1997, Foster et al 1997a, Makaya et al 2002, Makame and Granthan - McGregor 2002 Barnett and Whiteside 2002 and Nyambedha et al 2003). The impacts of these on children’s transition into adulthood are yet to be unpacked as Barnett and Whiteside (2002: 210 - 211) bleakly note:

We are talking about unsocialised, uneducated and in many instances unloved children struggling into adulthood. The costs to them as individuals remain unmeasured. The costs to the wider society are potentially enormous and are already being seen and felt.... These lives are hardly a preparation for the future as a member of a household or a community, least of all a citizen.

While it is the case that children do face unrelenting struggles, this view point may be perceived as extreme as it depicts children as completely hopeless victims. Francis-Chizororo (2008: 9) posits that Barnnet and Whiteside “are in a danger of assuming that orphaned children are not survivors”. These arguments notwithstanding, it is a

fact that we are faced with an orphaned and vulnerable generation whose development into respectable adults and responsible citizens is potentially curtailed unless interventions that are both relevant and adequate are made available.

Given the clear need for immediate, relevant, and adequate intervention, research studies (Drew et al 1998, Foster et al 1995, Foster et al 1996, Hunter and Williamson 1997, UNICEF 1998, Parry 1998, Foster 2002a, Foster 2002b,) began to explore strategies to support such children from the mid 1990s onwards with the majority recommending community based strategies. Barnett and Whiteside (2002: 207) take note of international agencies' and governments' perception of the communities as having "the solution" with regards to dealing with the prevention and impacts of the epidemic. Note-worthy here is that while the above mentioned studies recommend community based strategies, they also acknowledge that communities need various forms of external support. In fact the majority of the studies by Foster and others (see Foster 2002b,2002a, 1990; Foster et al 1997b, Foster et al 1996, Drew et al 1998, UNICEF 1998) who have studied the OVC phenomenon in Zimbabwe, at length, suggest that communities are in dire need of external resources. While Barnett and Whiteside (2002: 208- 9) also recommend, community based strategies¹, they call for caution and argue that

There are indeed no definitions of what community is. We do know that not all communities are alike. Their definition will vary over time, space and according to who is looking at them. Those looking at them as a resource in either prevention or impact mitigation see them as cohesive, interactive, and mutually supportive entities...While communities inevitably have some role to play, they can not be seen as the answer. Rich communities may cope; poor ones **may not be communities at all**², lacking the resources to organise effectively.

Indeed Barnett and Whiteside make a pivotal point which can not be ignored; communities are heterogeneous as well as complex but policy makers appear to have a rosy picture of homogeneous communities with resources ready for tapping. These tensions are a cause of concern for this study because empirically we don't know whether and if "community" exists, we don't know what resources "community" has if any. While we don't know, as Barnett and Whiteside, posit, what community is, literature is awash with pro community strategies to support OVC. This evidences conceptual complexities which need to be clarified. However, Barnett and

¹ See "One way to care for orphans" Barnett and Whiteside (2002: 373).

² Bold, my emphasis.

Whiteside's view that "poor ones may not be communities at all" is in danger of assuming that poor people are incapable of being a "community".

Evidence (UNAIDS 2001, UNICEF 2003) shows that the majority of OVC in rural Sub Saharan Africa are based in rural areas , with 75% in Zimbabwe where a 1995 poverty survey found 91% of the population in the rural areas to be either very poor or poor (UNICEF 1998). This being the case, Barnett and Whiteside's postulation that poor people may not be communities at all risks overstating the importance of "material wealth" in defining poverty. Much work on the conceptualization of poverty shows that it is multi-dimensional, with indicators including levels of resilience and cooperation, which may be present in locations experiencing deep material challenges. On another note, Collins and Rau (2000: 40) contend "...inventiveness in the face of adversity is now widely recognised and cited by many agencies. However, in too many instances, the rhetoric about coping mechanisms has become an excuse for doing little or nothing to reduce pressures on communities".

Even though Collins and Rau similarly call for caution, the above quote suggests that the ability of a "community" to look after its members can vary with the pressures to which it is exposed, and may need recognition in its own right to maintain and nurture that ability. Communities are not just there or not there, and to be taken for granted if they do exist and currently function successfully in providing services for members in distress. Failure to conceptualise "community" as an active, dynamic agency may lead external funders to think that support is exclusively required in respect of front-line services while the community is a more or less efficient, but unthinking, mechanism for achieving the external funders' aims in delivering front-line goods and services. Given these debates, it is clear that pro community strategies are fraught with conceptual tensions which must be clarified, if relevant and adequate interventions are to put in place in support of OVC.

With these concerns brewing amid very little recognition of the OVC crisis from the global community, governments, and policy makers, President Bill Clinton's large financial commitment¹ to children affected by AIDs in 1998 via USAID stirred the

¹ Behind this commitment "lay the large concern that if large numbers of children grew up without parents, political and economic systems through out Africa would become destabilised" (Foster 2002a: 1908).

international community towards the cause. Even though by 2001, USAID had committed US\$55 million for the support of children affected by AIDS in 22 developing countries, little assistance reached community groups except via (I) NGOs, despite the fact that the intervention had highlighted a specific focus on families and communities (Foster 2002a). Notable here is the fact that “communities” were recognised as part of the solution to the OVC crisis in line with literature recommendations. In recognition of the grave impact of HIV/AIDS on children, in June 2001, the United Nations General Assembly Special Session (UNGASS) Declaration of Commitment on HIV/AIDS mapped specific targets and strategies to address this crisis through articles 65, 66 and 67 as indicated in the table 1 below

Table 1: Declaration of Commitment on HIV/AIDS

Article 65	By 2003, develop and by 2005 implement national policies and strategies to build and strengthen governmental, family and community capacities to provide a supportive environment for orphans and boys and girls infected and affected by HIV/AIDS including by providing psychosocial support, ensuring their enrolment in school and access to shelter, good nutrition, health and social services on an equal basis with other children; and protect orphans and vulnerable children from all forms of abuse, violence, exploitation, discrimination, trafficking and loss of inheritance.
Article 66	Ensure non discrimination and full and equal enjoyment of all human rights through the promotion of an active and visible policy of de-stigmatization of children orphaned and made vulnerable by HIV/AIDS.
Article 67	Urge the international community, particularly donor countries, civil society, as well as the private sector, to complement effectively national programmes for children orphaned by HIV/AIDS in affected regions and in countries at high risk and to direct special assistance to Sub Saharan Africa.

Source: Smart (2003:10)

While it can be argued that UN leadership on the case of OVC tarried, it is notable that its agencies UNICEF and WHO (see UNICEF 1990 & 1991, WHO 1990, UNICEF and WHO 1994) were active in disseminating research reports and conference proceedings on the subject. In the light of articles 65, 66 and 67, it is notable that UN leadership on OVC remains important. As reflected above, it is clear that children affected by AIDS require joint efforts and responses from all concerned stakeholders, and importantly, communities, the subject of much debate. In response to article 65, a number of signatory countries have developed and part implemented

Orphan (and Vulnerable Children) national policies (Smart 2003). However, it is also the case that the majority of governments were slow to respond and by late 2003 up to 65% of the countries in Sub Saharan Africa had not developed national policies to care for OVC (IRIN 2003). For some countries, the development and implementation of these policies were and remain seriously hampered by lack of political will and or resource limitation. Zimbabwe was one of the first signatory countries to develop a National Orphan Care Policy (NOCP) which was adopted in 1999. In recognition of the fact that there are vulnerable children as well as orphans, the NOCP was superseded in 2003 by The National Plan of Action for OVC (NPA). Despite such policy formulation initiatives, Zimbabwe's implementation remains limited by socio economic and political challenges. However, in recognition of the need for joint effort and support for national governments, article 67 also calls upon the global community "particularly donor countries, civil society as well as the private sector" to complement national programmes.

Given that INGOs are part and parcel of the global community, how can they complement national programmes? In the case of Zimbabwe, its national OVC strategy directly relates to goals 65, 66 and 67 of the UNGASS declaration to which Zimbabwe is signatory (NPA 2003). The NPA affirms the importance of community responses as cost effective and healthy for children as they are reared in a familiar social and cultural environment (NAP 2003). Given this link between global and national OVC policy, the unavoidable role of communities is laid bare against a backdrop of the debates above. It is notable that this reading of the policy framework regarding "community" elides provision "in" the community, i.e. outside of a residential institution such as an orphanage, with provision "by" the community. As widely recognised in "care in the community" research worldwide, care "by" the community runs the risk of undervaluing the demanding and skilled labour of community carers. Care "by" the community relies on informal, unpaid workers including family and volunteers (Means and Smith 1998). Thus, assumptions appear to be: "communities exist; they have some form of resources which make them cost effective but need topping up to deliver to OVC". This policy view driven by the above underlying assumptions entails that INGOs as part of the global community render their support to community based care services, as directed by article 67 to complement Zimbabwe's OVC programme. Indeed, there

is growing evidence in the literature from sub Saharan Africa (Germann et al 2009, UNAIDS 2006, Thurman et al 2007, UNICEF 2007) that some global community actors such as IGOs, donors and more importantly INGOs, the focus of this study, are beginning to support community responses. However, such relationships have been a rarity rather than the norm in spite of the recent proliferation in the call for international organisations, agencies and INGOs to support community initiatives and groups to respond to children's needs (Foster 2005a, Foster 2002a, UK Consortium on AIDS and International Development 2004, UNAIDS 2006, Thurman et al 2007).

At this juncture, it is vital to draw attention to the salient concerns about community definition, existence, and capacity as potential service providers. It is evident that there are contradictory debates about "community". On one end of the spectrum, the very existence of community is questioned, in the middle are the assumptions about community, and on the other end is mushrooming evidence that global decision-makers are beginning to support "community" initiatives. In the light of these debates, this study aims to clarify the aspects of the nature, meaning and existence of community in rural Zimbabwe, as well as its position as a potential service provider to OVC. Furthermore, while there is anecdotal evidence (UNAIDS 2006, Thurman et al 2007, Germann et al 2009) to suggest that INGO can support community responses with potentially positive outcomes, there is a knowledge gap in terms of how this can be done. A sizable portion of partnership¹ studies (UNAIDS 2006, Thurman et al 2009, Manyeli 2007, Germann et al 2009, Foster 2005a) on OVC community initiatives focus on how community organizations are responding to the crisis, why they need external support and the challenges they face without necessarily exploring how individual relationships between the local and international are initiated and pan out. While there is also a large body of literature (The Alliance and SAT 2004, The Alliance and FACT 2001, Tear Fund 2004, Care 2004) on OVC work, it is mainly in the form of frameworks/ models. Of these, The Alliance, which mobilizes and partners with a broad range of community groups, developed an HIV/AIDS NGO/CBO support tool kit derived from past lessons and experiences. While the above-mentioned models are useful, literature is highly skewed towards offering recommendations without necessarily exploring individual case material on

¹ Partnership here, refers to the framework under which organisations can work together to support OVC as explained later on in this discussion.

relationships for evidence on the ground. Literature on OVC partnerships is therefore largely prescriptive making speculative leaps from theory which has not been subject to empirical scrutiny.

These literature limitations form the academic foundation for this study. This is because we do not know how relationships between communities based programmes and INGOs, can be formed, how they operate, how they function and other practicalities thereof and the nature of conditions required to nurture such relations. Furthermore, given that supporting community responses is now the most advocated strategy, despite the scarcity of evidence on the ground, very little is known about the characteristics of CBOs which is crucial for assessing their potential. This is further exacerbated by the fact that CBOs are supposedly unproblematically grounded in the conceptually problematic “community”. CBOs therefore require similar scrutiny as “community” in order to clarify their potential as service providers.

This study contends that in the absence of a relevant knowledge and evidence base, which addresses the issues raised above, the idea of supporting “community” under global and national guiding policies will largely remain a policy mantra. A very broad, ambitious programme of research is needed to address the issues outlined above. This would require carefully contextualized investigations which take into account the specific conjunctures experienced by given nations and social formations. Against this backdrop, this exploratory study aims to open up the territory by investigating the issues in respect of a case study in a rural area in Zimbabwe. It aims to situate “community”, its initiatives on OVC, and the impact of INGO on its operation to facilitate an understanding of whether and how the “community” can work with an INGO. It does this by reference to a case study of Batsiranai; a CBO based in Buhera South district in rural Zimbabwe and MS, Danish INGO. Through the investigation of the relationship between these two organisations, this study aims to make a relevant contribution to the knowledge and evidence base which will potentially inform theory and practice. Given the call for the global community to complement national governments in strengthening community responses to OVC, and INGOs’ slow response to this call, this thesis contends that it is time to assess whether it is possible and if so how it can be done.

Due attention is paid to the impact of INGOs to CBO response for a number of reasons. Firstly, INGOs are part of the global community alluded to in the international policy frameworks on OVC. Secondly, as Warketin (2001), Betshell and Corell (2001) note, INGOs are now heavy-weight actors in the global political arena. at a time when some official professional political actors have fallen into disrepute with civil society (Acosta 2004), most specifically in Zimbabwe, a country that has been repeatedly identified as a “failed state” and more recently, a “fragile state” (Stewart and Brown 2009). However, INGOs’ deep roots which are embedded in a complex mixture of colonization, economic expansion and evangelism (Boli and Thomas 1999) tends to make them subject to much criticism in the global south (Petras 1997) where the legacy of colonialism looms large. In the light of their historical and contemporary importance it is important that INGO’s impact on CBOs’ response to OVC be examined. The inclusion of INGOs in this study which examines the potential of communities as service providers within a development rather than humanitarian oriented focus, calls for the examination of development paradigms to unpack the potential influence of INGOs on shaping an appropriate development framework. INGOs are likely to continue influencing global policies and they have been treated as having comparative advantage over states in agenda setting and aid delivery (Smith 1990). This claim has been important in establishing their legitimacy within neo liberalism in service provision where normally a state would be expected to be in the driver’s seat. Against this backdrop, this study aims to deconstruct the notion of comparative advantage and explore INGO strengths and weaknesses distinct from this argument. This is an important exercise as it potentially paves the way for addressing one of the pivotal questions posed above, i.e. how can INGOs support CBOs to respond to OVC needs.

In spite of MS being a smaller INGO compared to others on the ground it has been chosen because following thorough research on the development programmes of bigger INGOs, it emerged as the only INGO supporting CBO – OVC initiatives in rural Zimbabwe, a point confirmed by Michael (2004) in the following related quotes:

Strong relationships between local NGOs and International NGOs active in Zimbabwe are rare ... Despite the rhetoric of partnership that resounds in the international development community today, local and International NGOS continue to act as rivals for funding, clients and space within the Zimbabwean development sector (ibid.: 57)

This point bears repeating. In the case study countries [Zimbabwe and Tanzania] and I suspect many other African countries, International NGOs are not donors to local NGOs [and CBOs], and most INGOs are themselves operational organisations at their core, undertaking a range of direct client services. While it is widely accepted that local, International NGOs are regular, and the most set of partners in development, few of the local NGOs ... had any direct interaction with, or financial ties to, an international NGO and certainly nothing, that could be called a partnership by even the most generous definition (ibid: .121)

This partly affirms and informs the position of this thesis, i.e. the lack of an evidence base on INGO support of CBO responses on OVC in Zimbabwe.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

This study is situated within current theoretical development frameworks concerned with the transfer of development aid from the global north to south, i.e. development partnerships. Until the early 1990s, development aid was underpinned by conditionality¹ or authoritative intervention (Crawford 2003). This was largely the case with World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund's (IMF) Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) under neo liberalism as well as government to government aid as further discussed in this chapter and chapter five. The theoretical change from aid conditionality to partnerships infiltrated every sphere of development in the mid 1990s. As Marx and Riddell (1998), note this came despite calls for partnership at two international commissions i.e. *The 1969 Pearson Commission Report on Aid - Partners in Development*; and the *1980 Brandt Commission Report – North- South: a programme for Survival*. Under development partnerships, the OECD (1996: 14) emphasizes:

Each developing country and its people are ultimately responsible for their own development... locally owned country development strategies ... should emerge from an open and collaborative dialogue by local authorities with civil society and with external partners... [And donors would work in ways which] encourage strong local commitment, participation, capacity development and ownership

While there is no single homogeneous international framework spelling out what partnerships entail, there is ample evidence to suggest that it is now the discourse governing global north and south aid relations. For instance, in 1997, the UK's White Paper on International Development highlights partnership, as a new approach in north south development activities (DfID 1997). The World Bank's 'Comprehensive

¹ In this case, the global north via donor countries and international agencies such as the World Bank and IMF were more or less dictatorial over what conditions countries had to fulfil in order to qualify for aid as well as determine how aid given was largely spent.

Development Framework' of 1999 (World Bank 1999) also emphasises partnership working through an integrated approach to development with national ownership. Thus under this perspective, aid relations between north and south should be:

...recast as partnerships between donor and recipient countries, with donors attesting that they no longer wish to impose their vision of development on poor countries... (Abrahamsen 2004:1455)

In the same vein, The Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC) also embraces the framework of partnerships as it points to engaging poor countries as partners responsible for their own poverty reduction strategies with support from IMF and WB. Crawford (2003: 141) also cites the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) which was launched by African leaders and endorsed by the African Union (AU) as another fitting example. Lastly, there is the Paris Declaration of Aid Effectiveness, a high level forum which took place in 2005, between ministers of developed and developing countries responsible for promoting development and heads of multi lateral and bilateral development institutions. The forum's report endorses partnership commitments in which donors commit to respect partner country leadership and help strengthen their capacity to exercise it.

Against this backdrop, it is evident that partnership is now the current discourse for north south aid relations, OVC work included. While this may be the case, there are other influences on INGO – CBO relations on OVC. In Sub Saharan Africa, there are many cultures and traditions which influence OVC responses. A society is not a tabula rasa on which external agencies can write a prescription for mutual aid. As Putnam (2000) has shown, the contextual elements of a given conjuncture are crucial to understanding the texture of a given society's ability to provide mutual aid to its members. In the case of Zimbabwe, there is *nhimbe* which is a traditional form of partnership between community members and individual households in Shona societies (Kajese 1987). If Shona cultural resources such as *nhimbe* continue to animate local communities, partnership as the discourse employed in current aid relations is not necessarily a new way of working for Shona societies. However, the exclusion of *nhimbe* from development partnerships in Zimbabwe appears to give credence to Appadurai's (2004: 60) argument that "the cultural actor is seen as a person of and from the past, and the economic actor a person of the future. Thus from the start culture is seen as opposed to development ..." hence the exclusion. Appadurai (2004) however shows this to be a flawed discourse as it is in culture that

ideas whether of the past and future are nurtured and embedded. However, literature on development partnerships does not largely recognise this, with the exception of Kajese (1987). Literature's failure to include discussions of persisting local traditional cultural resources may cloud understanding of the resilience and agency available to communities who may be poor in material terms. This consequently might have negative implications for partnership practice. Given these limitations in the literature, this study aims to take cognisance of *nhimbe* by exploring how it may be utilised within OVC development partnerships as a traditional cultural resource.

In the light of these very complex debates, I remain concerned about solely locating this study within the international partnership discourse. Although it is evident that the partnership discourse has gained momentum in international development circles, with much written about the theory thereof (Mohan 2002, Abrahamsen 2004, Fowler 2000a, Leach 1996, Fowler 2000b, Brinkerhoff 2002, Lister 2000) insufficient attention has been paid to the actual practice between northern and southern organisations with the exception of a case few studies (Abrahamsen 2004, Brehm 2004, Harris- Curtis 2004). While these case studies are useful in highlighting how partnerships pan out in practice between north and south, they pertain to other development agendas, and not to OVC work.

Furthermore, the concentration of literature on partnerships on a global level is in sharp contrast to national and sub national levels. The scarcity of literature at these levels potentially mirrors the real scarcity of partnerships on the ground which affirms the view that development activities on the ground are not sufficiently adhering to policy as already suggested elsewhere in this rationale and confirmed by Michael (2004). Brehm (2004: 27) contends that literature concentrates on theorizing partnerships and the comment below aptly captures this reality about development partnerships:

The main weakness of the literature on partnership is its failure to move beyond identifying types of relationships and measuring these against ideals. There is an almost complete absence – with few exceptions- of real case studies of individual partnerships between Northern [INGOs] and Southern NGOs [and CBOs] and indeed of assessing different models of partnership in practice. In other words, the wealth of definitions of partnership contrasts with the lack of examples of NGO experiences translating the concept into strategic interventions ... literature is generally strong on theory and weak on assessing the state of current practice...reflected in the tendency to categories partnerships into broad types without

taking account the nuances of relationships between organizations ...fails to recognize ... partnerships go through processes of change.

The case of INGO- CBO a partnership on OVC suffers from the same drawbacks as highlighted in the quotes above. This being the case, this study aims to assess the current state of practice on OVC work using Batsiranai and MS as a case study. This dissertation is designed to begin to remedy the deficit identified by Brehm (2004), in respect of a location in rural Zimbabwe.

1.4 Aims and Objectives for this Study

Against the back drop set out above, this study focuses on how Batsiranai is responding to OVC within its locality with the specific aim of considering the impact of MS, on this response. Through an exploration of partnership working between Batsiranai and MS, this thesis aims to examine whether and if partnership working between CBOs and INGOs on OVC support in rural Sub Saharan Africa is possible. Foster (2002a) posits that international organisations now have a golden opportunity to strengthen CBOs among other community initiatives and this thesis seeks to unravel whether and how this might be done within the context of Zimbabwe, “a fragile state”. It does so by attempting to address the research question below.

1.4.1 Research Question

The central research question as stated at the beginning of this chapter is:

What is the nature of partnership between an INGO, MS and a CBO, Batsiranai, in their OVC work in rural Zimbabwe? In order to explore this question, the ensuing sub-questions will be considered:

- Is there such thing as a “community” in rural Zimbabwe and if yes, what is the position of “community” as a potential service provider for OVC needs?
- What is the nature of CBOs and to what extent are CBOs, as part of “community” suitable conduits for rendering OVC support given the “pro community” discourses amongst international policy makers and donors?
- How can INGOs, as part of the global community support rural based CBOs’ OVC initiatives in the global South under the partnership framework?
- How can indigenous cultural resources be harnessed in development aid partnerships on OVC?

- What are the practical issues involved in INGOs rendering support to CBOs on OVC responses under partnership working?
- How does the larger contextual environment, i.e. social, economic, political, and cultural, impact on the formation and survival of such partnership relations?

In order to provide background for pursuing the research question, the remainder of this chapter is devoted to providing:

1. A brief sketch of the HIV/AIDS epidemic globally and in Zimbabwe as related to OVC;
2. A short guide to key contested definitions to navigate the HIV/AIDS OVC literature.

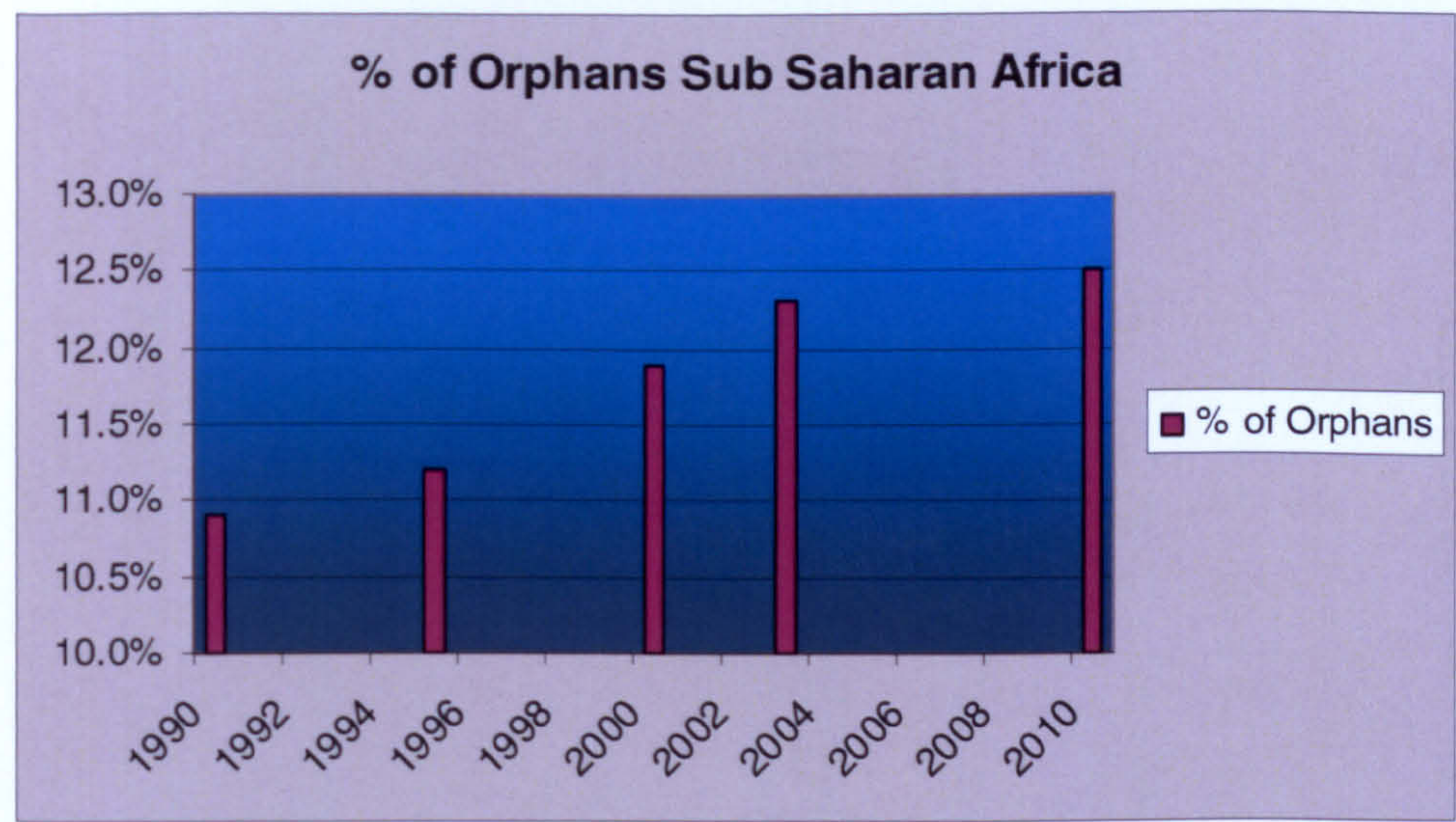
1.5 The HIV/ AIDS Epidemic, Orphans and other Vulnerable Children

Sub Saharan Africa remains the worst HIV/AIDS affected region in the world with an estimated 22.4 million people living with the virus (UNAIDS and WHO 2009). It is home to 24 of the 25 countries with the world's highest levels of HIV/AIDS prevalence and this is reflected in the rise in the number of orphaned children (UNAIDS et al 2004). In 2008, the region accounted for 67% of global new HIV infections i.e. approximately 1.9 million people and 72% of the world's AIDS related deaths (UNAIDS and WHO 2009). While UNAIDS and WHO (2009) note that the rate of new HIV infections in the region has slowly declined by at least 25%, there is an increase in the number of people living with virus partly due access to treatment access.

As the epidemic continues to unravel in Sub Saharan Africa, its impact on orphaning and children's vulnerability lives remains enormous. By 2003, there were 43 million orphans due to all causes in the region which is one third more since 1990 (UNAIDS et al 2004). In 2001, 12 countries within Sub Saharan Africa accounted for 70% of the total orphans and countries with the largest populations had most orphans, namely Nigeria, Ethiopia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (UNICEF et al 2002). Of the 43 countries in Sub Saharan Africa, 11 of them have more than 15% of their children orphaned and AIDS is the cause of parental death between 11% and 78% of the time (UNAIDS et al 2004). Compared to Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean,

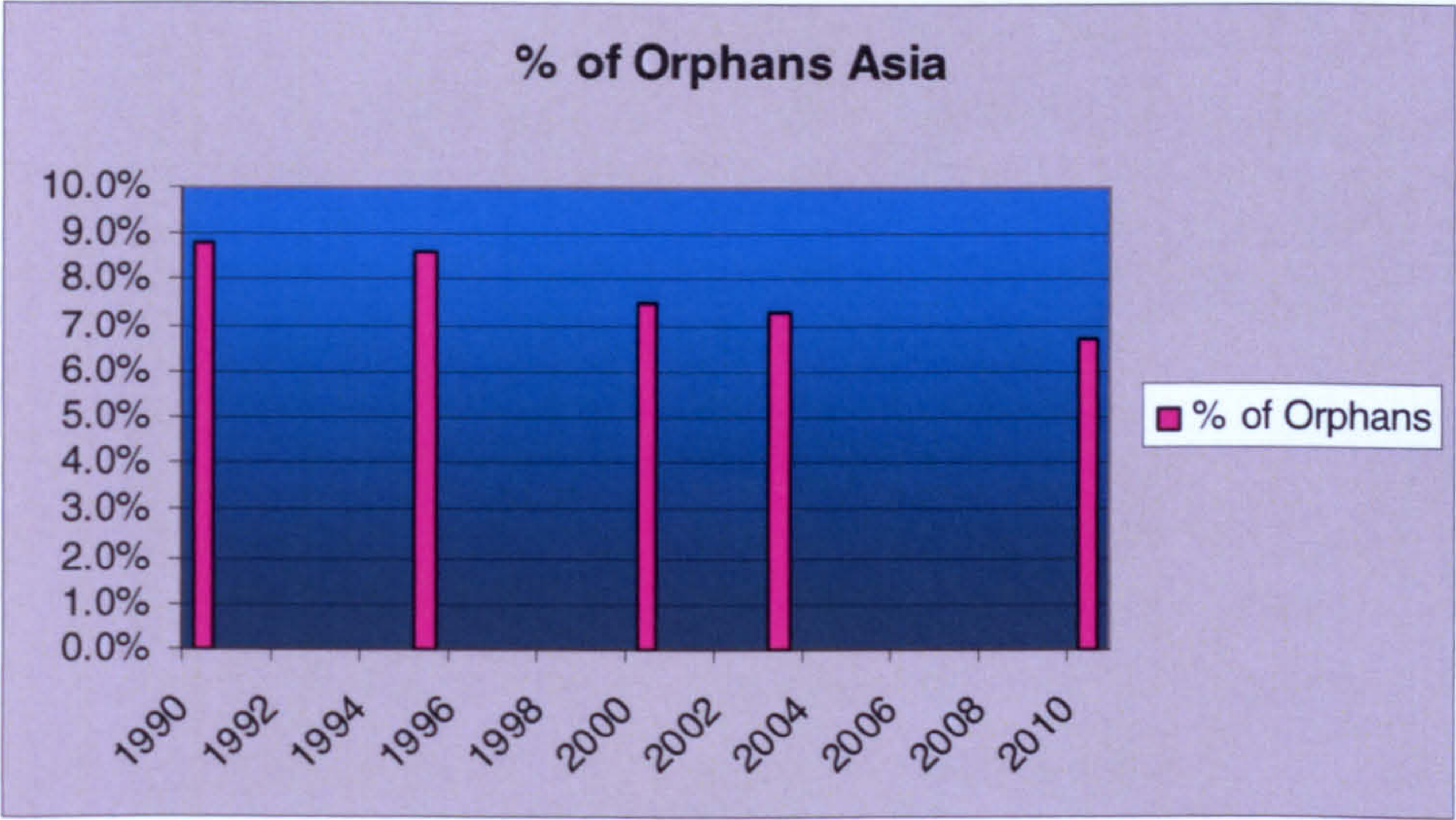
proportionally Africa remains the worst affected with nearly 12 million children under the age of 18 having lost one or both parents to HIV (UNAIDS and WHO 2009). However, despite the lower HIV/AIDS prevalence rates, Asia has twice as many orphans due to all causes as sub Saharan Africa which is attributed to the much larger population of Asia which has almost four times more children totalling 1.2 billion whilst Sub Saharan Africa has 350 million, (UNAIDS et al 2004). While this may be the case, the overall number of orphans in Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean dropped by 10% between 1990 - 2004 in contrast to Sub Saharan Africa which has continued to experience a rise. Figure 1 shows the continuous rise of orphaned children in Sub Saharan in contrast with drops in Asia (figure 1-1), Caribbean and Latin America (Figure 1-2).

Fig.1



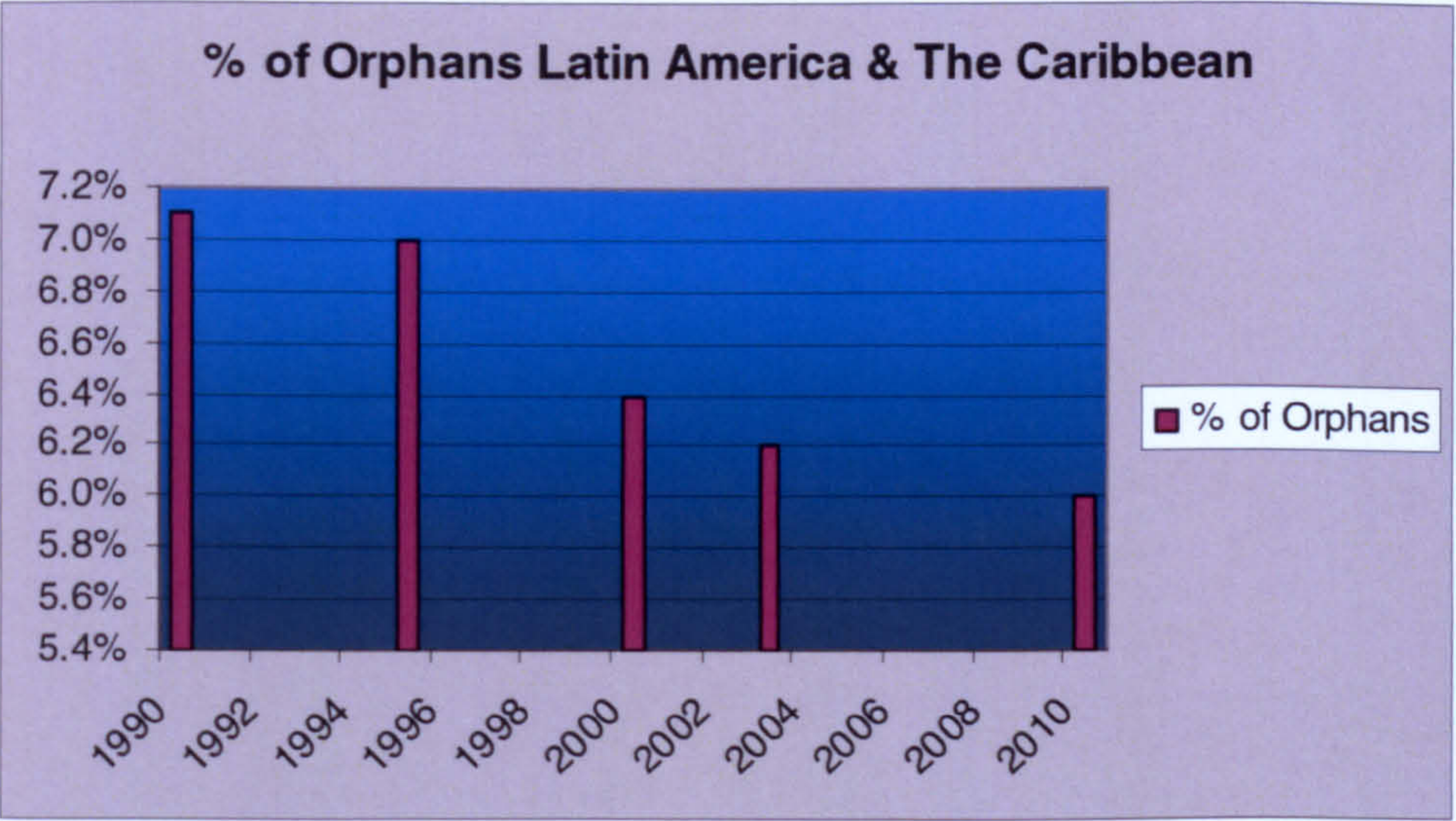
UNAIDS et al (2004)

Fig 1.1



Source: UNAIDS et al (2004)

Fig 1-2



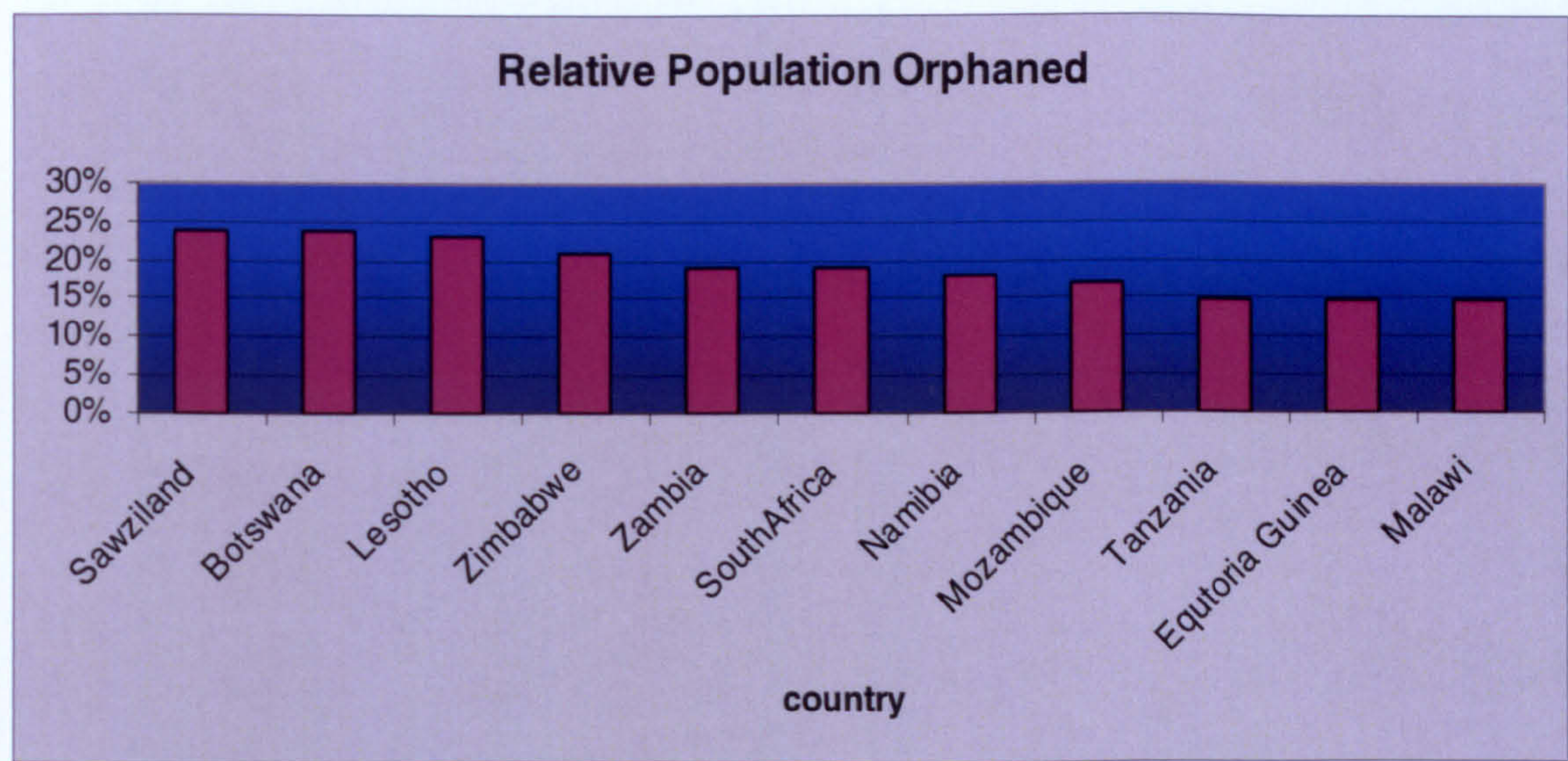
Source: UNAIDS et al (2004)

As UNAIDS et al (2004) note, one measure which closely captures the impact of HIV/AIDS on children’s vulnerability over the years is the estimate of children who became orphans in 2003. In 1990 it is estimated that about 3.2 million children were orphaned in sub Saharan Africa which is reflected in Fig 1 as 10.9% of all children and 5 -5.2 million children under the age of 18 were orphaned in 2003 in the region, after the height of the epidemic (mid 1990s) which evidences a link between orphaning and HIV/AIDS rates. The past decade, has witnessed large increases in

orphaning rates and children’s vulnerability in the region as a whole. However, within the sub Saharan Africa region, Southern Africa remains the most heavily affected area by the epidemic. Some of the countries in the region with the highest HIV rates are Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland where the national adult HIV prevalence is over 20% (UNAIDS and WHO 2009). There are indications of epidemic stability countries such as Lesotho, Zambia, Tanzania (UNAIDS and WHO 2009) with Zimbabwe experiencing decline in HIV prevalence measured at 27.3% in 2000, 19% in 2005 and 15.3% in 2008 (WB 2010). Nevertheless, recent statistics (UNAIDS and WHO 2009) estimate that in sub Saharan Africa region, nearly 12 million children have lost their parents to the epidemic, which is more than double the 2003 estimate thus bringing the total count of orphaning due to all causes to 48.3 million.

UNAIDS et al (2002) estimated that by 2010 orphans will account for more 15% of all the children in Sub Saharan Africa. Botswana and Swaziland have the highest rate of 24% of children being orphaned, with four out of five by AIDS, followed by Lesotho with 23% and Zimbabwe which will have 21% of whom 89% will be due to AIDS as shown in fig. 2 below.

Fig. 2



Source: UNAIDS et al (2002)

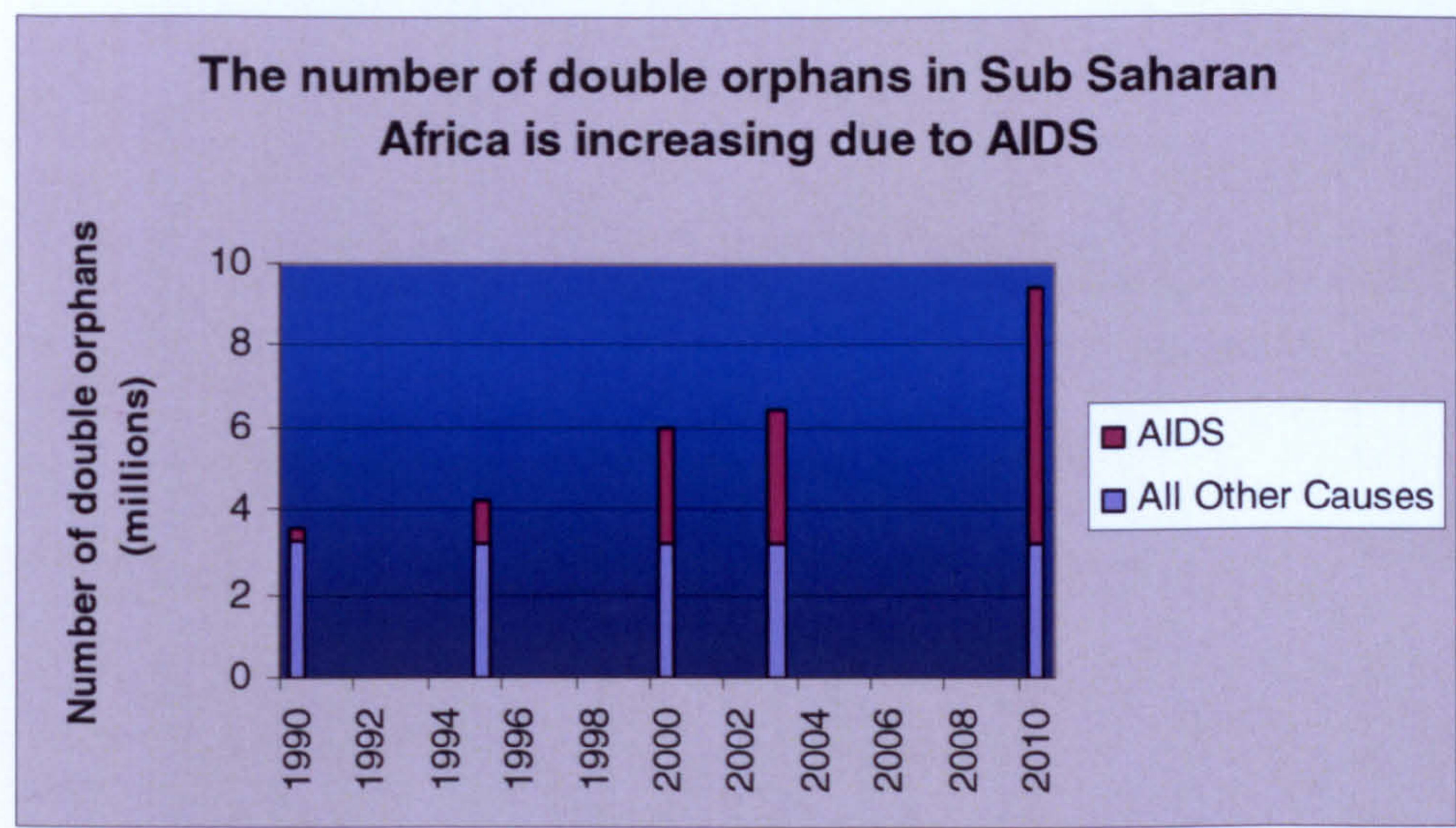
Recent statistics (UNAIDS and WHO 2009) however indicate that some countries including Zimbabwe and Zambia have experienced higher rates of orphaning than predicted in 2002, at 24% and 20% respectively. While data (UNAIDS and WHO

2009, Gregson et al 2010) suggest that some of the worst affected countries are past the peak of epidemic infection, the orphaning rate is set to continue to rise given the case of Uganda where the epidemic prevalence was at its peak in the 1980s at 14% and started to show a decline in 2001 of about 5% while yet the number of orphans continued to rise 10 years after the epidemic had reached its peak (UNAIDS et al 2002). The relationship between HIV/AIDS and the OVC crisis in sub Saharan Africa can therefore not be underestimated.

1. 2.1 Orphaning Patterns

One outstanding feature of the epidemic is that it causes death of both parents. If one parent is infected the likelihood of the other spouse being HIV positive is very high. This therefore implies that in countries where the HIV/AIDS prevalence is high, the rate of double orphans is likely to increase in the absence of parental access to HIV treatment. In 2005, Sub Saharan Africa had around 9.1 million orphans with almost 60% having lost at least one parent to HIV/AIDS and it has been estimated that without the epidemic, the total number of double orphans in the region would have declined 1990 – 2010 (UNICEF 2006). Fig 3 below shows a projected rise in double orphans’ rate.

Fig 3

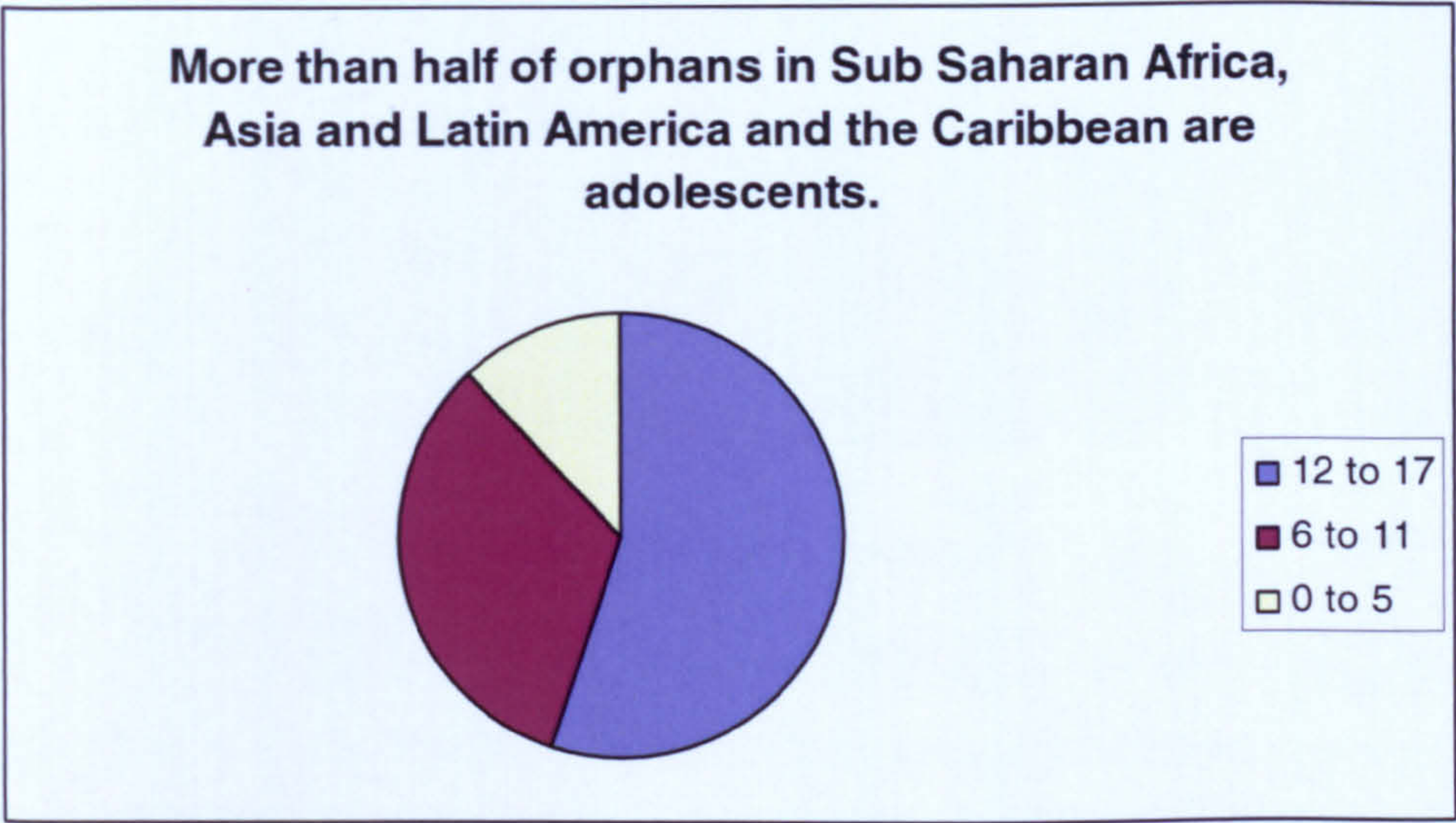


Source: UNAIDS et al (2004)

According to UNICEF (2006), more single orphans have lost their fathers than mothers, even though in countries with high prevalence, the number of women dying has been on the rise. The case of Manicaland district, in Zimbabwe, the focus of this study, where mothers are dying at an alarming rate is perhaps suggestive of what is yet to come (Watts et al 2005) given that women account for 60% of estimated HIV infections (UNAIDS 2008). As UNAIDS and WHO (2009) argue, women's vulnerability does not only stem from their physiological susceptibility to heterosexual transmission but also from the acute economic, social and legal disadvantages they encounter.

The age of orphaning is of importance in the development of strategies to assist children. While children can be orphaned at any age, there is an established trend where orphaning rates generally increase with age with older orphans outnumbering the younger ones (UNICEF 2003). This is fairly consistent across countries, where almost half of all orphans and two thirds of double orphans are ages 12- 17 (UNICEF 2006). The results of an orphan age analysis carried out by UNAIDS et al (2004) indicated that of the 143 million orphans in Sub Saharan Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Caribbean, 17.5 million are below age 6; 47 million are age 6 to 11 and 79 million are ages 12 to 17 respectively as illustrated in Fig 4 below.

Fig 4

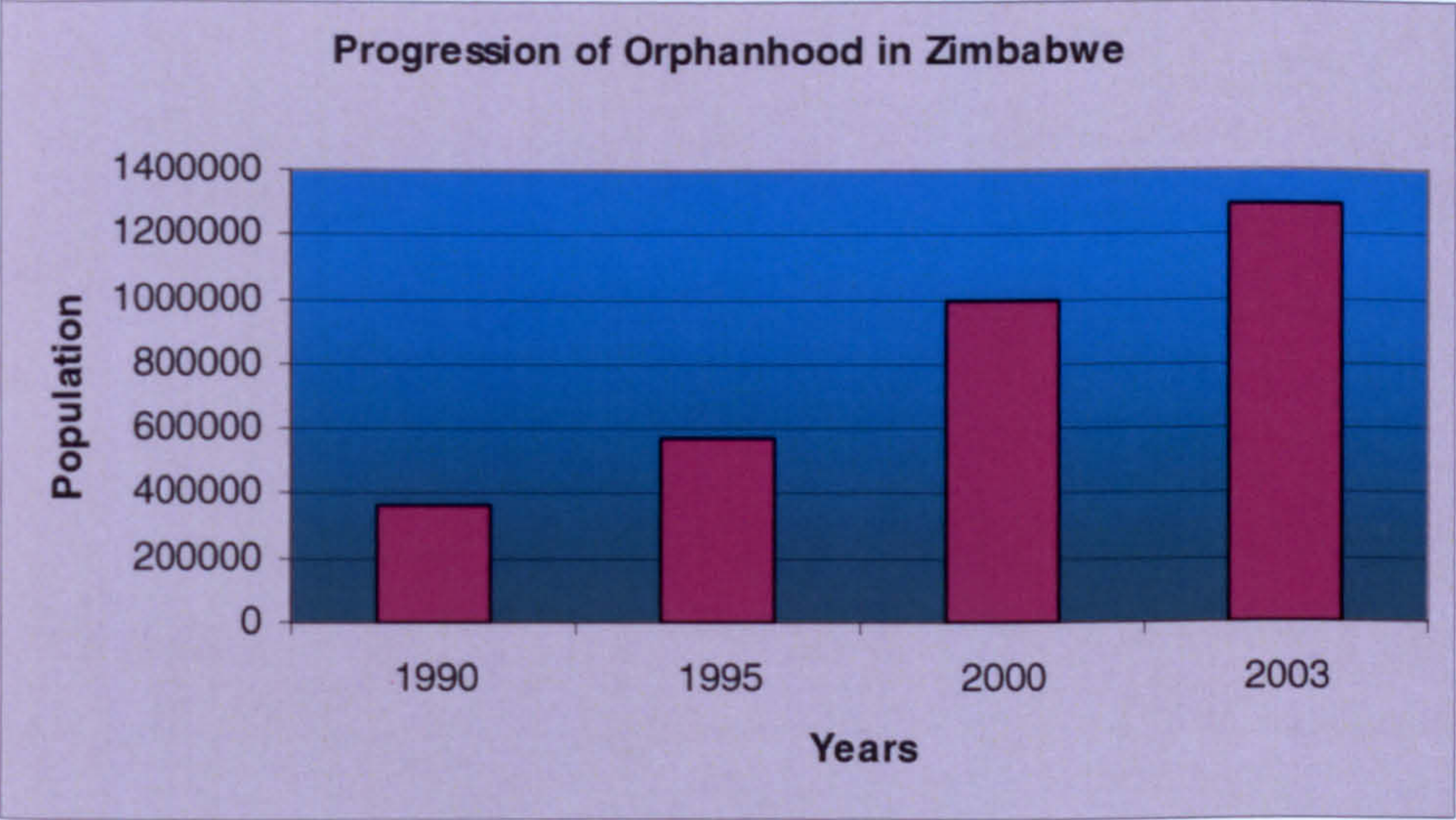


Source: UNAIDS et al (2004)

This age pattern probably reflects more on child mortality, as most children that are born with HIV infection do not survive long due to poor access to HIV treatment. Furthermore, studies have also shown that loss of a mother at a particularly young age is associated with an increase in child mortality during the first year of her death even among orphans who are HIV negative (Foster et al 1998).

The case of Zimbabwe is not very different from the worst affected countries in Sub Saharan Africa. On a national scale, the progression of the epidemic is reflected in escalating orphan figures. In 1990, Zimbabwe had 370 000 orphans due to all causes and five years later this had increased to 570 000 and by 2000 it was 1 million followed by 1.3 million in 2003, (UNICEF et al 2004). While recent data (UNAIDS 2008a) shows no change in figures, it indicates that of the 1.3 million orphans due to all causes, with AIDS orphaned children numbering an estimated 1 million of whom 600 000 are double orphans. Fig 5 below shows a marked rise in the number of orphans 1990 - 2003.

Fig. 5

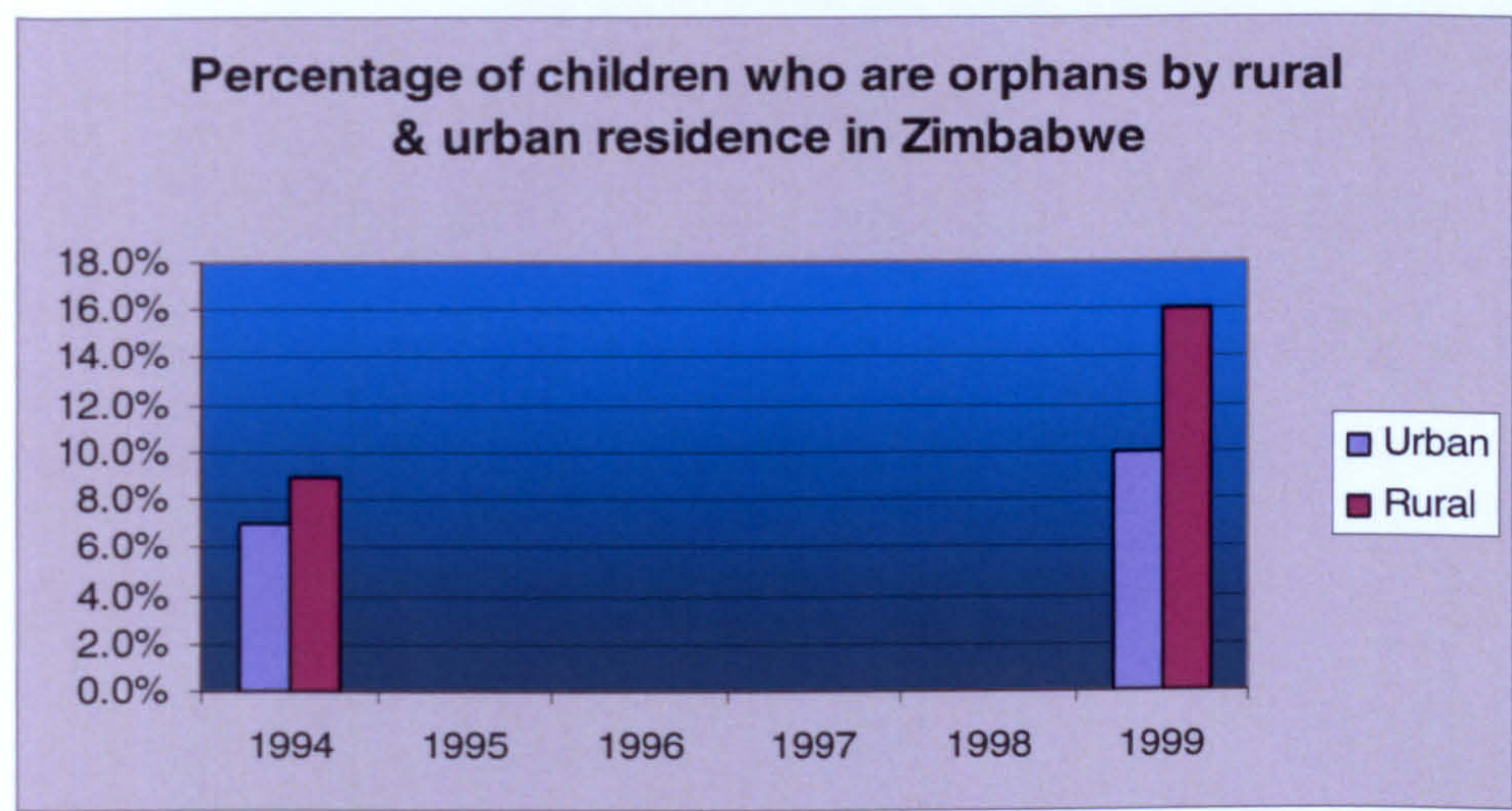


Source: UNICEF et al (2004)

Zimbabwe has at least 75% of the population living in the rural areas and as expected a higher number of orphans is found in the rural areas and commercial areas (FOST-undated, UNAIDS 2001). This is mainly due to urban to rural migration due to parental illness and the harsh economic times have made this movement even more

pronounced due to poor employment prospects. Against this backdrop children left behind after parental death continue to live in the rural areas. Fig 6 below shows the percentage of children who were orphans in Zimbabwe in 1992 and 1999 by rural and urban residence.

Fig. 6



Source: UNICEF (2003)

1.5.1 The Case of other Vulnerable Children affected by HIV/AIDS

Apart from orphans, there are millions of other children whose lives are affected by HIV/AIDS either directly or indirectly. Many studies have shown that even before death, the impact of AIDS on the family is still very dynamic and children experience hardships well before their parents die (Foster et al 1995, Ansell & Young 2004). There is a current lack of statistics on the number of children who are made vulnerable by AIDS while not being orphans on a global and regional scale. However, HIV/AIDS has dynamic links with extreme poverty, conflict, discrimination (UNAIDS et al 2004) and therefore the orphan estimates used in this study highlight a more complex set of problems faced by children. The wellbeing, safety, social development and survival of children who are not orphans is increasingly being jeopardised by the epidemic. Orphanhood however remains the most visible, extensive and measurable impact of AIDS on children and the OVC crisis is therefore part of a much wider problem which cannot be solved by solely focusing on orphans. Children generally move in and out of categories of vulnerability as they mature into adulthood. As UNICEF (2001) notes, the impact of HIV/AIDS is felt by most children when they adapt to new familial roles and responsibilities. The vulnerability

of children is however to a large extent contextual with roots either embedded in the AIDS pandemic or socio –economic and political challenges facing a given country. Extreme poverty, parental unemployment and the impact of AIDS are all characteristic of the lives being led by children whether they are orphans or not. This study utilizes community definitions of vulnerability because communities bring a specific set of meanings regarding what constitutes vulnerability in their locality which shapes their potential responses.

1.6 Zimbabwe Background

In order to make sense of the operation of and interaction of INGOs and CBOs in respect of OVC responses, this section presents a background on the Zimbabwean context, as it is crucial to understanding interacting dynamics. With a population of 12 million, Zimbabwe is a landlocked country. Zimbabwean people practice various religions mainly Christianity and indigenous with other small groups such as Hindu, Muslim and Jewish. When Zimbabwe gained independence in 1980 from colonial rule, it made major strides economically and in terms of social services provision as efforts were made to redress past imbalances. These included early childcare, maternal care and immunisation, which contributed largely to the well being of Zimbabwean children. However for the past 20 years, especially in the past decade, Zimbabwe has been experiencing drastic declines in many of the social indicators, which made it the showpiece of Sub Saharan Africa in the eighties (UNICEF 2007a).

Before the formation of the Coalition government in 2009, Zimbabwe was experiencing a precipitous collapse in its economy. Between 1980 and 1990 Zimbabwe's economic growth in gross domestic product per annum averaged 3.4% with per capita GDP increase estimated at 1.1. However, throughout the 1990s Zimbabwe's economic performance fell behind that of the Sub Sahara region as a whole (UNDP 1998). The Human Development Report 2010 ranks Zimbabwe 169 out of 177 countries which is indicative of the negative downturn of human progress and the complex relationship between income and well being. While there have been improvements in Zimbabwe's life expectancy due to a decline in HIV/AIDS prevalence rates, Zimbabwe remains a fragile state in terms of guaranteeing basic services for children and all other citizens.

Zimbabwe remains one of the countries with the highest HIV/AIDS prevalence, the recent decline notwithstanding. While it is estimated that 300 000 need HIV treatment, only 90 000 have access, hence the high AIDS related death rate of 3000 per week (Meldrum 2008). With HIV/AIDS rampant, the country continues to be in the midst of a socio, economic and political crisis .However, it is noteworthy that the Coalition government has brought a certain degree of stability, despite many challenges. Pre coalition government days witnessed hyper inflation of over 3 0000000 % (Tupy 2008), the highest in the 21st century but the adoption of multiple currencies i.e. mainly the South African rand and US\$ has stabilized the economy. Many families remain dependent on remittances from abroad due to lack of employment prospects and at least 1.4 million need food aid (Bird and Bussie 2007). Health indicators have deteriorated rapidly with one doctor for every 12 000 people as a result of health professional exodus in search of better wages and working conditions (Meldrum 2008).

Since the late 1990s, international aid to Zimbabwe has been drastically cut. The American Development Assistance Committee Database indicates that in 1994, Zimbabwe received US\$560 million in aid of which US\$60 million was for health care services provision. In 2003 she received just US\$186 million of which US\$17 million was for health. USAID (2008) recently noted that Zimbabwe is less dependent on donor resources for health than is the average for countries in the sub Saharan Region. In comparison with Zambia, Zimbabwe receives a paltry \$4 per person per year while the former receives \$184 person (UNICEF 2008). Furthermore, the World Bank (undated, cited in Meldrum, 2008) note that in 2004, Zimbabwe received US\$4 million for HIV programs while other Southern African countries received an average of US\$150 million. The Global Fund has in the past rejected all but a few of Zimbabwe's funding proposals claiming poor craftsmanship (Meldrum 2008) . The irony though, is that as Zimbabwe is one of the highest HIV/AIDS prevalence countries in the world. This has been further exacerbated by the loss of government tax revenues due to the past collapse of the GDP. Against this backdrop, it can be suggested that the Zimbabwe health care system has been resilient. Its relative isolation from the international donor community may throw up interesting evidence of how countries in the global south maintain capacity and social capital when not subjected to extensive top-down control by would-be benevolent external actors.

Furthermore, IMF and WB policies have had disastrous social outcomes. Against the backdrop of Soviet Union block collapse, the end of apartheid in nearby South Africa, mass opposition on the home front from trade unions and student organisations, the Government of Zimbabwe (GOZ) embraced neo liberalism in 1992. SAPs were adopted in exchange for loans worth millions, disbursed in 1992/93/4/5 (Coltart 2008). SAPs called for government expenditure to be moved from public to the private sector, with large amounts of cash spent on high profile projects in urban areas which were expected to generate quick financial returns (Macdonald 2000). In relation to health care services, the state had to shift away from its welfare approach towards privatization of health care and education. This proved disastrous as most poor people could not afford to pay user fees. At the behest of neo liberal advocates, Stoneman (1994) argues that Zimbabwe turned one of Africa’s best health care and education system into a virtual shambles. Macdonald (2004:162) notes that between 1989 and 1996, Zimbabwe reduced spending on primary education by 48% and on secondary by 31% in order to meet the SAP criteria which entailed the outright elimination of access to education where such had existed before. Against this backdrop, there is evidence of declining rates of education completion after the introduction of SAPS as shown in the tables below:

Table 2: Primary school Completion Rates (%) by Sex, Zimbabwe 2000- 2004

Years	Female	Male	Total Average
1995-2001	72.16	74.17	73.18
1996-2002	68.86	70.11	69.49
1997-2003	66.99	67.69	67.34
1998-2004	67.99	67.26	67.62

Source: (GOZ & UN 2004)

As the table above indicates, there has been a decline from 2001 onwards in the rates of children completing primary school. In addition, data for secondary completion rates , form 1 to form 4 between 1997 -2004 show varying levels of decline with 9% being the highest between 1997- 2003 (GOZ & UN 2004). In the same vain spending per capita on health which was up by 60% in 1995/1996 since 1980 declined in 2000 to a level lower than that at independence (UNICEF 2001). This consequently

affected infant and under 5 mortality rates per 1000 live births as shown in the table below:

Table 3: Infant and under five mortality rates, Zimbabwe, 1985 - 1999

Years	Infant mortality rate	Under 5 mortality rate
1985-1989	40	59
1990-1994	54	76
1995-1999	65	101

Source: PRF et al (2003)

In addition to increasing infant mortality rates, immunization which is crucial to combating childhood illness, also declined in relation to measles vaccinations, i.e. 77% in 1994 and 71% in 1999 (PRF et al 2003). However, it is noteworthy that SAPs interacted with a range of other factors, including HIV/AIDS, producing a dynamic mix resulting in the poor education and health outcomes stated above. Shared evidence shows that neo liberal policies in the 1980s and early 1990s impacted the poor negatively across African nations, which coincided with the unravelling of AIDS (Report for the Commission for Africa 2005).

While it is evident that neo liberal policies reversed social and economic gains, mis-governance, lawlessness and introduction of repressive laws as further discussed in chapter eight and general state repression (Proudlock 2007), poor land reform and agriculture policies and political violence (Prowse and Bird 2007), hyperinflation partly due to irrational monetary policies (Bird and Bessie 2007, Clemens and Moss 2007,) all produced a chaotic situation which escalated the socio –economic and political crisis in Zimbabwe. This resulted in 3 million leaving the country, and a brain drain (Meldrum 2008) which has implications for Zimbabwe’s future progress and development. Against this backdrop, there is evidence that more children have turned to the streets (Dube 1997, Muzvidziwa 2000) with many of them involved in petty vending for survival (Mutisi and Bourdillon 2000). Given these complex dynamics, the case of Zimbabwe’s children remains highly aligned to the presence of HIV/AIDS and its interactions with the issues discussed above.

1.6.1 Government Response: HIV/AIDS Epidemic and OVC

While HIV/AIDS struck in Zimbabwe in 1985 (PRF et al 2003), it wasn't until 1999 that the country's first HIV policy was introduced even though the National AIDS Co-ordination Programme (NACP) had been set up in 1987. In 1995, in response to the orphan crisis the government embarked upon the drafting of a National Orphan Care Policy after four years of advocacy by the Zimbabwe UNICEF office (UNICEF 1998). The draft policy was adapted in 1999. However, this was superseded by The National Plan of Action (NPA) for OVC (2003) due to the need to be inclusive of all vulnerable children, not just orphans. The NPA for OVC has a decentralised approach in caring for and supporting children with programmes coordinated by local authorities through the child protection committees at district levels. Programmes in the NPA for OVC include:

- The Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM) which comes in the form of tuition fee, levy and examination fee assistance.
- Z\$1500 per month to vulnerable families to assist with basic living costs.
- A 3% tax levy which supports the National Action Plan, administered by the National AIDS Council.
- The national strategy on children in especially difficult circumstances. Through this strategy the GOZ provides resources to local authorities, which work with all stake holders to reach out to OVC.
- Public assistance and drought relief programmes.

1.7 International Commitments

During the World Summit for Children in 1990, Zimbabwe was one of the first countries to ratify the Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNICEF 1998) and five years later also ratified the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. For Zimbabwe these instruments provide a valuable framework under which children's rights and other issues can be addressed at all levels. Zimbabwe has also adopted the United Nations General Assembly Special Session (UNGASS) Declaration on HIV/AIDS as discussed earlier in relation to goal 65, 66 and 67.

1.8 Key Definitions

1.8.1 Orphans and Vulnerable Children

1.8.1.1 Child

According to Smart (2003) most international and national instruments define children as girls and boys up to the age of 18. In the context of HIV and AIDS the need for clarity in the definition of a child has important relevance in the light of the following areas which are well defined by Smart (2003: 3).

- The age at which compulsory education ends
- Any differences between boys and girls in respect of age for sexual consent or marriage
- The legal capacity to inherit and ability to launch complaints or to seek redress before courts.

For the purposes of this study, a child is any one below the age of eighteen. The rationale being under 18 is the majority age accepted by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (part 1 article 1) and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (article 11) to which Zimbabwe with most countries in the Sub Saharan Africa region is signatory. The rationale is also heuristic, linked to the statistical conventions most health surveys used in this study.

1.8.1.2 Orphan

UNAIDS et al (2004) and UNICEF (2006) classify orphans under three categories depending on parental loss, as shown in the table below.

Table 4: Categories of orphan hood

Maternal Orphans	Children under the age of 18 whose mothers and perhaps fathers have died (includes double orphans
Paternal Orphans	Children under the age of 18 whose fathers, and perhaps mothers have died (includes double orphans)
Double Orphans	Children under the age of 18 whose mother and father have died

Source: UNICEF (2006)

For the purposes of this thesis, an orphan is a child below the age of 18 who has lost one or both parents. This definition is consistent with the one applied in the statistical estimates by UNAIDS et al (2004), UNICEF (2006) and UNAIDS and WHO (2009), the main statistical sources for this study. The above three definition category framework will also apply as it is universally used

1.8.1.3 Vulnerable children

As rightly noted by Skinner et al (2004) orphans remain the focus of much academic writing under the category of “orphans and vulnerable children”, rather than all vulnerable children. And while there is general consensus on the definition of an orphan, vulnerability remains a complex concept to define. In the context of HIV/AIDS, World Vision (2002) put forward some vulnerability identifiers listed in the table below.

Table 5: HIV related Vulnerability Identifiers

<ul style="list-style-type: none">• children who live in a household in which one person or more is ill, dying or deceased• children whose caregivers are too ill to continue looking after them• children who live households that receive orphans

Source: World Vision (2002)

While the above indicators are helpful in identifying children in need, they are of limited use because they are framed around HIV/AIDs. Skinner et al (2004: 3) aptly highlight other variables which relate more to,

...general aspects of the child’s context such as poverty, access to shelter, education and other basic services, disability, impact of drought or extreme weather conditions, stigma.... all factors that could influence vulnerability.

The identification of this set of variables spells out the shortfall of solely utilizing policy definitions constructed around HIV indicators of vulnerability. While orphaning is often used as an assumed indicator of vulnerability in literature (Naymbedha et al 2003, Bacego et al 20003), there is potential for misguided policy responses. This largely originates from the tensions between policy and community definitions. Policy oriented stakeholders in OVC work are usually governments, INGOs and donor agencies who come up with certain metrics which may not necessarily be in agreement with local communities’ *metrics*. Given that communities are claimed to understand the needs of children better due to their proximity and experiences (Foster 2002b, 1996, 2002a, 2005), their definitions should inform policy rather than the other way round. The ensuing tables highlight some brief descriptions of policy and community definitions in a number of countries.

Table 6: Children Defined as Vulnerable in National Policy Guidelines

Botswana Policy Definition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Street children • Child labourers • Children who are sexually exploited • Children who are neglected • Children with handicaps • Children in remote areas from indigenous minorities
Rwanda Policy Definition	<p>Children under 18 years exposed to conditions that do not permit fulfilment of fundamental rights for their harmonious development, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • children living in households headed by children • children in foster care • street children • Children living in centres • Children with disabilities • Children who are sexually exploited and or abused • Working children • Children affected/infected by HIV/AIDS • Infants with their mothers in prison • Children in very poor households • Refugee and displaced children • Children of single mothers • Children who are married before the majority age • Children in conflict with the law • Children affected by armed conflict

Source: Smart (2003)

Table 7: Community Definitions

South Africa local Community Definition	<p>A child who:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is orphaned, neglected, destitute, or abandoned • Has a terminally ill parent or guardian • Is born of a teenager or single mother • Is living with a parent or an adult who lacks income generating opportunities • Is abused or ill-treated by step parent or relatives • Is disabled
Zambia Community definition	<p>In Zambia , community committees identify OVC to qualify for the public welfare assistance scheme in terms of the following criteria:</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Double/single orphans • Does not go to school • From female/aged/disabled headed households • Parent/s are sick • Family has insufficient food • Housing below average standard
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Source: Smart (2003)

Skinner et al (2004) note that in their research interviews carried out among local communities in South Africa, Botswana and Zimbabwe, there was a great deal of consensus that governments should adopt a bottom up approach when seeking to define the parameters of children’s support systems. Community definitions in these three countries produced a number of indicators of vulnerability based upon individual, family and community contexts which make a child vulnerable. Such indicators include some already mentioned above with the exception of community contexts which can influence vulnerability e.g. unsafe environments such as informal settlements, lack of toilets, water, exposure to crime and gangs. As Skinner et al (2004) expound, vulnerability is not an absolute state, but there are varying degrees depending on children’s circumstances. With regards to Batsiranai, the CBO under examination in this thesis, exploration of the research question will enable light to be shed on the contribution that a community can make to defining vulnerability.

1.8.2 INGOs, NGOs and CBOs

The main focus of this thesis pertains to INGOs and CBOs. However the basis for understanding their meanings potentially lies with the term NGO. While the definition of NGO is subject to much debate, Michael (2004: 3) notes there is one that is commonly accepted:

Independent development actors existing part from governments and corporations, operating on a non profit or not for profit basis with an emphasis on voluntarism and pursuing a mandate of providing development services, undertaking community development or advocating on development issues.

While the above definition applies to all NGOs in general, there is a distinction between them, i.e. national NGOs which operate in one country and INGOs which have international mandates which span the globe, with a specific focus on the global

south. Most INGOs are typically headquartered in the north where they originate, hence the label northern NGOs (Mawdsley et al 2005, Anderson 2002), while those originating from the south are called southern NGOs. While some INGOs are operational, i.e. implementing development activities, some are non operational. Non operational INGOs usually focus on advocacy in home countries, and providing funding and support to southern NGOs and CBOs. While Michael notes that the above NGO definition can also be applied to CBOs, there is need to clarify that the latter originates in a community to meet its needs, hence are much localised. Chapter seven explores CBOs in detail.

1.9 Thesis Structure

Chapter one presents the rationale, i.e. aims and objectives of the study, vital definitions relating to OVC, background to Zimbabwe, as well as statistical evidence on the OVC crisis in sub Saharan Africa within a global context. The link between children's vulnerability and HIV/AIDS is examined thereby shedding light on children who are otherwise not orphans and yet also vulnerable. Chapter two presents a discussion of the research methodology and methods applied in gathering both primary and secondary data. Chapter three examines the changes that have taken place amongst traditional kin since the succumbing of millions to the AIDS pandemic. Kinship systems have a major influence on decisions made by families and caregivers pertaining to children's care and by critically examining these within an extended familial context, it is anticipated that this will further illuminate the various situations encountered by children in light of influential cultural dynamics. This is followed by a discussion on the impacts of orphan hood and vulnerability on affected children. Accounts discussed in this chapter serve to give a glimpse of how children are affected. Chapter four discusses the rise of INGOs, while paying attention to their history which is partly embedded in colonialism. In the light of their importance and potential impact on CBO response to OVC, this chapter examines factors underlying their growth and expansion. Chapter five attempts to make sense of INGOs' position in development debates and practice. It defines development, and discusses the histories of development. Mainstream development is briefly discussed, with a specific focus on neo liberalism. A critique of mainstream development is presented, alternative ideas of development discussed, and the position of INGOs in these debates discussed. Chapter six questions the notion of INGO comparative advantage

and, proceeds to explore INGO potential strengths and weaknesses in a bid to establish whether and if INGOs have strengths which can be harnessed to working with CBOs to reach more children effectively, while mitigating their weaknesses. Chapter seven presents a discussion on CBOs. It examines the concepts of locality and community as a starting point for understanding CBO potential strengths and weakness as organisations whose response to OVC can be positively shaped by INGOs. Chapter eight examines the character of civil society in Zimbabwe and its contentious relationship with the state while paying attention to the legislative environment. This is crucial as it gives a contextual background to the MS-Batsiranai partnership working case study on OVC support. Chapter nine discusses partnerships in international development as a starting point to understanding the approach that governs INGO- CBO relations on OVC. In this concept of partnership, its processes and ingredients are discussed. Chapter ten presents findings on a partnership in context, i.e. the case of MS and Batsiranai in Buhera South District as a starting point to assessing practice on the ground and assess whether and if INGOs can positively shape CBO response to OVC needs. Chapter eleven presents findings on how people in Buhera South make sense of the OVC crisis facing their community through volunteers who are OVC care givers chosen to do so by other community members. Chapter twelve presents findings on the notion of *nhimbe* as a Shona traditional and cultural resource and its potential to be harnessed for contemporary partnerships in development. While chapter thirteen discusses the findings, fourteen presents a conclusion and recommendations.

Chapter 2

Research Methodology and Methods

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided in two sections, i.e. Section A and B. Section A describes how the secondary materials utilised in this study were obtained and the criteria applied for selection. Section B discusses the research design adopted for the study, i.e. philosophical position, research process and methods and strategies of enquiry.

2.2 Section A: Literature search Strategy

Literature utilised in this study was obtained from various university libraries via the following online data bases for Social Policy and International Development:

- Columbia International Affairs Onlin
- EJS Electronic Journal Services
- Emerald Management eJournals
- International Bibliography of the Social Sciences
- IngetaConnect
- Sage Journals Online
- Science Direct
- SwetsWise
- ZETOC
- Social Sciences Citation Index

While the above data bases were accessed through the London Metropolitan University library services, most of the literature was sourced from other university libraries, mainly London School of Economics, School of Oriental and African Studies and the British Library via Sconul Access. It was necessary to source literature from these university libraries mainly because the research topic cuts across two broad subjects, i.e. Social Policy and International Development, whereas the university home library largely holds a Social Policy collection. Literature obtained was in the form of texts, journal articles and conference papers. Literature was also obtained from various IGOs (e.g. UNICEF, WHO, UNDP, UNAIDS) and INGOs via

their websites. Other literature was sought via the Google Scholar search engine. The search criteria were guided by the research topic using the following categories and sub categories:

Table 8: Literature Search Categories and sub Categories

HIV/AIDs and Orphans and Vulnerable Children	INGOs	Development Paradigms	Community based organisations / community initiatives	Civil Society and Zimbabwe	Partnerships Development in
HIV/AIDS and OVC in Sub Saharan Africa	INGOs historical background	History of Development	CBO definitions and characteristics	History of civil society organisations in Zimbabwe	Partnership definitions
OVC, families and communities	INGOs' growth and Expansion	Mainstream / neo liberal paradigm	CBO Strengths and weaknesses	Civil Society and State legislation	Partnerships international development between north and south
Impacts of orphanhood and vulnerability on children	INGOs' strengths and weakness	Alternative (paradigm)			OVC partnerships between INGOs and CBOs
International and Zimbabwe response to OVC	INGOs and OVC				

2.3 Section B: Knowledge Claim Positions / Philosophical Approaches

This section discusses the research design adopted for this study as well as the rationale for doing so. Creswell (2009: 5) identifies three components involved in research design which are philosophical approaches (post positive, social construction, advocacy/ participatory and pragmatic), research methods (data collection, analysis, interpretation, write up and validation), and strategies of inquiry (qualitative, quantitative and mixed). Philosophical approaches otherwise also known as paradigms (Lincoln and Gaba 2000) or epistemologies and ontologies (Crotty 1998, Warwick and Overton 2003, Snape and Spencer 2004, Bryman 2008) relate to the researcher’s position on “how it is possible to know about the world” and “what it is possible to know about the world” (Snape and Spencer 2004: 19- 20). This chapter explains the three components of research design adopted in this study using the Creswell (2009) typology. It begins by outlining the philosophical approaches in research, followed by a discussion on the approach adopted in this study.

Table 9: Knowledge Claim Positions / Philosophical Approaches

Postpositivism <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Determination• Reduction• Empirical Observation and measurement• Theory verification	(Social) Constructivism Understanding Multiple participant meanings Social and historical construction Theory generation
Advocacy/ Participatory <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Political• Empowerment issue Oriented• Collaborative• Change Oriented	Pragmatism <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Consequences of actions• Problem Centered• Pluralistic• Real Practice Oriented

Source: Creswell (2003: 6)

2.3.1 Postpositive Philosophical Approach

The postpositive philosophical approach emanates from writers such as Locke, Comte, Mill, Newton and Durkheim (Smith 1983) and developed from positivism, a philosophical approach embedded in the belief that there is an absolute truth of knowledge. Against this backdrop, post positivism challenges the notion of absolute truth when studying human behaviour and actions (Creswell 2003). However, the two philosophies remain closely linked as knowledge accumulation is based on generalizations and cause effect linkages (Heron and Reason 1997). In this,

researchers examine causes which influence outcomes as with scientific experiments. Postpositivism is reductionist as it seeks to break down ideas into categories for testing and knowledge. What is derived is based on “careful observation and measurement of the objective reality that exists *out there* in the world” (Creswell 2003: 7). Quality is judged by the use of conventional benchmarks of rigor, i.e. internal and external validity, objectivity and reliability (Heron and Reason 1997). The researcher must maintain an external and neutral stance towards objects of enquiry (Bryman 2008). This implies that phenomena are seen as independent of and unaffected by the process of being studied.

2.3.2 Advocacy / Participatory Philosophical Approach

As Maguire (2000) notes participatory research combines three components, i.e. investigation, education and action. Proponents of this position believe that research needs to be intertwined with agendas for reform for those involved in the research process (see Maguire 2000, Heron and Reason 1997). In this, the researcher actively seeks to avoid further marginalizing research participants; hence, the latter may be involved in designing research instruments, analyzing data and/or receive rewards for participating in the research (Creswell 2003). In the main, PR builds on the critiques of domination of those considered knowledgeable, i.e. experts whereby ordinary people are considered less knowledgeable or capable of knowing and articulating their own reality. As Maguire (2000) further notes, the core concern within participatory research is how structural powers and relationships can be transformed alongside the empowerment of oppressed groups. In this, research participants are treated as collaborators and not subjects (Creswell 2003). PR generally takes the view that post positivism is both alienating and dehumanizing given the strict adherence to “objectivity” which is often considered to be “alienation from self and society” Gouldner (1970: 103).

2.3.3 Pragmatic Philosophical Approach

As Creswell (2003) notes there are many forms of Pragmatism, hence it is not affiliated to any single system of philosophy. As a philosophical underpinning for mixed research methods (Patton 1990), pragmatism concerns itself with the application of solutions to problems whereby the problem is more important than methods utilised to understand it. Researchers can apply both quantitative and

qualitative research strategies in a bid to unravel and understand the problem (Rossman and Wilson 1985). As Creswell (2003: 12) argues, pragmatists do not perceive “the world as an absolute unity” and its proponents similarly do not seek to study the world’s problem using a single approach. If the world is not a single unified entity, then its problems require different approaches to understanding them. Thus, whatever research strategies work best at any given time and context can be the way forward in investigating and analyzing a research problem. However, as in all the application of research strategies, pragmatists have to give a rationale and justification for the application of mixed research methods (Creswell 2003, Cherryholms 1992).

2.3.4 Social Constructivist Philosophical Approach

Social constructivism is a philosophical approach which combines constructivism with interpretivism (Mertens 1998, Bryman 2008). As Creswell (2009) notes, it partly emanates from the works of Berger and Luckmann (1967) *The Social Construction of Reality* and Linclon and Gaba (1985) *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Social Constructivists hold the assumption that individuals seek an understanding of the world which they inhabit (Crotty 2009). In this habitation, “individuals develop subjective meanings of their experiences – meanings directed toward certain objects or things... The goal of research is to rely as much as possible on the participants’ views of the situation being studied” (Creswell 2009: 8). Within this philosophical approach, the main intent of the researcher is to interpret the meanings of research participants within their world. From social constructivists view point, “meaning can not be described as simply objective (and) by the same token it can not be described as simply subjective” Crotty (2009: 43). This being the case, social constructivism marries objectivity and subjectivity in an “indissoluble” fashion through the realization that the world and objects in the world are “our partners in the generation of meaning and need to be taken seriously” (Crotty 2009 :44). And as Creswell (2009: 8) further notes,

...these subjective meanings are negotiated socially and historically. They are not simply imprinted on individuals but are formed through interaction with others... and through historical and cultural norms that operate in individuals’ lives.

Proponents of social constructivism acknowledge that their personal and professional backgrounds both impact on data interpretation (Crotty 2009).

2.4 The Philosophical Approach Adopted in this Study: Social Constructivism

Having outlined the philosophical approaches above, the methodology for this study has been influenced by social constructivism. This approach was selected because it is suitable for investigating the research question. Its underpinnings (discussed above) resonate well with this study topic whereby I sought to make sense of participant views on partnership working, OVC and volunteer contributions and the notion of *Nhimbe*. Chinouya (2003) has demonstrated that despite much important knowledge produced using a postpositivist approach in respect of African populations affected by HIV in the UK as well as in Zimbabwe, to understand the ordinary lives of people affected by HIV we need to tap into cultural resources underpinning social capital to which they have privileged access. This enables understanding which may provide the basis for culturally competent policy.

Drawing on the view that meanings are negotiated socially and historically, this study sought an understanding of volunteer and community subjective meanings of OVC and their contributions as negotiated socially and culturally. This was particularly the case of volunteers who found themselves chosen by other community members to do “voluntary work” with OVC. Adopting social constructivism in this study also enabled me to explore cultural resources which required soliciting participants’ subjective meanings which are negotiated socially through living and working together and historically within Shona traditions. Having applied social constructivism to this study, I acknowledge I used my background as a resource for data interpretation. I positioned myself in the research to acknowledge how my interpretation engages with my personal, cultural and historical experiences (Chinouya et al 2003, Creswell 2009). As Crotty (2009) notes, meanings are generated by human beings as they engage with the world they are interpreting. Against this backdrop, my intent in this study was to make sense of/interpret meanings of participants on partnership working between MS and Batsiranai.

While this is my position with regards to the study of social phenomena, it is notable that Post-positivism remains a useful philosophical approach in the study of the social and natural sciences. The two other philosophical approaches outlined, i.e. participatory research and pragmatism, were not applied in the small scale fieldwork as they were not suitable to address the aims and objectives of this case study.

Qualitative strategies, as influenced by social constructivism were more appropriate in addressing the research question. By adopting social constructivism, I subscribed to the argument that the “generation of meaning is always social, arising in and out of interaction with a human community” (Crotty 1998 in Creswell 2009: 9). Thus as I sought to understand the Buhera South Community and their response to OVC under partnership working, and how meaning was socially and interactionally generated with community members who are part of the human community. However, my overview of the literature made extensive use of postpositivist resources as it was crucial to locate issues in time and space using external points of reference which enable trend information and comparison. In this sense, it seems clear that the pragmatic approach is crucial to good quality multi-disciplinary research programmes. Participatory research wasn’t adopted for this study as it wasn’t its aim to empower and dismantle power structures but rather seek an understanding of partnership working on OVC. Furthermore, this was a research study dependent on a personal shoe string budget as well as the generosity of friends and participants and the demands of Participatory research, i.e. the researcher’s need to be an activist, educator who can transfer various skills to participants would have been impossible to meet.

In subscribing to social constructivism, I acknowledge that it has its limitations. In this, I acknowledge that social constructivism isn’t “the royal road to ultimate knowledge” (Guba and Lincoln 2005: 205). Firstly, I remain concerned about social constructivism’s emphasis on the role of the researcher in understanding and interpreting the multiple social constructions of meanings and knowledge of others, i.e. research participants. While it is the case that social constructivism, calls for the democratization of the research relationship, whereby participants accounts are acknowledged (Burr 2003), I being the researcher, had to interpret those accounts. Thus, while social constructivism makes us aware of the diversity in humanity, it also “cautions us against assuming that we (whoever we are) can legitimately speak on behalf of *them* (whoever they are)” (Burr 1998: 17). Thus in proclaiming to speak on behalf of the OVC and volunteers involved in this study, “(I) may be taking part in the accomplishment of collective identities for people which may not be in their interests, which they may wish to resist” (ibid: 17). However, given the need for collective action in terms of developing appropriate strategies, insisting upon diversity to the extent of annihilating collective interests can lead to paralyses. Thus, “the

extreme view of denying collectivity in the desire to proclaim diversity and difference is potentially dangerous since it threatens our capacity for collective action” (ibid: 17). This being potentially the case, I remain concerned about paying due attention to the diversity and multiplicity of power relations within the study population while attempting to offer useful recommendations for change.

On another note of criticism, given that within social constructivism, research participants inform and construct reality alongside the researcher within a landscape with multiple realities, Robson (2002: 27) posits that “the research questions can not be fully established in advance of this process”. This makes data gathering a laborious task as interview schedules need revisiting and adjusting throughout the research process. In the main social constructivism is also criticized for not being objective. In view of this charge, Guba and Lincoln (2005: 208) posit “we are persuaded that objectivity is a chimera: a mythological creature that never existed, save in the imaginations of those who believe that knowing can be separated from the knower”. In line with this, Burr (2003: 152) posits: “no human being can step outside their humanity and view the world from no position at all which is what the idea of objectivity suggests and this is true of scientists as everyone else”. This being also my position, it is important to reiterate that it wasn’t the aim of this study to make universal claims about OVC partnerships, but give a localized account which resonates with social constructivism whereby “there can be no final description of the world and reality maybe inaccessible or inseparable from our discourse about it; all knowledge is provisional and contestable and accounts are local and historically/cultural specific” (Burr 2003: 158). This being the case I agree with Burr’s argument that, “The concepts of reliability and validity as they are normally understood are therefore not appropriate for judging the quality of social constructionist [constructivist] work” (ibid: 158) which resonates with Guba and Lincoln (2005) . Simply put, this argument suggests that quality judgments, must be consistently framed within the paradigm and not another. Thus, in assessing issues of validity, applying criteria framed within positivism and or post positivism, creates problems as the philosophical underpinnings are largely at odds. Firstly, context dependent reality or validity is simultaneously subject to a critique based on what works/ what doesn’t as well as some form of rigour (albeit borrowed from positivism) which relates to “defensible reasoning, plausible alongside some reality that is known to author and

reader” Guba and Lincoln (2005: 205). In this, the data making process remains important, and should be articulated and any implication of falsehood would lead to a change in activities, e.g. policy instigated changes. The idea of “defensible reasoning” as well as some reality “known to author and reader” draws us to the claim that social constructivists struggle with problems of justifying their analyses despite the fact that a diverse range of criteria have been put forward (Burr 2003). These include: Audit trail (Wood and Kroger 2000) whereby the researcher provides documentation that enables readers to track the analytic process from original text to analysis so as to enable readers to make informed judgments about its quality, providing detailed information about steps taken in the research process for readers as well as asking research participants for feedback (Taylor 2001), and reflexivity (Burr 2003) which is discussed later on in this chapter. Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Guba and Lincoln (1994) also propose trustworthiness and authenticity as criteria for checking quality. Given these examples, it can be argued that the claimed problem isn’t about the lack of quality criteria but rather the lack of a universal one (Burr 2003) which shouldn’t be surprising given the fact that the philosophical approaches informing qualitative research, have varying aims. For instance, the criteria proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985) has certain affinities with PR which aims to directly empower disadvantaged groups. This being the case, criteria can vary depending on the nature of the research. The lack of universal criteria need not be a concern but whether and if social constructivists legitimate their work. However, these criteria may not always be readily acknowledged partly because of the dominance of one philosophical paradigm, i.e. positivism / post positivism (see Rizter 1975; Patton 1975; Manguire 2000). While the reasons why positivism and post positivism have power over alternatives is beyond the remit of this study, it can be suggested that this dominance poses problems for the legitimacy of alternatives such as social constructivism.

This being the case, I remain concerned about these philosophical power struggles and how they potentially impact on this study. These limitations notwithstanding, I would argue that social constructivism was to a greater extent a more suited philosophical approach, than others discussed to investigating the social realities in this study. Choice of social constructionism made sense given that the project was (1) small-scale; (2) exploratory; (3) focussed on resources that communities bring to their

ability to cooperate in a stressful environment. The ensuing section discusses qualitative research as a strategy of inquiry and why it was utilized.

2.5 Qualitative Research

This study makes use of qualitative research. Denzin and Lincoln (2005: 3) offer a useful definition of qualitative research:

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that makes the world visible. These practices ... turn the world into a series of representations including field notes, interviews, photographs... to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.

Denzin and Lincoln's definition has tenets which resonate well with other definitions (Bryman 1988, Bogdan & Biklen 1992, Eisner 1991, Creswell 1998). Central to these definitions is the consensus that qualitative research is a naturalistic and interpretive method whose concern is to understand the meanings, which humans attach to various kinds of phenomena within the confines of their social world (Snape and Spencer 2004). Snape and Spencer (2004) highlight methodological stances associated with qualitative research, which give it its peculiarity.

2.5.1 Methodological Stances Associated with Qualitative Research

In qualitative research, the researcher takes the perspectives of the study population by closely examining their frames of meaning and social life which is viewed as a process rather than fixed. Literature however tend to differ on the subject of researcher neutrality as some argue that it's an essential practice (Weiss 1994, Ackroyd and Hughes 1992) while some argue that it is bad practice (Oakley 1981, Douglas 1985). Fontana and Frey (1994- 373- 4) argue: "As we treat the other as human being, we can no longer remain objective, faceless interviewers, but become human beings and must disclose ourselves, learning about ourselves as we try to learn about the other". Rapley (2004) however argues that the idea of neutrality is misleading, i.e. while "doing neutrality" is interactionally possible as researchers must ask non leading questions and not offer their thoughts on the subject matter, "being neutral in any conventional sense is actually impossible as" (ibid: 20). Thus neutrality in the conventional sense is deemed impossible because the interviewer is always active, guiding the interview through questioning, responses and choosing

what to follow up and what not to. As Gubrium and Holstein (2002 cited in Rapley 2004: 20) further note, the interviewer and the interviewee are both seen as “actively and unavoidably engaged in the interactional co- construction of the interview’s content”. Given this viewpoint, Rapley (2004: 20) comments that the duality of “neutrality and self disclosure” is no longer sustainable as they both become part and parcel “of the range of interactional practices that interviewers can, and do, draw on”. In this, one can share parts of their story when they feel it is relevant to do so. However, when it comes to analysing data obtained in this way, one “must analyse what actually happened, how your interaction produced that trajectory of talk and how specific versions of reality are constructed” (Rapley 2004: 20). This requires that the researcher has a reflexive and critical perspective on their impact in the knowledge construction process. In terms of research design, qualitative research adopts a flexible research strategy as researchers aim to conduct the research in naturalistic settings rather than in manipulated settings such as experiments. The main methods used in qualitative research include observations, individual in depth interviews, focus group discussions, biographical methods – life histories and narratives and documentary analysis. In terms of data interpretation, methods such as Frameworks, analytic induction and grounded theory are used for analysis. This produces, detailed descriptions and offers interpretations on perspectives given by study population.

2.5.2 Challenges to Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is by nature time consuming and demanding. There is need for commitment to field work, gaining rapport, collecting the data and when it comes to data analysis, one must sort through large amounts of data before reducing them to a few themes (Creswell 1998). After analysis, one must contend with writing a lengthy piece of work as “evidence must substantiate claims” and quotes from population study increase the length of the study (Creswell 1998:17). Qualitative research can be challenging due to the need to adapt to changing situations as there is typically less control exercised over the research participants. As Creswell states, this complicates one’s plan to conduct the study as well as how others may judge the work. Perhaps, the main challenge posed by the use of qualitative research methods is that one cannot generalise findings (Ritchie and Lewis 2004, Creswell 1998, Denzin and Lincoln 2005). While this may be the case, some authors posit that generalization is “overvalued” as a source of scientific development while “the force of an example is

understated” (Flyvbjerg 2004: 425). This is further discussed in relation to the case study critique. Qualitative research is also criticised for being difficult to replicate (Bryman 1994), too subjective, and for lacking transparency about methods of data analysis (Bryman 2008, Bryman and Burgess 1994). All the challenges notwithstanding, it is also the case that qualitative researchers have been making strides in addressing issues of transparency (Bryman 2008) and the quality criteria examples already highlighted earlier are part of this address.

2.5.3 Rationale for using qualitative research

Mindful of the above acknowledged challenges, this study used qualitative research due to the nature of the topic as well as my philosophical position regarding the nature of knowledge. There is much important information that quantitative methods have provided regarding the HIV epidemic, e.g. proportions of women attending antenatal clinics whose blood when tested automatically and anonymously, show positive status. When, however, we investigate the nature of local people cooperating and mobilising to problem solve, it is crucial to access their beliefs, values and attitudes which shed light on the reasons and motivations which underlie their behaviour. This is especially so when there are complex and contradictory tensions informing decision processes. Given this study topic, qualitative research was more suitable as it seeks to address the “how” of a phenomenon, i.e. how Batsiranai is responding to the OVC phenomenon (Creswell 1998). In this instance, qualitative research enabled me to explore the OVC topic within a given context in detail and thus glean explanations of people’s behaviour, actions, beliefs and views as socially, culturally and historically informed. The topic of this study needed to be explored in detail and as Creswell (1998) notes: qualitative research is the method suitable for research topics with no easily identified variables or explanations for behaviour and requiring explorations to be carried out. As stated in chapter one, there are conflicting views in the literature regarding the potential of communities to meet OVC needs which this study sought to clarify by exploring realities on the ground in Buhera South district. Thirdly, qualitative research was chosen for this study because of the need to present a “detailed view” of the OVC phenomenon in BSD. In this, I followed Creswell’s (1998: 17) guidance that, one must select qualitative research over quantitative research when the topic needs to provide a detailed view because “the wide-angle lens or the distant panoramic shot will not suffice to present answers to the problem ,

or the close up view does not exist”. Having given a rationale for using qualitative research, the ensuing subsection presents the approach utilised.

2.5.4 Case Study Approach

While Stake (2005) posits that “case study is not a methodological choice, but a choice of what is to be studied, others like Merriam (1988) and Flyvbjerg (2004) refer to it as a methodology. While it is clearly the case that one must choose both the case and research methods for data collection, Denscombe (2007) states that when researchers opt for the case study approach, “they buy into a set of related ideas and preferences which when combined, give the approach its distinctive character” which largely aligns with Stake’s (2005) viewpoint that once a case has been chosen, there is some guidance on how to research the case. In this study, the partnership between MS and Batsiranai on OVC support was the selected case study.

Creswell (1998: 62) defines a case study as:

an exploration of a bounded up system... over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information...this bounded up system is bounded by time and place, and it is the case being studied – a program, an event ...

This being the definition, the partnership between MS and Batsiranai on OVC support is a “bounded up system” which is “bounded by time and place”, i.e. a partnership in existence from 1997 – 2006 in BSD, Zimbabwe.

How was the case selected? A thorough internet search was conducted on INGO-CBO partnership working on OVC in rural Zimbabwe. In this, INGOs’ websites were thoroughly examined, and partners and focus areas checked out. Phone calls were made for clarification, in cases where information wasn’t clear. At the time of the search and selection, i.e. mid 2006 when the study topic was under formulation, the MS and Batsiranai partnership on OVC was the only INGO – CBO partnership identified in rural Zimbabwe. However, the scarcity of such cases on the ground did not come as a surprise as this had already informed this study’s rationale. While not having a range of cases to select from was worrying in the first instance, the case fortunately turned out to be the most promising and useful because of its longevity, i.e. ten years meant that the case had multiple experiences and complexities to unravel which was a good starting point for “an instrumental case study”, a term which Stake (2005: 445) uses: “If a particular case is examined mainly to provide insight into an

issue, ... The case is of secondary interest, it plays a supportive role and it facilitates our understanding of something else.” Thus, the case of MS and Batsiranai served to provide insight into partnership working between INGOs and CBOs on OVC. While the partnership under gaze was crucially important, it nevertheless played a supportive role as it facilitated understanding of how INGOs can support rural CBOs support to OVC. However, it is note worthy that the case also turned out to be unique given the fact that it was the only one available for study.

As Stake (2005) notes, in researching a case study, there are various strands to be examined such as case activities, historical background, physical setting, and other contexts -social, economic and political which makes it very demanding. The MS-Batsiranai partnership had many categories for consideration:

- the children receiving support
- volunteers rendering support
- the community (identity/ whether it existed or not)
- the CBO (identity, background, vision, objectives)
- MS (background, objectives)
- the actual relationship between the two organisations
- the external environment (social, economic & political) and how it impacts on the relationship.

While the case served its purpose in terms of addressing the research question as well as providing key insights into partnership working between INGOs and rural based CBOs on OVC, it had its limitations.

Firstly, there is a widespread critique of case study research that one can not generalize research findings (Bryman 2008, Stake 2005). In addressing this charge, it is first and foremost note worthy that the case studied aimed to generate an in-depth insight into INGOs - CBOs partnerships on OVC supporting rural Zimbabwe. The intention was not to generalize, but rather give an example which ought to be seen as one of broader class of INGOs - CBOs partnerships on OCV in rural Sub Saharan Africa, the uniqueness of the case notwithstanding. The argument here is not about generalizing, but rather making it explicitly clear that as an example situated within a region with the high rates of OVC, there are potential lessons to be learnt from the

case.. As for the quest to generalize, Flyvbjerg (2004) contends that this is over rated as the main source of scientific progress. This is because a case study without ambitions to generalize can be of value in the accumulation of relevant knowledge, because the entrance of knowledge into the collective process of knowledge accumulation does not hinge on generalizations. I largely agree with Flyvbjerg's position because relevant knowledge accumulation on OVC partnerships remains crucial in our attempts to put theory into practice. While I largely allude to the importance of an example, formal generalization remains equally important. My view is that careful case study opens a field to quantitative researchers who can subsequently check the incidence and prevalence of links and findings unearthed by their qualitative colleagues. To sum up my position, I quote Flyvbjerg (2004: 425) who argues that "...formal generalization is overvalued as a source of scientific development, whereas the force of an example is understated". What I mean by this is that while methods designed to enable generalization, while valuable, would not, on their own enable us to open new territory which access the complex meanings and understandings which actors bring to their action.

Another critique facing the case study approach is that context independent knowledge is more valuable than context dependent knowledge on the basis that

... Such studies have such a total absence of control as to be of almost no scientific value...Any appearance of absolute knowledge, or intrinsic knowledge about singular isolated objects, is found to be illusionary upon analysis... (Campbell and Stanley 1966: 6)

Campbell and Stanley's assertion resonates with Denscombe's (2007: 45) observation that case studies are often perceived as producing "soft data" because the approach lacks rigour. In addressing this critique, Flyvbjerg (2004: 421) focuses on the role of cases and theory in human learning and highlights two crucial points:

First, the case study produces the type of context dependent knowledge that research on learning shows to be necessary to allow people to develop from rule based beginners to virtuoso experts. Second, in the study of human affairs, there appears to be only context depended knowledge, which thus presently rules out the possibility of epistemic theoretical construction

This being the case, it can be argued that case studies play a key role in learning about particular objects. Without single or even multiple objects being studied in their contexts human learning about such cases remains extremely limited, i.e. we can not have virtuosos without context dependent knowledge. The case of MS- Batsiranai

partnership on OVC plays a crucial role in the accumulation of a relevant knowledge base for INGOs, CBOs and all other stakeholders involved with OVC. The more of such context dependent cases we have under examination, the greater likelihood there is of a quality relevant knowledge base on the subject matter. And as such, virtuosos on OVC partnership working would therefore develop their expertise based on studying these cases. As a researcher, “the closeness of the case study to real life situations and its multiple wealth of details” (ibid: 422) enabled me to develop a more nuanced view of reality after an intense period of reading literature. Faced with Flyvbjerg’s (2004) position that social science has not succeeded in generating context independent theory, but context and concrete dependent knowledge, it is plausible to accept that, “some times we simply have to keep our eyes open and look carefully at individual cases – not in the hope of proving anything but rather in the hope of learning something” (Eysenck 1976 cited in Flyvbjerg 2004: 422).

In the light of this, Flyvbjerg (2004: 423) further argues that “Predictive theories and universals can not be found in the study of human affairs. Concrete, context dependent knowledge is therefore more valuable than the vain search for predictive theories and universals”.

Considering that all social science has are cases and specific context- dependent knowledge, I concur with Flyvbjerg’s remarks. Indeed it is precisely that question as to when context matters that tells us when attempts at universalizing are naïve. This argument resonates with the discussion in chapter five about the failure of mainstream development to deliver, due to the quest for universal blue prints. This being the case, the need for universal theories for legitimacy and validity runs deep across disciplines as the wisdom of convention. In my view, while there are likely to be generalizations which hold about the significance of cultural resources on behaviour, this will remain hopelessly vague and not available to guide policy, if we do not know how individuals and communities mobilize their cultural resources to engage in collective mutual aid. Just as a study about Americans bowling alone (Putnam 2000) opens up big questions which keep researchers using qualitative and quantitative methods busy, exploration of how rural Zimbabweans succeed in supporting their community’s children may do the same.

Another critique faced by case study researchers is that, cases contain a subjective bias as researchers do not apply methods useful for “curbing one’s tendencies to stamp one’s pre – existing interpretations on data they accumulate” (Diamond 1996: 6 in Flyvbjerg 2004: 428). Reflecting on Diamond’s critique, Flyvbjerg draws from Bacon (1853) who perceived this bias towards verification as a general human trait, and not particularly related to case studies. In his thesis, Bacon (1853: x1vi cited in Flyvbjerg 2004: 428) posits that “it is the peculiar and perpetual error of the human understanding to be more moved and excited by affirmatives than negatives”. Taking this bias as a fundamental human trait, during my field work, I reflected on this and sought remedies. This was a particularly important exercise for me given that, I as the researcher felt that INGO - CBO partnership working on OVC was perhaps the way forward to meeting children’s needs as one affected by the epidemic as a young person. Given this inclination towards verification of my hunch, I adopted Charles Darwin’s (1958) golden rule, i.e. noting down anything contrary or negative at once without fail. Darwin’s reasons for developing and following this golden rule is based on Bacon’s thesis, that negative facts or thoughts, are far more likely to escape from memory than positive ones. While my notes and recordings on contrary/ negative issues on the partnership and *nhimbe* were not substantial, I made it a point to discuss these with my supervision team. This way, the whole team knew there were some negatives, which required equal attention as further discussed in chapter fourteen. This helped mitigate my bias.

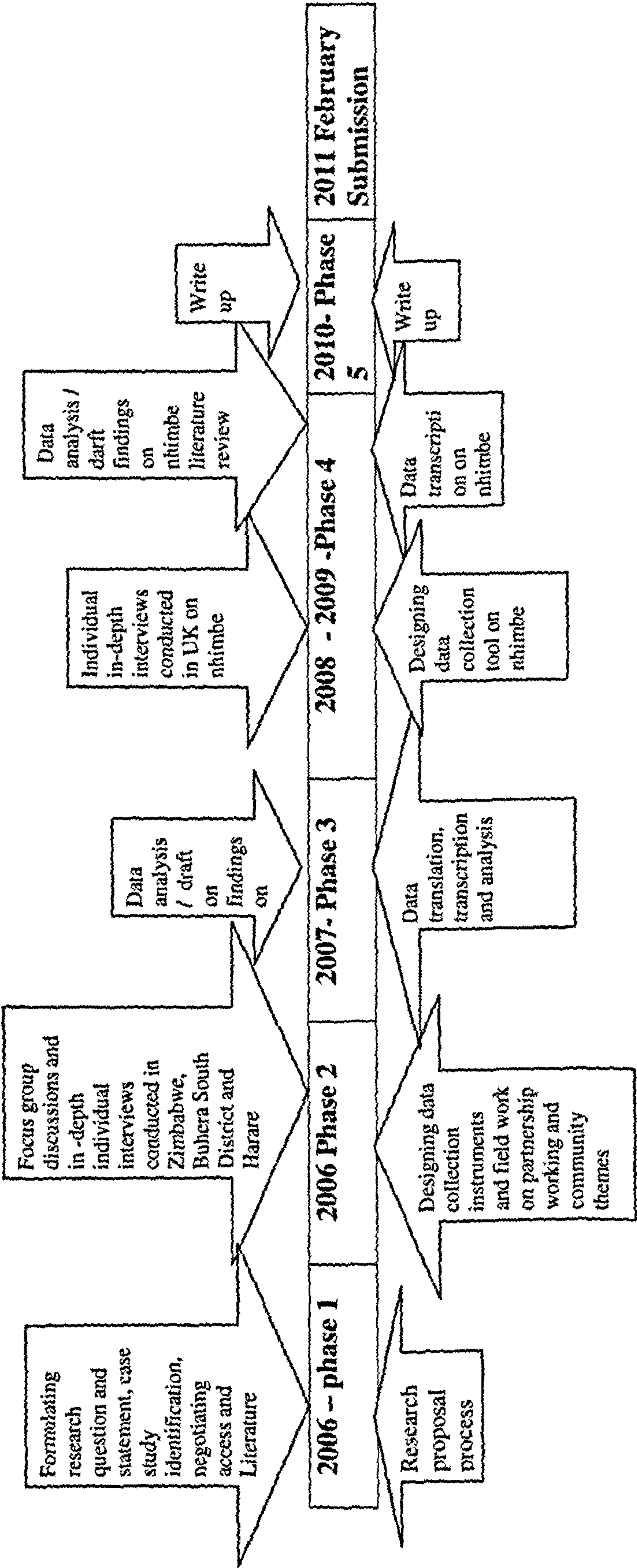
2.5.5 Study Area and Research Participants

Fieldwork for this investigation was conducted in Zimbabwe and UK during the following periods:

- Buhera South District, Zimbabwe: 8th – 14th of October 2006
- Harare, Zimbabwe: 30th - 31st of October 2006
- United Kingdom (London, Brighton and Scotland): 20th of December 2008 – 21st of January 2009

The diagram below shows the timeline of the research process:

Figure 7 : Timeline of the Research Process



The UK location of interviews with key informants on *nhimbe* was linked to the high presence of Mashona Zimbabwean professionals with experience of working in international development who are part of the Diaspora community. Interviews held in Harare with MS staff, and one key informant allowed participants to be interviewed in their natural setting, offices and this way, relevant documents were collected for documentary analysis.

2.5.6 Sample Selection, Method and Size

This study utilized purposive sampling to select research participants within the case, i.e. the partnership between MS and Batsiranai. Ritchie et al (2004: 78 - 79) define purposive sampling as :

Members of a sample are chosen with a purpose to represent a location or type in relation to a key criterion....the sample units are chosen because they have particular features or characteristics which will enable detailed exploration and understanding of the central themes and puzzles which the researchers wishes to study...specific experiences ...

Using purposive sampling within the case study enabled the relevant themes under examination to be covered, through data collection from participants who were already known to possess the knowledge and experiences of the subject under exploration. Thus participants were chosen because of their relevance to understanding the social phenomena under examination within the case study. In addition the key informant was recruited to the study in Zimbabwe using purposive sampling. Having interviewed MS and Batsiranai staff, and the volunteers, I realised the need for a “neutral” and wellinformed voice outside the case study to further verify the accounts from the organisations pertaining to the environment confronting civil society organisations in the country which had implications for partnership working. Having studied at the University of Zimbabwe which is the hub of social, economic and political debates as an undergraduate made it less challenging to recruit a participant. As this was an idea which came up during the research process, I had made no prior arrangements, hence I resorted to drawing up a list of well known social activists and academics. However, on top of my list was one of the most renowned social activists and academics at the university whose text had partly guided my literature review on civil society in Zimbabwe. I began by cold calling

him to explain my study. When I eventually got hold of him, he agreed to take part in the study.

Purposive and snowballing sampling were utilised in relation to the key informants interviewed in the UK regarding *nhimbe*. Firstly, purposive sampling was used to select three of the initial sample members. Thereafter, the other three were selected from the existing sample members through snowballing because of the dispersed nature of the Mashona Zimbabwean population. This resonates with Ritchei et al (2004) who note that snowballing is useful when dealing with dispersed and small populations. What was crucial in the sampling exercise was to identify a Mashona sample with international development working experience and or knowledge of *Nhimbe*. This was of importance as only a Mashona Zimbabwean sample could fully engage with the traditional Mashona concept of *nhimbe*. Four of the key informants had between three and fifteen years of working experience in international development with organisations such as UNICEF, World Vision, AIDs Alliance International,, Catholic Relief Services among others as programme executers at various levels. However, two of the female informants did not have experience of working in international development. They were chosen on the basis of their in-depth knowledge of Shona traditional culture as people who had had grown up at the height of *nhimbe* practice in rural Zimbabwe. In total, 35 respondents (6 children with adults being the majority) participated in the study. Respondents’ names were coded for anonymity.

Table 10: Respondent Demographic Characteristics

Batsiranai staff	3 Females aged between 25 years – 44years 3 Males aged between 32 – 55 years old Educational qualifications: Degree level Length of employment with Batsiranai: 3 years plus
MS staff	2 Males aged between 39 – 50 years old Educational qualifications: Degree level
Key Informants	2 Females between 57 – 60 years old 5 Males between 33- 50 years old Educational qualifications: post graduate (all males) secondary education (females)
Children who are OVC	3 boys and 3 girls aged between 15 – 17 years old Education- going through secondary school
Volunteers	8 women and 6 men aged between 32- 65 years old Education: primary/ secondary education (all highly literate)

As an “outsider” to the community, I was however known to some of the staff and community members due to the fieldwork I did on the base line survey in 1997¹. It is note worthy that during the process of identifying a potential case to examine, when I identified the case of MS and Batsiranai, it didn’t immediately occur to me that I had some past connection with the CBO as it had been ten years since I had worked with them as a research assistant supporting a consultant. This was partly because during my undergraduate years, I had worked on several research projects in rural Zimbabwe as a research assistant. It was however, a wonderful experience when I discovered that I had some past connection with Batsiranai as this enabled me to gain access as well as establish both trust and rapport with participants. Meeting with some of the volunteers after ten years was a remarkable experience which made me reflect a great deal about my personal journey as a researcher, as well as the CBO’s development. Thus apart from being an “outsider” to the community, I was also “an insider” due to my past association, as well as being Zimbabwean and Shona. This helped me in establishing rapport and trust due to my knowledge and experience of context culture and traditions. Furthermore, having worked in rural Zimbabwe previously on HIV/ AIDs research projects meant that I was well informed and prepared for how to behave as well as approach community members with due respect as culturally expected. However, it was much more difficult to establish rapport with the children for various reasons. Firstly, time constraints made it difficult, as I did not have time to “hang out” with them before introducing the study. Secondly, this may have also had to do with the sensitive nature of the subject since vulnerable children who have lost their parents might have found it difficult to engage with a total stranger. In the end, the children did however open up after I became “a person” before being an interviewer as part of “working with intimate reciprocity” (Ripley 2004: 22) whereby the researcher and participants share.

2.5.7 Data Collection Process and Methods

This section describes the research process, data collection methods used in the study, namely; focus group discussions, individual in-depth interviews, observations and

¹ This was a baseline survey to establish the extent and nature of the OVC challenge in the district as well as identify what community members were already doing in response. I was a research assistant on the survey.

documentary analysis. These are in line with data collection methods widely used in case studies (Stake 2005). While the mix of methods was beneficial, each method had merits and demerits as explained in the ensuing sections.

Having arrived in Zimbabwe for the field work, my first meeting was with CBO leader in Harare where he was attending a work related meeting. During this meeting, I had face to face opportunity to fully explain the study and arrange a time when I would go down to Buhera South district which is approximately 170 kilometres from Harare. As agreed, I went there two weeks afterwards. Arriving there on a late Sunday night, I booked myself into the only lodge at the business district centre whose state left much to be desired, though habitable. While modern with running water and electricity, the bathroom and toilet facilities in the room were in dire need of repair. One of the windows being broken in corner often let in frogs and lizards, which brought no harm but alarm from time to time. Electricity being a scarce commodity nationally, most of the times I used candles which were provided by the lodge. The use of candles however affected my schedule, as I often preferred to listen to interview scripts and make notes before proceeding with more interviews. In spite of these challenges, the accommodation served its purpose and was to some extent a tranquil place being close to the river Save which flows down to nearby Mozambique. On the first day, the CBO staff were very helpful as one of them came to pick me during their early morning runs as I did not know where¹ the office was. Once at the office, I was introduced to all the staff to whom I explained the study. However, they had been briefed prior by the CBO leader, and knew that I would be coming. I began by familiarising myself with staff and their job roles, and collecting documents from the office which I photocopied and studied. This was very important given the fact that no literature had been identified from any other source including the internet prior on the CBO. The scarcity of Batsiranai literature in the public domain, particularly in this age of telecommunications was very telling of its marginalization. On this first day, I also set up interview appointments with staff which were set around their workload. I planned the rest of the interview schedules around the field trips planned by staff as I was dependent on those for transport and access to volunteers and children. It is note worthy that the process of interviewing staff and volunteers intermittently gave me the opportunity to inform myself and

¹ The CBO had moved from the original office it occupied in 1997

clarify issues raised with each group. I observed volunteer training and the dynamic relationship between staff and volunteers as they discussed OVC issues in community settings. Observations on the local context took place during the field trips organised by staff as well as the time I “wandered around” the district as further noted in section 2.5.7.2 which discusses the observation process. This “wandering around” was however limited to the immediate surroundings easily accessible on foot due to transport logistics.

Focus group discussions as well as some individual in- depth interviews with volunteers took place at a local clinic where volunteers regularly meet for training and meetings. This happened during the pre-arranged field trips by staff. While this was extremely helpful as I did not have to visit individual volunteers and children in their homes as well as gather them for discussions, time to follow up on some issues was to some extent limited as they had a long way to travel back to their homes on foot, i.e. more than 16 kilometres for the majority. Hence, realities on the ground meant that my ability to choose the more desirable naturalistic rather than the less desirable artificial, manipulated settings qualitative research methods enthusiasts endorse was constrained. Focus group discussions were held first, followed by individual in-depth interviews. This allowed me to seek clarity on issues arising from the focus groups with individual volunteers. However, due to time constraints and distance logistics, I could only have a focus discussion with the children. The actual dynamics of these are discussed in the sections below.

Inspite of having walked more than 16 kilometers on foot to the clinic where the interviews were held, the volunteers were in good spirits telling me in informal interactions¹:

How can we have refused to talk about this [OVC challenge and their work]? Me I thought if you write about us here, we might get more friends [donors] overseas to help us look after the children.

We need more freinds [donors] to help us look after the children because the orphans are too numerous.

Our friends [donors] try, but the problem [OVC] is too much...

¹ Field notes during a meal i.e. lunch time with volunteers at a training workshop

After the focus group discussions, I was playfully chided for asking too many questions¹:

Ahh, sister [laughing] your questions were too numerous and deep!

I hope that after asking us many questions, you will get us more friends [donors] to help.

Others spoke about the harsh landscape in relation to their work:

We have to strengthen ourselves because as you can see, the sun is burning, it burns all the time like this, and imagine walking to see children when its burning like this...

The sun here burns, you will sweat and the sweat will flow down your body!

However given that diamonds had just been discovered nearby at Marange², this was a subject on the minds of community members as the following field notes suggest:

People are leaving their homesteads to mine diamonds, they say the stones are big.

We don't know if they are real diamonds, but those who have been there say they are real, we just hear, no one really knows what the real one is suppose to lool like. They don't have the machines to examine them.

Some people from my village have been there [at Marange] for days, we don't know when they are coming back, who knows what might have befallen them? We hear the government army is arresting those caught digging.

When I casually asked why they hadn't been to Marange to also mine I was told:

Ahh, you never know with these things, you go there like others, and the police come to your door step saying give us the stones, I hear that is what they are doing.

There are rumours that whoever is caught selling, will be arrested, so you say what is the point of going to dig ,a *big woman* [a respectable motherly figure] like myself to spend time digging only to be arrested and the stones taken away. Even if I wasn't arrested, who would I sell the stones to?

I think if these diamonds are real, a company should mine with machines so that we can get jobs. Some of the OVC are finishing school but there are no jobs. Things should be done

¹ Field notes

² In June 2006, diamonds were discovered in Manicaland province at Marange near Buhera South district. However, the government immediately moved in the army to protect the mine fields as rumours of grievous human rights abuses at their hands began to circulate in relation to civilians caught mining. Since then, the case of the Marange diamonds has been the subject of much political and economic debate with the Zanu PF being accused of illegally selling the diamonds and abusing civilians caught mining and selling the diamonds (see Partnership Africa Canada 2009, The Economist 2010, www.bbc.com).

properly and jobs created, not us just digging, its not like digging for mice! [mice are a delicacy for consumption in rural Zimbabwe, however they have to be dug out from the ground]

After completing fieldwork in BSD, I left for Harare on a bus which broke down thrice in addition to running out of fuel in the middle of nowhere. During the first breakdown, I noticed how other passengers kept sitting and chatting whereas impatience took hold of me as the bus driver hadn't explained to us what was happening but getting off the bus with two conductors. After about fifteen minutes, I got off the bus and politely asked the bus driver who was now apparently under the bus and covered in grease, what was going on and how long we were going to be there for. The bus driver apparently taken back by my questioning remarked:

Sister where have you come from? Don't you know that public transport is a problem these days? no spare parts, no fuel [laughing out loudly] ahh it will be alright sister, we should be going soon!

While I took it all in my stride, it made me wonder whether living in England had changed me. I wondered at my impatience as other passengers eventually got off to stretch their legs, and the men passengers helped to push the bus so that the engine would start off without complaining. After this encounter, I realised that being away in England had gotten me accustomed to "speed" and some degree of "efficiency" without which explanations were offered. The fact that the majority of passengers were understanding and helped to push the bus to make a start evidenced to me a certain degree of shared understanding and a willingness and ability to cooperate, within a transport system that was highly ineffective. By the time the bus ran out of fuel, and some men passengers walked to the nearest shops (where fuel was being sold in containers) with the conductors with empty containers for the fuel, I had truly become subdued for it took about two hours for the journey to resume. While I found myself concerned about the quality of the fuel (rumours were rife that some unscrupulous sellers were adding water to the fuel) from the shops, I sought comfort in other passengers as we chatted. I experienced the generosity of strangers as those sitting by my side offered me some cooked maize cobs they had carried along to eat on the journey. I eventually made it to my destination much later than anticipated though somewhat humbled by the resilience and warmth of ordinary citizens.

Having made arrangements with staff at MS, two in-depth interviews were held at their offices, situated at the outskirts of Harare city centre. While MS staff were extremely busy, they nevertheless made time for the research and encouraged me to share the results of the study when complete. Furthermore, they gave me access to MS documents. However, it is noteworthy that MS had considerable literature available in the public domain via the internet, hence I had downloaded some documents earlier from their website.

The last in-depth interview was held with a key informant in Harare, at the University of Zimbabwe with the social activist and academic. The interview took place in his office at the university. However, during the interview, we were repeatedly disturbed by students and ordinary people coming to seek his advice and support pertaining to various issues including shelter and food. Afterwards he explained that as life was economically tough and challenging for everyone, he was doing his best to support the students and those who came to him for help with the little he had. While lamenting the need for change in the country, he was welcoming and full of hope. Lastly, further data collection took place in the UK (London, Brighton and Scotland) in 2008 where individual in-depth interviews were held with the rest of the key informants on the concept of *nhimbe* and partnership working in international development. However my initial attempts to recruit participants to discuss *nhimbe* were met with “amusement” as they were mesmerized by the fact that I wanted to discuss *Nhimbe* as reflected in the initial remarks below:

I am surprised you want to talk about *Nhimbe*, I must confess that I have never heard of *Nhimbe* being talked about in anything remotely academic (KI V)

You say your research topic is about INGOs and CBOs and OVC, I have never heard of *Nhimbe* being talked about in that context (KI T)

I can tell you a lot about *Nhimbe* [laughing] but if I didn't say I am taken back by your interest, why *Nhimbe* of all things? It's strange to talk about *Nhimbe* when one is so far away from home [Zimbabwe]! (KI E)

It is however, notable that the interviews went on as planned, with participants getting into a very reflective mood regarding the questions I put to them. What was particularly interesting was that those who had initially made light of discussing the subject matter did, after the interviews, confess that having momentarily reflected upon the discussions, they had realised that *nhimbe* was an important subject worth paying attention to even though they had not originally thought so.

While I had initially planned to have a focus group discussion followed by individual in depth interviews, I found it difficult to gather respondents at the same time due to their hectic work schedules . In the end, I settled for individual in-depth interviews until saturation point. Of the seven interviews held on *nhimbe* and partnership working, three were conducted on the telephone while three were face to face. The face to face interviews were conducted in the homes of participants at weekends. Despite having numerous family commitments as evidenced by their lamentation about inability to get a house help to help with the children, due to the financial constraints in comparison to being in Zimbabwe where house helps are affordable, the key informants were welcoming. The table below links data collection methods, themes explored¹ and respondents.

Table 11: Respondents, Themes and Data Collection Methods

Respondents	Themes	Data collection methods
Volunteers	What/ who is community; What/who is Batsiranai; community ownership of OVC crisis; concept of volunteering; contributions made to OVC struggles	FGDs and individual in-depth interviews
Batsiranai staff	CBO background and identity; community ownership of crisis ; partnership working with MS; volunteer contributions; external context issues	Individual in-depth interviews
MS staff	MS background; partnership working with Batsiranai; volunteer contributions; Community ownership of crisis; external context issues	Individual in depth interviews
Children	Perception of volunteer and Batsiranai support ; needs and struggles	Focus Group discussion
1 Key informant	Batsiranai background/ partnership working with MS / international Development / <i>nhimbe</i>	Individual in depth interview
6 Key informants	Partnership working/	Individual in depth

¹ See appendix for complete interview schedules.

	International Development/ <i>nchimbe</i>	interviews
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2.5.7.1 Focus Group Discussions

A focus group is a discussion organised to explore a specific set of issues (Carter and Henderson 2007). In this group discussion “data are generated between group participants” as they present their views and experiences as well as hear from others (Finch and Lewis 2004: 171). This in essence presents a more natural environment than in individual interviews as participants influence each other, which is similar to everyday life scenarios as Kruger and Casey (2000) suggest. In this study, two focus group discussions were held with volunteers and one with children. FGDs were used in this study because they allowed me to explore how volunteers and children make sense of their experiences as well as being a powerful tool in exploring their “frameworks of understanding” Carter and Henderson (2007: 222). Using FGDs was particularly helpful in exploring community ownership of the OVC challenge as guided by volunteers’ attitudes, beliefs and opinions. The issue of how community members became “volunteers” and what that meant emerged as crucial questions. Furthermore, focus groups with volunteers elicited humorous jokes about volunteering and associated struggles which resonates with Carter and Henderson (2007: 222) who remark that “focus groups can elicit other forms of communication such as jokes and story telling which is maybe less likely to occur in one to one sessions which are crucial to ways of understanding”. More importantly, the utilization of focus group discussions with volunteers informed individual interviews as well as clarified some issues. FGDs had six people in line with Finch and Lewis’ (2004) recommendation of between six and eight people to enable the group process to be manageable. In the light of this guidance, this study had six participants in each focus group. While I did not experience problems with facilitating volunteer focus groups, the case of the children was different as will be discussed in the sub section examining reflexivity and positionality.

While focus group discussions held with volunteers were useful a data collection technique, there are shortfalls. Firstly, Carter and Henderson (2007: 225) contend that the “the relatively public setting of a group may operate to inhibit the exchange of sensitive information” as well as the silencing of group members in the discussion especially when they feel they don’t fit in. Kruger (1994) also notes that there can be

a problem in FGDs if one respondent dominates the group. However in my role as facilitator who listened and observed the groups, there was no such problem identified in relation to volunteer interaction. Perhaps this had something to do with volunteers' position in the community, i.e. being chosen on the basis of their personality and character strengths. Consequently they all contributed to the discussion with confidence. However, in anticipation of these potential pitfalls, individual in depth interviews which were already planned for as a complementary method were held to complement data from FGDs. Furthermore, FGDs participants were allowed to verbally add on any information individually in confidence after the main group discussion as suggested by Carter and Henderson (2007). However, as a data collection method, focus groups produced data which was time consuming to transcribe and analyse (Carter and Henderson 2007).

2.5.7.2 Participant Observations

According to Ritchie (2004: 35) participant observation is a data collection method in which the researcher joins "the constituent study population or its organisational or community setting to record actions, interactions or events that occur ... offers the researcher opportunity to gain insights through experiencing the phenomena themselves". In this study, participant observations took place over six days in BSD. Gold (1958) suggests that there are four possible roles which the researcher can adopt, i.e. complete observer, observer as participant, participant as observer or complete participant. In this research, I was an observer as participant. In this role, there was observation with no obvious participation, if any (Bryman 2008). To mitigate misunderstandings on what I observed, I asked participants questions during my observations. Being an observer as participant suited me as opportunities for genuine participation were limited because of my limited time schedule.

My observations began at the Project office where I "hang around" project staff doing their work. The office was a clean gated house with exposed timber frames waiting for the ceiling to be put in place. The staff were extremely helpful as I joined them at their tea breaks. I was also told about how the diamond issue was unravelling and the fact some of them had been approached by sellers, as potential buyers¹:

¹ From recorded field notes

The man came to my wife and said, can I see the father of this homestead. She said, father has gone to work, come back in the evening. For sure the man came back and said that she was from Marange and was selling diamonds. He showed me some stones tied in a handkerchief and said we could negotiate, I said you have come to the wrong place, I have no money to buy.

However staff also lamented the scale of the OVC crisis:

The challenge [OVC] among us is too numerous, we can only do our best ...

Sometimes you feel troubled in your heart, thinking about the children especially if we can't help, you will see the volunteers, they will tell you that things are tough...

Staff also expressed their concerns about the harsh landscape:

This place is hot, and there isn't enough water for irrigation even though the river is just down there, sometimes there is very little water left in the river and you see people washing and bathing there.

In addition to these informal interactions, I observed as Batsiranai's donor partners visited the office. I also observed a few volunteers passing by the office as they went about their business. I observed community workshops being undertaken with volunteers who appeared eager to learn about the subject matter, i.e. gender issues. I interacted with volunteers, staff and traditional leadership at various intervals. I recorded interesting events and interactions and asked questions as befitting. For instance one of the issues recorded through such informal interactions was the "hot" issue of a male volunteer who had taken on a young girl of no more sixteen to be his fourth wife. While I could not follow it up with the accused, due to sensitivity of the issue, the interactions I had with staff and volunteers provided insight into community dynamics provoked by this issue. When I left BSD, the issue was still under discussion having recently come to light. I also observed that volunteers were in charge of everything but the delivery of the training, i.e. they decided what was going to be eaten for lunch, prepared the food and the venue. Based on the interactions with them, I gathered how this responsibility gave them a sense of ownership. Through my informal interactions, I also learnt about the bad state of schools in the district, the overwhelming presence of death, the ever growing numbers of OVC, the rampant food shortages for all households because of the seasonal droughts, NGO activities and a failed CBO initiative to look after OVC. I also learned about people's perceptions on HIV, how it is no longer a virus "without a

name” with people openly talking and encouraging others to get tested, albeit for various reasons¹.

Overtly taking on the role of observer as participant enabled me to see events and actions unravelling in their natural context which helped me to understand the position of Batsiranai and community members on OVC. Observing the local landscape proved valuable as this enabled me to understand local struggles, e.g. such as the unrelenting heatwave accompanied by seasonal droughts and the bad roads which made my stomach turn on numerous occasions during field trips. Staff indicated that they had gotten used to this rough landscape and hence, somehow managed to cope. Informal interactions with volunteers signaled to me that they were aware of the hostility of the landscape, but as it was their place of habitation, they had to make do.

At the main business centre at Birchnaugh Bridge I saw young and middle-aged men and women boarding buses for South Africa to sell wares. I encountered women getting soap and other basic needs on credit from local grocery keepers. I also witnessed the resourcefulness of local people at the market where they sold vegetables, woven mats, clay pots, roasted birds among other goods. On one occasion, I witnessed as women who had been ferried from one of the wards to the business center disembark from a private vehicle and tell the car owner that they did not have adequate money to pay him and would bring him the money the following week. These events signalled to me people who know each other at a local level with certain levels of trust.

2.5.7.3 Individual in-depth Interviews

Carter and Henderson (2007: 217) describe an in-depth interview as a “simply structured encounter between researcher and research participant with the aim of eliciting information.” Individual in-depth interviews were utilised in this study to explore issues in detail and gain an understanding of complex issues (Lewis 2004) e.g. with volunteers it was crucial to understand the motivations behind their response to OVC. As Lewis (2004) states, in-depth interviews are apt for the exploration of

¹ Including potential access to INGO food as well as medication.

social norms and the case of OVC in the Buhera South district is highly charged with these. CBO experiences of partnership working with MS were also studied using individual in-depth interviews, as the aim was to gather information in the language and conceptual scheme of respondents. In-depth interviews, however, generated large amounts of data for transcribing and analysis and in some cases, translating from Shona to English.

2.5.7.4 Documentary Analysis

Documentary analysis, which “involves the studying of existing documents, either to understand their substantive content or to illuminate deeper meanings which may be revealed by their style and coverage” (Ritchie 2004: 35) was carried out in relation to MS and Batsiranai to further understand and illuminate their approaches and strategies in addressing the OVC crisis in Buhera South. Documents were obtained from MS – Zimbabwe and Batsiranai. These included:

- Training schedules
- Annual Reports
- Records of Proceedings
- Annual Review Workshop Reports
- Leaflets
- Policy Documents
- Research Papers
- Evaluation Reports
- Financial Reports

These documents informed me on situations and events of both organisations where investigation through questioning would not have produced adequate data (Hammersely and Atkison 1995) such as time lines, stakeholder and partners details of involvement, policies and guidelines. These were also particularly useful in gathering the historical backgrounds of both organisations and in the case of Batsiranai, the baseline documents studied provided in- depth information about its beginnings, community historical perceptions of OVC alongside the role of traditional authorities as informed by the community. While authors of all the documents analysed were not available for questioning, some authors of Batsiranai documents were interviewed about what they had written. This was helpful in confirming the

accuracy and credibility of data derived from such documents. Bearing in mind Atkinson and Coffey's (2004) assertion that documents have a "reality" of their own, i.e. as Bryman (2008: 527) expounds, they are written to convey particular impressions, and hence "they are likely to be written with prospective scrutiny by others in mind", the other data sources mentioned above were used to mitigate such potential shortfalls.

2.6 Reflexivity and Positionality

Drawing from social constructivism, I reflect on how my position and personal experiences affected the research process. According to Carter and Henderson (2007: 226) "as in all aspects of qualitative research, the researcher should constantly display reflexivity about the research process and be prepared to explicitly justify their choices". In the light of this need for constantly displaying reflexivity, what does "reflexivity" mean? According to Carter and Henderson (2007 :226), this "refers to the researcher's active and constant reflection on all aspects of the research process" .

As already acknowledged, I was both an outsider to the local community and insider, being Shona and Zimbabwean. This opened opportunities for me to build rapport and establish a relationship with the participants as I was aware of "how to conduct myself or not" in the local community in terms of socially accepted norms. On another note, I disclosed about how I was affected by HIV/AIDS during focus group discussions with both children and volunteers, though my reasons for doing so were different with each group. With volunteers, I felt challenged to engage in "intimate reciprocity" thereby abandoning "doing neutrality" Rapley (2004: 20) though not objectivity. However, while I abandoned "doing neutrality", I did not ask leading questions, as suggested but rather offered my personal experiences of experiencing multiple bereavement as a young person and how having had someone taking care of me "saved my life". This was necessitated by a discussion on volunteer support rendered to children. My position resonates with Collins (1998: 7) who argues:

As the interviewer I am not, I can not be, merely a passive observer in all this, even though it is primarily the interviewee's life which is under scrutiny ... I take less seriously the manuals' advice to maintain a lofty silence, I am increasingly moved to contribute my own stories, to hold them up for contrast or in comparison with those of the interviewee.

I did so as I felt that it was both relevant and useful to highlight shared experiences to those disclosed by volunteers. I wanted to let them know that I partly understood their experiences.

With regards to the children's FGD, even though they knew each other from school and living in the same villages, they did not easily warm up to interacting. Faced with the "cold" group syndrome "where participants are quiet and seeming reluctant to participate" (Krueger 1994: 17), I had to work hard to "save the discussion" through facilitation and self disclosure, hence the need for and relevance of flexibility. While Johnson (2002) advocates for disclosure as a way of building rapport in individual indepth interviews, I felt compelled to do so in this focus group discussion. The expected group interaction was meant to bring up common themes within children's shared experience and my self disclosure was intent on making them feel at ease. As I disclosed my personal biographical emotional experiences of orphanhood and vulnerability to the children, their perception of me as the researcher changed. In this they saw me as "older sister" who could perhaps encourage them as evidenced by questions on how I had "overcome" my struggles. Thus to the children, I sat among them as one who had "overcome" the struggles they were having to contend with. Without wanting to burden them with the doctrine of how one can never entirely "overcome" but rather, learn to live in hope, I simply offered words of encouragement. Prior to the discussion, I had given thought to the idea of self disclosure as I felt that given the sensitive nature of the subject, my neutrality would have been bad practice (Oakley 1981, Douglas 1985). I felt this way given the potential posed by neutrality to create a sense of "hierarchical , asymmetrical" (Rapley 2004: 19) relationship with children. As the interaction proceeded, the children and I shared and this became more of a "mutual disclosure". In this I remained guided by ethical concern to prevent harm. For instance, I did not venture to ask the children how they felt about their position of vulnerability as I was already partly informed by my own expeirences as well as literature. Commenting on self disclosure, Reinharz and Chase (2002: 288) remark that one must not adopt an "abstract commitment" to self disclosure but rather think about "whether, when and how much self disclosure makes sense". In this case, self disclosure made sense at a particular given time, context and interaction. In the light of everything else the children had been through and were going through, I could only offer them my

experiences in part as a way of letting them know that in their experiences, they were not alone as I, the researcher whom they had looked at and asked expectantly and innocently, “What is England like?” had had similar experiences. Summing up my position on this, I quote Fontana and Frey (1994: 373- 4) who note: “as we treat the other as human being, we can no longer remain objective, faceless interviewers, but become human beings and must disclose ourselves, learning about ourselves as we try to learn about the other”.

2.7 Translation and Transcribing

While in-depth interviews with staff and three key informants were held in English, the rest, including focus group discussions, were held in Shona. Translating data from Shona to English was hard work given that I wanted to keep participants’ words and voices, which is not always easy. However, I found my experience as a translator on other research projects extremely valuable in the sense that I was already familiar with translating. However, having also worked as a transcriber on those research projects did not mitigate the exhaustion I felt when confronted with cassette stacks and audio files¹. Transcribing focus group discussions was particularly challenging when people spoke over each other. I however found transcribing audio files transferred to the computer from the digital recorder, less challenging than clicking various buttons on the recorder when playing the cassettes. Furthermore, digital recording provided better sound quality than tape recorder. While I found transcribing extremely tedious and torturous as rightly acknowledged by Dahlgren (1988), it made me thoroughly familiar with the data.

2.8 Data analysis using “Framework”

This study utilised Framework as a method of data analysis which Ritchie et al (2004: 220) define as,

... a matrix based analytic method which facilitates rigorous and transparent data management such that all stages involved in the analytical hierarchy can be systematically

¹ Initially I used cassettes to record interviews (all interviews in Zimbabwe were recorded this way) and with time I “discovered” the digital recorder. This was an excellent gadget as it allowed me to download recorded interviews on the PC directly from the recorder. This way I was able to play and listen to them without worrying about battery power as in the case of the cassettes, which had to be listened from the recorder. Furthermore, the digital recorder made it easy in terms of data storage, i.e. I just had to use a PC password for safety and access in comparison to cassettes, which I had to keep under lock and key.

conducted....the name “Framework” comes from “thematic framework”, which is the central component of the method...

As Ritchie et al (2004) further note, researchers use thematic framework to classify and organise data by key themes, concepts and emerging categories. While I received training on computer assisted qualitative data analysis (CAQDAS), i.e. NVivo during my MRES course, I chose not use it as I felt that it would have alienated me from the data as argued by early critics (Lonkila 1995, Coffey et al 1996) of CAQDAS. Furthermore, I felt that using CAQDAS with my focus groups’ data would not have been suitable given the potential to lose the communication process through coding and retrieve functions (Catterall and Maclaran 1997). Given that communication processes remain central to the use of focus groups, I did not want to lose this aspect of the method.

Even though using Framework entailed a great deal of work because of the number of interview scripts I had, it is note- worthy that the fact that interviews were divided into thematic categories associated with the case study made using Framework less strenuous. This being the case, categories partly informed grouping of thematic categories during data analysis using framework. Thus a certain theme and its associated sub themes were largely informed by a certain group of participants, for instance partnership working between MS- Batsiranai was largely informed by staff from both organisations. In constructing the thematic framework, I found my familiarity with the data set as through translating and transcribing helpful.

While Ritchie et al (2004) suggest devising an index after developing the overall Framework, I devised this prior to data collection using the interview schedules. This helped me to tie in research questions directly to the data generated (Miles and Huberman 1984) . However, emerging data informed the index about sub themes and as well “new” main themes I had not anticipated for. Following Miles and Huberman’s advice, I used labels that were semantically close to the terms they were representing as this enabled me to easily relate to indexed data. The index was manually applied, by way of putting references in the margins of the scripts and this was done across the while data set to enable cross analysis. Having indexed the data, data were sorted by themes by creating thematic charts. While large sections of verbatim descriptions from participants were not fitted into the thematic framework

due to space limitations, page numbers were noted for each piece of data summary which allowed me to move between the framework and scripts (Ritchie et al 2004) during analysis and interpretation.

2.9 Ethical Considerations

This study received ethical approval according to the University Research Ethics regulations, which prevailed at the time of embarking on the research. At that time, ethical oversight was an element of the process of consideration of the research proposal for registration. Because of the sensitivity of the proposed research and in light of the process for developing oversight of ethical issues in research carried out by the Research Ethics Working Party in the then Department of Applied Social Sciences, thorough consideration was given to ethical considerations with the supervisory team. The process adopted the framework proposed by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) Research Ethics Framework (2005: 3) which works to the following principles:

- Research should be designed, reviewed and undertaken to ensure integrity, quality and transparency.
- Research staff and participants must normally be informed fully about the purpose, methods and intended possible uses of the research, what their participation in the research entails and what risks, if any, are involved.
- The confidentiality of information supplied by research participants and the anonymity of respondents must be respected.
- Research participants must take part voluntarily, free from any coercion.
- Harm to research participants must be avoided in all instances.
- The independence of research must be clear, and any conflicts of interest or partiality must be explicit.

Documentation simulated that recommended by the ESRC and included:

1. Information sheets for participants describing the research, why it was being carried out and making clear that confidentiality would be maintained throughout.
2. Topic guide was circulated in advance
3. Consent form explaining that participation would be voluntary and that should someone agree to take part initially, s/he could withdraw at any subsequent point in the research

4. Information was supplied about sources of support for respondents in case of distress.
5. Respondents were informed that time was available to discuss negative feelings arising from the process with the interviewer.

Careful ethical consideration was crucial to the planning, carrying out, writing up and dissemination of the research. The key issues involve the human rights of research populations generally in this field, and then considerations involved in this specific study, namely its sensitivity and the potential vulnerability of the participants especially young people. Each of these is addressed in turn.

2.9.1 Consent, issues of Trust and Rapport

In line with the above ethical guidelines, research participants were made anonymous. They were alphabet letter coded and interview quotes used in this study bear this identifier. Research participants were fully briefed about this study and consent forms signed before the interviews commenced. Confidentiality issues were also discussed. See documents attached in Appendix 2. However, it is noteworthy that in the absence of the children's parents, volunteers acted as gatekeepers thereby granting access as well as "calling upon" them to participate. However, I remained mindful of the unbalanced power relations at play, i.e. between the volunteers and the children which may have propelled some children to take part in the study. This being case, I emphasised to the children that it was up to them to decide to participate and not their care givers, the volunteers. The children voluntarily agreed to take part. The study's aims and objectives were explained to all respondents and no one declined to take part. I am mindful of the paradoxes about what counts as voluntary in a culture where individual choice is more closely embedded in solidarity than is imagined by those who compose guidelines for ethically sound enquiry is itself worthy of problematisation.

2.9.2 Human Rights of the Research Participants

It is crucial that research participants are treated as agents who deserve respect and not objects for production of knowledge for the purposes of the researcher. As such, they should be treated as rights bearers in the research process. It is clear that much health-related and other research is carried out in developing countries by researchers

from the global north, which raises questions about power relations between researchers and research participants (Nuffield Foundation 2002). In some cases, it may be that neither they, nor the communities with which they are connected, are the intended recipients of the benefits, which may accrue from research findings. This can be the case where drug trials are carried out on a population, when it is known in advance that that population will not be able to afford the product if successful. As the researcher, I was concerned to ensure that research for this study emerged from the actual needs of the research population and that this population would benefit from the findings. Having worked as an interviewer on a British-funded research project around this region, years earlier, in respect of sexual health which included HIV/AIDS, I was seriously concerned about the failure of that research to plan for and address the emotional distress that the interviews occasioned in some cases. For instance, the time allocations for interviews assumed that at the end of the interview, the interviewer would depart regardless of the condition of the interviewee. In numerous cases, I felt constrained to change the timetable and volunteer considerable time to address the emotional side effects experienced by respondents. As a Zimbabwean national and having cared for relations living with HIV, I was committed to co-producing knowledge with those affected by HIV/AIDS. In addition as a Diaspora member, I am active with others in producing knowledge, which can be used for planning in Zimbabwe. Hence, planning for this research was designed to take needs and interests of respondents into account.

2.9.3 Vulnerable Participants

Related to the issues regarding sensitivity, is the phenomenon of the threat of harm to participants. Worry could be allayed, regarding breaching confidentiality, but the actual process could itself be disturbing to participants. The harm might be derived from the re-experience of stigma, which although lessening in Zimbabwe, continues to be strong. There is a special concern in carrying out focus groups with young people (teenagers) as they might be more vulnerable than adults. While I found sharing my personal experiences somewhat cathartic, being in the presence of children who were encountering the kind of experience I had been through was upsetting for me. To some extent, I wondered how far they had travelled in their journey of mourning and acceptance. This is something I could not discuss with them

as I did not want to cause distress. I took to scribbling my thoughts as a way of off loading the “burden”.

2.10 Methodological Challenges

This study had no external funding. It was carried out on a shoestring budget and its conduct depended on enormous cooperation from people on the ground. I successfully negotiated access to staff, volunteers, traditional leadership and children. I credit this to my past association with the CBO at its infancy, and the perceived importance to adult participants of the proposed study following my explanation of what I hoped to explore. The wards in the study area are widely spaced (between 15 – 20 kilometres apart) and engaging with volunteers and children was always going to be a challenge in terms of transport. However, CBO staff were extremely helpful in terms of facilitating my access during community workshops they were facilitating. This meant that I accompanied CBO staff on their field trips and fitted my interviews around these trips. This however affected my schedule due to time constraints. Due to the lack of personal transport, this seemed a feasible plan.

2.11 Summary

This chapter has discussed the research methodology and methods utilised in this study. In this, the literature search strategy and research philosophical approaches were discussed. Social constructivism was presented as the philosophical approach adopted for this study alongside qualitative research strategies, and limitations thereof. Lastly, methodological challenges were also highlighted. The next chapter discusses orphanhood, vulnerability and changing families.

Chapter 3

Orphan hood, Vulnerability, and Changing families

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the changes that have taken place amongst traditional kin since the succumbing of millions to the AIDS pandemic as it is imperative that the impact of this crisis on households and families be viewed in the light of these changes. This is followed by a discussion on the impacts of orphan hood and vulnerability on affected children. This is an attempt to shed light on the situations faced by children in the context of changing families and cultural dynamics. Accounts discussed in this chapter are not generalised across Sub Saharan Africa because the literature reviewed is based on qualitative research.

3.2 Traditional Orphan Care: Kinship and the Extended Family

Most traditional African families are built around patrilineal kinship systems (Foster 2000). Among the Shona and Ndebele, the two main tribes in Zimbabwe , the kinship system is highly patrilineal whereby descent can be traced through the male line (Bourdillon 1991) and this similarly applies to the Luo of Kenya (Nyambedha 2003) and the Sukuma of Tanzania (Urassa et al 1997). In this, members of the same patrilineage group together and often live in extended families in homesteads where up to three generations cohabit, the elder couple, their sons and wives and children (Bourdillon 1991). Traditional life as Foster (2000) notes is characterised by brotherhood, a sense of belonging to the extended family which gives security and support. In these traditional societies, marriage is more than the union of two, but rather the union of two families. Thus, when a couple marries, bride price is paid by the man's family to the woman's family and as a result, the woman joins the man in the patrilineal homestead (Drew et al 1996). The payment of the bride price leads to future children produced in this union not only being of the father but of his family. Against this backdrop, the concept of 'social' orphan did not exist in Zimbabwean societies as orphaned children were cared for by members of their extended family (Foster 2000). If however the man died before making a full payment of the bride price his lineage would have no claim on the children and hence no responsibility to care for paternal orphans which impacts negatively on affected children, and this is

also the case in Tanzania (Urassa et al 1997) and Kenya (Nyambedha et al, 2003). The extended family system was therefore a social security system and its members were responsible for the protection of the vulnerable and the transmission of social values and education. In recent times however, Foster (2000) cites changes in labour migration, the cash economy, demography, formal education and westernisation which have weakened extended families. Some traditional roles of the extended family have been modified whilst some have almost disappeared. In many traditional Sub Saharan communities, widows were formally inherited through re-marriage to the brother of the deceased who took to supporting the children, but as confirmed by Drew et al (1996) and Nyambedha et al (2003) in Kenya and Zimbabwe, widow inheritance is on the decline.

While it can be suggested that widow inheritance is on the decline for fear of HIV infections, it can also be posited that sub Saharan African societies are undergoing various societal changes as influenced by globalisation and the transmission of how other societies live. Furthermore, as more women get educated, they are in a position to be financially independent and look after their children in the event of a husband dying. Men are also making equally informed choices about the kind of family they wish to have, thus stepping out of the traditional mould. While bride price is still in practice, marriage has changed to a contract between two people thus leading to a weaker relationship between and within extended families. Due to large economic hardships, families have taken to impose bride prices with a high monetary value. This often unachievable expense leads to difficulties with many unions being formed without payment of bride price. Such unions often go unrecognised by relatives from either family (Foster 2000). They are by nature unstable and children produced thereof may be deemed to belong to neither of the extended families, which impacts negatively on their welfare in the event of parental death. Changes in traditional orphan-care are potentially linked to the above issues and others such as social and economic hardships. However, due to the need to develop a holistic view of how such changes have come about in the family, the ensuing section discusses the pressures faced by the extended family.

3.2.1 The Extended Family under Pressure

According to Roscoe (1995) in an account of traditional life among the Bangada of Uganda, no one ever went hungry and there were no orphans because a father's brothers were father to a child. Presently, extended family members are failing to care for OCV in most Sub Saharan communities for various reasons ranging from lack of means to lack of willingness (Foster et al 1997b, Lindblade et al 2003, UNICEF 2006). Against a backdrop of high rates of HIV infections and AIDs- related deaths resulting in high incidence of orphanhood, Foster (2000) draws attention to the fact that the extended family is not a social sponge with an infinite capacity to soak up orphans. In the same fashion, Barnett and Blaike (1992) and Seeley et al (1993), aptly call for caution pertaining to the role of the extended family as an ever ready safety net with relatives able to assist members in need. This is indeed an important argument given that orphanhood before the HIV era was not a commonplace phenomenon and this made it easier for the extend family to cope. HIV/ AIDS, however, introduced another dimension to the orphanhood equation, i.e. almost every family in sub Saharan Africa is affected which makes the burden heavier for surviving family members. UNICEF (2003) and UNICEF (2006) note that in nearly every Sub Saharan country extended families have assumed responsibility for more than 90% of the orphaned children under severe pressure, which has rendered them unable to provide adequate care for many of the children. Before the pandemic, the extended family was already experiencing numerous of changes (Foster 2000) as indicated above. The impact of the current OCV crisis on the extended family remains multifaceted and extremely complex and in order to understand this impact, it is imperative to explore changes taking place in child support practices. These changes can be noticed in the prevalence of child (Francis-Chizororo 2008), woman and grandparent-headed households which Foster (2000) identifies as a shift from the traditional pattern of orphan care and in the meeting of basic needs against a backdrop of increasing poverty.

3.2.2 HIV/ AIDS impacts on Families long before Death

Household resources are known to plummet when adults fall ill from HIV/AIDS and can no longer work full time or at all (UNICEF 2003, Nyambedha et al 2003). Furthermore, most people living with the disease without access to medical treatment experience more than numerous episodes of grave illness before dying. SADC (2003)

highlights how such episodes are costly with findings from Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe where households with critically ill members had a drastic reduction in crop production. Booyesen and Bachman's (2002) research findings in South Africa where the average monthly per capita income in households with at least one adult ill due to HIV was less than half the income of non-affected households further confirm this phenomenon. There is also overwhelming evidence that the cost of seeking medical treatment places a very high financial burden on families which is often followed by high funeral costs. Research findings from South Africa by Steinberg et al (2002) indicate that hundreds of households with an HIV/AIDS related death had spent an average of a third of their annual income on funerals in the previous year. Findings from Zimbabwe, Kenya and Uganda also report relatively high medical treatment and funeral expenditures (Nyambedha et al 2003; Drew et al 1997, Foster 2005a).

3.2.3 Changes in Orphan Support Practices

Where one parent has died, children mostly remain under the care of the surviving parent as is the case in Western Kenya where 48.1% of orphans in a survey stayed with a biological surviving parent (Nyambedha et al 2003). Some children may however not be cared for by a surviving parent which is not a new phenomenon. According to Akresh (2003) and Urassa (1997), it is fairly common for parents in most Sub Saharan communities to send their children to be raised elsewhere by an aunt, uncle or by a non relative especially when unable to care for the children, as a coping mechanism. The foster family also gains an extra pair of hands with domestic chores in such arrangements. However, mothers are most likely to continue to provide care for children after the death of the father and the reverse is less likely. The case of Malawi where only 27% of maternal orphans live with their fathers compared with 72% of paternal orphans living with their mothers (Monasch and Boerma 2003) illustrates this phenomenon. Even though research findings show variations in different countries, the rate of orphans living with a surviving biological parent is highly skewed towards the mothers. As UNICEF (2003) acknowledge, not only are women likely to look after their own children, they are prepared to take care of other orphans, as confirmed by findings by Monasch and Boerma (2003) in an analysis of surveys from 40 countries. As a result of this, women-headed households have the highest dependency ratio which has several implications for the well being of

children. The research analysis by Monasch and Boerma (2003) in over 40 countries is particularly important, due to its scale, hence it can inform policy at a wider scale.

Several qualitative and quantitative research findings indicate that in most cases, the responsibility falls upon grandparents especially when no one else in the family is available or willing and these are mostly women (Foster et al 1996, UNAIDS 2008 UNICEF 2003, Foster et al 1995, Foster et al 1997b, Ntozi 1997, Urassa et al 1997). As widely acknowledged, grand parents have always played an important part in looking after their grandchildren. In Zimbabwe, for instance, grandmothers play an important role in child rearing even when the mother is alive, which allows her to work and support the family (Foster et al 1996) but in the present circumstances, grandparents are put under additional pressure because the circumstances under which they now take in children have changed drastically. As Foster (2000) notes, grandparents are likely to care for children in countries where the AIDS epidemic is more severe and or the extended family system has been severely weakened i.e. Zimbabwe, Kenya, Uganda, and South Africa (Hunter and Williamson 1998, Ntozi 1997, Foster et al 1995,). Research by UNICEF (2007b) indicates that between 40%-60% of orphaned children are under the care of grandmothers in Namibia, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe. The case of Cameroon is particularly unique with 57% of double orphans being looked after by relatives other than grandparents (UNICEF 2003) against a backdrop of further data from 24 countries across sub-Saharan Africa where there is a strong association between AIDS related mortality and the probability of an elderly person looking after double orphans (Zimmer and Dayton 2005).

Foster et al (1996) note that children under the care of grandparents are disadvantaged in a number of ways ranging from poor feeding practices and their reduced ability to earn an income as further explored in the ensuing section. The impact of the OVC crisis on grandparent-headed homes does not only start with grandparents taking care of their grandchildren but are initially stripped of their economic support mechanism, i.e. their sons and daughters (Foster et al 1995). In sub Saharan Africa, Zimbabwe included, it is the norm for adult offspring to support their ageing parents as long as they are alive. Thus, as grandparents take on the role of caregivers to their grandchildren, the pressure on them can be psychologically and financially

overwhelming in the absence of any other forms of support. Even though grandparents are worst affected due to risk of age-related disability and reduced ability to earn, lack of psychosocial support affects all care givers. Ayeiko (1997) notes that in rural Kenya due to lack of counselling services, a number of guardians experience care-giver fatigue as a consequence of being stressed by children from other families they had taken in due to strained relations and high demands on their time. Sengendo and Nambi (1997) highlight similar research findings in Rakai district, Uganda, where adopting caregivers often had children of their own and consequently felt overstretched. Given the various societal changes already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, some care givers may not necessarily welcome such obligations. This is because societal changes influence the way individuals make sense of such obligations. While the research studies by Ayeiko (1997) and Sengendo and Nambi, (1997) were conducted within a qualitative framework within specific communities, it is possible that other families in different contexts face similar challenges. No large scale research findings on this topic were identified which highlights the need for further research. In addition to the above, the taboo surrounding death within most cultures in Sub Saharan Africa is claimed to exacerbate the problems associated with looking after orphans (Marcus 2000, Drew et al, 1997; Ayeiko 1997). Thus, because of cultural taboos, parents are highly unlikely to discuss issues pertaining to orphan care arrangements before they die, and this lack of succession planning has become increasingly burdensome on the community. It would appear that even though the extended family is undergoing numerous changes, there is lack of corresponding attitude change in relation to the taboos surrounding death. Parents assume that members of the extended family will take care of their children in spite of all the ongoing changes in the family set-up. Such a presupposition has, however, apparently brought about resentment and difficulties for many care givers as they may not necessarily be willing to take care of the orphans (Ayeiko 1997, Foster et al 1996).

Another new phenomenon is the occurrence of child-headed households in communities with severe AIDS prevalence and weakened safety nets though in limited numbers. Research findings (Foster et al 1995) from Manicaland, Zimbabwe suggest that prior to the early 1990s child headed households were unheard of and Naerland (1993) suggests that the first child headed household was identified in

Uganda in 1991 in a six village project site. However, more recent data from 9 countries, i.e. Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Nigeria and Uganda indicate that there are less than 1% child headed households (UNICEF 2006). The case of Zimbabwe, a country with high levels of HIV/AIDS prevalence similarly indicates only 4 child headed households per 1000 (Foster et al 2000). As UNICEF (2006) note, low rates of child headed households bear testimony to the response of extended family members, ensuring that a small percentage of children are living alone. However, there are many underlying reasons why such households now exist, e.g. the lack of dowry payment or complete payment of it, refusal of relatives to take in children, orphaned children's preference to live alone (see Francis – Chizororo 2008). However it is also the case that families known for not taking in children visit them regularly (Foster et al 1997b, Ayieko 1997, Francis – Chizororo 2008) which appears to be a new coping mechanism. Changes in the ratio of paternal vs. maternal care also suggests possible change in the care patterns. Findings from Zimbabwe (Drew et al 1997, Foster et al 1996) indicate that an increasing proportion of caregivers belong to the maternal side, which is a shift from the traditional orphan care practice. This resonates with findings from Tanzania (Urassa et al 1997).

Given the fact that the extended family is experiencing an enormous burden with dramatically rising responsibility, which it hasn't experienced previously, its reaction ought to be viewed as a reaction to a new landscape of responsibility. This being the case, it can be suggested that the wisdom and capacity of the past in dealing with orphans in the traditional sense has become limited in the sense of scale, thereby stretching the family in the not so familiar territory of not caring for children. However, while it is notable that HIV/AIDs has tampered with the social fabric of the extended family unit, it must be borne in mind that as societies naturally change, this might well occur in the absence of dramatic and tragic interventions. In the light of this, it becomes difficult to draw any comparisons on how the family coped in the past as there is no known example of a burden so enormous placed on the extended family in recorded history. It is therefore unknown whether the extended family is *actually* less able to cope than it was in the past. What is the case is that it is less easy for anyone to attribute features to the extended family which involve long-term

altruistic caring for children in the absence of reciprocal economic support by adults whose children are being cared for

3.2.4 Meeting Basic Needs

According to Wakhweya et al (2002) households with orphans are likely to become poorer primarily because of the dependency ratio, meaning that in these households the income of fewer earning adults is sustaining more dependents (UNICEF 2003, UNICEF 2006). Thus as Bicego et al (2003) suggest, wealth and disposable income and other household assets are closely linked to welfare inputs and should be expected to be compromised in households losing men and women at the ages of prime economic activity. A situation analysis of orphans in Uganda (Wakhweya et al 2002) shows that orphan households have more dependents on lower income as illustrated in the table below.

Table 12: Dependency Ratios in Uganda

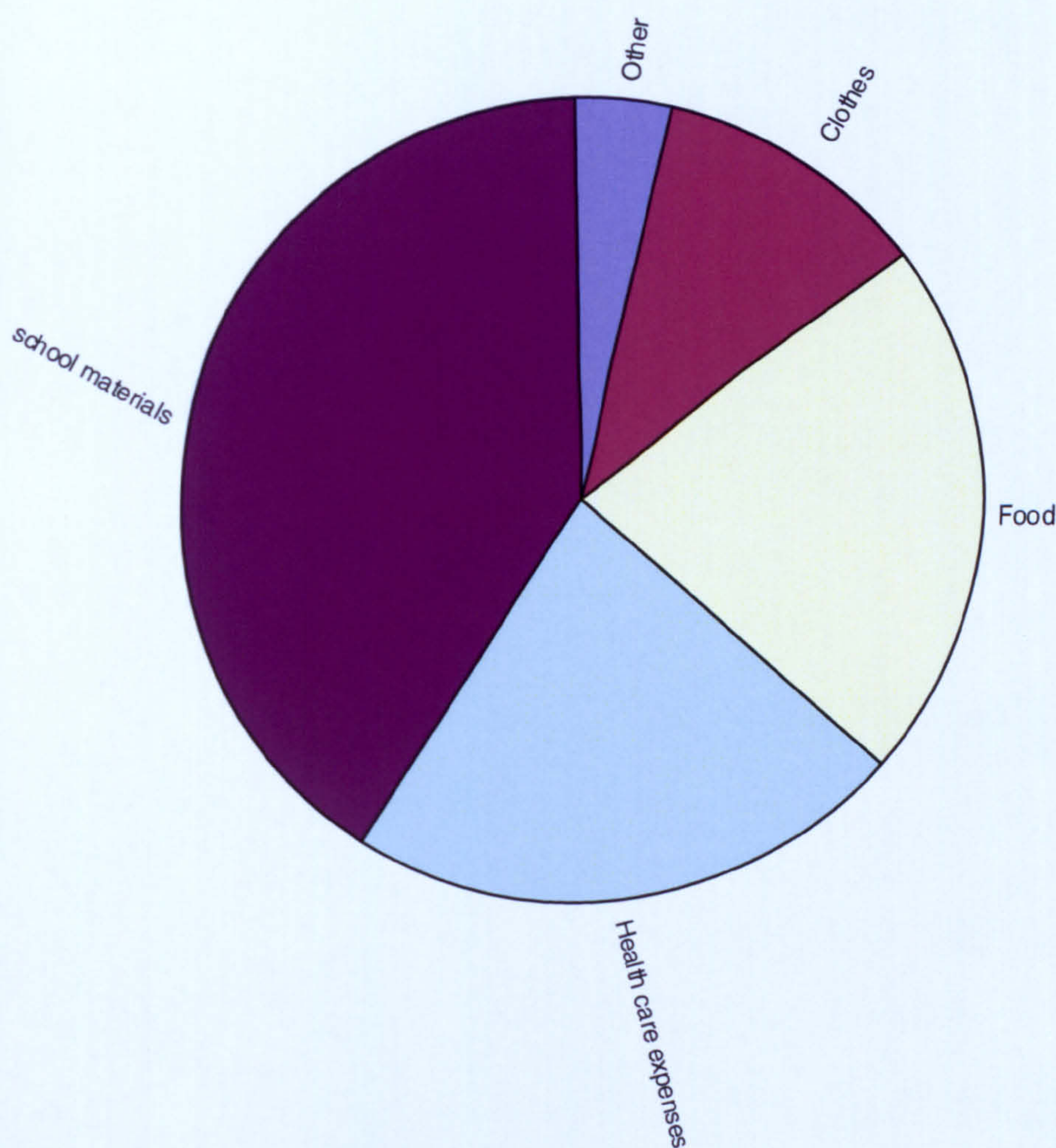
	Orphan Households	Non-Orphan Households
Household size	6.8	4.9
Number of children (17 years and below)	4.3	2.7
Dependency ratio	2	1.4
Income per capita (Ugandan shillings)	352,741	459,315

Source: Wakhweya et al (2002)

Similarly findings by Bicego et al (2003) on the dimensions of the emerging orphan crisis in sub Saharan Africa in Zimbabwe, Kenya, Tanzania, Niger and Ghana suggest that in early surveys less AIDS- affected countries of Ghana and Niger showed levels of poverty among orphans that were roughly the same as non orphans. The pattern however drastically changed in the late 1990’s, with poverty being highly skewed towards orphan households compared with non orphan households. The case of Zimbabwe varied considerably reflecting an increase in the poverty of orphans from much earlier to the late 1990s due to the severe impact of the AIDS epidemic. As UNICEF (2003) notes, many households with orphans reduce the area of land they cultivate and grow crops that are less labour intensive but also less nutritious.

Research findings from Uganda (Topouzis 1994) indicate that widows were working between 2 and 4 more hours daily to make up for lost labour and income resulting from the husband's death. Older children in this case also worked equally harder to support their mothers. Similar findings were also reported in Zimbabwe where rural households with orphans earned an average 31% less than households without orphans (SADC 2003). Findings from the Mwanza district Tanzania and Zambia also portray the same picture, with women headed households being the worst affected (Whitehouse 2002 and USAID 2002). The findings from Tanzania indicate that over 2/3 of women headed households were living on less than US\$1 a day (Whitehouse 2002) while the average income of women headed households with orphans in Zambia was around half that of male headed households also with orphans (USAID 2002). Thus meeting basic needs in these households becomes more difficult with needs such as food, clothes and medical care can being scarce. Education for school going children also becomes a luxury as households struggle to meet immediate needs such as food as confirmed by Whiteside (2002) in Figure 8 below in a survey of 400 orphan households in Tanzania.

Most immediate needs that families cannot meet :Tanzania Mwanza Region



Source: Whiteside (2002)

Similar findings were reported within a qualitative and quantitative mix in Kenya, Zimbabwe, Malawi, South Africa, Uganda and Burkina Faso (Nyambedha et al 2003, Ayeiko 1997, Foster et al 1997a, UNDP 2007, Foster et al 2000, Panpanich et al 1999, , Ntozi 1997). Having discussed the impact of the OVC crisis on households and extended families the following section focuses on the impacts of orphan hood and vulnerability on the children.

3.3 Impacts of Orphan-hood and Vulnerability on Affected Children

3.3.1 Psycho-Social Impacts

3.3.1.1 Illness, Death and Bereavement

As Bicego et al (2003) note, the onset of parental illness marks the beginning of deterioration of the family unit, which has consequences for the emotional, psychological, and material life of a child. As illness progresses parents are less able to care for children and the situation gets particularly desperate with the death of both parents. Most children are reported to show psychological reactions to parental illness and death such as depression, guilt, fear and anger (Foster et al 2002, Sengendo & Nambi 1997, Foster et al 1997a). The meaning of such reactions is not obvious and adults in charge may not always understand or recognise them which may consequently lead to children being punished for showing negative emotions (Sengendo and Nambi 1997). Children suffer stress from seeing their parents ill, not knowing what will happen in future and the eventuality of death may be difficult to understand. This in turn may prevent them from going through the grieving process which is necessary to recover from the loss (Brodzinsky et al 1986). For instance a study in Congo of 354 orphans found that 71% of them were suffering some kind of psychological problem, 39% of these were affected by post traumatic stress, another 27% were suffering from problems related to adaptation which could manifest in running away from school, new home and the last 34% had affective problems such as depression anxiety, irritability or feelings of rivalry (Makaya et al 2002). These research findings are consistent with those from Tanzania where orphans were reported to internalise most symptoms of depression (Makame & Grantham - McGregor 2002). Brodzinsky et al (1996) argue that unlike adults who may possess intellectual resources, life experience and emotional support which enable them to have control over their anger and depressive episodes, children simply do not. As Skinner-Cook et al (2003) confirm, early childhood is a time for developing a sense of competence and trust in others and failure to understand or comprehend the finality of death which Webb (1993) terms “disabling grief” may interfere with children’s social, emotional or physical development. In most cases, orphans lack the support and encouragement they need to express emotions associated with death as well as guidance required to express them (Sengendo & Nambi, 1997). Some children may

feel guilty for parental death, especially if they feel they didn't "sufficiently" care for them when ill (UNAIDS 2001). Beyond children's suffering, the issue of psychosocial support poses questions regarding donor commitment to funding the "invisible" against a backdrop of donor obsession with tangibles and figures.

During adolescence, several key development experiences take place including sexual and physical maturity, progress toward social and economic independence and further development of individual identity (Dube 1997).. This being the case orphans may particularly find the developmental tasks associated with adolescence challenging (UNAIDS et al 2004) especially if no adults are available to support with making future plans. Research indicates that children are not always talked with and listened to (Foster 2002b, UNICEF 2001, Drew 1997) thereby leading to a lack of understanding of their emotions. In some instances, relatives do not inform children of parental death as confirmed by research findings from Zimbabwe (Foster et al 1995). In 7 out of 83 of the families, orphans were not told of their parents' death, with adults preferring to tell children that the parent had gone away for a few days to return later on, even with the knowledge of potentially causing untold distress to children when confronted with the truth. These research findings concur with findings in a South African study exploring death in the context of AIDS (Marcus 2000). Furthermore, the brunt of the AIDS pandemic in Sub Saharan Africa also implies that children may suffer from bereavement overload whereby individuals are faced with many substantial losses in a short period of time (Skinner Cook et al 2003). Due to the lack of time required to cope, this can result in increased emotional vulnerability whereby children may feel confused, numb and shocked as they try to come to grips with the magnitude of loss (Skinner-Cook et al 2003)

Sengendo and Nambi (1997) note a mother's death has particularly important psychological implications for children. Their research findings indicate that children whose mothers had died and were living with their widowed fathers were found to be significantly more depressed than those living with widowed mothers which were attributed to the poor capacity of fathers to offer love and care to the children compared mothers. This difficulty is more pronounced by a father's inability to participate actively in domestic affairs before or after the death of the wife, thereby possibly leading to disorganisation of the entire family and higher depression levels of

the affected orphans (Sengendo and Nambi 1997). This seems to suggest orphan status i.e. maternal, paternal impacts on children differently according to the roles played before parental death with mother being the source of psycho- social support and father, the source of income as the breadwinner.

3.3.1.2 Abuse, Stigma and Discrimination

According to UNICEF (2003) children whose parents die of HIV/AIDS or are ill from the disease face a lot of stigma and discrimination. In a research study of orphan prevalence in Zimbabwe, Foster et al (1995) found that most children in the community were likely to be known in the community as the children whose parents had died. In another research study of OVC, children narrated incidents of embarrassment and fear at being stigmatised as AIDS orphans and one pupil discussed how he no longer attended classes because he feared being bewitched and dying like his educated parents (Ayeiko 1997). Linked to the issue of children experiencing stigma, is a reluctance to publicly acknowledge that an individual has died of AIDS as Foster et al (1997a) found in Zimbabwe. Similar findings were noted in Uganda (Naerland 1993). However, stigmatisation in the study by Foster et al (1997a: 397) was based on orphan status or poverty rather than the possible death of a parent from AIDS as reflected in the following quotes:

A certain girl assaulted me saying she did not want to play with those who don't have fathers."
(Girl, 13, who then started crying)

"We are segregated because we don't have shoes" (Girl, 12)

Even though this type of stigmatisation is not based on AIDS, the opposite is true in Lesotho and South Africa where the increasingly assumed relationship between orphan hood and AIDS exacerbates the impacts of orphan hood and vulnerability as the epidemic still carries a lot of stigma there (Ansell and Young 2004, Save the Children 2001).

When households adopt children through a sense of obligation which Urassa et al (1997) note to be usually the case with AIDS orphans, they are often treated differently from the biological children especially if the resources are scarce (Ansell

and Young 2004, Foster et al 1995, Nyambedha et al 2003). In both Lesotho and Malawi children who had moved into new households reported being given different food, inadequate clothing, beaten and overworked (Ansell and Young 2004). Similar findings are reported Zimbabwe (Foster et al 1997a) where orphans reported a lack of love and a feeling of being excluded as well as profound discrimination. In Zimbabwe, several orphans complained that they were treated differently from others, their domestic work load was excessive compared to non-orphans and they felt they were treated unfairly without being allowed to complain. In most cases the death of a mother tends to have more negative psychological consequences for the child as the father remarries and research findings by Nyambedha et al (2003), Foster et al (1997a) and Ansell and Young (2004) confirm this. Research findings from Kenya (Nyambedha et al, 2003) significantly point out that fathers often married women, who, in many cases worsened the situation of orphans by favouring their own biological children. The quotes below further reflect on step-parent discriminatory attitude which extends to eating arrangements, washing of clothes and physical violence:

I eat with our children while our mother's children [referring to children of the step mother who married their father after the death of their mother] eat together ... Our clothes are sometimes not washed and we are told to wash them ourselves. Sometimes I wash them. (10 year old girl cited in Nyambedha et al 2003:397)

I didn't like going there as I couldn't go to school, because I left at 3am to go to the fields and I got back at 11am so school was already gone... I loved my stepmother but she couldn't love me back and would beat me often and insult me for no reason... (Young boy called Edison cited in Ansell and Young, 2004: 8)

Faced with high levels of abuse and discrimination at the hands of the adults who are supposed to care for them, some children leave home and end up on the streets. Studies on street children show that a substantial number of street children in Zimbabwe and Ghana are orphans or vulnerable children who could not cope with life at home (Dube 1997, Anarfi 1997, UNICEF 2001). Anarfi (1997) contends that a combination of poverty and orphan hood sends children onto the streets and once there, a vicious circle of vulnerability begins. Here children are involved in crime, child prostitution (Dube 1997, Anarfi 1997) thereby increasing the risk of being infected with HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases (UNICEF 2001).

3.3.1.3 Migration and Social Change

Ansell and Young (2003) and Urassa et al (1997) note that orphans and other vulnerable children are more mobile than other children due to parental death and/ or illness. Furthermore, such children, may have to deal with being separated from siblings. This is particularly the case in Zimbabwe, where this is done by care givers as a coping mechanism arbitrarily when orphaned children are divided among relatives without due consideration for their psycho-social needs (Foster et al 1995). Separation of siblings can be a source of trauma for all children. In a group of older orphans in Uganda, who were separated from their siblings 44% reported feeling sad about it and 17% reported feeling isolated as a result (Gilborn et al 2001). This dispersal has implications for children who have to adapt to a completely new environment. As Ansell and Young (2004) note, in the short term moving into a new household can be traumatic because of difficulties associated with moving into a new family and community. In their research, Ansell and Young (2004) indicate that guardians in Lesotho and Malawi noted that newcomers in households were often withdrawn and found it difficult to engage with other children. Similar findings are reported in Kenya whereby caregivers note that some orphans in new households were moody, withdrawn, and prone to over-reacting (Ayeiko 1997). As Minde (1988) notes, it isn't necessarily the social change which may cause psychological problems, but rather the failure of the individual children to adapt to social change.

Children born and brought up in urban environments are likely to face additional problems when joining their kin in the rural areas. Research findings from Kenya (Nyambedha et al 2003) confirm that children who had moved from urban areas after parental death (s) found it difficult to adjust to rural life as they were used to individualism and smaller family units. These findings resonate with findings from Uganda whereby such children were particularly more depressed and less adjusted to rural conditions (Sengendo and Nambi 1997). It is also the case that the large amount of physical labour associated with rural life potentially makes life more difficult for children who would have otherwise grown up not used to it.

3.4 Economic Impacts

3.4.1 Education

The AIDS related orphan syndrome occurs after a prolonged period of erosion of the family's financial situation and children's educational attainment may begin to deteriorate before the child becomes an orphan (Bicego et al 2003). Children who are not orphans, are adversely affected as resources begin to dwindle as sick parents and guardians seek out medical treatment. Thus children's education is affected in different ways as they drop out from school due to a lack of funds or fall behind in school as they look after sick parents and younger siblings. According to UNICEF (2003) and UNICEF (2006) OVC are less likely to be in school and more likely to fall behind or drop out thereby compromising future prospects. Because most of the children move into households in which resources are already scarce (Nyambedha et al 2003) chances of care givers sending them to school are often limited (Foster et al 1996). Research findings from Kenya indicate that 84% of caregivers identified schooling as one of the main problems faced by orphans and against a backdrop of fathers paying school fees and negotiating credits, children were more likely to drop out of school when fathers died (Nyambedha et al 2003). This significantly points out the role played by fathers in many sub Saharan countries as dictated by social norms that they are expected to take primary responsibility for paying children's school fees (Desai 1992), as compared to mothers who take on nurturing duties (Foster et al 1997a, Hunter and Williamson 1998). Findings by Urassa et al (1997) in rural Tanzania and found that school enrolment among orphans and other fostered children especially girls was much lower compared to other children. In response to the reasons underlying this, some caregivers (56%) indicated that children were too young to be in school even though the children were over eight years where the average age for school enrolment is seven years. These findings are consistent with those of a Kenyan study (Ayeiko 1997) where orphans are less likely to be at their proper educational grade given their ages as illustrated one care giver who acknowledged keeping orphans under his care from school until the age of ten, for lack of financial means. In the study by Foster et al (1997a) a substantial number of orphans highlighted that care givers were unable to afford to pay for their school fees and in some cases relatives literally refused to contribute towards their schooling. Ayeiko (1997) however notes that some care givers simply did not see value of

sending children through secondary school describing it as too expensive a luxury even for their own biological children.

For children who continued with schooling, their academic performance suffered drastically due to heavy domestic responsibility, especially during the agriculture season. In Zimbabwe, profound school absenteeism was linked to cattle dipping, looking after younger children, threat of withdrawal due to lack of school fees, and also hunger (Foster et al 1997a and Bourdillon 2000). For those children who continue schooling it is an experience fraught with poverty as illustrated in the excerpts below:

There is a high rate of absenteeism because of hunger, embarrassment at having tattered clothes or because children are left behind looking after younger children while care takers are doing other chores ... (Caretaker visitor in Foster et al 1997a: 398)

The orphans do not have school fees, clothes, food and shelter. Fortunately, the headmaster does not send them away... (Community worker in Foster et al 1997a: 398)

Pertaining to school enrolments, there is also a disparity between female and male rates (Kalipeni 1997). UNICEF (1999) state that the primary school enrolment ratio between males and females in Botswana, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Malawi, Zambia and Lesotho is highly skewed towards males. Data from Zimbabwe shows a steady decline in girl child school completion (GOZ and UN 2005) which is explained by the fact that the girl child takes on the role of looking after the family and younger siblings once parents die thereby curtailing schooling chances. On another note, research findings show that in some countries i.e. Cameroon, Malawi and Zambia some young girls are known to be dependent on “sugar daddies” to get through with their education (Meekers and Calves 1997, Kalipeni 2000). In Zimbabwe, young girls are known to exchange sex for transport favours to and from school which makes them particularly vulnerable to HIV infection (PRF et al 2003) in the grater scheme of things, lack of access to education by children implies that they will continue to be trapped in a vicious circle of poverty.

3.4.2 Health and Nutrition

Faced with scarce resources, most care givers find it difficult to cater for the health and nutrition needs of children under their care. In most households that are affected by AIDS and lacking support, food consumption may drop by more than 40% thereby putting children at higher risk of malnutrition and stunting (UNICEF 2003). In Sub

Saharan Africa, children whose parents die are heavily burdened, losing not only attention, care and advice that a parent or guardian gives, but also access to other household resources. As a result of this, orphaned children are especially at risk of poor health (Ayeiko 1997). There are few studies on the health status of orphans. Lindblade et al (2003) and Panpanich et al (1999) posit that available studies do not clearly indicate whether orphans cared for within the community constitute a high risk population that should be targeted for public intervention. While a research study by Lindblade et al (2003) in Kenya, found no significant differences in key health indicators between orphans and non-orphans, they note that the impact of orphanhood on the health and nutrition of children is likely to be greatest on young children of less than 6 years old as this age group is highly dependent on adults for food, shelter and care. Foster et al (1998) offer an explanation which further illuminates this:

In child health in developing countries, we rely upon mothers as the main primary health care workers. We spend time educating mothers about good child health practices...elderly and adolescent care givers may be uninformed about good nutritional practices for young children in their care... a large proportion of children indirectly affected by AIDS are at risk of poor health as a result of being cared for by alternative caregivers whose poor education limits access to information about symptoms and treatment of active disease (Foster et al 1998: 20).

This potentially, partly explains the high rate of outpatient visits and admission of young children in the Kenyan and Zimbabwean studies. The possibility of children in this age group being HIV infected is also high (Foster et al 1998, Panpanich et al 1999) and in the absence of appropriate antiretroviral treatment most of these children are likely to die before they reach school going age.

Findings from a study in Malawi (Panpanich et al 1999) also suggest that the more children cared for by a family, the poorer the nutritional status of the children. In most cases, grandparents are responsible for looking after OVC which is particularly the case in Zimbabwe as highlighted in a study of 300 orphans whereby nearly half of the care givers were grandparents whose average age was 62 years old (Foster et al 1995). Old age dramatically worsens children's health and nutrition because of the limitation it places on the ability of their grandparents to work. A number of studies also indicate that children under the care of women-headed household are most likely to suffer due to the loss of the husband's income (Nyambedha 2003, Foster et al 1997a,

Urassa 1997, Bourdillon 2000). In some cases, orphans may lose the land formerly cultivated by their parents to unscrupulous relatives thereby resulting in limited access to food production (Ayeiko 1997). Children may also not have the necessary skills needed to grow crops after the death of parents, which leads to an overall lowering of nutrition levels for children especially in child headed households.

3.4.3 Child Labour

UNICEF believes that child labour is exploitative if it involves the following (Bellamy 1997: 3-4):

- Full time work at too early an age
- Too many hours spent working
- Work that exerts undue physical, social or psychological stress
- Work and life on the streets in bad conditions
- Inadequate pay
- Too much responsibility
- Work that undermines children's dignity and self esteem such as slavery or bonded labour and sexual exploitation
- Work that is detrimental to full social and psychological development

In discussing child labour, as one of the impacts of orphan hood and vulnerability these UNICEF indicators provide a starting point even though most of the wording is vague thereby leaving it open to a wide range of interpretations. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) is also key in examining child labour. Of special interest is one of the key themes i.e. that in all matters concerning the child, the best interests of the child shall be of paramount importance (Articles, 3,9,10,20,21,37 and 40). In working out the best interests of the child, the child's voice must be heard and the child must have a say in the decisions that affect her/him (Article 12). This automatically creates areas of conflict especially when children seek to work for survival or to relieve their situation through labour which might be in conflict with other rights such as education. In this section which aims to discuss child labour as a potential spin off of orphanhood and vulnerability, various forms of intolerable labour are discussed. Even though the conceptual definition of what is intolerable and exploitative within the UNICEF criteria is obscure, it remains useful

in taking this discussion forward. While it potentially overrides the child's perception of best interests, consequently causing conflicts, this is beyond the remit of this study to debate. What is important here is to provide a glimpse of the links between OVC and exploitative child labour, drawing from a small number of qualitative research studies.

According to the ILO (2002), Sub Saharan Africa already has a higher proportion of children working than any other region with 29% of children in the region aged 5 to 14 being economically active. Within the HIV/AIDS context, when parents fall ill, children take in most of the work as the former become less able to care for the latter. Girls take in more household chores (UNICEF 2003) and boys work in the fields and also engage in street vending to supplement the family income (Anarfi 1997 and Urassa et al 1997). Studies show that OVC are likely to engage in various forms of child labour such as commercial agriculture (Bourdillon 2000), domestic services (Dube 1997, Kifle 2002), commercial sex and street vending (Anarfi 1997). Child labour that is exploitative has long lasting impacts on children's education and well being. This is because they miss school to work and their health is affected as they become exposed to hazards depending on the nature of labour.

Kufle's (2002) study of child domestic workers in Addis Ababa show that three quarters of the domestic workers who participated in the study were orphans and 80% of them did not have the right to leave their job. Even though 65% of the children who participated in the study were enrolled either in a literacy class or in formal education, most of them could not study or do their homework at home. They were also often late or absent from school. 35% of the children did not have any schooling opportunities. The children were also overworked, i.e. working over eleven hours a day, seven days a week.

In addition, some children are involved in very heavy physical work such as quarrying. According to UNICEF (2003) children in the occupation collect, haul and load stones for construction. Research findings by Monasch and Boerma (2003) from four mining areas in Tanzania found that children involved in the mines were as young as seven. 7% of the children working part time were orphans and 38% of the children working full time in the mines were orphans. In such working conditions,

children encounter health problems such as blistered and infected fingers, eye strain, and breathing problems from the dust and back - ache. Furthermore, this affects their schooling given that the work is tiring for bodies as young and still developing. However, given that children need to earn a living against a backdrop of orphanhood where they have to assume adult responsibilities, this raises policy questions about how to balance out childhood and the need for survival.

Some children also engage in commercial sex which possibly has the worst physical and psychological impact. A number of studies have shown that most child sex workers are children on the streets (Anarfi 1997, Dube 1997, UNAIDS 2001). As alluded to earlier on in section, the street children phenomenon is underlined by a host of complex intertwined driving forces which are poverty related and not just farmed around HIV/AIDs vulnerability. Research findings from a study of street children in Ghana by Anarfi (1997) shows that girls as young as 10 years of age engaged in prostitution for survival as cited below:

If you go out with a man and you get 10 000 cedis it can not buy a piece of cloth. So we must kill ourselves to get as much ... (Anarfi 1997: 300)

In Zambia, a rapid assessment found that the average age of children engaged in prostitution was 15 years. 47% of the prostitutes were orphans, 24% were single orphans, and on average, a child slept with three to four clients a day (Mushingeh et al 2002), citing the need for money to survive. This resonates with research findings from Zimbabwe (Dube 1997, UNICEF 2001) where the need to earn money for survival was singled out. In the world of prostitution, the position of the girl child is even more precarious given the potential to be financially abused by older prostitutes whose ability to earn in the business may be waning. In the Zimbabwean study of street children, Dube (1997) found that most of the homeless child prostitutes were taken charge of by older women referred to as 'aunties' who used them to keep their clients content. This way the older women enjoyed part of the earnings. This phenomenon resonates with findings from Ghana as the quote below indicates:

When I feel like having sex, I go to a house operated by an old woman. There are always girls around and with 1 500 cedis [almost US\$1] you can have sex with anyone of your choice. As you approach, each of them will call out 'customer, customer'. Out of the 1 500 cedis, 500 cedis goes to the old woman and the prostitute takes 1 000 cedis. (16 year old boy cited in Anarfi 1997: 299).

Boys however also find themselves involved in commercial sex which Bond, Mazin and Jiminez (1992:18) call “transactional sex” with much older men. In addition to survival sex, boys also pick up older prostitutes for comfort sex (Anarfi 1997). No matter what the underlying reasons for sexual encounters are, whether commercial, pleasure or comfort, the element of risk of being HIV infected is imminent as children are unlikely to use protection.

While most of the children on the streets involved in the studies by Anarfi (1997) and Dube (1997) were aware of the need to use condoms, as few as 28% in the Ghanaian study had ever used them and a further 80% reported not using condoms because they just did not like them and a few said that they made sex less enjoyable. These findings are a cause for concern as the main mode of HIV transmission in most Sub Saharan countries is through heterosexual activity. Child prostitution is highly detrimental to their full social and psychological development, which results in low self-esteem, indifference and fatalism (Dube 1997). Furthermore, prostitution often leads to use of illicit drugs as a coping mechanism which may further promote risky sexual behaviour. As Dube posits, the situation is worsened by fact that children on the street lack information and services to enable them to make informed choices on sexual matters. Thus being cut off from the customary services of information such as schools and families these children are left to their own devices. The street child phenomenon has several implications for both policy makers and those seeking to provide support services to vulnerable children. Children on the streets are hard to reach as they are of no fixed abode and their needs are much more complex than those living within easily identified fixed communities.

3.5 Summary

This chapter has examined changes which have been taking place amongst traditional kin against a background of millions of parental and care givers’ AIDS induced deaths. An examination of these changes reflected on the shifts in traditional and cultural sense of duty and responsibility of the extended family towards children. While the extended family is overwhelmed, it remains the predominant source of care for children. This chapter also discussed impacts of orphan hood and vulnerability, i.e. psychosocial and economic related needs.

This was a particularly important exercise as it presents the case of OVC to policy makers and stakeholders who can potentially influence the course of events in their lives especially distant INGOs and donors. Given the importance of INGOs to this debate as stakeholders in development, with potential to address the children's needs raised in this chapter, the ensuing chapter discusses their rise, as a starting point to assessing their potential.

Chapter 4

The Rise of INGOs

4.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the rise of INGOs. It begins by presenting an overview of the INGO landscape, followed by an examination of their historical background. Against a backdrop of the powerful and influential position outlined in chapter one, the last section examines factors leading to their growth and expansion.

4.2 An Overview of the INGO Landscape

Valued at over \$1 trillion a year and employing 19 million paid employees, the NGO landscape could now rank as the world's eighth largest economy (Sustainability 2004). There has been an unparalleled growth in the number of INGOs both in the South and North since the 1980s (Boli et al 1999, Abdelrahman 2004, Ahmed and Potter 2006). In 2000, there were 45 674 INGOs (Ahmed and Potter 2006). While this study has a specific focus on INGOs, national NGOs and grass roots organizations have also experienced a rise. While some INGOs are relatively small, some are big. For instance, Oxfam is known to have an annual income exceeding US\$100 million, 840 retail outlets and partnerships with 3600 organizations in over 70 countries, while Catholic Relief services and international committee of the Red Cross have both handled around US\$500 million per year which is more than the aid budget of some Development Assistance Committee (DAC) countries (Burnell 1997: 175). Furthermore, ten INGOs had total income of US\$4.64 billion (Clark 2003). This was equivalent to more than 30% of total development assistance channelled through INGOs and more than the UK aid budget (Clark 2003: 132- 133). While a number of INGOs such as MS international and Oxfam work through partner organizations in the south, others like World Vision, Plan International are operational. With regards to distribution, Burnell (1997:176) notes that they are not evenly distributed in the north, "barely figuring in Japan where there is no comparable tradition to Judeo-Christian charity or Muslim almsgiving".

While there is a difference between humanitarian and development oriented organizations, the line between these has become blurred over time. Development Initiatives (2009: 71) defines the mandate of humanitarian work as, "to save lives,

alleviate suffering and maintain human dignity during and in the aftermath of man made crises and natural disasters, as well as to prevent and strengthen preparedness for the occurrences of such situations”. On the other hand, development work is defined by its long-term objectives and goals (Malmqvist 2000) in terms of finding lasting solutions to poverty, through improvements in the political, social and economic landscape. An examination of Oxfam, Catholic Relief Services, World Vision and CARE, suggests they began as humanitarian organizations and later on became some of the largest development organizations. While often perceived as development organizations, they continue to perform a dual role. By focusing on both, it can be suggested that they have come to perceive the difficulties in drawing clear cut boundaries and the need for lasting solutions to poverty. In addition to the above, there are also specialized sectoral organizations which focus on specific subjects e.g. Amnesty International (human rights), Green Peace (sustainable environment) and Medicines Sans Frontieres (medical care). For the purposes of clarity, this study is concerned with development oriented INGOs. The underlying rationale is the OVC crisis requires long term development activity given its roots in the HIV/AIDs epidemic.

4.3 INGO Historical Background

Ahmed and Potter (2006) and Clark (1991) note that Christianity is the religion upon which some INGOs head-quartered in Europe and North America are founded. The founding of INGOs before World War 1 predates the very concepts of INGO and international development. Such organisations were known as missionary organizations, specialized humanitarian organizations and professional, labour and political solidarity groups which all shared general religious or moral aims (Clark 1991). Among the oldest of these is the London Missionary Society- founded in 1795, now known as the Council for World Mission¹. By the late 19th century, most missionary organisations had established regular donations from parishioners channelled to missions in Africa, Asia and Latin America for the intertwined goals of saving souls, education and the provision of western medical services (Ahmed and Potter 2006). Most notable is how some missionary societies paved the way for colonialism and imperialism as intertwined with development.

¹ <http://www.cwmission.org/history/history-of-the-council-for-world-mission>

At this juncture, the case of Zimbabwe's historical interaction with missionary societies provides an apt example. In 1858, the London Missionary Society was granted permission¹, after lobbying hard, to establish the first missionary station by King Mzilikazi near his royal court, at Inyati in the south west of what is now Zimbabwe. In 1870, King Lobengula who had succeeded Mzilikazi, encountered the British South African Company (BSAC), the capitalist brain child of Cecil John Rhodes² who had connections with LSM missionaries based at Inyati. It was through these missionaries³ that Rhodes deceived Lobengula into granting exclusive mineral rights to the BSAC. Under the stewardship of Cecil John Rhodes, the BSAC was granted the Royal Charter by the British Government in spite of Lobengula's protests,⁴ which empowered the company to rule the territory (Samkange 1968). Once in the territory, the BSAC plundered land from the local inhabitants to make way for the incoming wave of European settlers, as well as the missionary enterprise which now had free rein. In 1923, the territory was annexed to the British government, thereby becoming a colonial property of the empire.

¹ Mzilikazi perceived some benefits to the mission station, i.e. white men possessed medical knowledge (though they were not qualified doctors) as he suffered from acute gout, which his son, Lobengula suffered from as well. Missionaries would ease both their pain through morphine injections (see Blake 1977)

² Rhodes was an English man who travelled from England and had lived in Natal, South Africa where he acquired a fortune as a diamond prospector. Rhodes strongly believed in the expansion of the Empire and its English speaking allies. It was from nearby South Africa that Rhodes cast his gaze upon Zimbabwe hoping to find minefields of gold. Having assisted in the annexing of nearby Bechuanaland, modern day Botswana in 1885, to the British Empire, Rhodes turned his energies to Lobengula's land whose time of ascension to the throne was a historical turning point as it coincided with the discovery of gold in the territory which increased the number of European prospectors and traders who descended upon Matebeleland in droves seeking permission to explore and mine gold, to the king's annoyance (See Blake 1977).

³ Charles Helm, a reverend of the London Missionary Society who was based at the Inyati mission station falsely translated Rhodes mining proposals to Lobengula, later known as the Rudd concession. Furthermore, while, Lobengula trusted Helm for impartial advice since he believed that, he as a missionary had his people's interests at heart but what he didn't know is that Helm was secretly representing Rhodes and was on his pay roll (see Samkange 1968, Blake 1977 and Mungazi 1996)

⁴ Lobengula tried in vain to nullify the concession after the realization that he had been deceived and while the British Government initially offered Lobengula the most objective advice and sought to clarify how and when he had sanctioned such proposals to Rhodes, its tune soon changed due to empire building vested interests. The British government eventually endorsed the BSAC to govern the territory in spite of the knowledge that Lobengula had un-categorically annulled the Rudd Concession upon such an endorsement rested through the Royal Charter (see Samkange 1968, Blake 1977, Mungazi 1996)

What is notable about the colonization of Zimbabwe is that the missionary enterprise had reasons to support the BSCA and colonial government overthrow of the traditional polity system. In the main, Mzilikazi and Lobengula had stood in the way of Christianity and education as they believed they could weaken their kingdom (Blake 1977). This being the case, Blake (1977) notes how the mission station at Inyati, failed to convert a single soul during its first few years. Against this backdrop, one of the missionaries had declared "... our hope is (in relation to the BASC gaining exclusive mineral rights), that this company will bring about the downfall of this Matebele tyranny and the entrenchment of a more righteous government ..."

(Atkinson 1973: 86). After this downfall, winning natives towards Christianity and education was aided by the introduction of medicine as Daneel (1971 cited in Zvobgo 1996: 204) notes:

... among the natives, the medicine chest, stethoscope and scalpel accompanied the gospel and were invaluable in winning the confidence of people who were otherwise not keen for missionaries to enter their area on numerous occasions and often enough suspicion and traditional antagonism of authorities were overcome by medical treatment.

To this end, the colonial state formed partnerships with missionaries in medical provision through grants to hospitals (Dachs 1973, Zvobgo 1986) and education provision. In this, land was granted to missionaries for building schools and hospitals alongside churches through a land grants policy. As Chinaiwa (1996) contends, the education provided by the missionaries deliberately served a socioeconomic function whereby natives were trained to be efficient servants of the colonial enterprise. According to Chinaiwa (1996), the missionary and settler alliance stemmed from shared interests such as cultural imperialism and capitalist materialism fashionable among Europeans.

And because of his [missionary] commitment to cultural imperialism and the desire to attach significance to his labours among ... heathens, the missionary unscrupulously glamorised the '*ignominious backwardness*' and '*inherent inferiority*' of the Africans ... The missionary, therefore was the best agent to produce the efficient, law abiding, subservient African labourers and consumers through a '*good Christian education*' (ibid.: 219)

Against this backdrop, it can be suggested that the role of missionary education was to preserve the social relations of the colonial enterprise given that it stressed humility, docility, and acceptance in the face of injustice (Rodney 1996). In this, Rodney (1996: 212) contends "Churches (missionaries) could be relied upon to preach turning the other cheek in the face of exploitation and they drove home the message that everything would be right in the next world". It is however important to note there

were some missionaries who felt that propping up colonialism was beyond the remit of the church, but later relented due to perceived some benefits (Welch 2008).

Having shown how missionary societies, i.e. early precursors of modern day development INGOs were involved in supporting the colonial enterprise, it is also important to acknowledge that not all INGOs have their roots embedded in religion. Ahmed and Potter (2006) claim that the modern secular INGO started with the founding of International Committee of the Red Cross in 1863, which was inspired by a deeply religious Swiss businessman, Henry Dunant, having witnessed the suffering of thousands of men after the Battle of Solferino in 1859. Though secular, the Red Cross reflects its' religious orientation in its symbol. Other organizations also formed on the basis of a common moral framework including the Anti Slavery International, founded in 1839, then known as the British and Foreign Anti Slavery Society. In essence, a number of INGOs were founded, MS the focus of this study included, in response in to the dreadful effects of war, whereby they helped war victims and the reconstruction of Europe (Clark 1991). However, in peace times, most of these organisations have turned their focus to disaster relief and/or development work. Having sketched the history behind INGO founding, the ensuing section attempts to outline their growth and expansion.

4.4 Factors leading to INGO Growth and Expansion

While the INGO landscape is diverse, it can be argued that there are some common factors which have contributed to its growth and expansion.

4.4.1 Increased Funding from Northern Governments

Soon after World War II and mid 1970s, INGOs grew and expanded due to increasing interest and funding from northern governments through co financing¹ (Theunis 1992). And as Chabbott (1999: 237) notes this also contributed "... to the conceptualization of international development as an important undertaking which created, in turn, a demand on the part of governments and IGOs for INGOs and NGOs able to operationalize the concept". This was also a period of authoritative intervention or neo colonialism (Potter et al 2004) and INGOs were increasingly used

¹ This is whereby national governments made contributions to projects already partially funded by NGOs

as vehicles of development (Clark 1991) as further discussed in chapter five. In addition, was the crucial influence of neo liberal development especially from the 1980s onwards, which disputed state centred development. As Abdelrahman (2004: 49) argues, “from this perspective state centered development is believed to have failed, and NGOs are to be the substitute for the state”. In this, INGOs became recipients of donor funding, in response to the retreat of the state from service provision (Desai 1996, Gordenker and Weiss 1996). As Gordenker and Weiss (1996) further note, this was exacerbated by the belief in northern governments that INGOs were efficient and cost effective. This belief was closely related to the notion that NGOs had a comparative advantage over the state (Smith 1990). In addition, Nelson (1995) and Smith (1990), claim competition within the donor community to identify and fund NGOs with adequate expertise and bearings to satiate their requirements, also contributed to this growth and expansion. However, it’s notable that the notion of “failed states” in the south provided a conducive argument for neo liberalism, as any state whether in the north or south, which endorsed high levels of expenditure and direct service provision was expected to be worse off in comparison to one in which the markets had free rein. While countries in Europe were free to adopt free markets at their own pace, the case of the global south was different.

4.4.2 Dual Role of the UN

Gondenker and Weiss (1996) note that the end of the cold war also contributed to INGO growth and expansion, due to the breaking down of ideological and social orthodoxy which implied new opportunities for communication between northern and eastern countries. This put pressures on INGO due to the need to respond to refugees and internally displaced people in the old socialist bloc, hence more resources which instigated an expansion. Key to this, was the role of the UN which became a forum for reconciliation. As Weiss (1999) notes, the UN has contributed to strengthening of INGOs through moral, financial and institutional support and in return for this support, INGOs have taken on the role of assisting UN agencies as project executors and pressuring governments during intergovernmental deliberations. INGO agenda setting now occurs mainly at UN deliberations and furthermore, INGOs now have access to all UN documents (Ahmed and Potter 2006). Former UN Secretary General, Boutros Boutros – Gali once remarked that while the UN was once considered a forum for sovereign states alone, this changed within a few years to a

point where NGOs are now considered full participants in international life (Gordenker and Weiss 1996). This was a gradual process which dates back to 1945, when article 71 of the UN Charter gave power to the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) to make suitable formal arrangements for consultation with NGOs. Article 71, therefore, provided the formal basis for the irregular arrangements which had been used by the League of Nations to govern its interactions with NGOs through consultative status¹. As Ahmed and Potter (2006) note as of 2005, there were 2719 INGOs with consultative status which

... gives NGOs a legitimate place within the political system. This means that the NGO activist is seen as having a right to be involved in the process... in the informal contacts with delegates; it is possible to express views about issues on the agenda and to lobby for particular decisions to be taken (Ahmed and Potter 2006:53)

In order to gain consultative status with the UN, NGOs seeking this status must be representative and international as emphasized by Resolution 1296 of the UN, 1968. While originally having consultative status implied that INGOs simply attended meetings, submitted written statements, testified before meetings, proposed agenda items (in limited cases), over the years, Potter and Ahmed (2006) claim that their participation has moved beyond the limits of article 71, which is indicative of their growing sphere of influence. Depending on the nature of their activities, INGOs tend to have varying levels of interaction with the UN, with hundreds of INGOs now attending UN conferences, presenting information to various UN agencies, commissions and holding regular consultation meetings. Some INGOs are also involved in surveillance functions and collect and disseminate information on issues such as individual and civil rights (Weiss 1999). So crucial has been the work of INGOs on individual and civil rights, that Gaer (1996) expressed doubt whether the UN could function at all in the human rights arena of social policy without INGOs' input. In the light of the above, it can be argued that the UN has played a key role in the recent growth and expansion of INGOs.

4.4.3 Telecommunications Revolution

Salamon (1994), cites the global communications as a contributing factor to the growth and expansion of the landscape. The development of multifunctional phones and internet has dramatically reduced communication costs. The internet is used by

¹ This awards INGOs with security passes which give them access to all buildings used by diplomats and this gives INGO representatives direct access to diplomats they may wish to lobby

INGO networks and campaigns, as well facilitating internal and external communications, influencing public perception, enhancing member services, disseminating information, and realizing innovative ideas (Warkentin 2001). As Karns and Mingst (2004: 228) posit, “the fact and most important, the internet and email have made cohesion not tied to location possible”. In the same vein, official donors also utilize these communication technologies, e.g. websites where they keep up to date information on funding among other issues which can be readily accessed by NGOs and the general public.

4.4.4 Material Affluence of Northern Citizens

Salamon argues that the general levels of economic growth world wide in the 1960s and 1970s, gave rise to the affluence shaping a middle class whose values increasingly involved a shift from material emphasis and financial stability, to concern with social equity and quality of life. Thus post material values are credited with giving rise to new interests with human rights, environmental protection, animal rights and the promotion of citizens’ empowerment, among many others which INGOs deal with. This means that INGOs activities have been able to gain support from citizens in the north in various ways, financial donations included. This has also contributed to INGO growth and expansion.

4.5 Summary

This chapter has examined the rise of the INGO landscape which consists of humanitarian and/or development oriented INGOs. INGOs’ historical background as partly embedded in colonialism and war was discussed. In this, the founding of INGOs was discussed as predating the concepts of INGO and international development, whereby they were missionary organizations, and other specialized humanitarian organisations. As precursors of modern day development INGOs, the role of missionary societies within colonialism was discussed in relation to Zimbabwe. Lastly, this chapter discussed factors leading to the growth and expansion of INGOs such as increases in donor funding, the key role played the UN, the telecommunications revolution and material affluence of the middle class in the north. In conclusion it was noted that donors wield much influence, due to the resources they channel to INGOs. Having attempted to sketch the rise of INGOs, the following chapter attempts to make sense of INGOs in development as the next stage to

understanding how they can contribute to development in relation to OVC partnerships with rural CBOs in the global south, and most specifically Zimbabwe.

Chapter 5

Making Sense of INGOs in development

5.1 Introduction

Given that development is what INGOs seek to do and achieve in the global south where the majority work of them work, this chapter explores their position in development. It begins by defining development followed by a brief account of histories of development and an outline of mainstream development while paying attention to neo liberalism as the dominant strategy applied to the global south. The third section presents a critique of mainstream development while the fourth discusses alternative development. While the sixth section discusses challenges to alternative development, the last section attempts to present a critical reflection on INGOs' position in development debates. This is an important exercise before it is possible to assess how INGOs can support community responses to OVC, as a development activity.

5.2 A Definition of Development

While there are many definitions of development (see Rist 2008, UNDP 1991) it is beyond the remit of this study to investigate these. The definition below was selected on the basis that it originates from the global south¹ and suits this study best because of its focus on Zimbabwe, which is part of the global south. According to the South Commission (1990: 10):

Development is a process which enables human beings to realise their potential, build self confidence and lead lives of dignity and fulfilment. It is a process which frees people from want and exploitation. It is a movement away from political, economic, or social oppression. Through development, political independence acquires its true significance. And it is a process of growth, a movement essentially springing from the society that is developing.

The definition attempts to articulate the development aspirations of the south. In this, the development process originates from the society which is developing which is of central importance due to the heterogeneous nature of contexts. This suggests that countries and communities should be the starting points of development. However, it is noteworthy that the process of development "... appears to be a belief and a set of practices which form a *single* in spite of the contradictions between them" (Rist 2008:

¹ This was report was produced under the chairmanship of Julius Nyerere, the former president of Tanzania. In the main, the report attempts to sum up the developmental aspirations of the South.

24). This suggests that far from harmonious, development is an aspiration loaded with competing contradictions. Thus no matter what development definition is selected, there are inherent tensions to contend with. Having selected a guiding definition of development for this study, the ensuing section discusses the histories of development and mainstream development.

5.3 Histories of Development and Mainstream Development

Power (2002) locates the origins of development in the enlightenment period, i.e. the 18th and 19th centuries which were underpinned by the belief that science and rational thinking could lead human groups from barbarism to civilization. At the height of the enlightenment discourse was the rise of Eurocentric ideologies as the way forward in establishing functional and orderly societies (Potter et al 2004). In this, "... it was a very European affair which put Europe and European intellectuals at the very pinnacle of human achievement" (Power 2002: 67). Thus "development was seen as directly linked to Western religion, science, rationality and principles of justice" (Potter et al 2004). In the main, Europeans felt favoured by divine providence in terms of human capabilities and partly used this to justify the colonial enterprise (Rist 2008). However, as Rist (2008) notes, by the late nineteenth century, a new form of development, which considered the notion of progress in terms of materialistic processes of change emerged and it firmly equated development in colonised territories, from the 1920s onwards "... with an ordered set of progress towards a set of standards laid down by the West" (Potter et al 2004: 6). However, due to the exploitative nature of colonialism and imperialism, territories such as Zimbabwe could never have achieved the European standards of development. From the early 1950s onwards, development in the south was largely guided by President Truman 's blue print of 1949, in which he laid down the *duty* of the west to bring development to what he referred to as underdeveloped nations (Potter et al 2004). This was to be done through aid and advice, often labelled authoritative intervention or neo colonialism. This was perceived as a move from imperialism, given that until then north – south relations were constructed around the colonised and colonisers (Rist 2008). This constituted the modernization project in which INGOs were partly used to deliver the northern package of development. Authoritative intervention, which was coined around economic growth models, emerged against a backdrop of the prominence of state centred development in the United States of America (USA) and

Europe, alongside the recovery of the latter from world war two and the rise of USA’s hegemony (Preston 1996). At this juncture, i.e. second half of the century, development became synonymous with economic growth. Taken together, economic growth models represent conventional or top down development which is associated with urbanization, industrialization, and modernization. As Potter et al (2004) note, this form of development is based on a number of western strategies. These are identified in the table below.

Table 13: Mainstream Development Strategies

Model / strategy	Description
The liberal model	Now known as neo liberalism, it stresses the importance of free markets. Very prominent in the UK and USA, under Thatcher and Reagan. In the 1980s, this gained much currency in the global south countries via SAPs instigated by IMF and the WB.
Keynesianism	This is in sharp contrast to the liberal model. It advocates for a strong role for the state in regulating the market system in order to promote the growth of capitalism. This has been the dominant ideology in countries with social democratic tendencies, e.g. Sweden
State capitalist strategy	Most prominent in Russia and Germany in the early phase of industrial development. Model stressed the development enforced industrialization underpinned by agrarian economic principles for the promotion of nationalism and national security.
The Soviet model	This was inspired by Stalin’s five-year compulsory economic development plans with modernisation being the ultimate goal. In this radical plan, resources from agriculture were channelled to industry, thus the agriculture sector was collectivised and heavy industry was given the highest priority with the state replacing the market system.

Source: Hetten (1995)

While it is beyond the remit of this study to engage with all the strategies above, it is worth noting the discussion in chapter one regarding impacts of neo liberalism on Zimbabwe and the operation of INGOs acting as gap fillers in social service provision due to state retreat. In this, Zimbabwe serves as an archetypical example of the imposition of mainstream development in the global south. Even though development has since broadened to incorporate social indicators as well as political freedoms as advocated by Sen (2000), Potter et al (2004: 11) argue that “the model for economic development is still seen to be that of the capitalist West. In the light of the above issues raised in this discussion , it can be concluded that development remains to a great extent dominated by western perspectives.

5.3.1 A Critique of Mainstream Development

Even though it can be argued that some countries in the global south which applied mainstream development, experienced some improvements in health and education (Corbridge 1995), questions can be asked about the strategies applied to achieve the positive outcomes. In the case of Zimbabwe which applied a state centred development strategy, with socialist undertones, chapter 1 has shown how the country made major improvements in health and education, only to lose the gains through the shift to neo-liberal policy. This seems to suggest that when strategies are selectively applied, there is potential to achieve improvements. Citing the case of some Asian countries where development strategies were selectively applied, Rigg (1997) also notes modest outcomes.

However, in the main, mainstream development faces criticism on the grounds of being a “western construction in which the economic, social and political parameters of development are set by the West and imposed on other countries in a neo colonial mission to normalise and develop them in the image of the West” (Potter et al 2004: 17). This case of neo liberalism imposed on the global south resonates with the above charge. This is in sharp contrast to the definition of development selected to guide this study, which clearly stipulates that development should originate from the people seeking development, i.e. they should define their own development on their own terms of understanding. Linked to the failure and criticism of mainstream development are its “grand theories” which have increased tensions between formulating universal models and the need to understand the experiences and knowledge of the global south (Brohman 2001: 325). Due to these tensions, southern knowledge, traditions and cultures are ignored because they do not fit into western experiences and perceptions of development (Brohman 2001, Hetten 1995, Escobar 1995).

However, it remains the case as argued in chapter one that the view point that culture is opposed to development is deeply flawed as it is in culture that Appadurai (2004) argues that the ideas of the past and future are nurtured and embedded. The failure of development actors to reconcile culture and development has been crippling (Appadurai 2004) as far as delivering a development that is apt for the aspirations of the people of the south. Against a backdrop of these debates,

“alternative development”, also known as “popular development”, “people centred development” and “development from below” emerged (Stoir and Taylor 1981, Chambers 1983, Brohman 2001). The ensuing section discusses alternative development .

5.4 Alternative Development

According to Brohman (2001) and Hetten (1995), alternative development expresses the kind of development thinking which dominated from the mid 1970s, a period of economic destabilisation in the north. As Potter et al (2004) note this was linked to *Dag Hammarskjold Foundation's* concept of another development birthed at the Seventh Special Session of the United Nations. This called for self reliance to be evident at the heart of development with southern forces taking precedence over northern ones as well as the idea that development must meet the basic needs of people, which was a shift from the achievement of simple economic growth. As Brohman (2001) puts it, all alternative approaches to development are geared towards the creation of a development that is apt for the needs and interests of people in the global south.

In relation to what alternative development entails, Stohr (1981) states that there is no single recipe to achieving alternative development, just as there are many strategies to achieving mainstream development. However, as Stohr further explains, alternative development is related to specific socio cultural, historical, and institutional factors constituting the context. In this due consideration is given to popular participation, self reliance and the use of appropriate technology which is sensitive to those contexts. Furthermore, it is claimed that alternative development opens up new horizons for multiple development approaches which are inspired and informed by local traditions which “ ... seek to foster participation and empowerment by creating a sense of self worth among people of third world nations through rediscovering and reinterpreting local histories and cultural traditions” (Brohman 2001 : 338). One of the major thrusts is that alternative development is thought to deliver a more targeted approach to reducing poverty and inequalities than waiting for the trickle down of mainstream development (Brohman 2001). Given that this targeted approach is potentially grounded in local traditions, knowledge and culture, it's unlikely to produce distorted patterns and processes of development as

the case with mainstream approaches based on the use of the pseudoscientific rationales. However, it is also noteworthy that alternative development is associated with any form of development at odds with mainstream, e.g. sustainability, green thinking, democratization, endogenous, feminism, anti capitalism, new social movements, de-modernisation, social justice, ecological balance and cultural values (Pieterse 2008, Potter et al 2004, Brohman 2001, Friberg and Hettne 1985). Given the issues raised above, it is clear that the arguments for alternative development largely emerge from the weaknesses of mainstream development strategies, an issue which is central to its critique presented below.

5.4.1 What Challenges for Alternative Development?

As the arguments for alternative development emanate from perceived mainstream weaknesses, Pieterse (2008: 74) argues that it lacks settled shape and legitimacy:

Alternative Development can be viewed as a roving critique of mainstream development, shifting in position as mainstream development shifts , as a series of alternative proposals and methodologies that are loosely interconnected; or can it be viewed as an alternative development paradigm, implying a definite break with main stream development .

As expressed above, alternative development is charged with lacking a clearly defined scope, hence questions about whether it actually constitutes an alternative development model of development. Pieterse (2008) notes that given the increased development funds channelled to NGOs, which are supposed to have close affiliations with alternative development (Drabek 1987), suggests a marriage between mainstream and alternative. In line with this suggestion, IMF and WB, the two major agencies behind neo liberalism, have institutionalised some alternative development strands, such as empowerment and participation. While this is often perceived with suspicion, i.e. IMF and WB taking up NGO- speak to mitigate criticisms (see Edwards 1993), this can also be perceived as reform. However there is a “...tendency to represent alternative development as a counter point that unites all dissident forces critical of development, which in turn appears to reflect a desire to forge a grand coalition of opposing forces” (Pieterse 2008: 76). To this end, each strand has got its own discourse, with its own *raison d'être* which makes it impossible to formulate a model or theory, as these strands may clash at certain cross roads, e.g. feminist discourses are at logger heads with most Sub Saharan traditional societies and other Asian indigenous societies. This being the case, alternative development is

likened to “a ship without a rudder” (Pieterse 2008:80). It isn’t clear whether, on this view, it is up to the given INGO have an implicit or explicit alternative developmental model or it is up to the state to come up with the rules of engagement for INGOs seeking to operate within national territories.

Having touched on the challenges facing alternative development, I take the view that, there is potential for alternative development *ideas* to be utilized. This bears repeating: *alternative ideas* to development as opposed to an *alternative development model, theory or paradigm*. On the premise that, “Every system of knowledge, agricultural science and rural people’s knowledge included, has its own epistemology, its own theory of what constitutes and what counts as knowledge” Scoones (1994 cited in Wallace et al 1997: 33), this study argues for the utilization of alternative ideas to development, as this potentially offers appropriate ways of achieving development that is appropriate to context. The imposition of western theories and their consequent failure to deliver development as laid out by the west, demands the utilization of something other than western theory, i.e. alternative ideas to development. What is crucial is to recognise that development activities do not take place outside contexts, but rather in specific contexts which are highly charged with “local cultural force[s]” (Appadurai 2004: 67) and the key is to engage with these as well as the voice of inhabitants in seeking viable solutions to the challenges they confront. In the light of this proposal, the ensuing section reflects on INGOs’ position in development debates before it is possible to assess how they can utilize alternative ideas to development.

5.5 INGO Past and Present Position in Development: Some Reflections

The precursors of some modern day INGOs, aided the advancement of the colonial enterprise as shown in the case of Zimbabwe. They supported the overthrow of the traditional polity system, and preserved the social relations of colonialism through education and medical service provision, which were funded by the colonial state and donations from northern congregants. For the natives, charity welfare was the sweetener which made the colonial condition somewhat palatable (Manji and O’Coill 2002). As Donini (1996: 92) argues, while the ideological underpinnings of colonialism and missionaries may seem outdated, “the activities carried out by *new missionaries* may not be altogether that different from those of the colonial times”.

This resonates with Petras (1997: 17) who argues that “In many ways the hierarchical structures and the forms of transmission of aid and training resemble nineteenth century charity and the promoters are not very different from Christian missionaries”. Of significance in this argument is how colonialism and neo colonialism equally transformed the role of missionary societies and INGOs via operational space enlargement and resource allocation. While not all INGOs can be lumped together in this comparison, it can be argued that the missionary and colonial alliance was instrumental in shaping the charity landscape in the global south where the majority of INGOs work. However, as Manji and O’Coill (2002) acknowledge, the relationship between INGOs and neo liberalism was not a conscious conspiracy, as was that of missionaries and colonialism, but a coincidence of ideologies, whereby in the face of state retreat from social service provision, INGOs naturally stepped in to relieve mass suffering. In this, INGOs largely played an unwitting role.

However, it is also notable that from the early 1990s onwards, INGOs began to campaign against WB and IMF policies executed through neo liberalism and published literature on the resultant social ills in the global south. Furthermore, there are some initiatives spearheaded by INGOs which are critical of the impacts of neo liberalism in the global south, e.g. the Jubilee Debt Campaign calls for southern debts accrued through neo liberal policy to be cancelled 100%. So far this has achieved modest results¹. There is also the Structural Adjustment Participatory Review International Network (SAPRIN) whereby INGOs bring together governments and WB in a joint review of SAPs with a quest to legitimize local knowledge in the analysis of economic reform programmes in the global south (Grzybowski 2000). This initiative continues to be instrumental in carrying out critical research on the impacts of neo liberal policies. While these initiatives can be to some extent credited with “reforming” WB and IMF, they involve channelling more resources to INGOs. Noteworthy is that INGOs’ criticism of neo liberal policies resonates with the way missionaries criticized the very colonial government they had propped up at inception in the years leading to Zimbabwe’s Independence, i.e. late 1970s (Rich 1996). Even though it can be argued that missionaries found themselves facing the inevitable colonization of the territory, thereby being realists in their dealings with Rhodes and

¹ <http://www.jubileedebtcampaign.org.uk>

desiring to make the most of it, the colonial government they propped up was equally brutal. However, the challenging of colonialism and neo-liberalism by missionaries and INGOs, is evidence of the way actors' responses are ideologically and socially constructed.

While it can be argued that INGOs evolution throughout the development history evidences, to some extent critiquing the forces which shape them, it is also the case that they continue to work under universalist Eurocentric perspectives in the global south, e.g. the use of the project management structure, which relates to the tools and language that are used to make management of projects on the ground defining rigor in formal bureaucratic terms. Central to this is the use of the log frame analysis (LFA) or other guidelines which follow the LFA format which most INGO are familiar with, when applying for funds from official northern donors (Wallace et al 1997). While LFA has many facets, in brief, it considers the following as noted by BOND (2003):

- A situation analysis (stakeholder analysis, problem analysis and objective analysis)
- A strategy analysis (goals, purpose outputs and inputs)
- Project planning metrics (matrix, assumptions, objective indicators and verification)
- Implementation.

While it can be argued that LFA, has undergone transformations in its use, it essentially remains incompatible with the language of participatory development through which INGOs seek to facilitate development. As Wallace et al (1997: 31) contend, LFA "ties [I]NGOs tightly into the use of 'the project' as the way to deliver development". Thus the problem begins with the construction of 'the project' as an artificial construct better designed to meet the needs of donors than beneficiary hence the problem of upward accountability. Against a backdrop of LFA being culturally and conceptually foreign to the south (Wallace et al 1997), by utilizing it most INGOs are potentially excluding the knowledge, traditions, cultures and conceptual frameworks of southern people as their own realities are divided up into separate resources and projects, due to the reductionist nature of the tool (Chambers 1997). At this juncture, similarities can be drawn, between LFA and neo liberalism, i.e. Eurocentric origins, simplistic assumption of universalism and ignoring southern

perspectives. It is even the more intriguing, that (I)NGOs with a wide range of mandates and working in culturally diverse contexts should find it apt to use the same methods for structuring and representing their work (Wallace et al 1997). While INGOs have evolved, this scenario is telling of how INGO remain to some extent unwitting transmitters of western development within a landscape of competing ideologies and perspectives, in spite of their good intentions. Thus while INGOs are campaigning against the impacts of neo liberalism with some results, they are on the other hand still imposing western knowledge in the global south with poor developmental outcomes. This is isn't to suggest that there is nothing useful about western knowledge, but rather that, first and foremost southern perspectives need to be considered. However, given that southern traditions, cultures and knowledge, may not be sufficient to bring about the development aspirations of the south, this would require fusion of appropriate ideas. With regards to this study which concerns potential OVC partnerships between INGOs and rural CBOs, INGOs can potentially play a role in facilitating the application of alternative *ideas* to development in light of the limitations of what passes for a robust development theory or paradigm. The discussion of MS - Batsiranai partnership on OVC seeks to point to how this can be done.

5.6 Summary

This chapter has presented a definition of development as defined by some people of the global south. It discussed histories of development and how development is dominated by western perspectives through mainstream development strategies, most specifically neo liberalism. Against this backdrop, southern knowledge, cultures and knowledge were noted as often ignored as they do not often fit western perceptions and experiences of development. The imposition of Eurocentric theories and onto foreign diverse contexts, was discussed as the main limitation of mainstream development theory. This led to a focus on alternative development, which was shown to highlight on mainstream limitations. Despite the lack of theory generation, the idea of “alternative idea to development” was proposed, due to the realization that development may require less than articulated systematic theory to achieve the developmental aspirations of the south. In order to make sense of the position of INGOs in this debate, this chapter cited the similarities of their position within colonialism as missionaries and neo liberalism. It was tentatively suggested that

INGOs potentially have a role to play in relation to OVC partnerships with CBOs. However, before it is possible to unravel how this can be done using the MS – Batsiranai case study their strengths and weaknesses need to be understood, against a backdrop of the claim that they have a comparative advantage over the state.

Chapter 6

INGO Comparative Advantage?

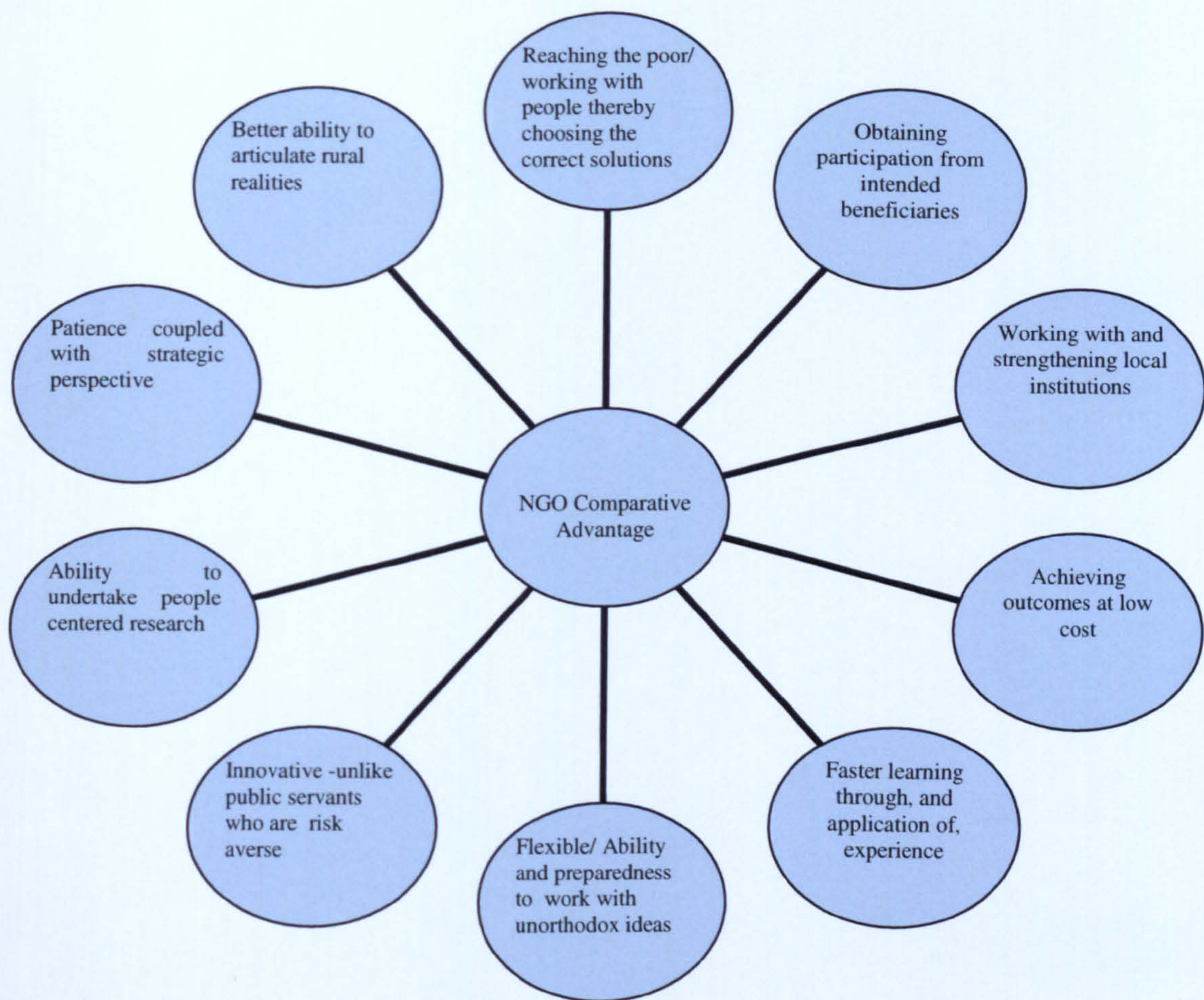
6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the notion of comparative advantage to assess INGO strengths and weaknesses. The alleged comparative advantage of NGO over state intervention are identified and the theory of comparative advantage critiqued. Lastly, INGO potential strengths and weaknesses outside the comparative advantage discourse are discussed. While this study concerns INGOs as opposed to NGOs in general, it should be noted that the general body of literature engaging with notion of comparative advantage, does not draw a distinction between INGOs and NGOs.

6.2 NGO Comparative Advantage over the State: An Overview

Tracing the historical nurturing of comparative advantage to the heart of NGO discourse, Smith (1990), remarks how the USA government partly championed this notion by declaring in the late 1970s that NGOs had a comparative advantage over the state thereby consequently justifying channelling more resources via them. While Tvedt (1998) notes that in the 1970s and early 1980s, some INGOs were simply supported by their home governments because they were regarded as useful supplements to state to state aid, the notion of NGO comparative advantage was later generally used to justify aid directly through NGOs whether national or international. In the main, Tvedt contends that the potential of NGOs was formulated, particularly in the 1980s, with the term comparative advantage as the core concept characteristic of NGOs as compared to states. Against this backdrop, Figure 9 below highlights these comparative advantages drawing on Tendler (1982), Fowler (1988) Burnell (1997) and Hudock (1999).

Figure 9: NGO Comparative Advantage



Sources: Tendler (1982: 3- 7), Fowler (1988:8-9) Burnell (1997: 176 – 177) and Hudock (1999: 8)

Having identified NGO claimed comparative advantages over the state, the ensuing section discusses whether and if so how the application of this notion is appropriate to describe INGO potential.

6.2.1 Notion of Comparative Advantage: A Critique

From a theoretical perspective the notion of comparative advantages of NGOs vis-à-vis a heterogeneous group of states, is generally fraught with problems. First and foremost, as Tvedt (1998: 131) argues, “(this) thesis has a universal ambition; it claims that NGOs are better than governments, disregarding the heterogeneity of

NGOs and governments in time and space”. In this, the comparative advantage thesis clandestinely implies that governments across national boundaries are similar in characteristics and the same can be said of NGOs, which isn’t the case. Taking for instance “participation” as a claimed comparative advantage, Tvedt (1998: 131) posits that to show that an NGO in some part of the world has achieved true participation of the poor to a greater extent than a government: “... says nothing about comparative advantages in general, but only something about differences between a particular government and an NGO in a particular area at a special time in the country’s history”.

Furthermore, NGOs and states differ fundamentally, i.e. NGOs’ roots are deeply embedded in ideological orientations whether political or religious. They are therefore value- laden as opposed to state machinery which is considered to be means- laden. Furthermore, NGOs and states are not always in agreement and hence do not always share the means with which to achieve development. For instance the case of neo liberalism and INGO criticism indicates this.

Furthermore, there is the thorny issue of framing INGO comparative advantage within the discourse of elected officials and citizens in relation to the issues of representation and accountability. As Peruzzotti (2006) notes most states are skeptical of NGOs’ claim to *represent* the citizenry, civil society, the poor or any other constituent against a backdrop of democratic governments being periodically elected. In this their behaviour is continuously under public scrutiny by external institutions such as NGOs, whom states are compared to. In this, Peruzzotti (2006) argues that NGOs complement and activate mechanisms of legal accountability through checks and balances on the elected, when they lobby for changes and denounce law violations. In terms of the discourse of elected officials and citizens, Peruzzotti (2006: 44- 45) explains that representation,

...refers to a particular bond that politicians establish with the citizenry in so called ‘representative democracies’ as a result of the periodical act of delegation of power that the electorate makes to elected representatives ... [while accountability] ...refers to the ability to ensure that that public officials are answerable for their behaviour, in the sense of being forced to inform and justify their decisions and of being eventually sanctioned for those decisions.

From the above definitions, a two way relationship can be identified. The electorate i.e. those being represented have a claim to what Peruzzotti (2006: 45) describes as

“rights of superior authority” which entitles the electorate to punish or reward those elected through choice of another party if displeased with decisions taken during the period of power delegation and re- election if pleased. This is described as the ultimate sanctioning power, as Mulgan (2000) notes that those asking for accountability have the authority to demand answers and impose sanctions. While their ability to demand and impose sanctions may not be as formal, regular elections provide a mechanism and platform for which the claim to rights of superior authority is played out through reward and punishment. In contrast, Boli and Thomas (1999: 37) argue that,

They [INGOs] have little sanctioning power [in the conventional sense]; yet act as if they were authorized in the strongest possible terms. They make rules and expect them to be followed; they plead their views with states or TNCs and express moral condemnation when their pleas go unheeded; they formulate codes of ethics and endow them with sufficient legitimacy to ensure that flagrant violators lose standing in the relevant community

Against this backdrop, it is clear that the authority of INGOs is informal, in contrast to that of the state which is formal. However the informality of NGO's authority is embedded in a “cultural model” which contends that responsible individuals working collectively through rational procedures can determine cultural rules that are fair, and competent and no external authority is required for their legitimation (Thomas 1989) . However, this self authorization as based on rational voluntarism should not be taken for dominance in the conventional sense (Boli and Thomas 1999). Even though states can collectively practice rational voluntarism via intergovernmental organizations such as the UN, thereby practicing some collective conventional dominance, INGOs' do not possess the same level of legitimacy as states. A third limiting aspect of comparative advantage pertains to the base of INGOs and states. The former do not have the same base as the latter even if they are membership based organizations. Governments have many apparatuses at their disposal i.e. the army, police force and can raise taxes and can change laws while NGOs don't have the same instruments. The use of state authority can impact on all citizens within a short period of time, e.g. changes in health policy. INGOs on the other hand are less able to reach such a large populace. While INGOs can shape world agendas, alter the behaviour of states successfully through lobbying and berating them to act according to world principles, to which most them are signatories, the basis for comparison does not hold. INGOs remain subject to the laws of the nation state in which they operate. As Boli and Thomas (1999) contend, INGO's influence should not be perceived as state decline,

but rather its very expansion via policies and agencies responding to global frameworks, within which the state remains the explicit agent of authority. Within this state centric framework, there are inherent limits to what INGOs can do as:

No matter how idealistic or committed, INGOs simply cannot replace the work of governments and UN agencies in the business of poverty eradication... they cannot cover all areas relevant to an integrated approach, nor are they organized to attain universality in their coverage of countries (Ghai 2001: 239)

To conclude in the words of Karns and Mingst (2004:213) INGOs “... are not sovereign; they cannot make laws; they do not possess the coercive power of armies or police authority”.

Based on the above outlined argument, it can be concluded that the theory of comparative advantage cannot be applied to NGOs and states. This being the case, in order to understand what INGOs are potentially good at requires an examination of their strengths and weaknesses outside the notion of comparative advantage. This is of importance to this research because the potential of INGO and CBO partnerships on OVC, partly hinges on how such strengths can be harnessed and weaknesses mitigated. The ensuing section examines these.

6.3 A Question of INGO Potential Strengths and Weaknesses

While acknowledging the heterogeneous terrain of INGOs in general as a limitation in this exercise, it can be suggested that there are areas which can be applied across the board. Most notable here is that this exercise pertains to INGOs and not NGOs in general. This being the case INGO definition remains crucial in guiding this discussion. While in some instances, literature makes a clear distinction between these organisations, it is not always this case.

6.3.1 INGO Potential Strengths

6.3.1.1 Values

SustainAbility (2003) claims that INGO values are the sector's single greatest asset. And while they have no monopoly on values, these avail much in the way of public trust which enables them “... to attract expertise, to create momentum, to communicate powerfully and credibly and to build robust local, regional and global networks” (SustainAbility 2003.: 38). This resonates with Grzybowski (2000: 442) who argues that “... NGOs have no monopoly on the values of justice, equity,

solidarity and participation... however, we would not be [I]NGOs if such values ... ceased to be our driving force” . While INGO assert the primacy of their value base, they often claim that their *value base is special* in the sense of being *above politics*, i.e. grounded in universal humanitarian and developmental concerns above the parochial values in wars, conflicts often dominating the contexts in which they work or of particular social groups. While this is subject to debate, these values go a long way in making the INGO attain support from the public.

6.3.1.2 Expertise

Most INGOs are involved in very specific agendas and depending on their mission and goals they tend to have developed a description of those issues based on evidence and identified potential solutions. Because of this “... other organizations, including socially responsible investors, have come to rely on the expertise of [I]NGOs ...Amnesty International and WWF routinely supply data on corporate performance to socially responsible investors (SustainAbility 2003: 38). Furthermore, INGO expertise is widely acknowledged (Boli and Thomas 1999, Clark 1995, Gaer 1996). Clark (1995) aptly argues that government departments cannot match some INGOs’ acquisition of substantive and historical expertise. Noting the case of their expert role in the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Clark (1995) notes that INGOs supply information to members of the commission so that they are better informed in asking questions to state representatives when they present their reports. INGO expertise in this extends to consultation and drafting texts formally put forward by states in intergovernmental discussions. Against this backdrop, it has been doubted whether and if the UN could function in the arena of social policy pertaining to human rights without INGO support (Gaer 1996).

6.3.1.3 Resource Mobilization

Strongly linked to the ability of INGOs to recruit experts and communicate via the media is their ability to mobilize resources (SustainAbility 2003). In the west where most INGOs are headquartered, they may be financed, in part, by their home governments and employ *foot soldiers*, i.e. usually young people to fundraise from the public on the streets. These energetic *foot soldiers* stop the public at random, asking them to make monthly donations via direct debit. In addition, they also engage in “door to door’ fundraising where they go around knocking on doors in residential

areas asking for similar donations. In this, there is goodwill towards INGOs from the public and their special value base, plays a part¹. In addition, all INGO have websites, which they use for a wide range of issues including soliciting donations and as such, INGOs have set up fundraising machinery for their work in development using all forms of media i.e. radio, television, print and electronic. Donations are also sought via wills after death. The ability of INGOs to mobilize human and financial resources has not escaped the attention of other development agencies. The head of the UN Center for Human Rights in Geneva is quoted in Clark (1995: 517) lamenting:

At present, less than one percent of the UN budget and less 0.75 percent of its staff are dedicated to human rights... We have less money and less human resources than Amnesty International and we are the arm of the United Nations for Human Rights. This is clearly ridiculous.

This comment clearly evidences the ability of INGOs to tap into financial and human resources. In terms of human resources INGOs also make use of volunteers and interns, the latter being usually graduate students in development studies seeking experience.

6.3.1.4 Communication

In terms of communication, SustainAbility (2003: 38) states that some INGOs are a match for advertising agencies, “with the added advantage that their messages tend to be believed. Leading (I)NGOs tend to have a symbiotic relationship with the media, providing appealing stories, expertise and background information, but also depending on media coverage for much of their impact”. Furthermore, INGOs recruit support from celebrities and high profile figures in support of agendas they bring out through the media. This demonstrates their ability to effectively communicate. This resonates with Jamali (2003) who notes that issue identification and bringing it to the attention of the public is a major strength of NGOs. In the words of Grzybowski (2000: 44),

We [INGOs] argue, appeal, provoke, suggest options, and support...we [INGOs] give value to the issue being fought for and we monitor and put pressure on those who are supposed to be in a position to solve the problems. We are,... both promoters and defenders of the causes of the dispossessed.

¹ I am informed by my past experience as an INGO door to door fundraiser and in addition, I have a number of student friends who have done this work. During my time of door to door fundraising, people were generous, especially if they knew the particular INGO I was fundraising for. The streets of London are also littered with fundraisers representing a number of major INGOs. In my neighbourhood, particularly during summer times, I have seen door to door fundraisers knocking at it telling myself and neighbours with convincing passion of all the wonderful things INGOs are doing.

INGOs' ability to communicate effectively also extends to targeting, presenting and lobbying delegates within the UN family through their consultative status with the organization.

6.3.1.5 Networks

According to SustainAbility (2003), in a world which is increasingly networked, success depends on the strengths of one's links and (I)NGOs are at the forefront of creating effective networks using the new communications technologies i.e. internet and mobile phones which have fuelled activism. This resonates with Grzybowski (2000) who posits that INGOs' best action as a *colony* is through networks and forums in which they actively participate. Through these there is a claimed movement of information and strategy formulation from local to national and from national to the international scene which ends up the basis for (I)NGO political action on a global scale (Clark 1995). INGOs' role in advocacy for policy reform via networking and their success is well documented in literature (Edwards 1993, UNDP 1993, Clark 1991). In the late 1990s, INGO coalitions were awarded with the 1997 Nobel Peace prize for their advocacy work to ban landmines via the International Campaign to Ban Landmines. As discussed earlier, INGOs were involved in the Jubilee 2000 debt cancellation campaign and remain at the forefront of influencing the WB through various initiatives. Given the above campaigns with modest results, it is clear that INGO networks in advocacy provide an example of potential strength.

6.3.1.6 Momentum and Flexibility

While SustainAbility (2003) notes momentum to be perishable commodity, NGO movements are claimed to be full of it, given their opportunistic stance. It is claimed, that "... they operate like opportunistic viruses, exploding into life when the conditions are right, fading when they change" (SustainAbility 2003: 39). This is linked to the claim that INGOs are flexible, which partly relates to them making sensitive or politically unpleasant information available to the public which the UN and agencies are often not keen to do, due to dependence on member states for resources. In this, INGOs work in complex political situations whereby, the claim to being "apolitical" and "above politics" as imbedded in their values can be a saving

grace. In many war torn and fragile regions, INGOs such as the Red Cross and Medecins Sans Frontieres work as apolitical humanitarian arms. In this Jamali (2003: 5) credits their relative independence from market and state constraints which enables them to “mediate among actors in contested interactions, including disputes allocation decisions” with neutrality. Citing the case of Norwegian Church AID, Tvedt (1998) notes how it reached out to the victims of war in Ethiopia and Eritrea against a backdrop of hostile policies held by the Ethiopian government. While INGOs are also claimed to be flexible in terms of risk taking, experimenting, pushing boundaries and being at ease with change (SustainAbility 2003, Burnell 1997) and innovative and creative (Fowler 1988) this is often disputed.

6.3.1.7 Participatory, Close to Beneficiary and Ability to Articulate Rural Realities

While it is also claimed that INGOs are participatory, close to the beneficiary and have the ability to articulate rural realities (Burnell 1997, Fowler 1988, ODA 1995), this will not be considered as an area of potential strength. The rationale being found to be inevitably questionable as Hulme and Edwards (1997: 10) ask, “Can participation be achieved by limited consultations about strategies that are already well formulated and that must fit into three year time frames?” Wood (1997: 84) further contends that “participation enters the project lexicon and becomes rapidly subverted by tokenism, routinisation and overuse”. Most importantly, the claim that INGOs are closer to people they wish support can not stand in the presence of CBOs (Opore 2007, Foster 2002a). In the same vein, the ability of NGOs to be close to people on the ground as well as articulate ground realities hinges on having appropriate relationships with local organizations such as CBOs and in the case of OVC, this study has suggested that this isn’t the case. This potentially explains why it is claimed that they often miss some of the poorest people in their interventions (UNDP 1993). Having discussed INGO potential strengths, the following section discusses their potential weaknesses. Inevitably, most of the weaknesses are the flip sides of potential strengths discussed above.

6.3.2 INGO Potential Weaknesses

6.3.2.1 Problems of INGO legitimacy

According to Edwards (2000), the most contentious issue pertaining to INGOs concerns their legitimacy. While the issue of INGO legitimacy was discussed in relation to comparative advantage theory, in this section, this is examined from three strands, i.e. transparency, accountability (and financial dependency on home governments) and accuracy, without comparing with the state. Central to this discussion are the following questions posed by Edwards (2000: 17):

Who – if anyone – do [I]NGOs represent, or they just unaccountable special interest groups that wear a more friendly disguise? Who enjoys the benefits and suffers the costs of what the movement achieves, especially at the grass roots level? Who speaks for whom in an [I] NGO alliance ...? Whose voice is heard, and which interests are ignored ...? In particular, how are grass roots voices mediated by institutions of different kinds – networks and their members, Northern NGOs [INGOs] and Southern NGOs... community groups [such as CBOs] and so on down the line?

6.3.2.2 Problems of Transparency

The issue of INGO transparency is inherently linked to the problems associated with international advocacy networks which are INGO led. When INGOs spearhead international advocacy networks on behalf of the poor, it is rarely clear which poor they are specifically representing and central to this is a lack of transparency about who is speaking against a backdrop of the asymmetry in global networks (Edwards 2000). There have been areas of clear north and south solidarity e.g. the Jubilee 2000 Debt Campaign and the international campaign to ban landmines. However, the lack of such solidarity through partnerships between North and South especially with regards to OVC should be a cause of concern for global networks on OVC headed by INGOs. Hence,

There is a strong sense that organizations in the south want to set their own agenda. At the same time, businesses in Holland are starting to ask Dutch NGOs what legitimacy they have to speak for the south. It is important for Dutch NGO legitimacy that southern Voices are louder and better channelled in this debate (SustainAbility 2003:39)

Against a backdrop of poor north- south linkages, this quote can be applied to all INGOs. Furthermore, not all southern NGOs and CBOs are involved in these dense networks due to poor access to internet and mobile phones which make it easier to participate. In this rural CBOs which happen to represent the poorest are especially disadvantaged due to their remote locations. This implies that global advocacy networks favour INGOs and to some extent urban based national NGOs due to

access to the means of communication. Furthermore, urban based southern NGOs, are mostly dominated by urban elites and professionals with access to information and contacts available in major cities where donors and foreign consulates congregate (Mercer 2002). In this instance, the urban middle class are vastly over represented in these networks at the expense of the rural based constituents represented by CBOs, whom INGOs tend not to partner with and “under these circumstances, the extent to which the agenda of such INGOs represents the concerns of marginalized groups, or whether they are a reflection of the types of activities that donors are willing to fund or that urban based elites deem important is a real concern” (Farrington and Bebbington 1997 cited in Mercer 2002: 15).

In the same vein, the domination of INGO voices on international advocacy networks seems to suggest that they,

... find it difficult to build their policy platforms democratically, [especially at local levels] they end up dodging local political processes which may otherwise provide them with the legitimacy they require to speak.... ...there is always a temptation to leap – frog over the national arena and go direct to Washington or Brussels, where it is often easier to gain access to senior officials, and achieve a response. This is understandable but in the long term it is a serious mistake (Edwards 2000: 23).

As noted above, disengagement with the local is a serious mistake as this potentially decreases the accountability of the state to its citizens due to the lack of national policy debates. What is crucial to note here is that policy debates which exclude southern states and southern organisations, especially rurally based ones cast legitimacy concerns on global networks headed by INGO as agendas risk being largely informed by outsiders. Linked to this is the poor funding allocations to advocacy issues (Anderson 2000). Against this backdrop Edwards (2000: 24- 25) warns:

.... There is a danger that the high profile and accessibility of global protests will detract from the real business of local politics, where participation is much more meaningful...getting things right at the base of the system – by generating a strong local consensus about policy positions – is much more important than build castles in the sky- new global institutions divorced from any local roots.

6.3.2.3 Problems of Accountability and Financial Dependence on Home Governments

While INGO ability to mobilize resources from the public is a potential strength, it is also the case that, some are highly dependent on their home governments. This creates a scenario whereby their accountability is more to donors, than beneficiaries.

Central to this, is INGOs' willingness and ability challenge donors. While the process of allocating funds to INGOs differs from country to country, Abdelrahman (2004) states that some governments and INGOs work hand in glove when it comes to formulating and executing policies regarding aid amount, its allocation and selection of target groups. This makes INGOs' autonomy and apolitical state questionable as donor priorities increasingly influence their priorities (Hailey 2000), hence the idea that "he who pays the piper calls the tune" (Edwards 1997:8). In this Clark (2003: 149) argues that INGOs are

... averse to political controversy at home for fear of losing supporters and irritating their home governments. They focus too much on mobilizing funds in the north to finance work in the south when the transformations that would have the most poverty reducing impact are probably in the north.

For instance challenging the steep income inequality gradient which prevails in wealthy countries such as the US and UK, would have spin-offs for understanding and tackling inequality globally which is obscured by the northern consensus that the problem of the global south is "absolute" poverty (Wilkinson and Pickett 2010, Irwin et al 2006, O'Keefe 2000).

6.3.24 Problems of Accuracy

While Edwards (2000:19) notes that, (I)NGOs are often "criticized as crude and simplistic, poorly researched, and driven by fashion and sensation rather than loyal to the facts or to any public constituency", it is important to acknowledge that some carry out substantial quality research. However, as Edwards (2000: 20) argues while citing the case of Greenpeace¹'s mistaken estimation of hydrocarbons leaks, at times there is "a temptation in NGO campaigns to trade off rigor for speed and profile". Given that such examples are rare potentially suggests that INGOs produce quality data and if any mistakes, are rarely found out given the high level of trust they enjoy due to their special value base. This possibly translates to the readership not being as critical. The main challenge facing INGOs here as Edwards (2000) notes, concerns their ability to build an analytical capacity against a backdrop of passionate experts who feel strongly about certain issues. In the case of INGO focusing on OVC, such an analytical capacity can potentially lead to partnerships with CBOs.

¹ Greenpeace once over estimated the amount of hydrocarbons that might leak into the surrounding ocean.

6.3.2.5 Problems of Inflexibility

While INGOs are claimed to be flexible, they are also charged with the reverse, i.e. being inflexible. Firstly, what is meant by flexibility across the NGO terrain is generally not clear because of the ambiguous nature of the term. If taken to literally mean – accommodating, adaptable – most INGOs fall short as they are highly constrained by the project management structure's facets, such as LFA which ties them to strict short time frames and procedures as discussed in chapter five. While it is possible for some INGOs to be flexible, Tvedt (1998: 138) notes that larger INGOs may be more flexible “when it comes to their ability to change and experiment, both of which presuppose more financial resources and a stronger back bone to cope with failure”. However, as Tvedt (1998) notes cognizance should be taken to the fact that most organizations would naturally be rigid in taking up responsibilities that are outside their focus, while being potentially flexible when it comes to their original focus areas.

6.3.2.6 Problems of Developing Alternatives

According to Anderson (2000) and Edwards (2000) (I) NGOs have failed to develop credible development alternatives to the neo liberal agenda and all other economic growth dominated development models. In this, it is argued that instead of developing plausible alternatives, INGOs have been co-opted into being partners and agents of the WB. This has made it easier for the bank and other donors to adopt INGO discourse thereby creating a false sense of harmony between them and INGOs. However, as Hulme and Edwards (1997: 10) argue, the adoption of NGO-speak by donors “may have more to do with the need for aid agencies to improve their public image than change their practice”. While Anderson (2000) and Edwards (2000) arguments are plausible, it should be borne in mind that, while they can formulate alternatives and experiment, they have to do this within a framework of neo liberalism, especially in Sub Saharan Africa. This being the case, the argument against INGO should be their failure to experiment with alternative ideas, thereby championing these in local projects to other development stakeholders. In this, INGOs failure to experiment with alternative ideas is made more prominent by their use of the project management structure, with its highly Eurocentric facets.

6.4 Summary

This chapter has discussed the notion of comparative advantage in relation to INGOs and states as problematic. From a theoretical perspective, this chapter has shown that the discourse on the comparative advantages of INGOs vis-à-vis a heterogeneous group of states is highly flawed because it calls for the comparison of very different objects which do not share similar characteristics. However, it was noted that NGOs have self authorization based on rational voluntarism which however can't be taken for dominance in the conventional sense. Against this backdrop INGOs' potential strengths and weaknesses were identified and discussed distinct from the notion of comparative advantage. Having examined the strengths and weaknesses of INGOs, the next chapter examines the CBO landscape as a starting point to assessing their potential to supporting OVC.

Chapter 7

Understanding Community Based Organisations

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion on CBOs as potential conduits for supporting OVC. Firstly, it defines local communities and describes CBOs' characteristics and the roles they play in rural development. CBO potential strengths and weaknesses are identified and discussed as a starting point to assessing their potential to partnering with INGOs on OVC.

7.2 Community Based Organisations: An Overview

According to Edwards and Hulme (1992), CBOs are grass roots organisations which are managed by members on behalf of members. Typically CBOs are considered less formal and more localized than NGOs and while some are registered with governments, some are not (Brinkerhoff 2002). Even though CBOs generally have a lower status than NGOs and tend to engage in a limited range of activities, it is claimed that they play a crucial role in vital development programmes (Opare 2007). As crucial as this role may be, it is worth noting that the extent of support and acknowledgment from other actors such as INGOs needs investigation. The marginalization of CBOs in development programmes, particularly in the south, runs in parallel with dearth of academic literature at both national and international level. This potentially points to the weaknesses of CBOs, as low profile organizations lacking support from powerful agents of development such as INGOs, nation states and other agencies. With regards to CBO origins, there is evidence that they can be locally initiated by local communities to address specific needs or issues or they can have external origins, i.e. by the government and (I)NGOs (Esman and Uphoff 1984). As well as being known as grass roots organisations, CBOs are also known as local organisations and indigenous organisations. For the purpose of this study, the term "CBO" is utilized, the rationale being that it best describes that which this study attempts to capture i.e. localized community initiatives in relation to OVC. While such initiatives can take place in urban areas, it is worth reiterating that this study concerns rural based initiatives because of their marginalization and because rural based constituencies tend to have higher proportions of orphan-hood and vulnerability. This is because the majority of the Sub Saharan African population is

rural area based, including Zimbabwe where about 70% of the population reside (USAID 2009). This has implications for OVC development work in terms of context, focus and strategies adopted.

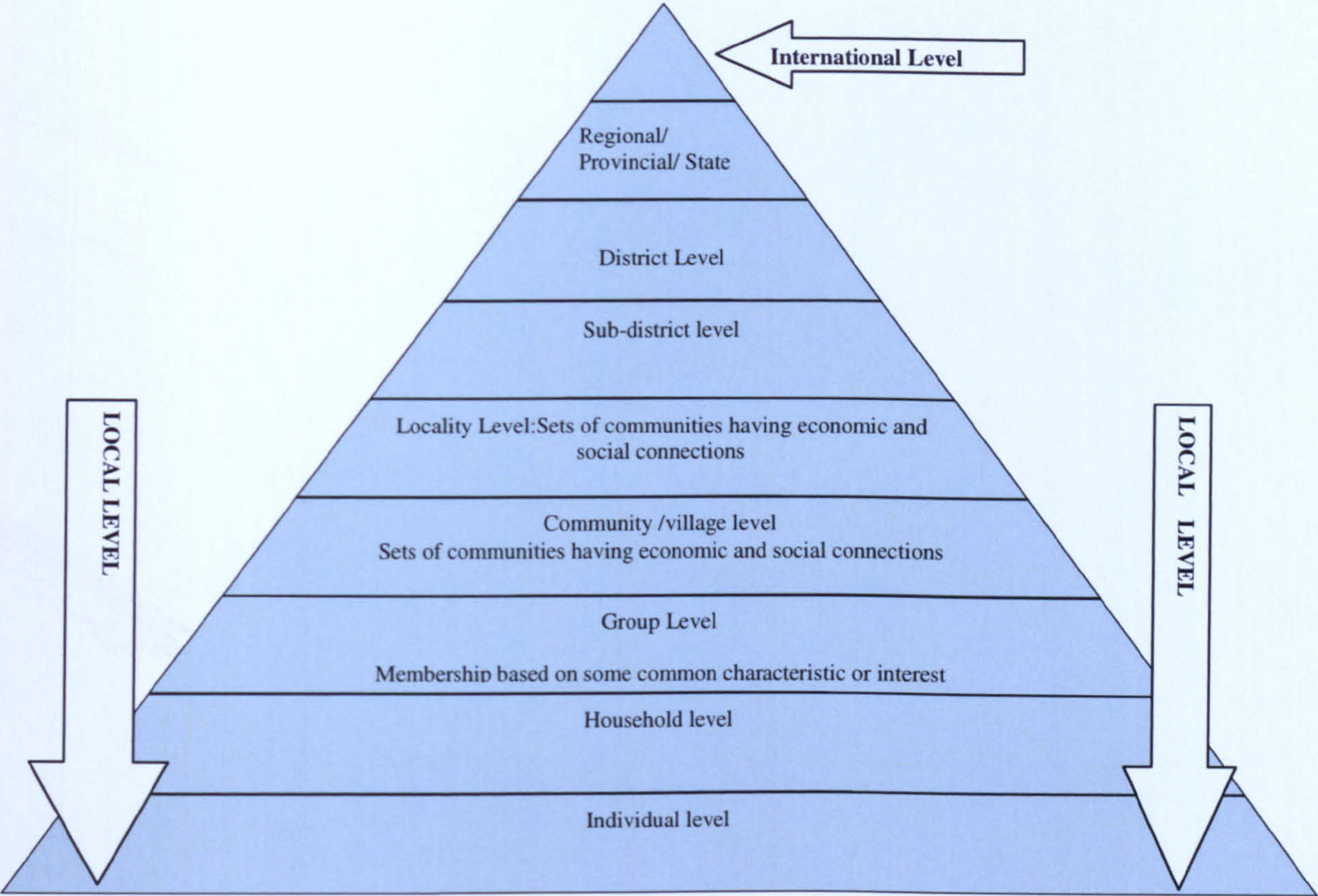
7.3 Defining Local Communities

Uphoff (2004: 71 - 72) notes that community development

.... has been superseded in many places by the more sophisticated term ‘community – based development’, referring not to development *of, by and for* the community- as a natural, harmonious, separate social unit – but rather to development efforts which have a strong basis in communities, but are not limited to them or defined by them.... Communities are a base for development, but development efforts are not coterminous with communities

So in essence, when the concept of “community based development” is used, it is used to refer to development initiatives that are rooted in a particular community. The expansion of development initiatives outside communities leads to the notion of locality. Uphoff’s (1986) framework below (figure 10) attempts to bring a better understanding of local and community concepts against a backdrop of development decision making and activities from the individual to the international level.

Figure 10: Local and Community Framework



Source: Uphoff (1986: 11)

Thus according to the framework above, sets of residents having social and economic connections at the community and group levels qualify as “local”, the rationale being that inhabitants know or are able to know each other as individuals or relatives. At the local level, Uphoff (2004: 72) suggests:

There is some presumption that there will be cooperation among them for interests ranging from mutual protection and deterrence of attacks to solidarity and pooling of resources for joint advantages.

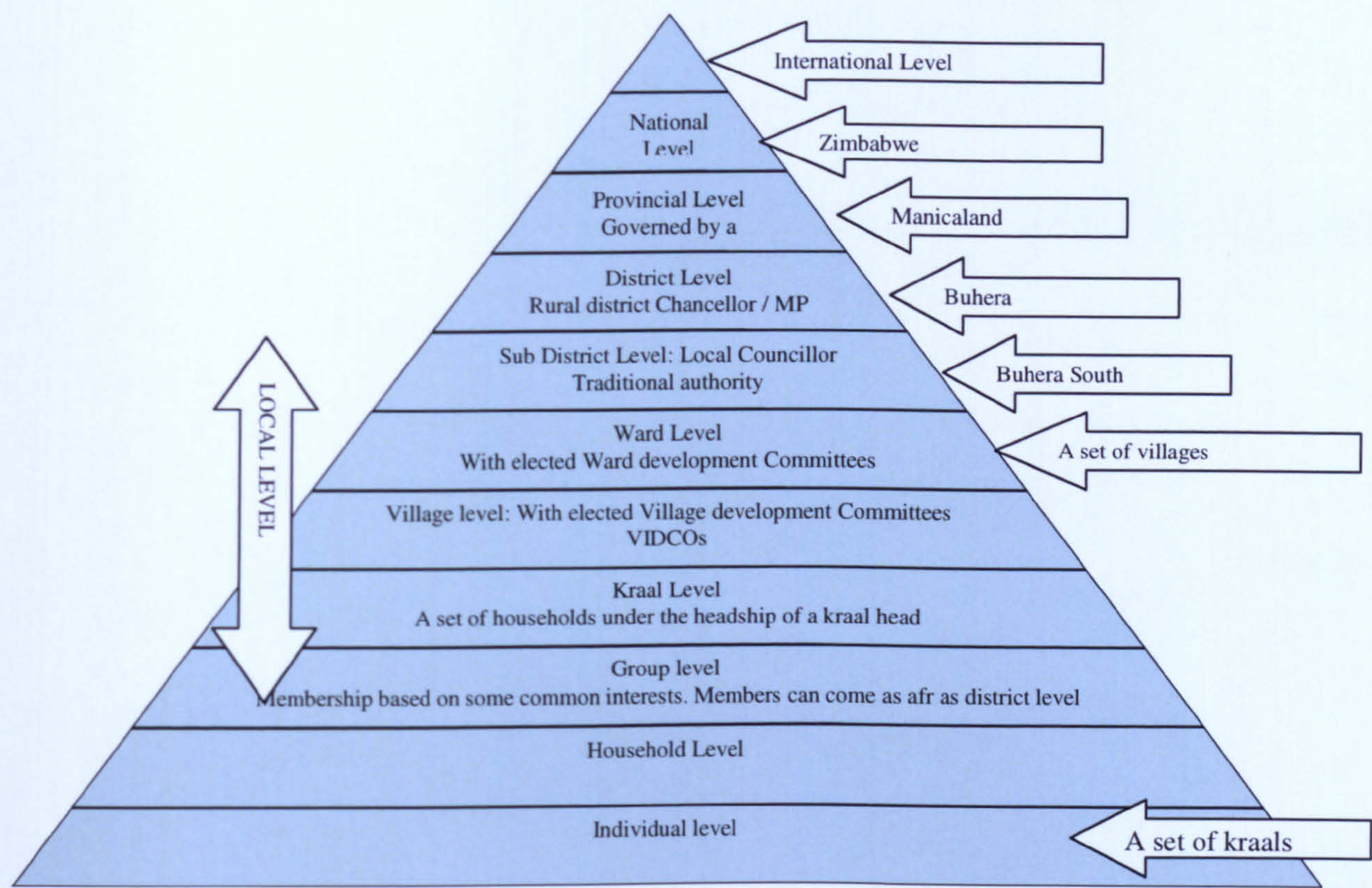
People at the international and national level are far from “local” and those at the region, province or state levels though somewhat close, are remote. As Uphoff notes, regions and provinces of larger countries may even be larger than small nations in population if not in area size. While Zimbabwe, the specific focus of this research has regions known as provinces, these are modestly large though some are sparsely populated. Zimbabwe has 10 provinces of which Manicaland where Batsiranai the focus of this study is located is one of them.

From my knowledge of the area both as a native and researcher, the provincial level is remote from the people of Buhera South, the area in which Batsiranai operates. Having said this, Buhera South is divided into 12 wards; it is a large and sparsely populated area. However, the people of Buhera South seem to be connected with levels of mutuality on common problems. Using Uphoff's framework, it can be argued that the people of Manicaland province may have common allegiances as citizens but not common interests, experiences and friendships. According to the framework, there are therefore only three levels of decision making and action which can be usefully understood as "local" as shown in Figure 9. The rationale is that:

People at these levels know each other, or have a chance to know each other. Accordingly, they are more likely to feel some shared stake and willing to cooperate and even make more sacrifices for others because they perceive that they have some interests in common. I [Uphoff] would define the term local, expressing the common sense of the word, as referring to relationships where people are willing and able to engage in collective action because they recognise and appreciate that some common interest exists (Uphoff 2004: 73).

In the case of this study, the "local" that is being referred to is similar though with a few variations to the one expounded in the above quote. Figure 11, shows hierarchy of Levels of Decision making and action for Development in Buhera South District.

Figure 11: Hierarchy of Levels of Decision making and Action for Development in BSD



Adapted from Uphoff (1986)

As shown above in the diagram, BSD can be classified with regard to Uphoff’s framework involving three levels of decision making and action being understood as local. However, there are two more additions to the local, i.e. the sub district level i.e. Buhera South and the kraal level. The rationale being that Batsiranai operates in Buhera South, thus bringing together communities from 9 different wards to work together. In addition, a kraal is a group of households in Zimbabwe falling under the headship of a kraal head and as such, a number of kraals make up a single village. In the light of this, it makes more sense to be inclusive. Admittedly, the villages which make up the wards are far apart mainly because part of the landscape isn’t habitable. The community highlighted in the framework has highly visible manifestations as it has a set of dwellings and associated inhabitants clustered around. While the inhabitants may belong to different villages, they have a greater sense of belonging to the wider clustered area of BSD as formally designated by the state’s apparatus or

other informal mechanisms, such as traditional leadership in the form of chieftainships. However, traditional leadership extends beyond boundaries and these can also intersect. Thus Uphoff's (2004: 73) argument aptly fits the Zimbabwean rural community scenario, .i.e. "Such communities are usually to some extent self governing, with designated persons in roles of authority, formal or informal, to make decisions on behalf of the residents". In the case of Zimbabwe, this also includes a local chancellor who is elected by the inhabitants of particular villages which fall under the same chieftainship. The community of BSD shares some public infrastructure such as clinics, hospital, schools, buses, shops, post office. People in this community are most likely to know each other, attend similar places of worship and are likely to intermarry. The provincial governors are the link between traditional (locally inclined) and modern (nationally inclined) structures thereby bringing all the ten provinces of Zimbabwe into the national knot. The group level is described as "below" the community, "... because most groups are subsets of persons leaving within communities" (Uphoff 2004: 73). However, there is also the case of many groups which are larger than single villages with members living in different communities, which are also identified as being above the community. The households and individual levels make up kraals which are constituted by sets of dwellings. It is these kraals which in turn make up villages and there are understandably fewer problems relating to decision making and action at these levels.

Having used Uphoff's framework to identify community, it is important to signal that this is a heuristic decision. The notion of "community" is notoriously contentious, not least because many policy makers have expected it to do so much ideological work. This is linked to shifting responsibility for provision from formal institutions which fund services to informal unpaid care (Means and Smith 1994). Furthermore, it is extremely important to note that the identified community is by no means necessarily homogenous. Sources of differences can be identified in age, gender, ethnicity, social group among other factors. These differences can mask areas of conflict which may act against potential common interests and solidarity.

However, the case of rural Zimbabwe there are predominantly two tribes harmoniously intermarrying, against a backdrop of past historical conflicts. In addition, in Buhera South there are no known ethnic conflicts. While gender may create some areas of conflict, both men and women were identified as carrying out

social service provision with children and HIV/AIDS affected families at Batsiranai without overt problems. This underscores what is fundamental to the notion of community as applied to CBOs, namely that it requires recognition by members of a morally binding sense of connection as the etymology of “Batsiranai” makes clear: “helping each other”. It is not just a matter of proximity or shared interests. It is that the interests of relatively physically close others matter and the morally binding sense of connection provides motivation for mutual aid.

Against a backdrop of all issues that have been raised above, it is therefore very important to recognize that:

Communities are not necessarily happy or united places; there can be feuds and even fights and even periods in which social life of a community is in moribund. But the fact of living in close proximity, and the advantages of having some cooperation and mutuality usually maintains at least some civility and often promotes an effective level of shared activity. In fact, in communities traditionally there have been mechanisms for resolving or containing conflict. (Uphoff 2004: 73).

The issue of traditional leadership as mentioned above fits in well with the case of Zimbabwe in terms of conflict resolution at community level.

7.4 CBOs’ Characteristics

CBOs share a defining characteristic with INGOs, i.e. their non-statutory nature and non profit orientation (Opare 2007). However, CBOs enjoy a much lower profile. While some are registered with the government, some are not. Non registered CBOs tend to operate informally and have their meetings at members’ houses, community schools, religious places and other available spaces. Formally registered CBOs tend to have offices, though arguably minimally functional with a telephone. In all cases, CBOs tend to be based within the communities where they are initiated and operate. CBO members usually reside in the same location and services rendered tend to be limited to that particular location (Elsdon et al 1995). With regards to human resources, most CBOs use their memberships to carry out various tasks and as a result of this, it is often argued, “that they do not employ professional staff to carry out their numerous activities” (Opare 2007: 253). Some formally registered CBOs, may have professional staff employed depending on resources available. However, with regards to OVC work, most CBOs are highly dependent on unpaid workers known as “volunteers” for service delivery. Another CBO characteristic is that they are more likely to be women dominated, particularly if their mandate is income

generation, mutual credit support Opare (2007). This is the case of Zimbabwe and her sub-Saharan neighbours where women come together for income generating activities, credit and savings rotation clubs (Foster 2002b, 2005a). Men tend to be interested in water and sanitation projects and school management committees as driven by the belief that this will secure them leadership and management positions (Fournier and Keleman 2001). However, there are also deeper colonial roots which impact on CBO gender variations. In Zimbabwe and neighbouring countries, the traditional family was rural based before colonialism, and while men were the providers for the family, women were carers. Within colonialism, the traditional family was altered as it fostered modern development which required African labourers in mines and other industries. Furthermore, while African men might not have been keen to leave their homes, the introduction of the hut tax/ poll tax¹ in 1894 by the colonial state meant they had to venture into the cash economy (Raftopoulos and Mlambo 2009). However, this only granted them temporary stay in urban areas, which were then the preserve of white settlers. African women were therefore left in the rural areas where they tended the fields and gathered at events until weekend time when their husbands travelled back to be with them. While independence from colonialism altered this due to free movement, currently men who lose their jobs and/or cannot cope with urban life tend to settle in rural areas and participate in rural activities. In the main, the historical background described above has impacts on CBO gender variations. CBOs also tend to be membership based though not all, depending on the objectives. Those that are membership based receive membership fees, though minimal because most rural constituents are already poor. Hence their dependence on human capital – social capital.

7.5 CBOs Potential Strengths

7.5.1 Proximity: Link between Donors and Local Communities

CBOs are claimed to be functionally well placed to act as a link between donors and local communities (Foster 2002a, 2002b). As Schmale (1996) notes, CBOs have an established basis at the level of beneficiaries. Against this backdrop, CBOs are more likely to be cognizant of local needs than other external actors. As Foster (2002a) posits, community based initiatives are well informed of children's needs due to

¹ The hut tax was a form of taxation introduced by colonial states in a number of African countries. In Zimbabwe, it was introduced in 1894 as ten shillings per hut and was doubled in 1904.

proximity and first hand experiences unlike external agencies which often become aware of such needs through literature and media coverage. Because of this, it is argued that CBOs are better positioned to implement donor assisted programmes at lower cost (Opare 2007; Foster 2002b, 2002a). While Opare (2007) argues that CBOs incur minimal costs on transportation, accommodation and other areas in service delivery because of proximity, some contextual factors such as long distances can render this claim problematic.

7.5.2 Participation, Accountability, Responsiveness and Effectiveness

When Narayan et al (2000a: 184) conducted research among poor people in rural areas in the global south; they used the following criteria to measure the effectiveness of institutions: responsiveness, participation, accountability, respect, honesty and fairness, unity/ conflict resolution and caring, loving and listening. CBOs received positive ratings in all of the above in sharp contrast to many other institutions. See Table 14 below.

Table 14: How Institutions Fare on a Range of Evaluation Criteria.

Evaluation criteria	Responsiveness	Trust	Participation	Accountability	Unity/conflict resolution	Respect	Honest & Fairness	Caring, loving- Listening
Institution								
Municipalities and local government	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Schools	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Health services	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Police	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Politicians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Banks	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Private enterprise and traders		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shops & moneylenders	+	+	-	-				
Service delivery NGOs	-	+	-	-				
Emergency NGOs	+	+		-		+		+
Community based organisations	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Local Leaders	+	+		+	+	+		+
Kin and Family	+	+		+				+
Religious organisations	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+

A Positive rating (+) implies that the majority of responses were positive, and a negative rating (-) means the majority of ratings were negative. Blanks imply either that the criterion was not applicable or that there were insufficient data. Source: Narayan et al (2000a: 18)

Given that local initiatives originate from challenges encountered by the very people involved in seeking solutions, they are most likely to see the process and outcomes as responsive and accountable to them. There is however an exception with externally instigated CBOs. Externally instigated CBOs may face the challenge of being accountable to those who initiate their formation, e.g. INGOs and donors. And as such, the survival of such CBOs, the extent to which they can mobilize, and programme ownership can be questionable. In the light of this, there is need for caution when discussing CBO responsiveness and accountability as individual CBO history has a bearing on the extent to which they can be credited with those strengths. Furthermore, access to donor and INGO funding poses questions regarding CBO responsiveness and accountability to beneficiary.

With regards to participation, it is generally claimed that CBOs are the most common conduit for participation and consequently contribute the best that participation has to offer (Brinkerhoff 2002). Furthermore, Owens (1993: 241) posits: “indigenous organisations (CBOs included) have the best potential to implement participatory development initiatives that respond to genuine local needs”. These claims resonate with Narayan et al’s (2000a) findings as shown above. Thus as Mansuri and Rao (2004) note, when potential beneficiaries make key decisions, participation becomes a self initiated action, whereby people exercise voice and choice. Central to this is the idea that higher levels of participation can foster programme ownership which is required for sustainability (Esman and Uphoff 1984). While this maybe the case, participation is fraught with numerous challenges. Firstly the concept is often over idealized and abused as discussed in chapter six. Secondly, real participation for the poor can be really costly due to the need to commit time (Mansuri and Rao 2004). In addition, it can lead to psychological stress or physical duress for the most vulnerable as genuine participation may imply having to take decisions that are against the powerful (Mansuri and Rao 2004). Participation also masks variations in gender relations, age, authority and social obligations which all tend to shape the nature and extent of participation. Brinkerhoff (2002) further contends that participation can be a smoke screen which hides the exploitation of the poor by the elite who are usually the gate keepers. In some cases, participation has been described as a form of forced labour, with the poor making more

contributions than the wealthy (Ribot 1995). Given the above criticisms, it is clear that while participation is claimed to be a CBO strength, it is fraught with many challenges.

As also shown in table 14, CBOs are claimed to be the most important institutions as well as being the most effective in poor people's lives in rural areas, in comparison with many others, NGOs included. CBO effectiveness is likely to be linked to agendas that are locally identified. Thus if a CBO addresses the perceived needs of its members, as locally identified by them, it is recognised to be more effective in pursuing those needs than externally set agendas. In this, it is argued that people are inclined to cooperate as it is in their best interest to do so as intended outcomes alleviate their suffering (Schmale 1996). As Narayan et al (2000b: 144) notes, "community based organisations command confidence because people feel a sense of ownership of them, and feel that these organisations are responsive to their priorities". Furthermore, it can also be argued that CBOs' sphere of structural influence is potentially wider at a local level due to their potential sensitivity to local traditions and cultures of which they are informed. While CBO responsiveness and effectiveness are positively viewed as discussed above, it can be suggested that due to their marginalised state, poor people may automatically overrate these.

7.5.3 Social capital

Social capital is also claimed to be a strength of community based initiatives due to the presence of relationships of mutuality, trust and reciprocity which can be tapped to advance the development of specific communities (Kay 2005, Brinkerhoff 2002). Even though the sociologist Bourdieu (1984, 1990, 1998) cites the presence of power relations in social systems whereby the rich powerful may have better networks than the poor and use those networks for common good or against the poor, social capital can play a significant role in development activities such as OVC work as communities mobilize to confront a common challenge. This is particularly because of their marginalization, rural community initiatives usually have less financial and other physical resources usually at the disposal of mainstream organisations and as such social capital becomes their resource in addressing challenges. Within rural communities, social capital includes traditional institutions (Marsh 2003) and other cultural and traditional value systems, which bind communities together. In this Brinkerhoff (2002) argues that CBOs are able cultivate and depend of social norms as the most effective system of governance.

Furthermore, in the world of microenterprise, Woolcocks (2001) convinced the World Bank that group lending to the poor can yield more desirable results than lending to individuals based on deploying trust and social pressure amongst known borrowers. In this "... the social capital of the poor thus acts as a substitute for what they lack by way of physical or financial capital" (Woolcocks 2001:193)

Woolcock's claim is not as far fetched as it might appear considering the rich history of savings and rotating clubs in poor people's communities, Zimbabwe included which are based on trust, solidarity, shared norms and values and a greater sense of belonging, which are all more common within rural societies in sub Saharan Africa (Foster 2002b).

While social capital has affected mainstream thinking on community based initiatives it has been criticized on many fronts. Firstly, while mutual bonds are important for trust, such interactions are not as harmonious due to power tensions highlighted by Bourdieu (1984, 1990, and 1998), hence when powerful people in communities speak, they tend to be heard more, consequently making their views dominant. Furthermore, the utilization of traditional leadership, as an element of social capital as advocated by Marsh (2003) can be problematic, particularly in fragile political environments. In the case of Zimbabwe, traditional leaders have always been courted by the state (Zimbabwe Institute 2005) which has implications for their input in development activities as part of social capital. In addition, there are more cautionary remarks to be considered: "... local social capital that concentrates too much in binding the community into a cohesive unit can make a community more isolated and less tolerant of strangers and outsiders" (Kay 2005: 170). In this instance, Kay (2005) suggests that bonding and bridging social capital would be required to maintain a healthy community balance. While the former relates to the social capital which develops within a group and binds individuals and organisations together, the latter relates to the social capital which allows a group to reach out to other groups and organisations (Gittel and Vidal 1998). However, as the New Economics Foundation (2000) argues, if less tolerance and more isolation take hold within a group, self esteem can potentially turn into vanity, sanctions into oppression and closeness to kin into corruption.

7.6 CBOs' Potential Weaknesses

7.6.1 Poor Institutional Development and Weak Structures

According to Brinkerhoff (2002), most CBOs are relatively weak in terms of institutional development, which in turn impacts negatively on their structures. Given that poor education levels are usually pervasive in rural marginalised communities (Owens 1993) it isn't surprising that CBOs are claimed to have poor institutional development, as this is inherently linked to the level of education in members. This is further exacerbated by the fact that educated individuals in such communities are most likely to migrate to urban areas in search of a better life and if not, they can become the leaders and local elites. Closely linked to the issue of institutional development are CBO weak structures, which is exacerbated by the influence of founders rather than the membership as a whole which tends to deter the organisation's growth (Khan 2007). This may happen as members or beneficiaries can become beholden to the founder, who is usually more educated (Datta 2005) to the extent of not engaging in constructive criticism, a characteristic feature of charismatic leadership. Secondly, some founders may be powerfully and or political connected which may pose challenges for freedom of speech. This can result in power being concentrated in the hands of a few, i.e. the local elite (World Bank 2001, Datta 2007) who may act as community gate keepers as well as politically co-opting the vulnerable (Brinkerhoff 2002). While this raises concerns regarding the credibility of CBOs as fair and representative entities (Khan 2007), this also extends to how CBOs function in relation to their organisational capacity and decision making structures. In terms of leadership dominance, Datta (2005) posits that in the absence of second line leadership options groups ultimately become inactive. This however depends on the extent to which a CBO has been able to professionalize or not.

7.6.2 Lack of Financial Resources, Dependency on External Funding and Upward Accountability

Given the marginalization of CBOs in rural development, they are typically poorly financially resourced (Brinkerhoff 2002, Narayan 2000b) which is largely attributed to their poor institutional development. While there are country variations, most southern governments input very little financial resources, if any, into such initiatives due to a lack of resources and political will and ideological differences among others. Private sector support is often limited due to lack of vibrancy, as well as state incentives. This being the

case, CBO, like national NGOs are dependent on funding external to the country in question. With regards to CBOs responding to OVC needs, the lack of financial resources is well documented (see Foster 2002b, Foster 2002a; Foster et al 1997b, Foster et al 1996, Drew et al 1998, UNICEF 1998, Foster 2005). In the main, CBO dependency on external funding potentially entails that,

... the conception, modes of action and types of project to be carried out must be compatible to some extent at least with the donor agencies' objectives and policies. The relationship is usually asymmetrical: in order to survive, the [CBO] must anticipate the behaviour of the donor agencies, adjust their strategies thereto and carry out their activities first and foremost with the idea of being assessed by the donors (Nogueira 1987: 170)

What Nogueira raises above is characteristic of donor influence discussed in chapter five whereby development agendas and modes of operation reflect the interests of donors rather than the beneficiary. Linked to this, is the contentious issue of upward rather than downward accountability as assessments by donors may take precedence over assessments by beneficiaries through information accumulation to meet donor requirements (Nogueira 1987, Edwards and Hulme 1996). In the event of a CBO being self funded there is a greater likelihood of downward accountability. While CBO legitimacy is not an area of much debate, it can be suggested their legitimacy can suffer through isolation in terms of having appropriate linkages with other institutions such as government departments linked to their mandates well as research communities. As Nogueira (1987) suggests, this tends to limit the amount of positive social influence that grassroots organisations (CBOs) can have which has implications for ability to learn from others and as well as diversify their knowledge base. However, upward accountability rather than downward potentially distorts locally identified agendas. While INGOs are charged with the same criticism, its notable that they have more bargaining power with donors, due to their positioning, than rural CBOs in the global south.

Furthermore, Nogueira (1987: 170) argues that dependency on external funding impacts negatively on institutional learning, as programs are designed in tune with donors. This can also be attributed to the lack of research within CBOs, partly due to lack of resources as well as poor institutional development. Research builds a vital knowledge base which an organisation can tap into, but with little or none, room for wider reflection is limited. Thirdly, Nogueira argues that donor funding tends to have strong implications on the institutional size and the amount of activities a CBO partakes in and without diversified

funding for sustainability, the problem “takes a dramatic character when the projects come to an end” (ibid: 170). In the light of this, a CBO can grind to a halt, with employed staff losing their jobs and/or an erratic search for more funding may grip the organisation, with local agendas being tweaked to suit those of available donors for organisational survival. This being the case, CBOs may become “oriented more to grasping opportunities that arise spontaneously than those which they have created” (ibid: 170).

7.7 Summary

This chapter has discussed CBOs in rural development as organizations that are highly localized within particular contexts. Characteristically, rural CBOs were described as being voluntary oriented, with variations in gender involvement depending on nature of development activities. Lastly this chapter discussed CBO potential strengths and weaknesses with a view to potentially harness and mitigate these towards partnership working with INGOs on OVC. The ensuing chapter discusses the case of CSOs in Zimbabwe, as a way of contextualizing the MS – Batsiranai partnership, the case study under examination.

Chapter 8

Civil Society Organisations and the state in Zimbabwe

8.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the nature of civil society organisations in Zimbabwe as well as their relationship with the state. This is an important exercise as it illuminates on the contextual environment for MS and Batsiranai whose partnership on OVC remains central to this study.

8.2 A Historical Overview of Civil Society Organisations: Colonial (1890 – 1980) and Post Independence Period

As Moyo (1993) states, the colonial government adopted segregatory policies towards the majority black population in which they were denied the right to participate in democratic institutions. Thus the development of civil society organizations led by blacks was curtailed by banning blacks from mainstream politics to the realm of tribal existence where they would, as natives define themselves in terms of ethnic as opposed to national identities” (Moyo 1993: 6). Against this backdrop, Moyo (2000) notes that burial societies, women’s clubs, church development arms and elite social clubs were the major arena of civil society development, alongside white run NGOs and white led- churches. However, during and after 1945, the increasing number of workers in the urban areas led to the growth of trade unions which lead to rise of nationalism (Raftopolous 2000). Through oral history and research (Ranger 1996) we learn that in rural areas civic life was in the form of *pungwes*¹, local churches, *nhimbesh*², *Zunde Rambo*³, burial societies, rotating savings and sewing clubs. However, during the liberation struggle, which gathered momentum after 1964, peasants’ civic life was cantered on supporting the nationalist guerrilla movement.

¹ These were all night vigils held with and in support of the guerrillas. People would chant and dance to war songs praising the guerrillas and the Zimbabwe National Union of Patriotic front (ZANU PF).

² A traditional form of partnership working between community members as introduced in chapter 1 and further discussed in chapters 11 and 12.

³ This translates to the king’s field. This is a traditional activity in which a chief allocates a field to the community and community members come to work in the field and proceeds are distributed to the poor by the chief. The concept has been adopted in various forms and extends to community gardens in support of the needy. This is further discussed in chapter, 10, 11 and 12.

Soon after independence in 1980, the GOZ encouraged the formation of NGOs and CBOs driven by the desire to build national unity among a once disenfranchised majority (Moyo 2000). In this, NGOs mobilized around rehabilitation, relief and social services, education and training in agriculture and sought links with the ruling party (Raftopoulos 2000). From the early 1990s onwards, a new generation of technocrats began NGOs focusing in human rights, culture, AIDs, women's issues, "indigenization"¹ and environmental concerns which reflected the rise of a middle class and its interests in development (Raftopoulos 2000). This also coincided with introduction of neo liberalism policies and as the state retreated it was forced to rely on the NGO landscape for social services provision.

8.3 Nature of Civil Society Organizations in Zimbabwe

The National Association of Non-Governmental Organizations² (NANGO- Zimbabwe) website³, lists over 2000 NGOs in Zimbabwe which is inclusive of INGOs, national NGOs, CBOs and some government agencies. While this presents some statistical challenges given the lack of figures on each category, the *Directory of Development Organisations – Africa (2006)* gives some statistics on INGOs and donors as given below.

8.3.1 International NGOs

The *Directory of Development Organisations – Africa (2006)* lists a total of 51 INGOs in Zimbabwe: World Vision, Oxfam, Plan International, International Red Cross, Caritas, Amnesty international, Medecins Sans Frontieres to name a few. While the majority of the INGOs are development oriented, a few focus on humanitarian relief though not exclusively. While INGOs are increasingly seen as donors to local organisations, in Zimbabwe they hardly fund local NGOs and CBOs (Smillie and Hailey 2001, Moyo 2000, Michael 2004). This partly informed this study's rationale.

8.3.2 National NGOs

According to Chinemana (1991) many national NGOs are Christian based organizations founded pre independence and are involved in education and health service provision in

¹ These sought to promote black entrepreneurs via state led policy reforms and the allocation of state resources to blacks on preferential terms and were heavily dependent on the ruling party (Raftopoulos 2000).

² This is the umbrella body for NGOs in Zimbabwe.

³ www.nango.org.zw

rural areas, e.g. The Anglican Diocese (Chinouya et al 2005). . The presence of such organizations can be linked to the presence of missionaries as discussed in chapter four. While some NGOs operate at national level others operate at provincial level. In this some NGOs such as Msasa Project operate on a single mandate, of supporting victims of domestic violence who are mostly women.

8.3.3 Community Based Organisations

As Moyo (2000) notes more than half of CSOs in Zimbabwe are CBOs initiated by various government ministries, church groups, individuals and groups of people in local communities. Even though the Government requires CBOs to be registered under the PVO ACT, some are either not registered or have an unclear legal status. In Zimbabwe, CBOs are generally regarded as “self help groupings and associations that mostly exist in a particular locality for a specific activity” (Moyo 2000: 48). Most CBOs are collective cooperatives and social service oriented. The latter’s formation was culminated by the HIV/AIDS pandemic in the face of dwindling state provision due to the introduction of neoliberal policies. Batsiranai is an apt example of such.

8.3.4 Umbrella and Professional Bodies

NANGO is the umbrella body for national NGOs and CBOs in Zimbabwe. While INGOs are not allowed to participate in NANGO, they can seek associate membership. Originally founded in 1962, as Southern Rhodesia Council of Social Services it was renamed Voluntary Organisations in Community Enterprise (VOICE) in 1980, and in 1990, NANGO. While it is meant to both coordinate and represents the NGO sector, NANGO’s impact has been negligible (Rich and Dorman 2001) due to having close ties with the state (Michael 2004) and organizational rivalry (Moyo et al 2000). It is also criticized for failing to represent NGO interests in terms state legislation governing on their operations (Raftopoulos 2000, Rich - Dorman 2000) as well as engaging in front line development work which directly conflicts with its roles and responsibilities as a NGO coordinating body, which are “...to work for the interests of their members and not themselves to operate at project level” (Stremlau 1987: 221). In addition to NANGO, there are other CSOs in Zimbabwe which include the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Union (ZCTU) and other professional groups e.g. Zimbabwe Association of Doctors for Human Rights (ZADHR) (Moyo 2000) These groups protect and defend the interests of their members and advocate on their behalf.

8.4 Donor Agencies

There are a number of official donors in Zimbabwe which largely fund national NGOs and CBOs. These include embassies, northern government development agencies and intergovernmental organisations. *The Directory of Development Organisations – Africa* (2006) lists 36 donor agencies with NORAD, NOVIB, DANIDA, CIDA, USAID , HIVOS, DfID, UNICEF, UNAIDs among others being highly visible. Included in this count are funding foundations such as Ford Foundation, Kellogg Foundation, Konrad Adenauer, Frederic Albert to name a few.

8.5 Independence and State Consolidation: Implications for the CSO landscape¹

Against a backdrop of state encouragement of CSOs after independence, Moyo argues that the majority of them suffered due to lack of “... political space for independent policy action arising from self management and self determination without state tutelage. Other social groups which survived sooner or later found themselves forced to toe the ZANU PF party line” (Moyo 1993: 7- 8). This consequently became the case as the state took advantage of the under developed CSOs by asserting that ZANU PF was the sole representative of the people, which implied that organizations had to pledge allegiance to the party as a way of proving their “revolutionary and patriotic commitment” (ibid: 7). Mapping the beginning of this venture, Moyo notes how the party declared 1981 as *the year of the consolidation of people’s power*, in which it was demanded of Zimbabweans as individuals, groups or communities a single loyalty as a manifestation of national unity. As Moyo posits, single loyalty was linked to the quest for a legislated one party state which failed to gain favour among the masses. However, the only serious opposition party to the state, Zimbabwe African People’s Union, was co opted by Zanu PF under the notion of national unity thereby ceasing to exist as an independent party in 1989. It can be argued that the ruling party’s ideology through out the 1980s sought to curtail the independent growth of CSOs. This consequently led to a lack pluralism within the CSO landscape. Notable is that the armed struggle leading to independence

... produced a violent culture of intimidation and fear within ranks of the liberation movement themselves and among their social base of peasant supporters... the armed struggle lacked a guiding moral ethic... this created an environment of death, terror and fear ... to the utter misery of peasants who had to contend with equally brutal colonial forces. This resulted in a culture of fear in which violence was perpetrated in the name of nationalism and socialism... this has

¹ This section draws from Moyo (1993)

continued after independence with the same consequence. This is why peasants are conspicuously afraid of ZANU PF, particularly during elections: the campaign tactics of the ruling party are based on intimidation and death threats (Moyo 1993:12).

Moyo's above assertions largely resonate with events around the 2008 elections, and others earlier whereby an atmosphere of terror and fear pervaded rural people as opposition supporters suffered violence perpetrated by ZANU PF youth militia (Kagoro 2005, Coltart 2008, Bird and Busse 2007). In addition, traditional leaders were also used to curtail pluralism. Firstly, tribalism as promoted by the colonial state utilized the role of traditional leaders in keeping communities divided and narrowly focused. Even though chiefs were initially viewed with suspicion as collaborators¹ of the colonial state they were after independence incorporated into state structures in 2000 through the Traditional Leaders Act (1997) (Zimbabwe Institute 2005). This can be linked to curtailment of pluralism via the promotion of the state's unifying ideology. Against this backdrop it can be argued that the colonial and post colonial state, both used traditional leadership to thwart civil society organisations albeit in different ways, i.e. divide and rule by the former which created narrow mindedness while unification by the latter frustrated pluralism. This being the case, Moyo argues that

The type of civil society that is currently being formed in countries such as Zimbabwe is characterized by ... associations such as village communities ... all of which do not encourage an interest beyond their own immediate concerns...(Moyo 1993:4)

It is however noteworthy that urban based organizations began to be increasingly vibrant and outspoken from the late 1990s e.g. Women of Zimbabwe Arise and the Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition.

8.6 The Legislative Environment

While independence ended racial segregation and granted the majority the right to vote, it is largely argued that (Kagoro 2005, African Commission on Human Rights (ACHPR) 2002, Moyo 1993) some repressive arms of the state remained unchanged. A summary from the Fact Finding Mission to Zimbabwe by the ACHPR (2002: 13) paragraph 6 contends:

There has been a flurry of new legislation, the revival of the old laws under that Smith Rhodesian regime to control, manipulate public opinion, and that limited civil liberties. Among these, the mission was drawn to the Public Order and Security Act, (POSA) 2002 and the Access

¹ Under the colonial state, chiefs were tasked with hut tax collection and paid an allowance for this and their judicial function. And from the 1960s, they were also given increased powers for land allocation in their communal areas

to Information and Protection of Privacy Act, 2002. These have been used to require registration of journalists and for prosecution of journalists for publishing 'false information'. All these, of course, would have a 'chilling effect' on freedom of expression and introduce a cloud of fear in media circles. The Private Voluntary [Organizations] Act (PVO) has been revived to legislate for the legislation of NGOs and for the disclosure of their activities and funding sources (ACHPR 2002: 13).

As highlighted above, the state revived old laws to clamp down potential voices of dissent, which is a similar strategy to that used by the colonial state. The POSA, for instance has its origins in the colonial state. Section 5 of the POSA makes it an offence to establish an organisation to overthrow the government by unconstitutional means; usurp the functions of government or coerce the government through physical force, boycotts, and civil disobedience.

PVO act is another piece of legislation which having been on Zimbabwe's statute book since 1967 was enacted in 1995 for NGO registration almost in its original version (IBA 2004). Since 1995, it has been amended a number of times and most recently in 2001. While registration is pivotal for State regulation, this wasn't enforced till 2002. Notable is that the PVO act evidences state suspicion and desire to both thwart CSOs given that the de registration of any CSO is left to the discretion of the Minister of PSLSW under the auspices of "public interest" as stipulated in section 21 (1) of the act (Raftopolous 2000). As Michael (2004) notes, "Public interest" can easily be used by the state to legitimize its own interests.

Further concerns about (I) NGO and CBO registration came in 2004 as the state sought to introduce the NGO Bill, a stringent possible successor to the PVO act. In brief, the bill sought to prohibit the registration of foreign NGOs whose principal objectives involve issues of governance and also stipulated that no local NGOs were to receive foreign funding for governance issue (IBA 2004: 6). The implications of this would have been severe given the fact that most donors and INGOs, like MS do not see aid dollars as the permanent solution but rather, good governance. Given the full contents of the Bill, IBA (2004: 6) argue that it was meant "... to silence dissent in a key component of civil society by excessive regulation and wide ranging powers to discipline and close down NGO activity". While the bill never received presidential assent for unknown reasons, national and global protests notwithstanding the state's attitude towards NGOs appears to have been fuelled by the absence of real political opposition prior to the formation of MDC in

1999 (Sithole 1997). This implied that CSOs were increasingly being called upon to engage in political issues, hence state fear that they would arise to challenge its political hegemony and monopoly of political space (Africa Rights 1999). And as Kagoro (2005) argues, given Zimbabwe's pre-independence history which evidenced a tendency for CSOs to transform themselves into political actors, it is hardly surprising that the ZANU PF led government sought to thwart them.

In the same vein, the state also used the Information and Protection of Privacy Act to exercise media monopoly (Kagoro 2005 ACHPR 2002). For instance, *The Daily News*, an independent newspaper, was forcefully shut down in 2003 by armed riot police in spite of being vindicated in a high court ruling. In line with this, the BBC was banned from operating in the country and local journalists known to report "unfavourably" on the State were denied operational licenses while licensed ones faced the prospect of prosecution for publishing 'false information'. In this campaign the state owned newspaper, i.e. *The Herald Newspaper*, was used to smear CSOs (Michael 2004) e.g. *The Sunday Mail* (part of the Herald Newspaper group) published a headline "*Mis Use of Funds alleged at ZimRights*". Even though an independent audit proved the allegations false, state owned media failed to publish these findings which were reported in *The Daily News*, July 29th 1999, the newspaper which was consequently shut down. Against a backdrop of the above, NGO - State relations however appear stronger at ministerial and local levels as evidenced by the use of government buildings and support from local authorities (Michael 2004). This is particularly important as CBOs like Batsiranai's response on children must be viewed as part of the larger framework on OVC as guided by the NPA, which takes cognizance of a number of stakeholders, government ministries and departments included. This being the case, it is expected there would be some form of linkages with these departments.

8.7 Summary

This chapter has discussed state- civil society relations in Zimbabwe, pre and post independence. It examined how the colonial and post colonial states severely curtailed the autonomy and pluralism of the CSOs through legislation. Against this background, the relationship between NGOs and the state were noted to be stronger at ministerial and local levels. Having explored this contextual scene, the next chapter moves on to discuss

partnerships in international development. This is important given the fact that INGO's impact on CBO response to OVC falls under framework of partnership.

Chapter 9

Partnerships in International Development

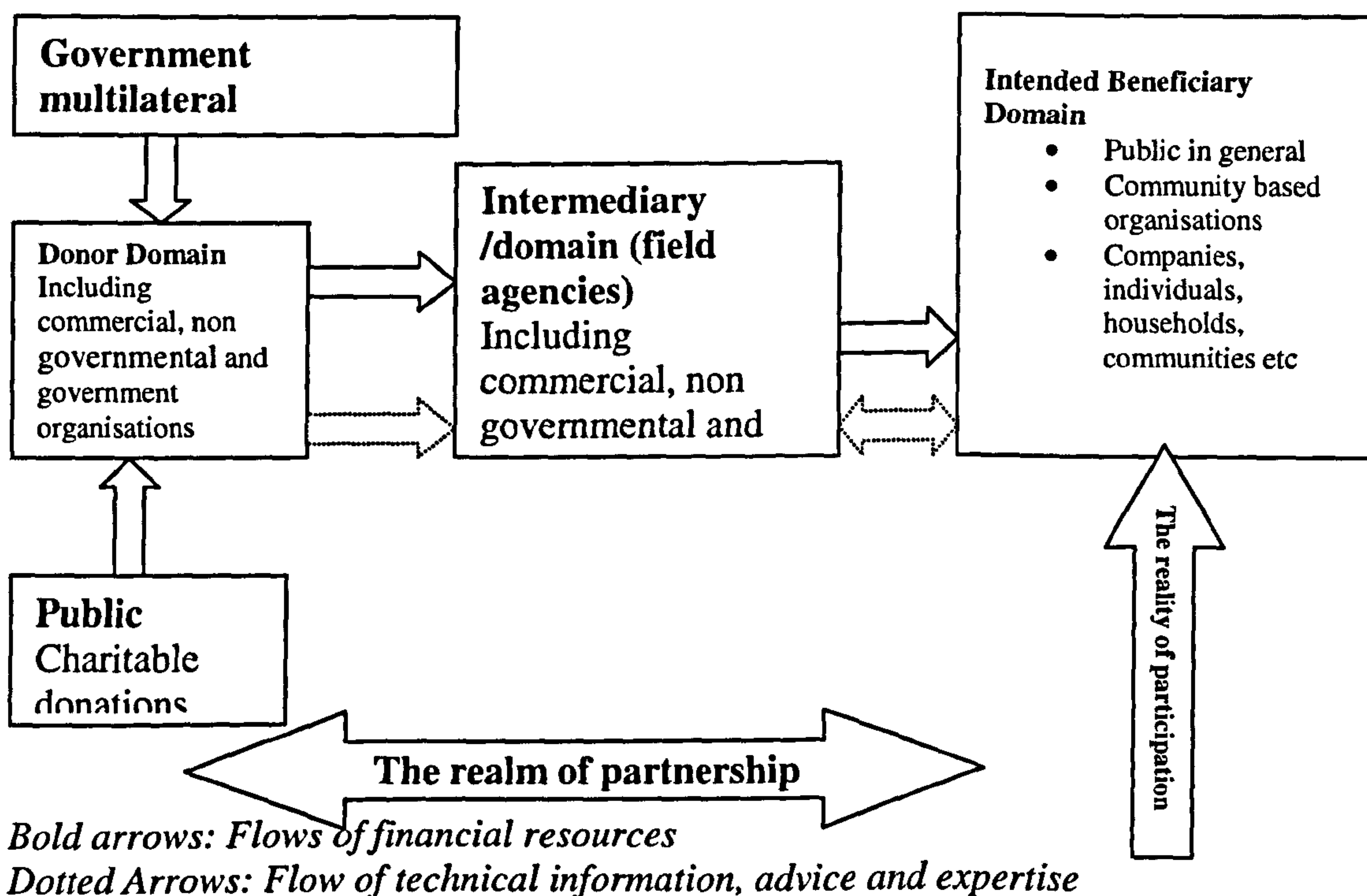
9.1. Introduction

In the light of this study which seeks to establish whether and if INGOs can support community initiatives on OVC in rural Zimbabwe, this chapter explores “partnership” as the approach for north- south development aid relationships. It presents an overview of partnerships in development aid, followed by a brief on “why partnership”. It also examines the concept of partnership alongside the different types of partnerships. The fourth section discusses the dimensions of partnership.

9.2 Partnerships in International Development: An Overview

Partnership has long become the buzz word on the development aid scene for north and south relations. While such relationships are inherently diverse, the aid relationship linking them and beneficiaries can be summarized below.

Figure 12: Summary of Aid Relationships



Source: Morse and McNamara (2004)

As the diagram above indicates, partnership is often used to describe a desired relationship between the middle organisations in the diagram, with those ones on the left

side. Participation falls between a desired relationship with the middle organisations and those on the right (Davis 2002). With reference to this study concerning MS and Batsiranai, the former is in the category of middle placed organisations and the latter in the left category. The donor domain as identified above is powerful and often imposes rigorous management systems and policy changes within this domain impact on development projects.

9.3 Why Partnership?

The question “Why partnership?” as posed in literature (Crawford 2003, Morse and McNamara 2006, Brinkerhoff 2002) needs to be addressed in this study given that the approach governs INGOs and CBOs relations on OVC. Lister’s (2000) response alludes to a pragmatic response by official donors to weaknesses in aid performance, i.e. efficient use of meagre resources, increased sustainability and beneficiary participation. Johnston and Lawrence (1988) concur that the argument for partnership is based on the assumption that it enables the efficient utilization of scarce resources though this can only be the case if the relationship is based on shared objectives. On another note, the adoption of the partnership approach can be perceived as a defensive institutional strategy by donor agencies, aiming to counter growing criticism of their influence (Hudock 2000, Lister 2000). In the main, Lister (2000) cites the perceived need by donors to legitimize their approach to development aid in response to southern criticism. This sits well with debates in literature whereby, southern voices have been long demanding the right to lead and guide their own development (Kajese 1987, Dabrek 1987, The South Commission 1993). In this due consideration should be given to the failure of mainstream development strategies to deliver desired development outcomes in the global south, through, for instance neo liberal policies as discussed in chapter five. The shift from aid conditionality to partnerships under neo liberalism should however not be perceived as tantamount to the inception of a new development strategy but rather the evolution of mainstream development. Viewed from this angle, the partnership framework is simply a “different” way of doing development within neo liberalism against a backdrop of growing criticism. However, the partnership framework can also be aligned to alternative ideas to development which were discussed in chapter five. On the face of it, utilizing alternative ideas to development makes it easier to adopt a partnership framework in light of its claims regarding respect, mutuality, dialogue, trust, ownership (Brinkerhoff 2002, Brehm

2004) in comparison to neo-liberalism which in its conditionality phase was characteristically top-down.

9.4 Partnership: A Contested Definition

According to Brehm (2004), in spite of the wide usage of the term partnership in the development field, a definition has remained elusive with contradictions existing between north and south. Such contradictions are embedded in the funding channelled from the north to south. As a starting point, the concept of partnership as utilized in development aid borrows heavily from the idea of business partnerships which constitute a formal relationship between two or more parties underpinned by shared goals, obligations and risks (Brehm 2004). Brinkerhoff (2002: 14) provides the following definition:

Partnership is a dynamic relationship among diverse actors, based on mutually agreed objectives, pursued through a shared understanding of the most rational division of labour based on the respective comparative advantage of each partner. This relationship results in mutual influence, with a careful balance between synergy and respective autonomy, which incorporates mutual respect, equal participation in decision making, mutual accountability, and transparency

As explained above, a partnership is a relationship between actors based on shared objectives which resonates with Johnston and Lawrence (1988). As explained above, the relationship is pursued through “shared understanding” and “division of labour based on partner comparative advantage”. This suggests that within the relationship partners have specific tasks to perform. The idea of partner comparative advantage suggests that there are specific areas of strength for each partner which are harnessed and exploited in the relationship in order to meet the objectives. The last part of the definition alludes to equality in participation among other elements. Commenting on the above definition Brehm (2004) notes it to be a trust based definition of an authentic partnership. However, Fowler adds another dimension to our understanding of the concept: “Authentic partnership implies... a joint commitment to long term interaction, shared responsibility for achievement, reciprocal obligation, equality, mutuality, and *balance of power*” (Fowler 2000b:18). Fowler’s definition crucially acknowledges power relations and takes into account the need for long term commitment given that development is a long term process. While Fowler’s (2000b) definition can be taken for the ideal, in contrast to Brinkerhoff’s which excludes issues of power, it is noteworthy that power relations are not always balanced due to the fact that donors have resources that are sought after by different actors such as INGOs, national NGOs, CBOs and governments. However, it

would be too simplistic to view partnership as one in which certain actors (donors) simply control the actions of others through resources. According to Abrahamsen (2004:1454), understanding the transformations currently taking place under the rubric of partnership demands a novel analysis of power given that

too narrow a focus on the transfer of power between partners prevents contemporary analyses from capturing the all significance of these transformations , as the power of partnerships does not lie primarily in relations of domination, but in techniques of cooperation and inclusion.

As suggested above, while donors set the terms and conditions, this isn't to suggest that there are no negotiations. Some powerful organisations such as INGOs can negotiate with donors, while those less powerful suffer e.g. CBOs. However, given the stiff competition for resources, some organisations may simply comply (Hailey 2000, Townsend and Townsend 2004). However, the idea that partnerships are all about the powerful dominating the less powerful can be misleading. Even though power imbalances can be the beginning and end of a partnership, the relationship cannot be solely examined on the basis of this power because there are many dynamics of partial cooperation and inclusion which alter the extent and impact of this power. In this, Mohan's (2002: 141) suggestion that partnership can be viewed as a "loaded process" could be viewed as apt.

In addition to the definitions of partnerships discussed above, there are other types of partnership relations between organizations. Fowler (2000a) identifies a typology of five categories, i.e. partner, institutional supporter, programme supporter, project funder and development ally. In this typology, "partner" is described as the highest level of interaction with mutual support for each organization's identity among other aspects, while development ally being the lowest level of engagement e.g. networks, coalitions with no funding. While Fowler's typology highlights the diversity of aid relations, Brehm (2004) contends that typologies do not evidence the different types of relations that an organisation may have at the same time and also the fact that such relationships change over time. In the light of these shortfalls, it can be argued that theories, categories, definitions or typologies do not always adequately account for the relationships on the ground. However, as Brehm (2004) notes, typologies at best provide a basic tool for the identification of varying NGO relationships. This being the case, Brehm (2004) further argues that, any partnership definition can only highlight some general characteristics on the nature, purpose and aspiration of the concept. In the main,

partnerships are unique and develop in a wide range of development contexts and what constitutes a partnership is specific to a given time, space and cultural milieu.

9.5 Dimensions of Partnership

There are two suggested dimensions in defining partnerships, i.e. relational and organisational (Brehm 2004, Brinkerhoff 2002). With regards to the relational aspect, Brehm (2004) notes that there is a general consensus on key ingredients for effective partnerships with effectiveness being defined as the quality of the relationship in terms of: “Mutuality, clearly defined expectations, rights and responsibilities; accountability and transparency” which are glued together by hard to measure principles of “trust, respect, integrity, credibility and ownership” (ibid: 21). While it maybe difficult to judge the effectiveness of any given relationship in terms of the above, what is clear is that the underlying principles identified above are resource and time consuming. For instance, trust takes a great deal of time to develop in a partnership relationship as in any other human relationship (Mohiddin 1999). This puts these principles at odds with the management project structure as utilized by many INGOs as required by donors, which further raises questions about their commitment to the approach and its processes. Furthermore, for the partnership to be effective, both organisations have to perceive the relationship as a necessity (Campbell 1998) which ties in with mutuality where both parties have contributions to make, hence the idea of interdependence. The lack of interdependence within a relationship would lead to dependence and patronage (Fowler 2000b, Brinkerhoff 2002). In this, funding and technical transfer from northern to southern organizations within partnerships need not undermine southern non monetary contributions (Muchunguzi and Milne 1997). Through mutuality, participants have a strong commitment to partnership goals and objectives, the potential and opportunity to influence shared objectives, processes, outcomes and evaluation (Brinkerhoff 2002). As partner organisations both benefit from the relationship, the partnership can be more resilient. While accountability and transparency remain crucial ingredients for effective partnerships, the former is often one way, i.e. from the southern partner to the northern one because of the funding as well as the management project structure as discussed in chapter five.

The second dimension of partnership is organizational and relates to the question of how partnerships are managed internally by both parties concerned (Brehm 2004). With

regards to OVC INGO – CBO partnership relations, this becomes a question of how the relationship is managed by both organisations. As Leach (1995) argues, the degree of shared governance between organisations in a partnership relationship determines its nature. However, as Brehm (2004) aptly points out, the partnership process between northern and southern organizations has developed around the project funding system. Hence organizational structures of partnering organisations deeply reflect the management project structure which potentially translates into little shared governance if any. This leads to partnerships which reflect donor requirements at the expense of partner organizations, which evidences imbalanced power relations. This also alludes to the domination of northern tools in development as utilized by INGOs in the global south as discussed in chapter five.

9.6 Summary

This chapter has presented an overview of the partnership approach in international development aid. The question – “why partnerships?” was addressed by exploring multilayered reasons such as the growing criticism against donor influence on southern development, and failure of neo liberal to deliver through authoritative intervention. The concept and process of partnership were discussed alongside the different types of partnership relationships. In the main, establishing effective partnership was noted to be a time and resource consuming process which is at odds with the management project structure as used by most INGOs and donors. This was also noted to “govern” partnership relationships. Against a backdrop of the above, and the dearth of partnership case studies in literature as stated in chapter one, the next chapter presents the case of MS – Batsiranai partnership on OVC.

Chapter 10

Findings from a Qualitative Study: The Case Study of MS and Batsiranai in Buhera South District, Zimbabwe

10.1 Introduction

This chapter, and the two chapters which follow, 11 and 12, present the findings of this qualitative study. This chapter is divided into section A and B. Section A introduces MS and Batsiranai and provides an overview of Buhera South District as well as an account on the early beginnings of the partnership. Section B presents the findings in relation to the partnership.

10.2 Section A

10.2.1 Buhera South District, a Background

Based on a ranking exercise of all the 58 districts in Zimbabwe conducted by the Social Dimension Fund in 1997, Buhera came out the 7th poorest district in Zimbabwe with extremely high levels of unemployment (SDF 1997). Life in Buhera appears to be generally difficult and most inhabitants attribute this to poor rainfall patterns (Madhangi 1997). There are a number of clinics in the district and a single hospital which serves a population of over 100,000 (GOZ 1992). The clinics and hospital have a shortage of basic drugs and other basic equipment. During the course of this study's field work, I had the opportunity to speak to a health professional, a qualified nurse, in charge of a local clinic who informed me that it was experiencing every kind of challenge that could ever be perceived. I observed that the clinic was visibly shabby with broken pieces furniture, missing windows and a leaking roof. While each ward in the district has at least 2 primary schools, staff shortage is reportedly rampant as I gathered through informal conversations with community members. I also observed during field trips that most schools had leaking roofs, broken windows, and doors. As well as facing physical deterioration, the schools also faced an acute shortage of furniture and books.

10.2.2 OVC in Buhera South District

According Madhangi (1997), Buhera South district had over 5 000 orphans in 1997 whose care givers were mainly women (79%) in comparison to 21% men. The majority of identified care givers were in the 31- 49 age category at 41%, while those over 50

years old constituted 44%. Widowed mothers and grandmothers constituted the largest group of care givers at 48% and 28% respectively. However, an enumeration reported in the Batsiranai Review workshop report (2002) indicates that the number of orphans had increased by more than 2000 from the original 1997 feasibility study count. According to the same report the majority of the orphans are paternal (59.4%) within the age range of 13- 16. 85% of the care givers were identified as being women , which is an increase of 6% from the 1997 enumeration. Child headed households constituted 1.2 %. While these figures do not include other vulnerable children, Batsiranai focuses on all OVC. However, Batsiranai documents utilize the terms “OVC” and “orphans” interchangeably which can create confusion. This being the case, terminology variations in these findings are to be expected.

10.2.3 Introducing MS

MS is a Danish NGO headquartered in Denmark. It was founded during World War II, in January 1944 when a couple of organisations and church representatives came together to form; “Fredsvenners Hjaelpaarbejde” translating to “Aid by the friends of Peace” then renamed Mellempfolkeligt Samvirke in 1949, the latter translating to “Danish Association For International Cooperation”. As further explained in MS at the Crossroads (2003), the original initiative of 1944 was underpinned by a desire to contribute to the rebuilding of Europe after World War II. After world war II, MS turned its attention to developing work in the south.

10.2.3.1 MS¹ Focus Areas

Humanitarian Assistance: MS is involved in assisting Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Sudanese Refugees in northern Uganda.

Ethnic Minorities: In this, MS, used to provide counselling and training for newly arrived immigrants as well as lobbying and influencing its government and the Danish public with regards to legislation. However, this department was closed due to budget cuts as further noted in section B.

¹ This section draws heavily from MS at the Crossroads (2003: 20 - 22).

Renovation and Shipment of Used Equipment: In this programme, MS is involved in the renovation and shipment of used equipment to organisations in the south and renovation of equipment for use in humanitarian aid.

International Exchange (MS travels): Under this programme MS provides young people with opportunities to participate in exchange activities in Denmark and other countries (north – south).

Public Information and Development Education: Work on this programme focuses on development education and information using a variety of media forms while prioritizing development education in primary and secondary schools. It also publishes two magazines, runs a media centre and holds a special collection library with more than 40 000 books and journals on north- south and global issues. Furthermore, the organisation runs a shop with development and ethnic minorities literature as well as about 4000 world music titles.

The Political Agenda: MS' political agenda pertains to advocacy and lobbying at local, national and global levels. MS also gets involved in campaigns, conferences and other events dealing with global development issues as a leading or umbrella organisation.

MSiS: Introduced in 1993, MSiS is a replacement to the Danish Volunteer Service (DVS). This was an important shift and MS in the South, Partnership and Development (1993) was the guiding policy framework behind these new beginnings. This policy is based on two major themes, i.e. Poverty Reduction and Intercultural Cooperation executed through the partnership approach, a paramount feature of the policy. Notable here is that, due to past confusions¹, Poverty Reduction has since become the overarching objective in the MSiS programme while intercultural cooperation is now seen as a means towards poverty reduction (MS, 2005). As the policy document *Solidarity through Partnerships* (2001:1) highlights, the change from the DVS to MSiS was instigated by the wishes,

¹ MS documents, i.e. mainly MS at Cross Roads (2004), MS – Annual Report (2002), *Solidarity through Partnership* (2001), and *Partnership Against poverty* (2005) suggest that the two overarching objectives often caused confusion within MSiS which consequently led to a lack of focus. This being the case, *Partnership Against Poverty* (2005) settles the matter by having one overriding objective.

... to promote a more flexible and sustainable programme with more facets than the existing project oriented and volunteer centered programme... to give meaning to the MS – slogan of development by people and stimulate a high level of participation of partners and beneficiaries... to develop a programme where like minded organisations and people could meet and contribute to a value driven work for change in a process characterized by mutual respect and inter dependence.

Through the partnership approach, MS works with civil society organisations such as CBOs and national NGOs and in some instances government departments, through long term and ad hoc – short term strategic partnerships. The policy document Partnership Against Poverty (2005) sets out a strategy on poverty eradication. Its main emphasis is on adopting a more political approach to poverty reduction by targeting various institutions and practices which reproduce poverty. Crucially, it places an emphasis on empowerment, advocacy, networking and building alliances between South- South and North – South. In addition there is a further emphasis on MS’ institutional development and that of southern partners. In this personnel assistance is a key component of MS contribution in partnerships whereby it posts Danish development workers to the south, albeit the number having sharply decreased over the years due to aid cuts. However, it is noteworthy here that at the time this field work was conducted Batsirani did not have any development workers from Denmark, but had had in the past. In 2005, MS was working with 180 partners in the South (MS 2005).

10.2.3.2 MS Revenue (DKK thousand¹): Table 15

Revenue Source	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Ministry of Foreign Affairs – Denmark – Framework Agreement	-	-	-	-	158 285	152 241	160 539
Ministry of Foreign affairs Denmark – Other grants	198 520	192 691	168 365	187 261	24 744	28 035	32 500
Other Public Funding	-	-	2 193	1 807	591	-	-
MS funding	35 789	32 459	36 334	31 484	29 066	32 888	40 996

Source: MS (2008)

As shown in the above figure, MS receives a greater portion of its revenue from the Danish government. However, as indicated in the second row, MS has been experiencing drastic reductions in funding in terms of what it receives from the state. In terms of other public funding, as shown above, it does not receive much. MS funding in the last row comes from its shop which sells development and ethnic literature and world music.

¹ Due to currency fluctuations during the writing of this thesis, it was decided not to convert these figures to the US dollar which is widely used.

As will be noted in section B, revenue sources have implications for the organization's sustainability and independence.

10.2.3.3 MS Vision

“MS has a vision of a global society, where the strongest nations take responsibility for improving conditions for the poor and marginalised of the world” (MS Annual Report 2001: 1). This is guided by the policy document, *Solidarity through Partnership (2001)*.

10.2.3.4 MSiS Focus Areas through the Partnership Approach

According to MS, embracing the partnership idea also implies that they learn from their partners in the South and to achieve this, MS established Policy Advisory Boards (PABs) in each country to support partner organisations, give guidance and opinion on country programmes and basically act as over seers.

Poverty eradication is promoted through the following areas:

1. Development by people
2. Gender orientation
3. Environment
4. Sustainable development.

10.2.4 Introducing MS Zimbabwe

MS has been working in Zimbabwe since 1980 and is based in Harare. Consisting of a team, of 13 staff and 5 long term and 4 short term development workers, it is headed by a country director (MS –Zimbabwe Annual Review- 2005). The Zimbabwe Policy Advisory Board consists of three independent members, three members of partner organisations, three Danish workers, country director and an elected chair person and a vice chairperson. However, the process of selection wasn't probed. The PAB meets once a year every February to discuss policy issues and the way forward for the country programme.

At the time of field work for this study, MS Zimbabwe had twenty –two long term partners with partnership agreements and fourteen ad hoc/ short term strategic partnerships. Notably of the twenty two long term partners, ten were CBOs, nine NGOs and three government departments, (MS – Zimbabwe Annual Report 2005). Most of the ad hoc strategic partnerships were with NGOs, with the exception of one CBO. While the country programme is subject to the MS- Denmark focus areas, the MS- Zimbabwe deals with the thematic areas listed below.

10.2.4.1 MS- Zimbabwe Thematic Areas¹ of Focus

Enhancing the role of civil society: The main objective of “MS support in this theme is to contribute to a higher level of awareness of rights in Zimbabwe and that citizens exercise these rights in practice” (MS- Zimbabwe Annual Report 2005: 12). In 2005, MS had nine long term and eight ad hoc and strategic partners whose mandate pertained to policy influencing at local and or national level. The majority of these were national and regional NGOs.

Improving social and health services: MS support in this theme aims to empower affected people (HIV/AIDS), strengthening their communities and local structures by strengthening their capacity to cope. MS Partners focus on HIV/AIDs awareness, practical skills training and counselling of OVC, young people and those living with HIV/AIDS and their families, life skills education. In 2005, MS had 5 long term and 2 ad hoc partners with the majority being CBOs in marginalised rural areas. The partnership under investigation in this study, i.e. MS – Batsiranai falls within this thematic area.

Promoting natural resource management and skills training for self employment: In this thematic area, MS aims to support partners to secure environmentally and ecologically sustainable development process. In 2005, MS had 8 long and 2 ad hoc partners, their activities being based in marginalised rural areas.

Organisational capacity building / institutional development: MS supports partners with their institutional development. This is done through: training offered at the partnership Center which is situated at the back of MS- Zimbabwe’s office, at MS training Center for Development Cooperation (MSTCDC) in Arusha Tanzania where representatives of civil society organisations which work in partnership with MS are trained, development workers support, decentralized training as well as support rendered by the programme officer. In 2005, the country office organized and conducted thirteen centralized courses. Development workers mainly support partner organisations with institutional development as well as facilitating potential external links.

¹ The description of these themes draws from MS- Zimbabwe Annual Report (2005).

10.2.5 Introducing Batsiranai - Buhera South Children's Care Programme

Batsiranai is a rural CBO located in Birchenough Bridge, Manicaland Province. It operates in nine wards of Buhera South District with a vision to improve the living conditions for all OVC within the district. Batsiranai's mission is to build the capacity of communities to care for OVC through awareness raising, training, counselling and networking and income generating projects (Batsiranai Undated). The children's care programme was initiated in 1995 by Buhera South community members who were troubled by the plight of many OVC in the District. The programme started as a community task force which mandated itself with collating information on OVC, identifying solutions and seeking external support. Key to this task force was the role played by the local traditional authority, a social worker, now its director, and key individual community members. Key community members were involved in recognising the children's plight and actively dialogued with traditional authority and social worker on potential solutions. Notable here is that most of these individuals continue as the longest serving volunteers with over 10 years of service, and are committee members.

At the time of the field work, Batsiranai employed 8 full time staff (5 women and 3 men) supported by 144 community based volunteers who work through kraal, village, ward and district committees. .

10.2.5.1 Services Provided by Batsiranai in Buhera South District (Batsiranai Review Workshop Report 2003, Batsiranai undated)

- Direct support for sick parents: Provision of food, mattresses to sleep on and blankets. In this, food provision focuses on the household, and not just the individual.
- Direct support to OVC: provision of milk and clothing to babies, food, clothing and school fees to older children.
- OVC Psychosocial Support: counselling training provision for care givers (volunteers) who support children, parenting courses for child headed households and peer counselling training. This also includes caring for sick parents through volunteer care givers.
- Community Strengthening: raising awareness through workshops on child abuse, children's rights, women's rights and the disadvantages of specific cultural and

religious practices to women and children e.g. child brides, polygamy and inheritance issues.

Community Economic strengthening: vocation training skills for OVC (e.g. carpentry and sewing) and community members (training provision for various income generating activities e.g. savings clubs such as rotating clubs). In this there is a recognition as explained below by staff as to how the programme works. :

... before these children are orphans, they are already vulnerable, their parents are bedridden, so you will find that the children will be taking care of their parents when sick and sometimes they don't even go to school, so what we do is that these care givers [volunteers], they take the place of the children so that the children can go to school; so when they are at school these care givers will be looking the parents, and then after they die the orphans will be looked after under the OVC programme and not under the home based care.... we are supporting the parents with food and the children are also benefitting because once someone is ill, they don't go to the fields, which then reduces the production because we don't only give the food to the one who is ill; we give for the whole family and so the children come in there. .. under community strengthening you find that generally the world over people who are just given everything, like we give food, clothes, we realised that we were creating that which is called donor dependency syndrome, people would be saying whatever happens here they will come and support us, they will pay school fees for my children, so let me just have more children; so we decided, no, if ever we are going to give out this support, if we said we don't have anymore money; that whole programme, those people, it will just end there; they will say there is no more Batsiranai here and the children cant go to school, so we thought; lets come up with economic strengthening whereby those parents can also do something, learn to pay school fees, learn how to save and the problem in most communities is income; you will find that you will pay school fees for a child and the child may not go to school because they don't have a uniform; you can also pay the school fees and the orphan will not have food to eat; can go to school but will just sit in class; why are you sitting? The child will say I don't have a pen, a book, the organization can not provide these things and so we thought parents should do income generating projects so that they are able to finance these other things like pens, books, then the child can at least go to school. Staff J- Batsiranai

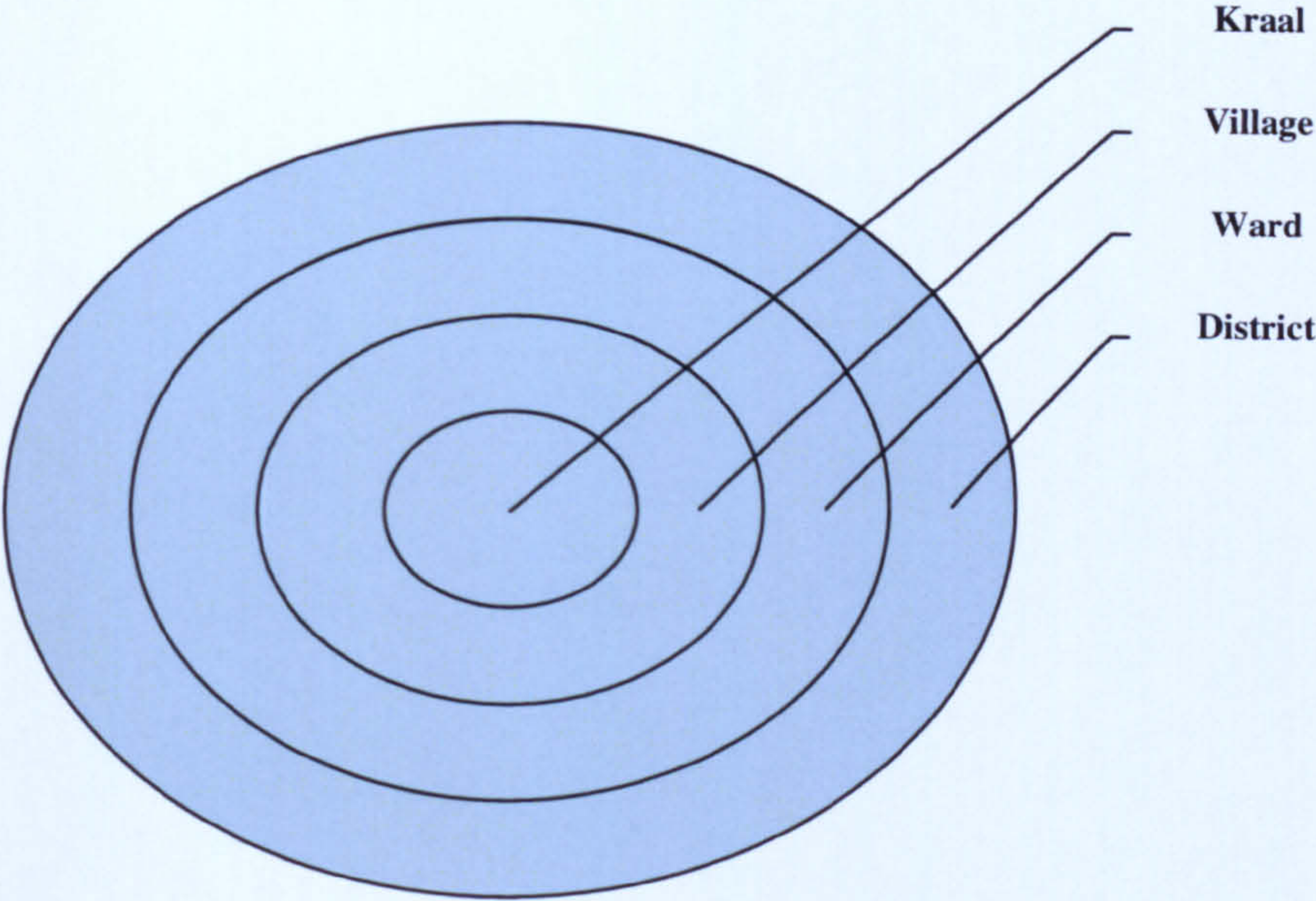
This lengthy quote offers a rationale for the way Batsiranai implements its support to OVC. Activities are perceived inter linked, hence food provision for the household and not just the sick individual. In this instance, children's vulnerability is identified from the time their parents fall sick, a theme which resonates with issues raised in chapter three. Against the backdrop of parental illness, Batsiranai steps in with basics and care givers to deliver home based care when the children are at school. However, due to the recognition that the programme can potentially create a dependency syndrome, economic strengthening was introduced to counter this.

10.2.5.2 A Participatory Approach: Volunteers and Organisational Structure

As indicated above paid staff are supported by volunteers. The volunteers are elected by members of the community in all the 9 wards of Buhera South. Each ward is responsible for electing would -be volunteers through the following structures.

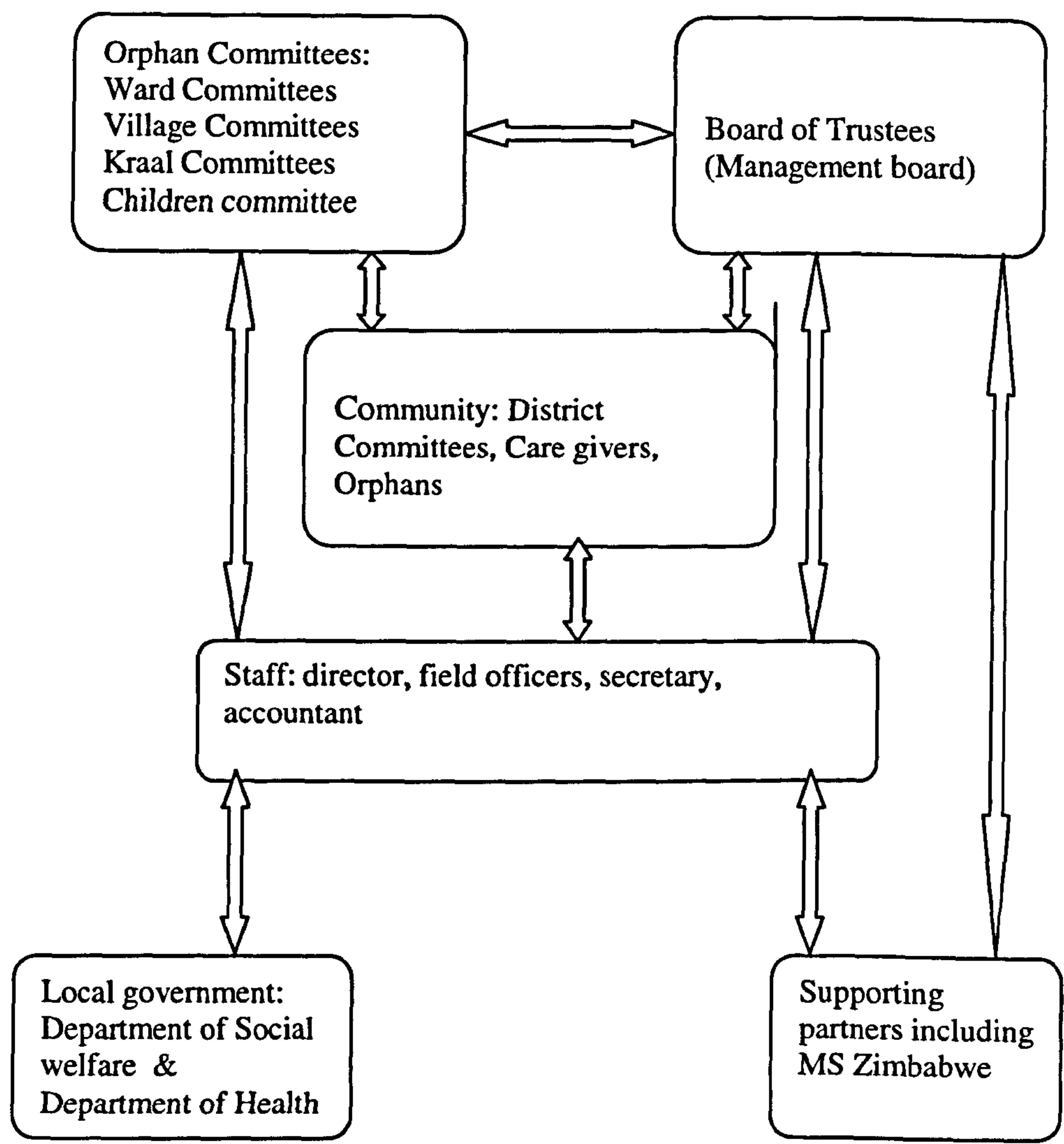
- The kraal - the smallest unit (may have up to 10 household)
- The village - consists of a certain number of kraals
- The ward - consists of several villages
- The District - consists of several wards

Figure 13: Kraal, Village, Ward and District level illustration



From the district level committee, a gender balanced board of management of six people is selected. Furthermore there is a children’s committee which is elected by children through the above mentioned structures. Notable here is that the idea of a children’s committee came as a recommendation from the original baseline survey to ensure that children’s voices are heard. The same applies to a gender balanced board of management. Batsiranai’s claim to the participatory approach with a wide involvement of the community in the design and implementation of projects is supported by the existence of these structures. Issues regarding these structures will be explored in chapter eleven. The organogram below depicts the organisational structure.

Figure 14: Batsiranai Organogram



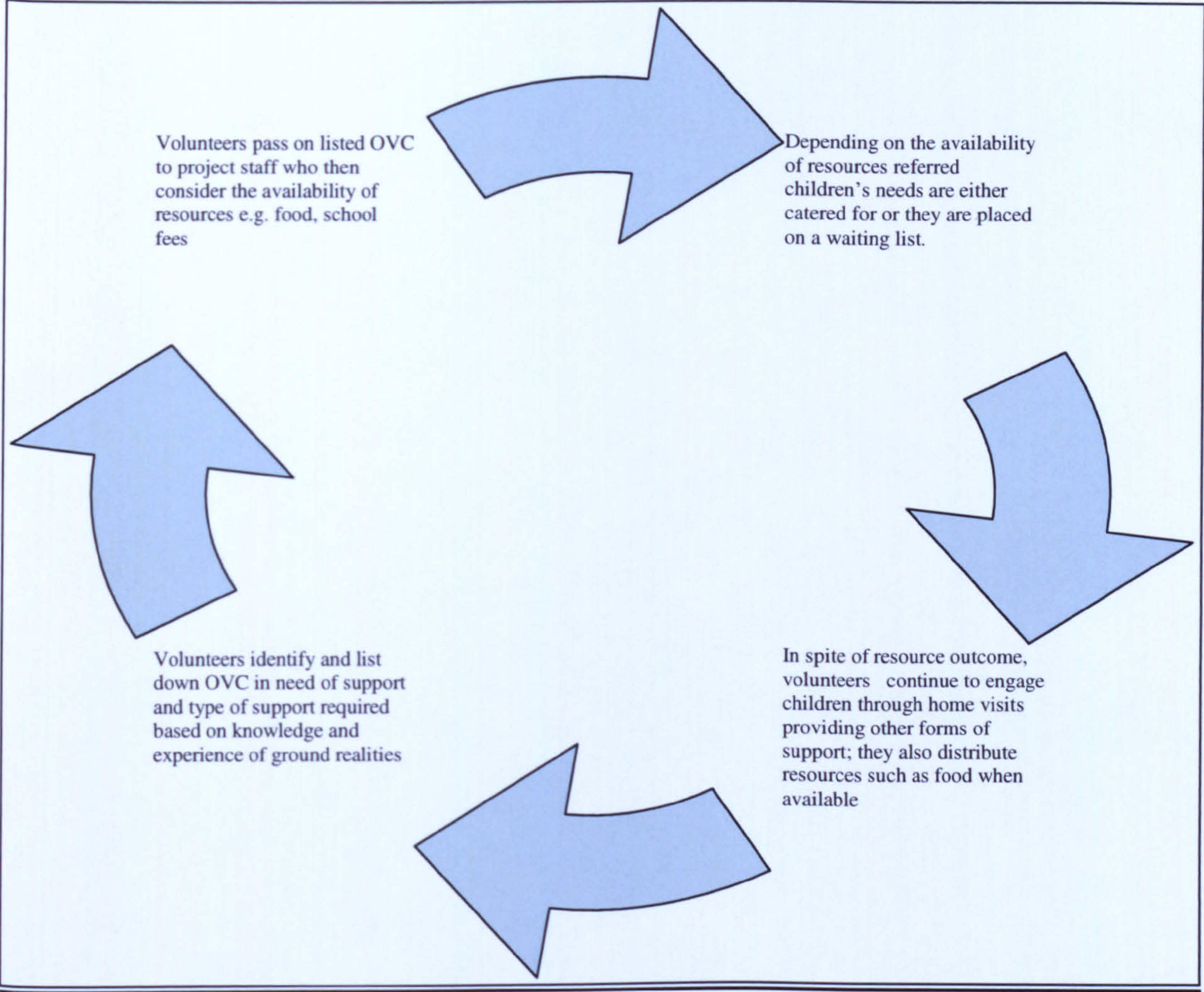
Source: Batsiranai (undated)

10.2.5.3 Volunteers and OVC Referral

Volunteers and staff indicated that they provide support to OVC on a referral system. While volunteers are responsible for home visits to children, they are also responsible for identifying children in need of support based on an assessment. Volunteer assessment of children, does not have a blue print, but is rather informed by their knowledge and experience of living with children in the larger community. They know whose mother and father or guardian is not well, what child is not attending school, lacking food among many other challenges. Evidence of this as well as the role of volunteers is presented in

chapter eleven. Having identified children in need, their names are listed and passed on to project staff who then consider the availability of resources to cater for identified needs. It is however the case that children are often placed on a waiting list due to scarcity of resources. Volunteers, play a pivotal role in this process.

Figure 15: OVC Referral Cycle at Batsiranai



10.2.6. The Partnership: Early beginnings

Batsiranai’s relationship with MS began in 1997 with the provision of a small grant to carry out an OVC feasibility study in Buhera South. Having been approached by Batsiranai for support in relation to the needs of children in question, MS considered it vital that Batsiranai establish the nature and extent of the challenge, document the structures that were already in place and how they were responding without external help. The feasibility study grant was the beginning of a partnership relationship which at the time of this study field work was almost ten years old.

Table 16: Partnership Activities Supported by MS

<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Institutional development through training of Staff, Board members, village based committees and development of organisational policies• Training of children’s committees – income generation and survival skills• Awareness raising workshops in schools and wards• Training of Basic counsellors, care givers, teachers, teachers, local committees and the local leadership in basic counselling, leadership and psychosocial support• Annual Reviews• Staff salaries, administrative costs, office equipment and rent and other bills and transport (vehicles and fuel).
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Sources: MS –Zimbabwe Annual Report (2005) and Batsiranai Review Workshop Report (2003)

While this study specifically focuses on the partnership relationship between MS and Batsiranai, it is of paramount importance to bear in mind the fact that they each have other partners which profoundly impacts on the findings of this study. The implication of this is that there are certain aspects of partnerships which emerged from the discussion about their other partnership relationships. Such aspects pertain to issues that they have experienced across the board with all their partners, the one under study included, or simply relate to their other partnership relations. In the case of Batsiranai it has other partnership relations with Catholic Relief Services, SAT, Wallevik Fund, Advance Africa, HIVOS and USAID. While MS concentrates on institutional development, psychosocial support included, these other partners provide Batsiranai with direct support to OVC through payment of school fees, provision of milk to infants, food handouts, clothing, parenting courses for child headed household and vocational training skills for children , other technical aspects of support included (Batsiranai Review Workshop Report 2003). During the field work, I also observed as some of Batsiranai’s partners visited the office for meetings with the CBO staff.

10.3 Section B

10.3.1 The Concept of Partnership: Batsiranai and MS Partnership Perspective

The following themes of partnership emerged from interviews with Batsiranai and MS staff as well as documentary evidence collected from MS. As noted in chapter two, interviews with staff took place at Batsiranai office in BSD and MS office in Harare. While staff from both organisations were extremely busy, they were nevertheless welcoming and helpful. I began by asking respondents what partnership meant to them based on experiences.

... Through experience what I have seen is that that is not partnership at all (waving his hands dismissively) err, it is partnership in writing or by word but it's not partnership, it's a relationship where one person, err, err, is sort of instructed and the other one is an instructor, its, err through the partnerships that we have developed through various donors... Staff A -Batsiranai

On further being questioned about MS in particular, staff A at Batsiranai gave the following response:

Even though MS is generally a good partner, you can say, there was a time when MS was also like that in the early years of the partnership, telling us do this, do that, but now that we have been working together for a long period of time, we negotiate, we sit down and say what we need to say and they listen to us and we also listen to them. We have been together for a long period of time you see...this makes a big difference... Staff A - Batsiranai

The first quote expresses that the experience of partnership “is not partnership at all” but “it is partnership in writing or by word” and the waving off of hands in a dismissive manner reinforces this. This suggests that even though some of the relations between Batsiranai and their partner are called “partnerships”, in practice they are about domination as expressed by the idea of where “one person is sort of instructed” by an instructor. The second quote suggests that while MS is now viewed as a good partner, the relationship has not always been perceived as such, as evidenced by the expression there was a time when MS was like the others who instruct Batsiranai. However, the same quote expresses the idea that time, i.e. longevity of the relationship is credited with transforming the partnership with MS to one perceived as a “good” one. As further explained, the longevity of the relationship makes a “big difference”.

Staff (B) at Batsiranai also offers what is experienced in the partnership:

... We have a bit of ownership, dialogue, transparency, accountability, there are a number of things, there is also mutuality. I think they [INGOs and Donors] have realised that we [Batsiranai] are a very important link between them and beneficiaries in the community, if we are not there, then it makes it hard for them ...because of that recognition, they are also listening to us. The

partnership we have with MS is the longest; we have dialogue, a bit ownership and those other things accountability transparency, mutuality., that is the good part of it, but on the bad side of it, some INGOs have this attitude of imposing things on you, they will say abc needs to be done and if you don't do that we are not going to give you the money. Staff B- Batsiranai

As expressed above, there is a bit of “ownership, dialogue, transparency, accountability... mutuality” among others because of the realization by MS and others that the organisation is an important link to the children and community whose absence makes it difficult to carry out activities. In this case, interdependence is perceived to be an important aspect to the relationship. As further explained, it is because of this recognition of interdependence MS and others are perceived to listen to Batsiranai as well as asking them about how they wish to be supported. This is viewed as good. Furthermore, the partnership with MS is held up as the longest relationship which resonates with the idea raised in the second quote whereby time has made a difference to the relationship to both organisations. However, it is remarked that some INGOs have an attitude whereby they dictate how things should be done; if not followed, then there is no funding. This resonates with the idea raised in the first quote of an instructor instructing another. As in the quotes above, the one below (staff J) echoes similar sentiments. Firstly there is the idea that while there is real partnership working with other partners, with some there isn't happening as reinforced by the shaking of the head. This is in line with the issue of being instructed and imposing attitudes raised above.

I think with some partners, real partnership working is happening, but with others it's not happening [shaking head], like for an example in our case we have a partnership with MS for a very long time; that is the longest partnership we have, MS assisted us in setting up the organisation, assisted us in a number of provisions, transport, they also assisted us with a development worker who was assisting us with technical issues, financial issues, they fund us, so that partnership I think it's the one that I can say that is a good partnership. Staff J - Batsiranai

In line with the other quotes, the relationship between MS and Batsiranai is perceived and held up as a good partnership in comparison to others. Key to this is the perceived longevity of the relationship as well as the ways through which MS have supported Batsiranai with a number of provisions. The idea of MS being perceived as good partner resonates with documentary evidence, i.e. Batsiranai Annual review workshop (1999:2) whereby MS and the Wallevik Foundation are commented on as such. The idea of interdependence raised by Batsiranai staff above also resonates with MS staff who state

... It's about them doing the [CBO] planning, coordinating activities going on in the community, that MS can not do because we don't have the capacity anyway to implement that kind of thing, mobilizing people, organising meetings... that role is very important for a CBO to be carrying, so for us the relationship is very much beyond the purse... Staff C - MS

As described above, there are certain activities that MS can not do, e.g. mobilizing people and arranging meetings because it does not have the capacity to do so. Simply put, MS does not have the capacity to do project implementation, hence the recognition of Batsiranai's important role and position. This resonates with the idea raised above by Batsiranai staff that partners, MS included are now realizing that the CBO is an important link, hence the idea of interdependence. The idea of interdependence is supported by documentary evidence which stipulates that:

MS may contribute with resources and ideas, but meaningful development activities have to be based on local knowledge and involvement. MS will not conduct development activities on its own (Solidarity through Partnerships 2001: 7).

The quote below further expresses MS –staff perception on partnership:

... for us partnership is beyond finance...it is not about finance its about meeting people and sharing ideas, you will find that in our relationships , the funds that we give are very minimal, they may not be significant compared to other donors... for MS the meeting of people and exchanging of ideas are more important... it's a partnership in which we also value contribution from the local partner, it can be a CBO, you will find that in our processes of going into partnership, we ask the question: what is your input, we want it documented and also valued and appreciated...Staff C - MS

The quote above expresses the idea that for MS, partnership is beyond finance hence the minimalist funding approach but dialogue as people meet and exchange ideas. In this, the contribution from the local partner is solicited and expressed as important to the relationship and objectives given the idea that “we ask the question, what is your input, we want it documented and also valued and appreciated”. The idea of making contributions resonates with documentary evidence which echoes the joining up of resources:

To MS, partnership is a long term relationship in which two or more organisations in mutual trust share responsibility for joining resources to achieve goals for their mutual benefit and empowerment (Solidarity through Partnerships 2001: 6).

The emphasis on joining up resources in the partnership also further aligns with documentary evidence which stipulates that:

MS is not a traditional donor, but one of the actors in a partnership (MS Annual Report 2001: 1)

MS is not a funding organisation. There is relatively little cash money available in the programme. Even though small grants may mean a lot to partners, it would be out of proportion to perceive MS as a traditional donor (Solidarity through Partnerships 2001: 15).

As highlighted in section 10.2.2 which highlights MS Focus Areas, under the MSiS programme, it is stipulated that partnership working with southern organisations is MS' strategy for working in the south. Thus, there is a deliberate emphasis on the part of MS to work with partner organisations on the ground without being operational.

The quote below suggests that partnership is also perceived by MS as a process which evolves from one stage to another:

...Normally we take them on a short term basis, maybe a year, two years so that we establish a working relationship between ourselves and the organization if any...we do sign a partnership agreement...we have a lot of dialogue with stakeholders, we talk about sustainability and ownership... to have these it is a process and not many of us INGOs are willing to support processes, we want to support tangible issues with tangible, immediate results... Staff D - MS

The process begins on a short term basis and should a satisfactory working relationship be established then the partnership develops into a long term one with a signed up agreement. As also expressed above, there is a lot of dialogue involving issues of programme sustainability and ownership which are obtained through a "process". However, it is noted that many INGOs are not willing to support the "process", but "issues with tangible results, immediate results." MS documentary evidence also articulates the perspective that partnership working is a process which entails cooperation through dialogue:

For the partnership approach to succeed it is important that for partner organisations and MS to engage in the cooperation... while this ideal may be immediately attainable in some cases, it is the long term goal in others. The partnership approach is a process. (Solidarity through Partnerships 2001: 7)

The quote below by staff D explains how the process begins:

For us it's a process, it's an open process actually, we don't choose the partners...We consider how far the potential the NGO/CBO to address the areas that we would have said, these are our focus areas for Zimbabwe... I mean if they have the potential to address these, then we go on to talk about the possibilities, that is why I am saying it's a process, we just don't meet there and then we are in partnership... it's a process of dialogue, learning each other's weakness... sometimes potential partners invite MS to come and see what they are doing on the ground, it can be them sending their paperwork, its both ways MS going out to also approach or we can be approached.... Staff D - MS

While the above quote points toward an open process of partner selection and a modest note that MS does not choose partners, the process is described as guided by MS – Zimbabwe Focus Areas. While it may be invited to see what potential partners are doing on the ground, ultimately it is up to MS to either get into a partnership or not. Thus MS

has the power to either “take them on” or “not”. This resonates with MS documentary evidence which states:

... MS effectively sets the premises for the relationship; it wields the power to enter or terminate agreements; it defines the parameters for the unfolding of the partnership; and it largely formulates the policies on which the MSiS programme is based (MS at Cross Roads 2003: 66)

As the above quote suggests, MS is aware of the power it largely wields over potential partners and partners alike given its position to select partners and define the parameters of the partnership. While this may be the case, there is documentary evidence to suggest that, once “taken on” as partners, there is a potential for southern organisations to influence MS policies. For instance, the policy document *Partnership against Poverty* (2005: 3) states:

This paper was drafted by a writing group of eight people (four from the South and four from Denmark)... at MS training Center for Development Cooperation (MS- TCDC) in Arusha, Tanzania. The participants in the writing workshops represented experiences from different stakeholders ...

However, there is evidence of flexibility pertaining to MS approach to partnership working and selection of potential partners as highlighted in the excerpt below:

... I was involved [in the early beginnings of Batsiranai]... I was approached by Batsiranai, to carry out a feasibility study... Batsiranai had approached MS for help to deal with the children’s crisis in Buhera South but then MS was like, we don’t know how big the problem is and what other structures are in place, and they didn’t even know exactly how many children they were, so I had to do the work... they [MS] provided a small grant for the feasibility study to be carried so that they could get a clear picture of things on the ground, so in essence even though I was employed by Batsiranai to do this work, MS was paying for the work...MS was very flexible because most INGOs don’t work like that, they want small organizations to approach them with a ready made project... KIE

As the quote above indicates, MS is being commended for its approach by this Key Informant, a development consultant who has worked with many INGOs and donors alike. In this, the community in Buhera South approached MS for support, via the key individual community members who had come together and MS was willing to invest time and resources in order to establish a holistic picture of the challenge on the ground. The issue of flexibility being raised here can be traced back to MS partnership policy which stipulates:

MSiS is being implemented in very different contexts and significant and rapid changes occur constantly in the countries of cooperation. Therefore flexibility should be observed ... there will not and can not be a standard approach to partnerships... MS should not insist on too fixed, uniform and detailed reporting requirements from partner organisations... (Solidarity through Partnerships 2001: 8)

As highlighted in the quote above, MS' acknowledgement of diversity of contexts allows it to be flexible in the partnership approach as will be further discussed in the chapter thirteen.

10.3.2 What Makes MS a “good” Partner?

Given the idea that Batsiranai staff interviewed thought of MS as a good partner in spite of the early challenges in the relationship, staff from both organizations were asked the above question. As highlighted from the quote below, flexibility on the part of MS is perceived desirable even though the organization is charged with giving small amounts of money:

... Even though I have said they [MS] give small amounts [of money], they are flexible... we negotiate through things, they don't tell you what to do, we sit down, we talk ... Staff B - Batsiranai

In addition to flexibility there is the idea of that “we negotiate through things” without being told what do. The idea that “we sit down, we talk” resonates with the idea of dialogue raised by MS staff in the previous section. Furthermore, MS staff perceive flexibility on their part as desirable:

...we have many organisations that have failed to live by the objectives of the partnership but we continue supporting them, we as MS talk about flexibility...Staff D - MS

MS staff alluded that their level of flexibility involves giving partners who fail to live by the objectives of the partnership agreement chances as opposed to simply cutting off partner organizations when they fail to deliver the objectives of the partnership. Written evidence, (Record of proceedings of the MS- Zimbabwe Annual Meeting, 2005: 13) does in fact indicate that partners are often late to submit reports to MS. While this may denote flexibility, without dire consequences, it is an issue noted as one which requires attention. Furthermore, as indicated by Key Informant E in section 10.3.2 it is rare for INGOs to provide funding for such an activity given the expectation for a ready made project proposal Crucially, this took place at a time when the CBO was not formally registered with the government, i.e. did not have the licence required to function as a CBO. Furthermore, there is documentary evidence to suggest that MS often works with unregistered organisations:

In the past, MS was cooperating with non registered partners which might not continue after the bill [passes into law] ... which might make it compulsory for them to cooperate only with registered ones (Record of proceedings of the MS- Zimbabwe Annual Meeting 2005: 7).

While the above quote highlights the implications of an issue yet to be discussed, i.e. the ghost NGO bill, this quote supports the idea that MS works with unregistered organisations, which denotes flexibility. Against a backdrop of this evidence, MS' level of flexibility was perceived by as central to the organisation being perceived a good partner. Indeed MS policy, Solidarity through Partnerships (2001) as previously noted highlights the organization's endeavour to be flexible.

The idea that MS conducts people centered development also emerged as strength is highlighted below by MS staff:

... People are at the centre of development, so whatever you do, do for it to have a long term effect, it has to have people who are involved... but I do agree that most INGOs ... under pressure from their governments, or donors and stakeholders... will say look, if you want awareness raising it has to be awareness raising in the way we want... those things happen, you are told what to do and how to do it, but at MS we have really tried, this whole negotiation business because we think you know better... so we say can you tell us how you would go about it... Staff D - MS

As expressed above, while it is acknowledged that other INGOs and donors impose things, MS takes a long term perspective in terms of impact This also aligns with the fact Batsiranai staff indicated that the relationship with MS is the longest in the previous section. In taking a long perspective, it is expressed that negotiations take place "because we believe you know better" which is in tune with MS policy on partnership:

Poor people themselves know their problems best. The MS programme accordingly seeks to support poor people's own initiatives as well as their ability to further analyze their conditions" (Solidarity through Partnerships 2001:4).

In accordance with the overall partnership concept, MS endeavours to promote a participatory approach at all levels. This means that the poor themselves should contribute to identifying their needs and come up with suggestions on how to challenge their problems (MS- Zimbabwe 2005: 4)

Crucially this ties in with the idea raised by Batsiranai staff below that MS asks them what the problems are and how they think such problems should be addressed as expressed below:

... they [MS] ask us [Batsiranai] what we need, what are the problems that we meet in the community, and how we have tried to solve some of those problems even without them, and how we want them to assist but ... Staff B - Batsiranai

In addition to flexibility and negotiations, MS supports partners with institutional development at various levels which is acknowledged and appreciated by Batsiranai staff as excerpts in the box suggest. MS documentary evidence indicates that the organisation

views institutional development as one of the core priorities within the partnership approach:

Capacity building of partners is a significant part of what MS contributes to partnerships. MS wants to connect capacity building to the issue of poverty eradication in order for partners to better address poverty and its causes (Solidarity through Partnerships 2001: 4).

This resonates with the interview below by MS staff:

Here [at MS- Zimbabwe]... we have a training centre at the back of this building, where annually we have a training programme... we do many courses, like accounting, partnership seminars, mobilization and so forth... quite a large budget of our funding goes to training, skills building ...we have supported Batsiranai when they started off, it was only MS [supporting them] they were no other INGOs and when we look back, we can say we have done something good in building their capacity Staff C - MS

As explained above MS – Zimbabwe conducts partner training and a large portion of their funding is allocated to this and Batsiranai benefited from this. Against this backdrop MS expresses that “we can say we have done something good”. This position resonates with the quote below whereby Batsiranai staff express that:

...MS have also taught us many things, they advice us, train us on mobilizing, writing project proposals... Batsiranai didn't have many donors when I started working here but now things have changed ...Staff B - Batsiranai

It is notable here that the mobilising above relates both to getting the community together and using participatory structures and mobilising resources such as finances.

Documentary evidence confirms this:

Some partners such as Batsiranai have managed to obtain funding from other partners besides MS –Zimbabwe. This is significant because it shows partner ability to mobilize resources ... (MS – Zimbabwe Annual Report 2005: 16)

MS- Zimbabwe Annual Report (2005: 19) highlights how other partner organisations in Zimbabwe appreciate this form of support:

... Generally the centralized training continues to be appreciated by partners as it seeks to address skills gaps within their organisations at an affordable cost. Without MS training it will be difficult for most partners to engage in capacity building of their employees as most of them have serious financial challenges.

In line with this, an examination of MS – Zimbabwe training calendar for 2005 indicates that the organisation trained 160 partner representatives at its Partnership Center in areas such as Monitoring and Evaluation, NGO administration, HIV and AIDS in the work place, Peace building and Conflict Resolution, Participatory Methodologies, Advanced board training, Gender issues, fundraising and resource mobilization, Role of boards in financial management, MS accounting among others. Furthermore, CBOs like Batsiranai

held in house training as I observed during the field trip where volunteers were being trained on gender issues .e.g. that girls should be protected from polygamy and should be equally encouraged and supported as boys in their education. During this training session, I observed as Batsiranai staff facilitated the training, and volunteers made contributions to the learning processes.

Further documentary evidence, suggests that MS has been successful at supporting partner organizations with institutional development:

... MS country programmes have developed strategies and policies that put organisational development and capacity building in the partner organisations at the centre of attention. ... Country studies indicate that MS has been generally successful in these aspects of its partnership approach and has in fact contributed significantly to increased capacity and improved performance in the partner organisations. (MS at the Crossroads 2003: 39)

As explained above, MS country programmes have put capacity building at the forefront of the partnership approach and as there are indications that they have improved the performance of partner organisations.

10.3.3 Batsiranai, a Success?

Considering that Batsiranai has been operational for almost 10 years with MS' support, and growing in terms of services rendered to children and the number of partners it now has, staff from both organisations and volunteers were asked whether they perceived the organisation a success. As highlighted by the quotes below, there is a consensus from volunteers and staff from both organizations that Batsiranai has been successful. Many factors were perceived to underpin this as experienced by participants.

10.3.3.1 Raising Awareness

When we started the work [OVC], we had vigorous campaigns, these I believe helped us achieve, we showed Everyone's child [a Zimbabwean movie pertaining to orphan hood] and it made people see how bad things were. It made some even cry, err, then we also showed Neria [another Zimbabwean movie pertaining to the ugliness of wife inheritance], so traditional leaders were on the fore front of discouraging wife inheritance, so we did a lot of awareness raising ...
Staff A - Batsiranai

As highlighted above by staff A, the CBO did some awareness rising in relation to HIV/AIDS, orphan hood and vulnerability which is perceived to have contributed to its achievements. In addition, it is noted that traditional leadership were at the forefront of the campaigns. During field the field work in BSD, I also met the traditional leadership at the training workshop and observed as he encouraged the volunteers to carry on with

the good work. Documentary evidence indicates that Batsiranai held awareness campaigns in all the wards it operates. Under the heading “Specific activities implemented in 2001”, Batsiranai Review Workshop Report (2001: 5) states:

Awareness workshop [held] in each ward. Through such workshops participants felt that children and women were now aware of their rights and children had started to report on abuse. Children now knew where to report. Furthermore communities were now aware of the plight of orphans and the work of Batsiranai through such awareness activities.

As explained above, such campaigns led to children and women knowing their rights as well as knowing where to report as well as communities becoming aware of the plight faced by the children.

10.3.3.2 Sticking to the Vision and Evidencing Work on the Ground

... we have done well, since we started we stuck up to our vision and mission without turning sideways, it just hasn't been talk, no, we have actually been doing the work as planned and envisaged. Our vision to make sure that OVC have support and this is what is happening... partners who come to see what is taking place, they find it like that; us being in the community; the children getting their school fees paid, the children receiving food... Volunteer F

...they [Batsiranai] have had many challenges, but I can say they are a success because they get external resources and use them for the planned purpose, the resources are utilised for the children, if they say we want to give blankets to the children and for sure the blankets go down there, if they say children need food and when they get the food it goes down to the children... this attracts external support as well... Staff C - MS

As expressed above by Volunteer F, Batsiranai's ability to stick to its vision and evidencing work on the ground has made it successful. While MS staff acknowledge that Batsiranai has had its share of challenges, the CBO is perceived to have been a success because they get external resources and utilize them as planned. Thus Batsiranai's ability to stick to its vision and evidence work on the ground is perceived to have enabled it to preserve its partnership relationship with MS while attracting new ones which has aided its continuity.

10.3.3.3 Volunteer Commitment

... there is a strong sense of commitment when you look at families, the volunteers themselves, on an issue affecting them, it's important for people to have that spirit, that people see and identify with the problem... the community plays its part, for a poor community like them, there are struggles in that place, the infrastructure is not so good, isolation, its very hot, its dry, people are very poor, no cash the circulation of cash, no dynamism in the area, all these constraints I think for sure the spirit in the people is very impressive, it has made the difference, its on a voluntary basis, if one were to put money for it, you can't even match it, people just commit themselves to that, that spirit is very important, voluntarism in Zimbabwe is very difficult, you don't have food at your home and you are taking care of someone's children in another village

and so on, you are walking, its hot, you leave your family, you lose the opportunity of sustaining your family, your children, I think that one is a strong point which other communities are lacking...Staff C - MS

As expressed by MS staff above, volunteer commitment is largely credited with keeping the programme intact against a background of dire poverty in the district where it is extremely difficult to have basics for daily sustenance. Their commitment is described as impressive, given the fact that by volunteering, they compromise on opportunities to sustain their own families.

Well they [volunteers] are a people who understand the problem they have among them, they are seeing children being left [parental death] on a daily basis, they are a people who have committed themselves to doing the work; it's their commitment which counts, how would it work without them? Staff G - Batsiranai

As also expressed above by Batsiranai staff, volunteers have an understanding of the problem which is among them through seeing children's vulnerability. This being the case, they have committed themselves and without them, the project would not work. Volunteer commitment is further explored in chapter eleven. Documentary evidence (Batsiranai Annual Review Workshop 1999: 2) also cites unity and commitment from community members and ward committees as one of the factors which contribute to Batsiranai's accomplishments.

10.3.3.4 Traditional Leadership Acknowledgment and Support

... we wouldn't have made it without traditional leadership support, for us we acknowledge the role of traditional leaders in the community, we respect the laws of this community norms and beliefs, and, err, they know what we are here to do, so our community arrangements, err, social structures are good because they include, err, err, the, the people, we have many committees and we observe these... Staff G - Batsiranai

...you can look at the involvement of chief Nyashanu as the patron, his moral support, his presence at these activities, it gives it legitimacy, if you are the chief and you are at the forefront then people may see a reason to get involved, he encourages it [the work]... it's that commitment from local community leadership.. He has also encouraged his subjects to support Batsiranai efforts... in other places if the chief says no to anything... the things falls, in Zimbabwe it falls...Staff C - MS

As the quotes above from both MS and Batsiranai staff suggest, the involvement and support of traditional leadership is perceived central Batsiranai's achievements. However, the beliefs of some community members maybe at odds with children rights and gender issues, which tends to create tensions with Batsiranai's work, e.g. the case of the man 65 year old men who took a girl of no more than 16 year old to be his wife as

stated in chapter two. While this was a burning issue at the time I left, discussions were underway in term of how to deal with the man, who happened to a volunteer belonging to church sect which believes in poligamy. However, key to the chief's support is the perceived legitimacy it gives to Batsiranai's work. Documentary evidence indicates that traditional leadership is acknowledged by Batsiranai and is supportive of its work.. Indeed, all the Review Workshop Reports collected from Batsiranai indicate the presence of chiefs at its review meetings. Furthermore, under the heading "Opening Remarks" (Batsiranai Review Workshop Report 2002: 1) there is evidence of support from the chief who is patron of the programme:

The patron of the programme chief X thanked all those present for attending the workshop. He emphasized that in Shona Batsiranai is loosely translated to mean helping each other and it was therefore imperative that as a community, people should ... help one another. He went on to stress the need for everyone to exert themselves fully in order to promote good living conditions for orphans.

In addition to the above, during field work, I had the occasion to witness the chief giving his moral support to volunteers at training workshops where he implored volunteers present to take gender issues seriously and to put into practice the knowledge they were gaining through the training.

10.3.3.5 Non partisan Structures

... since our organization is non political we said no, we don't want the councillor on our committees because we realized that if we include him he will include politics; to the extent of segregating those orphans who need help; such as to say, the father of this orphan didn't support this and that party.... in our committees we don't have structures for the headman, the chief and councillor to get involved, they are just people with no position [decision making] in the CBO...this is what actually made us successful because if we had included these structures and then you have the donor saying this and that, let me see how your structure stands and you are found with those structures the donor will say; ok this is political and leave us, so this has helped us even when looking for donors, it has helped us access donors ... Volunteer F - Batsiranai

Given the highly polarized Zimbabwean environment where traditional leadership is most likely to be aligned to party politics as discussed in chapter 8, its exclusion among other elected government representatives in Batsiranai's decision making structures is perceived to mitigate political interference as well as attract new partnership relations. As explained above, the exclusion of the chiefs and other government officials was partly instigated by the need to support all children as well as attract funding partners, who are noted to dislike structures that are "political". However, documentary evidence indicates

that both traditional and political officials wanted positions within Batsiranai's decision making structures:

Traditional leaders wanted to have positions in committees; the same applies to political leaders (Batsiranai Annual Review Workshop report 1999: 2)

This resonates with documentary evidence from MS in relation to another CBO (AIDS Among US) whereby local government officials were demanding to be included in the CBO structures:

Operational challenges noted ... District Aids Action Committees demanding to know and be involved in daily running of community based organisations (MS- Zimbabwe Annual Report 2005: 35)

10.3.3.6 Community Participation and Programme Ownership

... They [Batsiranai] may not have always been successful but they involve the community a lot in the programmes, schools, teachers, child committees and so forth, I think they have decided to go a step further developing structures that enable ownership... Staff C - MS

As the quote above suggests, despite the challenges, community participation has enabled programme ownership which has helped Batsiranai to be successful. Batsiranai's organogram in section A indicates the various stakeholders involved in the programme, mostly through selection by community members. Documentary evidence indicates that the majority of stakeholders, including the children's committee attend review meetings. For instance, the 1999 review workshop has a list of attendees which includes board members, committee members, beneficiaries (children's committee), and representatives of the chief, MS staff and Batsiranai staff. Batsiranai staff had this to say about the children's committee:

The children come into the general reviews, annual reviews and air their views, their suggestions, what they feel should be done. There is also a time when we have other meetings in-between and they are also involved, they will be present and also in the workshops. Staff G – Batsiranai

While the review workshop reports collected as documentary evidence do not consistently provide a list of attendees, consideration of the proceedings indicates the presence of other stakeholders such as representatives from the departments of health and social welfare and district administrator. The presence and participation of children can be similarly deduced. For instance, in the 1999 workshop review evaluation the children are recorded to have commented:

We have enjoyed the food given to us. We liked the discussion for it enabled us to highlight our plight as orphans. We were not fully informed about what will be done for those who are no longer going to school.... we were not told when these projects would be started (Batsiranai workshop review Report 1999: 8)

Furthermore, there is documentary evidence to suggest that various stakeholders who make up Batsiranai's organisational structure partly attribute its achievements to:

Participatory approach at all levels... support from local authorities... community participation and contributions (Batsiranai Review Workshop Report 2001:9)

In addition to the above during the fieldwork I observed some form of community participation in the operation of the programme. This occurred when I attended a community workshop and as we got to the venue with staff and I observed volunteers already busy at work cooking lunch in huge pots at the back of the clinic and clearing the room for the workshop. Through informal interactions with staff, I was informed that the role of the office in this instance was to deliver the workshop and support volunteers with funds to do the food purchase. It was also the responsibility of volunteer committee members to travel between villages informing others about training, meeting and workshop dates. In addition, the language used by volunteers in informal interactions denoted a degree of ownership e.g. when volunteers who were gathered for training and saw the project car (provided by MS) approaching from afar, they indicated that they had seen "their car coming" and tried to hurry up with preparations for the workshops, even though the car clearly had a sticker marked MS. This was however in sharp contrast to their reference to having seen "a World Vision car near the hospital". Furthermore, community members – volunteers referred to MS and other partners as the "friends who help us to look after our children". In passing conversations, the project office was referred to as "our office". While this may be the case, participation was perceived by research participants to pose challenges for Batsiranai and the partnership as presented in Section 10.3.4

10.3.3.7 Low Staff Turnover, Commitment and Ability to Learn

When you go to talk to staff who have been with the CBO [Batsiranai] for about 2 – 3 years, about programme issues, you can see that this person has really; really matured and given an opportunity to go to Gokwe [some other remote and equally harsh landscape in Zimbabwe] or elsewhere they will manage well and also when you look at Batsiranai right now, all the donors are going there right now because when you look CBO's like Rujeko and others, they are really not functioning well, so you can see that Batsiranai has done well, they are an entry point now for donors in Buhera South...Staff D - MS

...the staff turn over here [at Batsiranai] are low, since I joined in 2003 only 2 people have left, that alone is a strength, because when you go out there in the community as a field officer, they know you well and they tell you everything unlike if you are unknown, they will start thinking; if we tell him this and that what will she do with that, so its that trust, you have to build trust so that alone has been a strength, even donors have increased as well in comparison with other organisations whom their staff turn over is high... you see them constantly advertising for posts but here you see that people don't leave regardless of the fact that its in the rural areas, employing graduates in a rural setting that is good, so that is a strength I think ... Staff J - Batsiranai

As expressed above, Batsiranai is perceived to have committed staff with an ability to learn. Their ability to learn has positively impacted on Batsiranai as expressed above that donors now perceive the CBO as an entry point in the area. Low staff turn over is also perceived as having impacted on Batsiranai's achievements positively given the continuity of relationships which is credited with availing staff and community members an opportunity to build trust. The issue regarding donors is raised by both sets of staff, albeit from two different view points. The first one relates to how staff at the CBO have grasped programming through institutional development, while the second one alludes to the idea that staff continuity has attracted donors, because of the stability this has brought to the CBO. Notably comparisons are made between Batsiranai and other CBOs which are constantly advertising for new staff, because of high staff turn over. Furthermore, the idea that Batsiranai despite being based in a rural setting attracts graduate staff is perceived as strength. Documentary evidence also (Batsiranai Annual Review Workshop 1999: 2) documents the determination of staff at Batsiranai as a contributing factor to its achievements. From field work observations, Batsiranai staff appeared dedicated to the cause in spite of the harsh landscape in which they had to live and work. Furthermore, volunteers were highly literate, as observed during community workshops on gender issues whereby there was a lot of reading and writing. The ability of volunteers to read and write is crucial given the fact that they have to document the children in need and retain information from training workshops.

10.3.3.8 Strong Leadership

... the other big and very important factor is that of the visionary kind of leadership in the management- if you look at X [now CBO director] when he started 10 years ago [with key individual community members], nobody thought that this thing would even survive up to today, it is not just this self drive but also equally important is personal commitment that has also counted at the end of the day; one could have given up, but because he has kept on the fighting spirit to say to the people it can be done and the community says yes lets do it, ... also comes through his interaction with other INGOs, his willingness to learn, to exchange ideas... he is dynamic in the sense that he learns and uses those skills to apply to a problem and solve it... someone could have used those skills else where, to say this is not my home area [Buhera South], I come from Domboshava let me do it this there, why not go to my home area, but I think you

need that kind of NGO or CBO leadership, that is self motivation, there is this drive with or without resources... Staff C - MS

As the quote above suggests strong and dynamic leadership is perceived a contributing factor to Batsiranai's perceived success. The leadership is credited with showing personal commitment when it may have been easier to give up than carry on. However, as indicated above, it was not only the leadership's fighting spirit, but also the willingness and eagerness of the community. In informal conversations with Mr X, the CBO leader referred to above, during the fieldwork for this research he narrated an issue which exhibited his commitment to the project. Having gone to the USA on OVC business at the height of political volatility, when people were looking for any possible means of escaping the country, he expressed how fellow country men home and abroad thought this was his chance to escape . When I asked him what made him return against all odds, he explained that he felt a deep sense of duty and obligation to the community and children as well as the partners who support Batsiranai. Hence, his explanation that not returning to the community would have been a betrayal he would not have been able to live with. This being his expressed position, he returned home after the conference. Notable here is that in these informal conversations, he also indicated facing "political harassment" as the leadership of Batsiranai on a number of occasions. This resonates with documentary evidence which states "there have been some politically related problems" as part of the many problems facing the programme in 1999 (Batsiranai Annual Review Workshop 1999:2).

10.3.4 Partnership Challenges

The following themes emerged as challenges to partnership working as experienced and perceived by Batsiranai and MS- Zimbabwe staff.

10.3.4.1 Skewed Power Relations?

One of the issues perceived as challenging within the partnership approach was the presence of skewed power relations, which was particularly felt at the beginning of the relationship. The two quotes highlighted at the beginning of section 10.3.1 bear repeating here:

... Through experience what I have seen is that that is not partnership at all, err, it is partnership in writing or by word but it's not partnership, it's a relationship where one person, err, err, is sort of instructed and the other one is an instructor, its, err through the partnerships that we have developed through various donors... Staff A - Batsiranai

The idea expressed above about one instructing another could be taken to denote exercising power or authority in a paternalistic way, hence the remark that “ ... what I have seen is that it’s not partnership at all ... it is partnership in writing”. This further indicates that the experience of partnership with various donors (partners) does not live up to partnership agreements or the theory of partnership. This denotes a gap between theory and practice. However, as the second quote below suggests, this gap narrowed down as expressed to have been the case between Batsiranai and MS. While the gap narrows down, it narrows down to negotiations whereby partners dialogue and listen to one another. Key to this is the longevity of the MS – Batsiranai partnership.

Even though MS is generally a good partner, you can say there was a time when MS was also like that in the early years of the partnership, telling us do this, do that, but now that we have been working together for a long period of time, we negotiate, we sit down and say what we need to say and they listen to us and we also listen to them. We have been together for a long period of time you see...this makes a big difference... Staff A Batsiranai

While this is Batsiranai’s staff experience of partnership working with MS, the latter acknowledges that aspects of exercising power of authority persists as suggested in the documentary evidence below:

There can also be no doubt that MS virtually by definition comes into the partnership as the dominant partner, right down to the power to initiative the partnership in the first place. MS also holds the skills and resources to define the content and format of the partnership, at least in the initial stages. Hence, partnerships are rarely equal and it must be accepted that they will remain unequal for as long as the partner involves transfers of resources from MS (in the form of DWs, training opportunities, network contacts and other material resources) and for as long as MS is charged with the supervision of how funds from the public [Danish] purse are spent. The controller functions that MS is obliged to assume in the partnership relationship underline the unequal position of the two partners (MS at Cross Roads 2003: 43)

As expressed above, MS is aware of its dominant position to either initiate or not initiate the partnership. This is the beginning of a skewed relationship and the of resources from MS to an organisation like Batsiranai further affirms this position. As further expressed above, channelling resources brings with it the need to monitor how those resources are utilised and MS being under obligation to the Danish tax payer to assume this role, this in essence underpins the skewed relationship. What is also expressed above is the acknowledgement that partnerships are “rarely equal”. This appears to tie in with the idea raised earlier about the instructor and the instructed. However, the idea of negotiation raised by Batsiranai staff, and MS staff suggests that the partnership has not been all about domination. The quote below by MS staff expresses this view:

... I think it's a narrow view that a partnership relationship is reduced to finance... from a practical point of view, I don't know whether it's fair to talk about equal relationships, it's about equitable relationships where you have your inputs based on your capacity, we can't expect local CBOs to be contributing if it comes to finance, 50% and MS contributes 50%, it's unrealistic, it's a simplistic argument because it is reduced to finance and power ... you also have to look at decision making powers in terms of who decides on which beneficiaries to focus on, who decides on the geographic areas to focus on, who decides on the board make up.. Staff C - MS

As highlighted above, reducing a partnership relationship to finance is perceived as narrow minded as it's unrealistic and simplistic, given that a CBO cannot bring the same amount of money to the partnership as MS. This being the case, talking about equal partnership relationship is questionable, but "equitable relationships" where contributions are made based on what an organisation has. However, as further expressed above, one also has to pay attention to the dynamics in the relationship in relation to an organisation often perceived less powerful, in this case Batsiranai in terms of their decision to focus on OVC and their geographical location.

This suggests Batsiranai has to a greater extent a say pertaining to what agenda to follow on the ground.

10.3.4.2 Small Amounts and Thinly Spread Funds

.... MS does not give a lot of money, US\$30 000/ 20 000 a year may not be enough but then we have some partners in Zambia, Mozambique getting the same amount of money and they are doing very well. Unfortunately we can't give more here in Zimbabwe, there is criticism from our partners who wish we could give more, but we can't as MS is not a donor in that sense of the word ... Staff D - MS

MS gives very small sums of money which is a challenge to us but they provide us with vehicles, fuel to move around that helps a lot, they do training as well... but you still think they all [partners] like spreading money thinly on the ground. At the end of the day, CBOs like us don't get that much because like I am saying with example of US\$100 000 and the INGO has 10- 15 partners, the money is thinly spread and at the end of the day what happens is very, very little impact The quality of the work is compromised...there is our neighbour based at the hospital [another CBO called Dananai]... we have the same donor [partner] but what we are both getting is not enough...Staff B - Batsiranai

While staff generally lament the small amounts of funds given by MS and other partners – which tends to create competition among CBOs, there is an appreciation of how MS does support them in other areas which sounds almost compensatory, albeit some documentary evidence (MS- Zimbabwe Review 1995) that at some point in the past MS - Zimbabwe had created a distorted image of MS being a donor to its partners, due to the

high levels of funding. Documentary evidence does in fact suggest that MS partners generally think that, MS should give more:

The views several partners expressed were that MS should, in fact, be more of a donor, and should give more... (From Projects to Partnerships – MS in Zambia 2003: 60)

MS readily acknowledges this general criticism from its partners, Batsiranai included and stresses that it isn't a traditional donor in its approach to development i.e. that it sees itself as a catalyst where it promotes capacity for locally sustained development; hence the less funding. While this may be the case the challenging economic environment in Zimbabwe is perceived by MS staff as crippling to the potential impact of the funding MS gives. As the quote above by Staff D - MS explains, the same amount of funds goes a long way in Mozambique and Zambia, however this is mainly because of currency pegging in Zimbabwe as will be further explained in section 10.3.6. Furthermore, there is the idea that Zimbabwe is a generally challenging environment with very few donors and INGOs on the ground and hence the demand on them (and other funding partners) which is overwhelming. While MS provides these small sums because of its working approach, other INGOs and donors may be doing so because of overwhelming needs on the ground as the quote below suggests:

...when you look at Zimbabwe, because of the limited resources and the declining political situation, there are very few resources from donors and the demands placed on the few remaining INGOs are overwhelming... Staff C - MS

The quote above indicates that thinly spread resources result in little impact on the ground thereby making it difficult to judge the effectiveness of those resources. From the Batsiranai staff perspective, funding partners:

...should look at the beneficiaries, how long would the beneficiaries need, which areas should we support and are we adequately supporting these areas we are targeting, so those things I think they are still a problem with many partners, you [they donors] don't need to really have many partnerships but then they say to you no, you just want the money; you want to work alone, you don't want others to work but its not like that....these are some of the issues that need to be changed. Staff B - Batsiranai

As explained above, the perception is that donors should not have many partnership relations if they are going to thinly spread the resources.

10.3.4.3 Openness about other Partners and Abuse of Trust

While having multiple partners for a CBO is held up as desirable (as expressed earlier in the case of Batsiranai) it is perceived to potentially open doors for dishonesty as suggested by MS staff below:

... there are challenges to do with openness around funding... they [Batsiranai] would say look we don't have funding for this and yet fortunately we bump into people from HIVOS (another funding partner) and they say... but we are funding this for this organisation ...so the partnership approach also leaves room sometimes for dishonesty...when partners are being funded by many partners, they can play funder against funder... Staff C - MS

... when I look at it in retrospective, it took a lot of effort, patience, you would say we know we are supporting you with this, but we also what to get information about how much is coming from say CRS so that we not duplicating efforts, so that we know we are not paying double salaries, all this kind of things it was difficult, it hasn't been easy to call them [Batsiranai] to say tell us; they would ask us, why you need that information... Staff D - MS

As highlighted in the first quote, MS, as an organization with many partners, has problems with non disclosure of other partners, by its partners, Batsiranai included. However, the second quote indicates that things did change with regards to Batsiranai, even though the change required effort and patience. The tensions aligned with issues of disclosure potentially align with perceptions by Batsiranai staff, highlighted earlier on that MS has not always been a good partner, in the sense that MS was demanding information Batsiranai may not have wanted to divulge. In any case, non disclosure of other partners was perceived by MS as self defeating given that the truth is likely to come out one way or the other especially as INGOs and donors move around in the same corridors:

... It's a double edged sword, if you don't share information on who else is supporting you and the others then know or suspect that for sure you are hiding this information you lose the partner, so yes that's the other edge...Staff C - MS

In addition to the above, it was claimed that some partners have abused trust, given MS' hands off approach and then claimed that the partnership approach does not work:

... in a challenging environment like Zimbabwe ...trust is basically abused and people end up saying the partnership approach doesn't work, but here at MS we say we want you to develop yourselves, do things the way you see best with little interference of monitoring, then others will say, very good, if they don't come here to ask questions then we will do just as we please. I think partners have taken advantage of this ... Staff D- MS

The above quote however appears to also suggest that the challenging economic environment is exacerbating abuse of trust by partners.

10.3.4.4 Board Problems

One of the issues perceived by MS staff to be a challenge within its partnership with Batsiranai was its management board. As discussed earlier on, MS- Zimbabwe has a Policy Advisory Board which guides and oversees the country programme and as enshrined in the partnership agreements, partners like Batsiranai have an independent board which oversees its programmes as shown on Batsiranai's organogram in section A. While present as a structure, the Board is perceived to be fraught with challenges as the quote below suggests:

...every partnership should have a functional board which takes into consideration especially given stakeholders from the community, from the ministry of health, ministry of education etc... but the majority have to be community members but what we have noticed is that, this is just done to satisfy MS that there is a board...the members are ... toothless...they never do what they are suppose to do, even though they are trained... they are happy being... taken to Harare for meetings, happy being displayed in front of people whenever there is a meeting. These things may seem small ... but in a rural setting for it to be said you are the chairman, you sit on the board that is a big thing... the board should drive the organisation but its not like that... with Batsiranai, this has been one of our main challenges because the board hasnot been effective...Staff C - Batsiranai

The above quote suggests that the board is not effective, even though its members have been trained (as part of institutional development) and are happy to be a part of it. The idea of the board in this instance is explained as something that Batsiranai put in place to simply satisfy requirements of the partnership. While having a position in the board of a CBO may appear like a minor role, it is perceived to be a big thing for rural community members. This charge is however far removed from the confidence exuded by one of the board members:

... The board is the one which controls the programme, it is the one which does the strategic plans and then the office is the one which has financial control. The board is the one which has meetings to see which way is the way forward; it is supposed to know how the vision and mission of the programme stands. In short I can say the board is the head of programme because it guides it ... Volunteer F

The explanation given above by volunteer F who is a board member, indicates awareness of what the board is meant to do and to some extent, an indication that it does, i.e. guides the programme. However, in line with MS- staff dissonance about the board, documentary evidence suggests that Batsiranai is aware of this problem:

The management board was seen to have failed in a number of areas including networking with local NGOs at ward and district levels, visiting ward committees, monitoring and follow up and meeting staff... it is worthwhile to note that participants to the previous year's review cited some of these issues and staff and the management board need to pay particular attention to these (Batsiranai Review workshop Report 2001: 6)

The last bit of the quote suggests that this is a problem which has been highlighted earlier in Batsiranai's workshop reviews. However given the time frames when this particular quoted review was done 2001, and 2006 when field work for this research study was conducted, this seems to be an ongoing problem.

10.3.4.5 Participation, Coordination and Monitoring Challenges

While participation was heralded as one of Batsiranai's key strengths in section 10.6.3.6 continuous broad based participation is perceived difficult to maintain within the partnership:

... there should be broad based participation in the partnership because there is tendency to reduce the partnership from being between, like in the case of Batsiranai it can easily be reduced to Batsiranai and B [programme officer]... the faces that are interacting... so the challenge is that there is tendency to reduce the partnership to individuals...Staff D - MS

As explained above, there is a tendency to reduce the partnership to the interacting individuals, whereas this should not be the case. It is thought that there should be broad based partnership. In line with this, is the issue of coordination which is similarly perceived challenging:

... it's not so easy to coordinate, the partnership with Batsiranai involves many stakeholders in practice ... how to ensure that each of these groups have a share space within the relationship is challenging, you have to remind each other or always fight for it ... the local organisation may not see the relevance of it, to them its expensive... when you look at Batsiranai the geographical coverage relative to the resources, its too much and when you now look at democratisation of decision making, all these structures there are so many forums, so many committees, dialogue involved, it's resource demanding from that angle ...Staff C - MS

As explained above, coordinating is challenging given the large geographical coverage of BSD in comparison to the available resources. Given that stakeholder participation and democratization is part and parcel of the partnership approach (Solidarity through partnerships 2001), the process of inclusion is perceived to be resource costly. This challenge was also echoed in documentary evidence from Batsiranai in relation to its organisational structure:

Participants [from district, ward, village, kraal and orphans committee, board of trustees, reps from the department of health and social welfare] indicated that each of these committees supported each other for the day to day running of Batsiranai activities, but were however quick to mention that there were too many committees for the activities of Batsiranai to be effectively run (Batsiranai Review Workshop Report 2001: 8).

Part of the problem identified with the structures was "inefficient communication flow" (Batsiranai Annual Review Workshop Report 2001: 8).

From the above quotes, coordination was perceived a challenge by both organisations from somewhat similar perspectives, as the idea raised above of resources resonates with problems of communication which are exacerbated by the widely spaced geographical coverage of the project. This widely spaced geographical coverage demands transport which was expressed to be in short supply in documentary evidence year after year:

Transport problems affect implementation of activities ... staff visit to the community is difficult because of transport problems... (Batsiranai Annual Review Workshop 1999: 2)

... communication with the office is very difficult and hence there is need for alternative means of communication... more bicycles... few vehicles make the work in the community lag behind therefore there should be an increase in the vehicles (Batsiranai Annual Participatory Review workshop report 2003: 7)

Problems faced by Batsiranai ... transport problems (Batsiranai Review Workshop Report 2002: 5)

This inherently makes the decision making processes difficult. In addition to the above, documentary evidence indicates that in spite of the drive to be inclusive, some elected committee members lack commitment:

They [workshop participants] felt lack of commitment by committees. In some wards committee members do not turn up for meetings/ training (Batsiranai Review Workshop Report 2001: 6).

This resonates with other documentary evidence (Batsiranai Annual Review workshop 1999: 2) whereby workshop participants note:

Some committee members are not willing to do duties assigned them.

In addition to the above, Batsiranai staff also highlighted poor coordination among organisations engaged in OVC work as a challenge.

There is also the issue of coordination, if you are focusing on an area the issue of coordination is featuring in many discussions as challenge, there is need to look at issues of coordination such that if you are doing OVC work or which ever area there is a need for coordination so that which ever way we adequately address the issues without duplicating ... you will find that some organisations are doing the work but we don't know who or in what direction so we need coordination. Staff B - Batsiranai

As explained above, poor coordination potentially leads to duplication of services which results in a waste of much needed resources in and outside partnerships. In addition to the above, there is the issue of monitoring which is closely linked to the limited interaction with the programme beneficiary. For MS staff, it remains a challenge which reverts back to the issue of trust raised earlier on:

I wouldn't say I am 100% sure of what is happening in Birchenough Bridge [Buhera South] right now, I do meet them once a quarter or once every 6 months and its not good enough but then there is no way that I can go there all the time because then the whole thing of partnership and trust is eroded... it's very difficult when you talk about monitoring in the community...Staff D-MS

As the quote above suggests, working in partnership makes it impossible for MS to know for sure what is happening on the ground and yet at the same time there is no way of exactly knowing other than trusting. Constant checking would, as the quote suggests, would erode, the much needed trust. Monitoring challenges were also expressed in relation to Batsiranai's structures as highlighted in section 10.3.4.4 where the board of management is charged with not monitoring committees, and the ward committees expressing difficulties in monitoring kraal committees because they are so many of them as indicated below:

Because the kraal committees are so many, it is difficult for the ward committee to monitor them (Batsiranai Annual Review Workshop Report 1999: 2).

In line with the monitoring challenges highlighted above, Batsiranai staff also expressed concerns about monitoring its activities in the community as indicated below:

I go around on my motor cycle seeing where the sick people live... you just assume that the sick person gets the food because you can not follow every sick person and ask the care giver; has this person eaten they will tell you, what a thing to ask, you can have this job if you want, so you can't tell, there is no way of measuring how much the person has eaten and those who look after the orphans, we can't also be asking has the OVC eaten the food, you just have to trust that is what is happening, but in some few instances, you find that people are neglected, you will see that one has spoiled themselves, everything is wet and the person may not have eaten... then you have to speak, so it's not always easy ...Staff J - Batsiranai

As indicated in section A, Batsiranai has a service provision for those affected by HIV/AIDS and as expressed above, monitoring whether if these people are being well cared for by volunteers is often difficult. Asking questions to care givers about whether and if the sick as well as the OVC are eating the food they receive from the programme has trust implications hence the idea that you will be asked "what a thing to ask, you can have this job if you want". While it is expressed that one has to simply trust, there have been some "few" occasions of people facing neglect. As indicated above, in such instances staff are expected to speak up. In the same vein, MS staff also expressed concern about the limited access to programme beneficiaries:

... the partnership approach doesn't allow enough room to interact with the beneficiary that very often, so often I am at loss to know what's actually happening with the beneficiary, my meetings are with the programme staff, who may tell me that we have been doing this and this,

but how do I verify it's been done it's a trust thing, if you allow organisations to develop, I mean if you really want them to develop, trust is important ...Staff D - MS

As explained above, access to the beneficiary is inherently limited to MS and this being the case, MS staff have to take Batsiranai's word for it. However, it's also the case that Batsiranai staff have to take caregivers' (volunteers) word for it with regards to what is happening to children on the ground. In the last two quotes presented above, these challenges boil down to issues of trust and as suggested above if an organisation has to develop there must be trust in the equation.

10.3.4.6 Multiple Accountabilities and Upward Accountability

Lastly as the quote below suggests, multiple accountabilities posed a challenge for Batsiranai:

... and then because you have many partners, each one requiring a separate report depending on what they are funding, it can be a lot of work, it becomes too much work, even though you [CBO] want to have a number of partners so as to diversify your funds, you don't want to depend on one partner, one partner is not good because, what happens if that donor decides to stop funding you, everything will come to a stand still... Staff A - Batsiranai

While Batsiranai has to be accountable to MS, it also has to be accountable to its other partners through reports as required and this puts a heavy workload on the CBO. Clearly as the quotes suggests, having one donor is potentially risky but then having many donors has its own set of challenges to contend with, even though it has its benefits. Indeed documentary evidence also suggests this to be a thorny issue for Batsiranai among other concerns:

Although through having multiple partners Batsiranai benefited by getting more financial aid and hence implementing more activities, it should be noted that she has faced a number of challenges. Some of the challenges include – workload increases among staff members, multiple reporting systems, increase in staff involvement through meetings, differences in priority areas... (Batsiranai Review Workshop Report 2001: 3).

As highlighted above, having multiple partnership relations brings with it more workload for staff and differences in areas of priority, though both organisations are most likely to share the same aims and objectives to be in a partnership in the first place. Another area of concern is posed by the relationship between MS in Denmark and country offices like MS - Zimbabwe. While documentary evidence from MS (Solidarity through Partnerships, 2001: 3) suggests independence by way of the following excerpt, the one below it suggests accountability tensions:

... The MSiS policy is the overall framework for all country programmes. Within this framework, each country will be developed according to its own context.

... the way we [MS- Zimbabwe] decide how to go around poverty eradication is determined by each country programme....within the bigger framework... you can't run your own country programme independently, you have to get verification from Denmark... Staff C - MS

As explained above in the first quote, a country office is considered autonomous to inform its own agenda via the Policy Advisory Board which oversees country programmes but then the idea of getting verification from Denmark denotes upward accountability. This resonates with the idea of MS assuming control functions and this underlines unequal relations. However, the idea of getting verification from Denmark puts the country office in a precarious position being accountable to Denmark and its country programmes. Documentary evidence (MS at the Cross Roads 2003:62) suggests that MS is aware of this tension:

The country offices are structurally placed in the somewhat difficult position of having to relate to and respond to policy guidelines and policy concerns from the international department in Copenhagen, on the one hand, while they are also expected on the other hand to reflect the concerns of partner organisation and significant features of the policy environment that they work in.

On an aligned note, the fact that the MSiS programme is fully funded by the Danish government further adds on to the chain of accountabilities. The dependency of MS on the Danish Government will be discussed in the ensuing section.

10.3.4.7 Financial Dependency and Donor Imposition of Agenda

Batsiranai's dependency on its partners, MS included is perceived by its staff as a major challenge as expressed below:

... Our reliance on donor funding, overnight they can cut us off... I think CBOs must have an alternative source of income, if CBOs can negotiate to have income generating projects, that is the only way out but you know donors, they say, no, no we don't fund that... Staff I - Batsiranai

...the story of sustainability is the big story, CBOs can not sustain themselves, they only depend on donor funding, and that is our biggest problem.... Staff B – Batsiranai

As expressed in the first quote, reliance on donor funding is risky due to the potential for being cut off. This being the case, it is thought that CBOs should have alternative sources of funding such as income generating projects, which donors are not keen to fund. The second quote equally highlights this challenge in terms of sustainability whereby CBOs can not self sustain as they don't have alternative sources of funding. While Batsiranai highlighted these concerns, MS equally faces the same challenge due to its dependency

on the Danish government .Documentary evidence (MS- Annul Report 2002 and MS at the Crossroads 2003) suggests that MS enjoyed a special cooperation with the government from the earliest days of Danish development assistance. Notable is that MS is perceived “as initiator, catalyst and coordinator on behalf of the larger Danish NGO community ...” as well as being a service provider to the Danish public. However, the election of a far right wing government in November 2001 changed the terms of engagement. Central to these changes was the “Strategy for Danish Support to Civil Society – including Cooperation with Danish NGOs” which emphasized the role of Danish NGOs in the institutional development of partner organisations, poverty reduction, empowerment, advocacy and network building as well as boosting their membership base in their homeland. Moreover, as the ensuing quote suggests many challenges could be sensed at the time:

For the first time in living memory, MS faced a government that was not formed on the political centre. The government’s most important co- operation partner in the parliament became a party which does not exactly have international cooperation as its key issue, and which, first and foremost, considers that the funds for development aid can be spent on the welfare of Danes... MS is in the process of getting accustomed to a new type of insecurity. The fundamental respect and sympathy for our activities that has characterized the relationship with the large political majority for decades can no longer be taken for granted... the government also relinquished the obligation earmarking one percent of the country’s gross national product for supporting the poorest people in the world. It prefers a more flexible promise that Denmark should continue to be among the international leaders in the field of aid...” (MS Annual Report 2002: 1)

Given the fact that about 15% of Danish bilateral aid is channelled through Danish NGOs (MS at the Crossroads 2003) the implications of this for them have been far reaching. A review of MS annual accounts for the period 1991- 2001 suggests that the organisation received an average of 87% of its funding from the state, with MSiS being fully funded by Danida (MS at the Crossroads 2003). In 2002, the same report notes that 84% of MS’ total funding was from Danida. As of January 2002, the state introduced a finance act which entailed cuts on MSiS programme amounting to almost US\$4 million (DKK 23million) and this consequently led to considerable changes on the ground (MS- Annual Report 2002). Such changes pertained to the closure of the sub regional programme in southern Africa in 2004 and the Ethnic Minorities Department in Denmark in 2002, reorganizing and down sizing country programmes in Mozambique and Tanzania by 40%, drastically cutting down on the number of DW posted within the MSiS programme, scaling down on all MS programmes by 6%, (MS at the Crossroads 2003). In addition to the above measures, four regional advisors in Denmark and seven staff in Copenhagen were laid off. In line with this, there were further cuts during the period 2004- 2006. The

financial dependency and vulnerability of MS has been expressed as a great cause of concern in other documentary evidence:

A brief assessment of MS as a development organisation suggests the following weakness [es]... MS is dependent on continued support from the Danish public and government to sustain its programmes at present levels and expand them if required... (MS – Zimbabwe 2000: 5)

MS needs to do more in the area of fundraising...MS can not continue to count on the declining Danish government support. MS needs to improve its overall profile by demonstrating that it is not dependent on one source and that MS can effectively mobilize her own resources. (MS – Zimbabwe- Record of Proceedings 2005)

With regards to Batsiranai, documentary evidence reveals challenges pertaining to its attempt to have alternative sources of resources:

Whilst the programme had mobilized resources from partners... participants felt that there was need to mobilize local resources. With deepening poverty in the villages and the high death rate, participants felt a strong desire to ensure people can tap into what was available locally before looking for resources elsewhere (Batsiranai Annual review workshop 2001: 6- 7).

While there is a desire to mobilize locally, poverty and the high rates of mortality are perceived as militating factors. Tied in to the issue of financial dependency is the case of donor imposition of agendas. While there is evidence that Batsiranai has been able to stick to its original agenda of supporting OVC, it was perceived that some partners had been imposing:

...the major thing is they have strings attached to finances; its like if you want our finances, our support do it our way and not your way, in that case you are no longer responding to the needs of the community, you are responding to the needs of the INGO, so I think there is a disparity between the needs of the community and the needs of the INGO...Staff I – Batsiranai

The issue of imposition is inherently linked to the idea of donor domination where funding partners “instruct” the partner on what to do. However, Batsiranai is not alone in this as this also relates to MS.

10.3.4.8 Advocacy and Lobbying Challenges

Lastly, one of the issues which was perceived as a challenge pertained to the need to engage in advocacy and lobbying as a basis for tackling the root causes of poverty. This created tensions between Batsiranai and its funding partners, who perceived this an important aspect of development work. The quote below highlights these tensions:

...they [INGOs and donors alike] ask what you [CBO] have done to fight for democracy. ...like the USAID, they are very fond of all those things because they are supporting us through CRS but when you are dealing directly with them....they call us for these meetings where some

eloquent speakers, politicians and so on can come and address us trying to impart this knowledge that if you are a CBO/ NGO you do your fighting in such a way like this and like that....but how do you do it, if your board [CBO board] says we can not be involved in these things...once you [CBO] come out in the open like that then people will saying you are doing politics ...but that isn't the concept of Batsiranai, Batsiranai are the people of Buhera district who have problems that are social problems that are affecting them, and they want to deal with those problem and nothing else...Staff A- Batsiranai

....for the partner that you get as the donor they will say, you have to comply to being proactive, to argue for democracy, advocating for human rights and so on, but, you know once you get yourself in such a situation, you are getting yourself in the political arena, then you are seen as Batsiranai arguing for advocacy, pressuring the government to change certain things and then the government questions; are they a political group now.... when they [Donors/ INGOs] evaluate you they want to see how much have you done in advocacy for this quarter.... Staff B - Batsiranai

As highlighted above Batsiranai is not keen to be involved in political aspects of development work. Becoming political attracts unwanted government attention and in this instance, the “blame” for not engaging in political issues is partly laid on the board of management. As the quote further explains, the people of Buhera South have no desire to engage in politics but wish to confront the social challenges facing them. Funding partners are perceived as wanting Batsiranai to be actively involved in political debates through advocacy. This creates tensions between Batsiranai and its partners, MS included. The solution for Batsiranai:

... for us [Batsiranai] to really make good relations with the donors, we normally tell them that we do fight for democracy through our networks like NANGO, but they want to see you doing it ... there on the forefront of it ... that is where we don't agree.. Staff A - Batsiranai

However, a social critic and activist had this to say about NANGO:

... NANGO is a necessary nuisance because it is a umbrella body for NGOs but it does absolutely nothing; you know it is really a convenience so that civil society should not look so stupid... basically NANGO really is one of the most useless organizations ever...KI P

Furthermore, documentary evidence echoes similar sentiments by a Zimbabwean human rights lawyer at MS- Zimbabwe Annual meeting in relation to NANGO's representation of NGOs and dealings with the NGO Bill:

What mandate has NANGO to represent the NGOs? NANGO has only 250 members and in greater Harare alone, there are 1500 organisations! (MS- Zimbabwe Annual Meeting 2003:9)

While these were the prevailing perceptions about NANGO, it is crucial to note that the argument is not about whether and if NANGO is effective, but rather about the tensions between Batsiranai and donors pertaining to addressing political aspects of development work. It's worth reiterating here that MSiS is guided by the policy document

“Partnership against poverty 2005” which outlines a strategic thrust whereby there is added emphasis to:

...a more political approach to poverty reduction directed at the social, economic and cultural institutions and practices that reproduce poverty Partnership against poverty (2005: 4)

As the policy document further explains:

A political approach to fighting poverty may entail a range of different activities by partners ... including supporting/ mobilizing/ training poor people for individual and collective action; creating political space for the activities of the poor; strengthening and building capacity in CSOs for political activities; engaging in issue – based advocacy and lobbying; providing linkages from the local to the national and international levels; building alliances between different actors in civil society; getting involved in broader social movements and providing links to the emerging global civil society (Partnership against poverty 2005 : 7- 8).

As the above quote indicates, the political approach entails supporting the poor through training for individual and collective action, strengthening of CSOs to engage in political activities, linking up the national and global and building alliances. In adopting this approach, documentary evidence asserts that MS is well equipped to deal with this agenda through its links and networks between north and south (Partnership against poverty 2005:8). While there is indication that MS is appropriately positioned to engage with political debates which pertain to poverty eradication, the challenge remains that of strengthening CBOs like Batsiranai. Notable is that the policy document also stipulates that adopting a political approach:

... Does not entail that MSiS should get involved in any way in party politics in the programme countries. But it takes ... an understanding of poverty as being rooted in unequal and unjust social, economic and political structures.... (Partnership against poverty 2005: 8)

As explained above, MS has adaptation of the political approach isn't an involvement in party politics, but in root causes of poverty. However it is also acknowledged that

Poverty can be reduced by concrete interventions of a service delivery nature, and there should still be room for such interventions... however, the impact of these is necessarily limited and localized and hence must be linked to advocacy in order to produce a greater impact.... (Partnership against poverty 2005: 8)

This in essence explains the partnership between MS and Batsiranai on OVC service delivery. The need for Batsiranai to engage in advocacy under the partnership approach is framed in the last two sentences which express that service delivery interventions are perceived as of limited impact, hence the need to link them to advocacy. The need for a political approach was also highlighted by KI E in the following interview excerpt:

R: ...through advocacy people would create a voice, to say hey we need a clinic around here, its like throwing a stone in the river then the government hears that voice, so advocacy is an important ingredient of development work

C: You talked about throwing a stone in the river?

R: Yes [laughs], once you throw a stone in the river it creates waves

C: How are people going to throw a stone in the river?

R: By making noise, lobbying their MP, you know it's more of awakening their consciousness as part of them making noise...some may argue its political, perhaps it is but people must be aware, people must be somehow willing to engage with this awakening of the consciousness, its like you know what people are entitled to and you are telling them, do you know that you are suppose to be getting this and that, so its not politics, but in the end you need up having to challenge the status quo, so that is it about throwing stones

C: but then does that not get people into problems with the government?

T: what can I say? It does, but that is the only way to get things on the ground to change

Given the above excerpt, adopting a political approach is considered useful and the only way forward to getting things to change. The idea of throwing stones into the river which make waves is used as a metaphor whereby, lobbying draws attention in the same way a stone does when thrown into the river. Given that people may not know what they are entitled it is believed that a third party needs to awaken their consciousness.

10.3.4.9 Genuine Partnerships are Demanding

Lastly, the partnerships are claimed to be demanding and challenging given the amount of dialogue and interactions which are all costly as expressed below:

... it takes time to build a genuine partnership, it takes a lot of patience, it's demanding, it's a demanding approach in terms of dialogue, interaction, meetings, meeting people it's expensive, it takes a lot of energy and commitment ... staff D- MS

10.3.5 Other Challenges

Poor access to communication technologies: In a world where internet is widely used by donors and INGOs, Batsiranai staff indicated that their internet is always down. This has several implications as discussed in chapter seven. Apart from access to potential partner information, the internet was perceived as a source of helpful information for facilitating workshops:

... our internet, its always down, we can not access information, its always hard to get connected, so that is a weakness because they are certain things that you should know, if sometimes you are planning or going to a workshop you find that if you go to the internet you will get information which you need so that you facilitation becomes easy ... Staff G – Batsiranai

In addition to the above problems of internet access, mobile phones cannot be easily used in Buhera South as some areas do not have network coverage as I personally experienced during field work. In essence, I had no network coverage during my whole stay in

Buhera south, in spite of living around the business district centre where one would expect to have network coverage.

Blue print / theory problem: As the quote below highlights, INGOs and donors are fond of blue prints and theorizing, an issue already raised in chapter five:

... they give us funds but what happens is that... if a theory worked in Uganda they want dictate that same theory here... lets say they were funding the economic strengthening project; they will want to say... it worked in Uganda, in Zambia or Botswana it should work here. ... they come in a straight jacket dictating what should happen without actually asking the community how do you want this done, sometimes they say this and this pays, this and this will not pay, so that is the problem...Staff G - Batsiranai

Short term contracts and late funding disbursement: This was identified as a challenge as expressed by Batsiranai staff:

...the problem of short term contracts, they [INGOs and Donors] give something [funding] and then a year after there is nothing... too little for any impact to be made so these are the problems...Staff B - Batsiranai

Apart from short term contracts, donors and INGOs alike were charged with not honouring agreements and dates in terms of disbursing funds:

... most donors don't stick to dates or agreements, they will say yes we will give you money, then you will find that the money will be given 3 months into the contract... so you find that you [CBO] have shortened your programming, at the end of the day, they say; can we see your report- what do I report when the money came 3, 4 months into the contract? Staff B- Batsiranai

As expressed above, this is the case which creates problems for the CBO in terms of planning and delivery. This also denotes lack of flexibility on the part of funding partners. However the case of short term contracts can also be linked to the volatile situation in Zimbabwe whereby INGOs are playing it by ear and providing the least possible support as stated below:

... I was told , no, no, Zimbabwe is a no go area... we made an agreement that we are not working there as long as the government doesn't comply with issues of human rights and democracy... Staff A – Batsiranai

This is further discussed in the ensuing section as it's a concern which relates to contextual challenges.

10.3.6 Contextual Challenges

As discussed in chapter eight, the legislative environment in Zimbabwe has been extremely challenging for civil society organisations. Though never signed into law, the NGO bill caused a lot of uncertainty as expressed below:

...it [NGO Bill] actually sent a lot of international donor agencies scurrying for cover; yes a lot of international donors/ INGOs relocated to Botswana, South Africa and even Zambia in time to escape the bill; they really thought that it was going to be signed ... but it worked, the result is that a lot of CBOs, NGOs collapsed... KI P

... its a ghost [NGO bill], you might say is it fair to be afraid to be of a thing that is imagined, for MS we were a bit not so certain when the bill was being debated in parliament about the future, it made us think a lot about the future of the programme... it made us feel vulnerable as a foreign NGO ... Some pulled around that time because of uncertainty, we had a neighbour here, they were from Sweden and they relocated to Zambia...Staff C - MS

The NGO bill caused some donors and INGOs to relocate to other countries in anticipation of it becoming law and enforced. While the bill was never signed into law, KI P notes that it had the government perceived desired impact, i.e. collapse of CBOs and NGOs due to fewer donors funding on the ground. As for MS, the NGO bill made them feel vulnerable and ponder about the future of their work in Zimbabwe. As noted above, they had an INGO neighbour from Sweden which relocated. Thus in both quotes, the relocation of INGOs and donors was perceived to be directly linked to the bill. Documentary evidence further highlights the potentially precarious position which faced MS at that time given its political approach to poverty eradication:

[If MS were to register under the NGO bill] MS would present their current activities, what their future plans were as well as highlight that their concern was to fight structural causes of poverty which is how the organisation works. This is criminal according to the provisions of the bill. MS is interested in addressing the structural or root causes of poverty and not just address the symptoms (Record of Proceedings of the MS – Zimbabwe Annual Meeting 2005: 13).

As the above quote indicates, registration under the bill would have criminalized MS. This being the case, the organisation was between a rock and hard place as it was prepared to continue its activities in the same way. This ties in with the issue of short term funding contracts previously expressed and further explained below:

...the situation is not conducive, anytime they [donors and INGOs] can be affected by the NGO bill...they say no to a longer term grants because suppose the government actually comes in and closes the whole show ...Staff A – Batsiranai

As expressed above, donors moved away from long term to short term provision. Even though the bill did not eventually receive presidential assent, it still caused uncertainty. Documentary evidence also indicates that MS faced immigration challenges:

MS has been following the events in Zimbabwe closely over the last two years. MS Denmark was generally concerned with the negative changes in the operating environment. The concerns were informed by media reports and actual experiences on the ground. The key concerns regard the deportation orders served on key CO staff, i.e. the previous country director and administrator, the difficulties of securing work permits for remaining and new staff and DWs (Record of Proceedings of the MS – Zimbabwe Annual Meeting 2005: 13)

While the deportation of the Danes caused concerns for MS and partners, at the time of the fieldwork, the situation with regards to work permits was perceived to have improved:

... its improved in terms of getting work permits for us... in the last 12 months all our expatriates staff have been able to get extended work permits whereas in 2004/ 2005 there was a time when they were limited to 30 days, 7 days...Staff C - MS

The above quotes clearly indicate some of the challenges faced by MS due to the volatile political situation. In terms of obtaining official registration with the government Batsiranai found it extremely difficult as expressed in the quote below:

... it was a long struggle, it took us over 5 years to get registered with the government, and yet when looking for funders, those who will become our partners, they will say, are you a registered CBO, if you are not registered then we can not become partners...there is too much red tape, you are moved from one office to another, its also as if the government doesn't want you [CBO] to be registered...Staff A - Batsiranai

Similarly, documentary evidence (MS- Zimbabwe Annual Report 2005: 34) suggests that the case of Batsiranai is not isolated:

Operational challenges noted for 2005... [Include] stringent regulations governing operations of NGOs in the country. The slow registration and approval process due to bureaucracy has been frustrating to partners ...

As indicated above, it took Batsiranai years to get registered and yet neither donors nor INGOs are usually willing to enter into a partnerships with unregistered CBOs. As the second quote indicates, this wasn't an isolated case.

Batsiranai staff expressed the view that the CBO endured a direct hit when one of the banks they used closed without warning because of unsound monetary and fiscal policy. Batsiranai's monies disappeared in the closure and their then funding partner, Irish Aid abruptly terminated of the partnership as explained below:

... we went into partnership with them [Irish Aid], I think we operated with them for two years ... they came here for an audit... that time, some of the banks here closed and some of the monies we had banked had come from Irish Aid, it disappeared ... we couldn't retrieve it and we even went to see Gono¹ and we have never been able to get it back.. .we went to solicitors, we went to see the big people to say this money is for our programmes in the community, its for OVC but nothing happened...we have more than 100 million [then between US\$ 5000 - \$10000] owed to us ...we wrote to our partner to say this is what has happened, it's beyond our control, we can't retrieve our money and the bank has been closed. They said you have broken the partnership agreement ...these people they are now based in Zambia, that is one example of a donor who moved out of this country to another because of the NGO bill... they didn't really support us, they cut their support...Staff A -Batsiranai

¹ Then governor of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe.

As explained above, Batsiranai staff took various steps to get the money back, including seeing the governor of the reserve bank and solicitors to no avail. Notable is the idea that Irish Aid claim Batsiranai had broken the partnership agreement and cut off their support.. Even though Irish Aid were not interviewed for this study, it is clear this incident affected the partnership. In line with this, hyperinflation was perceived to cause planning problems as indicated below:

... prices are not stagnant, they are always going up because of inflation which makes it difficult to do programming, we are constantly revising this... it makes planning difficult. Staff B - Batsiranai

The hyperinflationary environment and fluctuations in the exchange rates have made it difficult for partners, MS and other NGOs to develop realistic budgets and work plans. Partners and the CO have had to revise budgets several times ... in order to keep pace with inflation and devaluation (MS Annual Report 2005: 10)

However there was evidence that reviewing the budget was not always possible as indicated below:

Most of the intended activities were partially done because of increased costs and no funds were available to match the inflated budget. This is because donors require an annual budget and do not consider inflation to review budgets. This had a chain reaction as also schools increased their fees when Batsiranai had already paid giving it a deficit (Batsiranai Participatory Review Workshop Report 2003: 5)

In addition to the above, I experienced hyperinflation during the field work as prices went up every day. I experienced this with the price of bread and milk, among other food stuffs like biscuits. I felt this acutely as I had to purchase food everyday as I did not have access to a fridge and cooking facilities at the lodge I stayed for the duration of the field work.

10.3.7 MS and Batsiranai: Phasing out the Partnership - What Next?

At the time of this field work, it was indicated that the partnership relationship between MS and Batsiranai was about to be phased out after almost ten years against a backdrop of the partnership having achieved its objectives, i.e. developing and strengthening Batsiranai's capacity to respond to children's needs as well as attracting other funding partners as noted below:

...if they [Batsiranai] have been honest with you they now have diversified funding... they have HIVOS, SAT, USAID, CRS, and so forth, so you say to yourself, look they have 6 other funders and I think that is a good enough base but we wouldn't expect that if we pulled out then the organization falls apart ...Staff D - MS

... they [Batsiranai] now have a sustainable community organisation where others [donors] are willing to come in.... because of the cooperation with MS, the relationship has in a way helped Batsiranai to secure other relationships, so for that reason we are convinced that the partnership has achieved its main purpose . Staff C - MS

As explained above, Batsiranai is not being left to fall apart, but is perceived to have achieved sustainability through securing other funding relations. While the relationship was coming to phase-out stage, MS staff also indicated that:

... but we still continue the relationship in the sense that there are some Danish NGOs who want to work with Batsiranai for as long as MS has a form of relationship with Batsiranai, they feel safe in terms of their funding, they feel their funds are secure that way and they want to send their funds through MS, they want to use MS to continue monitoring on their behalf because they don't have ground staff so that is one way of looking at it. The other way is that we have supported and we may continue to support staff training, some of Batsiranai staff have been going to our training centre in Arusha [Tanzania] and we have supported that and also sharing information about sources and possibilities of other funding ... Staff D - MS

As explained above, MS will continue to have some form of relationship with Batsiranai whereby the organisation will be a conduit for Danish INGOs wanting to continue funding Batsiranai. Furthermore, MS may continue providing staff training as well as information sharing. However, it appeared as though Batsiranai staff were not entirely at ease with the phasing out even though there was an awareness that the partnership has to end:

I suppose we have reached that stage [phasing out]. We now have other partners to support us, we now know what to do, how to write funding proposals, how to plan and deliver services better... but we will have a relationship because of other donors wanting to continue funding us through MS, we will see how it goes when the time comes... Staff J - Batsiranai

10.4 Summary

This chapter has discussed findings from the partnership relationship between MS and Batsiranai from its beginning to phasing out after almost 10 years. . From Batsiranai's perspective partnership was described as being initially instructed by funding partners, with a shift towards negotiations in the case of MS. For MS, partnership working is viewed as an ongoing process of meeting, sharing and exchanging ideas which involve much dialoguing and joining up resources to achieve common goals. Crucially Batsiranai noted that its relationship with MS had evolved into a "good" one due to the long time they have worked together, which is credited with transforming the relationship as well as the presence of interdependence. From the view and experience of volunteers and staff from both organizations, Batsiranai was deemed successful in

responding to OVC. Reasons such as non-party political partisanship, strong leadership, participation, awareness rising, traditional leadership acknowledgement and support, volunteer commitment were among others credited with the CBO's success. Challenges within the partnership, were also noted e.g. MS spreading resources thinly between partner organisations, multiple accountabilities, short term contracts, blue print problems, poor access to communication technologies and financial dependency. In this, MS highlighted abuse of trust and openness about other funders, limited interaction with beneficiary, participation and coordination, board problems and the demanding nature of establishing genuine partnerships. Contextual challenges were identified as the NGO bill which sent INGOs scurrying for cover; work permit problems for MS expatriate staff; bank closures which led to the disappearance of partnership funds; CBO registration which was described as a cumbersome process and the difficulties in addressing governance issues for the CBO as the root cause of poverty. Finally, it was noted that the partnership between the two organisations had achieved its mutual objectives, and hence the proposed impending phasing out stage

Chapter 11

Telling Stories in Buhera South

11.1 Introduction

Against a backdrop of the community and policy debates raised in chapter one, the ensuing questions, posed in the rationale, partly guide these findings:

- Is there such thing as a “community” in BSD and if yes, what/who constitutes a community in Buhera South?
- What/who is Batsiranai?
- Who owns the OVC problem in BSD?
- What motivates volunteers to support OVC and how do they make sense of their contributions?

11.2 “Community is us” in Buhera South District

The word “community” poses challenges for OVC development projects and in search of understanding, volunteers and staff were asked the above community related questions.

The excerpts below reflect their perspectives:

You can't ask if there is a thing called community, you know because if there wasn't one we would not even be talking, what would we talk about? Community is us, Community are the people within the operational area of the programme for an example, we Batsiranai work in nine wards and those 9 wards are the community that we talk about... all activities take place in those wards...for it to be said there is a problem here and there its in the community. There is no problem that would be found outside the community, it has to be within...Volunteer F

...there is a community here, even in other places, it [community] starts with the traditional leader, the chief because you can not just enter into an area without talking to the chief for permission, the councillors, *sabhuku* [kraal heads], then those who are elected by the committees... care givers, volunteers, children, it's a combination of all these people... even church leaders we include them because you find that there is something that you want to do and it touches upon their religion, so all these people put together make a community ... Staff G - Batsiranai

These two descriptions allude to the presence of a community, with some amazement as expressed by volunteer F that one could even ask if there is such a thing as a community. The community in BSD is described as a geographical and administrative area, with boundaries within which Batsiranai operates, in this case nine wards in which problem identification takes place. As the problem is identified in those nine wards, it is also expressed that no problem can be found outside the community. The second description

feeds into the first as it further explains those who exercise power and authority, i.e. the chief, general inhabitants, church leaders, those who provide and receive support as the “community”. Thus, the community in the nine wards of BSD is made up of its general inhabitants residing within a demarcated boundary with traditional leadership, elected and non elected leaders among others. Overtly the definition of “community” as expressed above stresses the importance of traditional leaders who are viewed as the community gate keepers, without whose permission an area can not be entered.

11.2.1 Who is Batsiranai? “... you can’t say it’s them at the office...”

Given that a CBO is supposedly grounded in community, with the notion of CBO being synonymous to community as stated in chapter one, staff and volunteers were asked the above question and the excerpts below highlight some of their responses:

We here [pointing towards volunteers, community leaders and some children] are Batsiranai... we are the people who make it up even though we don’t have anything to hold (material wealth) if we had something to hold, it would be much easier... you can’t say it’s them at the office because a person at the office would never know the problem out here in the community. Would you for example enter the community and know the exact problem of orphans? Volunteer4 FGD L

...this here is just the office, it is responsible for coordinating our work [volunteers’], the work that we give them... everything comes from the community as we identify... Batsiranai are the people who are together, the office, the committees, the community the leaders, all these are Batsiranai, we can’t say that Batsiranai stands for one person, no, it stands for all these people and it chooses what it desires, because all the people in the committees they were elected through voting, so its the people... Volunteer F

... as the office we facilitate; they say we have identified this problem, can you facilitate, we as the office don’t own the programme, the community owns it, we are here to facilitate so that they have access to money, we are just a link between the donors and the community... Staff I - Batsiranai

As indicated above volunteers, community leaders, committee members and staff make up Batsiranai. In addition, it is notable that volunteers, the children and community leaders are perceived as the people who hold Batsiranai together even though they have no material wealth to speak of. While staff at the office are recognized for the work they do, it is expressed that they, alone, can not constitute Batsiranai because they don’t know the exact problems of children, while those in the community do. Batsiranai is described as encompassing a number stakeholders including committees that are elected by community members. As a whole, Batsiranai is also described as a decision making body which can chose whatever it desires. The work that the office does is perceived as the community’s work as given by the community. As explained in the last quote, the

perceived role of the office is to facilitate and act as a link between the community and donors. The programme is described as being owned by the community and not the office (staff).

11.3 Volunteer Perception of OVC: “... the problem is now ours...”

When volunteers were asked, who owns the OVC problem in Buhera South so as to make sense of the community’s position, they gave the following responses:

There is nothing much to say except that the problem is **now**¹ ours because like now when I was coming here I met someone who also looks after orphans and they said to me, you are around here today... what are you planning for your orphans, so it’s **now** our problem because as we walk people say, how are your orphans, so its our problem now... Volunteer3 FGD M

The problem is ours, the community, us the parents, the caregivers in this area, we are the one with the problem... these days you can’t even open your mouth scornfully and say ohm; look at those orphans there... orphan hood is now in every family ...Volunteer F

This OVC problem, it’s **now** our problem, all of us here in Buhera South ...Volunteer R

That spirit has left us [of stigmatizing orphans]... people here are **now** united because they see it as a problem [OVC] that we all share, we tend to say its our problem, lets put our heads together because everyone is dying...Volunteer1 FGD L

While the above quotes express OVC problem ownership, a shift in perception appears to have taken place as reflected in the usage of the word “now”. In this instance, the shift may be envisaged to be from the extended family to the wider community as instigated by the HIV/AIDS pandemic and other familial changes that might have otherwise taken place against a backdrop of restructuring of cultures and traditions in a changing world. As orphanhood now affects everyone, it is described as having lost its stigma, given the phrase by Volunteer F that “these days you can’t even open your mouth scornfully...” One of the quotes however seems to suggest that there are some people in the community who now view the problem as belonging exclusively to the volunteers’ rather than to all of the residents within the geographical area given statement by volunteer3 FGD M that:

... when I was coming here I met someone who also looks after orphans and they said to me, you are around here today... what are you planning for your orphans so it’s **now** our problem because as we walk people say, how are your orphans...

Documentary evidence *Orphan Baseline Survey* (Batsiranai 1998) however suggests that caregivers – such as grandparents, child headed households and widowed mothers were largely not receiving assistance from the wider community. Drawing on historical

¹ Bold, my emphasis.

references, community members noted that the chief was the custodian of the poor and orphans. The chief's custodian role was however achieved through the *Zunde Ramambo* which was totally dependent upon the labour of community members to work in the field set aside by the chief. While the chief had the official custodian role, he could only achieve this with cooperation from his subjects which implied that, what was seen as the chief's problem was the community's problem. This being the case, documentary evidence (Batsiranai 1998) further notes, community members blamed colonialism for tearing apart the African family and disempowering the chiefs from exercising their fatherhood responsibilities towards their people and the poor, orphans included against a backdrop of the tax collection duties they now had to undertake. This implies that colonialism partly interfered with the traditional sense of ownership, and the community has had to reclaim their sense of ownership.

11.3.1 Volunteer Commitment

As already highlighted at the beginning of the previous chapter, volunteers play a crucial role in Batsiranai's response to the OVC. They identify children who require support, do home visits, distribute food and clothing and liaise with school heads regarding school fees as well as doing basic counselling. The quotes below express a consensus from MS and Batsiranai staff that volunteers are extremely committed and work hard:

... they [volunteers] do a lot of work, they facilitate, making sure the children get the food and its coming from them, they identify the orphans, they go into the community, they identify child headed households; they actually come up with the lists...Staff I- Batsiranai

... they are trying their best, especially our care givers, the volunteers, the ones who visit those children and those caring for them, they are working hard, they visit in the homes, visit those looking after the children... Staff G- Batsiranai

... its on a voluntary basis, if one were to put money there for it you can't even match it, people just commit themselves to that... voluntarism in Zimbabwe is very difficult, you don't have food at your home and you are taking care of someone's children in another village and so on, you are walking, its hot, you leave your family, you lose the opportunity of sustaining your family, your children... Staff C - MS

While commitment is expressed as evident and can't be measured in monetary value, the notion of voluntarism is difficult as volunteers have their own families to sustain and working with OVC incurs an opportunity cost borne by their own families. As indicated above, volunteers do a lot of walking from one village to another visiting children in the scorching heat, where temperatures can be unbearably high. As indicated in the previous

chapter, villages within the district are widely spaced; hence, the distance between villages is lengthy. In addition to the official responsibilities highlighted above, volunteers also go an extra mile in supporting children as indicated below:

...we take our own cattle and plough their land for them and give them seeds...Volunteer2 FGD M

... before the food came, we used to give children some food, even pens, like in this ward of ours we had a field that we ploughed....we are going to meet next week so that we can see how to share the proceeds with the children, the proceeds belong to the children...Volunteer1 FGD M

I have some children I gave a portion of my garden, I had planted sugar canes prior, but I gave them and said take these canes and sell, grow vegetables here and sell, I see that these children have a problem of lacking grinding mill money, for example yesterday, when I got home I was told, a child was here saying they have no money for the grinding mill and they had given them the money...Volunteer R

As expressed above, some volunteers help children with ploughing their land and giving them seeds. In addition, there is the traditional practice of the *Zunde ramambo* being resuscitated which suggests the use of traditional coping mechanisms. . Documentary evidence confirms some of the above:

In case of no formula milk from office, the communities helped by giving animal milk to infants... ploughing of orphan fields in preparation of the planting season, rebuilding houses destroyed by strong winds and cyclone... advocating for OVC when need arise for example in child sexual abuse cases, property grabbing... made school visits to monitor progress on OVC registers, supervising orphans projects ... (Batsiranai Annual Participatory Review Workshop Report 2003: 6)

11.3.2 Volunteering in the Eyes of Care Givers: “This word is killing us”

Given that volunteers are the back bone of Batsiranai’s programme, they were asked to share their perceptions and experiences of volunteering. There was a huge consensus on these as indicated by the quotes below:

... (volunteer) it’s a person who just does the work without being given anything ... that term of calling us volunteers wronged us immensely; the work we do in this community is hard; you have to attend many meetings, visit the children, its hard, for instance I have a wife she says sometimes; you are just going there leaving the fields untouched to do this voluntary work of yours Volunteer3 FGD L

... People just didn’t understand how you could just work as a volunteer, visiting children and writing their needs... Volunteer1 FGD M

This job of being a voluntary does not require the faint hearted. .. Volunteer3 FGD M

The word voluntary is covering up things! Volunteer4 FGD L

...if it were possible, we do wish that in the future we could get a small token, not a pay, but a small token that which you can just be given to you to help yourself as a person who is also helping. The problem that we have with this our voluntary work is that we do it as people who also don't have much... we don't have, we have little, that is our problem here ... Volunteer4 FGD M

... what can I say about this story of ours, this story of volunteering, it's painful, if we could get something because those who herd cattle they also drink the milk of the cows, but they forget us there... Volunteer2 FGD M

...you see me, I am a grown man, the jobs that I leave at my homestead are too many, and I leave those things and walk here.... Volunteer K

... we get nothing, if we could only get a little, even 2kg....if we could get because when you make porridge for the child you also take a mouthful...this word (volunteer) is killing us because we are also people in need.... Volunteer R

As indicated above by Volunteer3 FGD L, they feel that being called volunteers is wronging them given the huge amount of work they do. As further explained, the wife of this particular volunteer has expressed her disenchantment with him going to do "voluntary" while leaving the fields "untouched", which aligns with the idea expressed by Volunteer3 FGD M that "being a voluntary is not for the faint hearted". For others like Volunteer4 FGD L the word "voluntary is covering up things". In the eyes of the volunteers, they volunteer as people who also don't have and this being the case, it is suggested that even the one who herds the cattle drinks milk from the cows under their care. This also resonates with the last quote which explains that even the one who makes the child's porridge takes a mouthful in the process. This is used to highlight the need for a small token given the volume of work and their personal circumstance.. Documentary evidence indicates that this was one of the teething problems faced:

As the beginning is beginning to roll on, it seems some teething problems are beginning to emerge. One of them is the issue of allowances to be given to committee members. What is certain is the members feel they are not doing charity work and as a result, they expect some financial windfall. What is not certain is the level at which the allowance must be given, what amount and under what conditions. This is a matter which can not be ignored (Batsiranai Annual Review Workshop 1999: 7)

While this remains a problem, questions can be raised about the way this issue was recorded, especially the idea that volunteers were expecting "some financial windfall". This does not appear to have been the case during the interviews as indicated below:

It's not even about a salary we can't talk about that because our constitution says the salaries are for the office workers... Volunteer2 FGD L

... If we say we want a payment like staff that is no longer a good thing, no it won't be good to say pay us because that is not right, that is not the constitution... Volunteer4 FGD M

...we can't stand up and say what you are giving us we don't agree with it, no...we can't say that because we are people who want to help the children...but if we can get something to help us along the way we would be thankful ...Volunteer3 FGD M

While evidence highlights a need for a token, the quotes above do not suggest a desire for a “financial windfall” as indicated in the 1999 review. The idea of them wanting to help the children ties in with the issue of problem ownership and religious underpinnings as discussed in the ensuing section. However, it also came to light that volunteers were in receipt of a token. While appreciated, it was the equivalent of US 40 cents (Zim\$1500) per year, hence deemed inappropriate as expressed below:

...I think they should give us as they see fit for our service like now they were giving us \$300 every quarter, but then they decided that this money would be useless to give us that much so they decided to give us in one go for the whole year and it comes up to \$1500 [40cents in terms of US\$] they said at least you can buy a loaf of bread, \$300 doesn't buy anything... Volunteer1 FDG M

That aside, it is also clear that volunteers are people who are equally in need as further highlighted in the case of Mrs Tinovimba, a volunteer who was interviewed in this study. At the age of 57, Mrs Tinovimba is a widow with 7 children. Findings from the Batsiranai feasibility study (Madhangi 1997) indicate that at the time when she became a volunteer with Batsiranai, of her seven children four were still at school. Her son, the first born had dropped out of school at form three due to lack of school fees. Her second born, another son had also dropped out of school at form one and was looking for a job in the villages as a cattle herder. She had two cattle for draught power. While she is not formally employed, she has a small garden where she grows vegetables, her source of income. During the feasibility study, it came to light that her youngest daughter had very sore eyes but she could not afford a journey and fees for an eye specialist. Her family was getting by on one meal a day. At the time of the doctoral study, she had been a volunteer for almost 10 years. Having been involved in the founding of the initiative, she is one of those community members who were already helping orphans despite her own state extremely limited means.

Given Mrs Tinovimba's case above and as expressed by other volunteers, these community members are also people in need which raises important questions regarding the sustainability of OVC programmes using volunteers. As expressed below volunteering can create tensions within the family unit:

...when you return home [after being gone for a day or two on Batsiranai's business] you can take home a bar of soap and they [wife and family] can say, father had gone away but at least he brought home a bar of soap....then you [volunteer] won't have to return from the workshop and start wanting to borrow money to buy a bar of soap. This is when others get discouraged because those at home will say these your things [of volunteering] are not very good because you are still borrowing soap from us, so this story doesn't stand right at all, It gives people things to talk about...Volunteer3 in FGD L

As indicated above by this male volunteer, when one returns home from Batsiranai's runs, it is not good to then go around borrowing money for a bar of soap. It is noteworthy that the idea of "a bar of soap" is particularly telling of that which is acceptable and basic in terms of a token. For rural families, items like soap, sugar, salt, cooking oil, to name but a few are the important basics. The idea of a bar of soap further questions the idea of a "financial windfall" raised earlier on.

11.3.2 Religion, Reciprocity, Respect and Social Obligation: "... If I have been chosen to do this voluntary work I must do it."

In the light of much adversity, volunteers were asked what underpins their motivation to volunteer. The following excerpts highlight their responses:

... Worshipping God helps us, when you read the bible, it talks of looking after one another; it says you must help another person without expecting a reward, the reward comes from God...Volunteer K

...This story of worshipping helps a lot....I can say this story of worshipping guides what we do in everythingwhen you get into the bible there are words of comfort, words that give you rest...Volunteer1 FDG M

It is just love. To say that I love to help... just giving myself at that time when I am called upon... this is how I feel in my heart that I should do this... Volunteer1 FGD L You have a desire to see the children, to say let me get there and see how things are standing with these children, the work calls for you and you answer to the call. You end up not talking that much; you just walk and do what you have to do...Volunteer2 FGD L

...to be honest this is a job for those with love and a strong will power...Volunteer2 FDG M

...a person can be born with a gift of love and compassion...So I say its just being born with a gift of love and compassion that is different from what the other person has because the way its happening it is lifting us up [inspiring us] if we have a meeting we call people and they gather, we won't have anything to give them but just our words, they clap hands to say thank you, things will improve as more help comes...Volunteer3 FD M

As indicated by the above excerpts from volunteers, religion is perceived to play a big role in volunteers' rendering of services as it teaches and encourages them to show others love and compassion. While the work is perceived difficult in the face of many struggles,

the Bible is perceived to offer comfort. It is also expressed that, the one who helps should not expect a reward, but will be rewarded by God. Others however, feel bequeathed with gifts of love and compassion which enable them to go around looking after the children. Even though these gifts may not translate into giving of material goods, they manifest in the amount of time and effort dedicated to the cause as echoed in one of the quotes where a volunteer is often asked why she goes about visiting the children when she has nothing to give them. For some volunteers, looking after children is perceived as a call on one's life, a call that can not be resisted and as such, one has got no choice but to answer.

In addition to the role played by religion, the overwhelming presence of death which was also credited with partly getting the community to come together for collective action was also described as a volunteering motivating factor as explained below:

Because with these many troubles, you may wake up one day [dead] and your children are now orphans and so these things [voluntarism] cover us all, with this disease among us; tomorrow it may be you... Volunteer2 FDG M

As expressed above, the disease (HIV/AIDs) is among the community and this being the case, anyone can die from it and this being the case, it is anticipated that by looking after the children, should one's children also become OVC, they too would be cared for by those who remain which alludes to the notion of reciprocity, i.e. "one reaps what they sow" which echoes some religious connotations. However, Batsiranai staff perceive another source of motivation as expressed below:

... the responsibility, it motivates them as well because they are leaders, people listen to them when they talk, they have respect, once they put on their uniforms, and shoes they are obeyed, at a rural setting that is all very motivating, someone might have never had a bicycle at their disposal and here you are giving them a bicycle to use, shoes, uniforms, t shirt, they put them and other people will see them and say that is Batsiranai over there... Staff G - Batsiranai

As explained above respect from other community members motivates volunteers. The idea expressed that "when they talk... they are obeyed" resonates with the idea raised prior, whereby a volunteer had indicated prior that when they call people for meetings, people come and listen to them even though they have nothing to give in material terms. While staff allude to uniforms and shoes as contributing factors, the majority of the volunteers interviewed indicated that they did not have shoes, uniforms or bicycles. Furthermore, during the fieldwork, some volunteers were observed bare footed. With regards to the bicycles, volunteers involved in the study indicated that bicycles were only given to ward chairpersons. Furthermore, most volunteers indicated having walked more

than 16 kilometres to attend the training workshop where some of the interviews for this research took place. Those who had made it to the workshop for a midday start spoke of having left their homes at the crack of dawn. This was confirmed afterwards as the project vehicle ferried some volunteers half way back, to shorten their home bound journeys. Even though this is the case, it also emerged that volunteers liked the idea of being recognized in the greater community through uniforms which may tie in with the issue of respect.

While findings suggest that there are a number of factors which lead to volunteer commitment, social obligation emerged as one of the most important themes:

...you need to be very committed, from the very beginning others in the community had to see that this one has a good heart lets chose this one, so I thought ok if I have been chosen to do this voluntary work I must do it. But I soon realized that it demands a good heart and long suffering...Volunteer4 FGD L

The above alludes to a certain degree of recognition and respect from the wider community by virtue of being identified as one who is good hearted, which seems to embody a moralistic persona. However, it is clear that volunteers are selected by the wider community, hence they volunteer in a culturally specific way which does not chime with Eurocentric notions of choice. This electing process is the one that begins at kraal level up to the management board as discussed earlier on, which highlights the participatory nature of the programme. However, “When duty calls you answer” as expressed in the quote above, is indicative of the presence of a social obligation contract operating within a moral framework guided by normative reasoning of what is right and wrong in the eyes of both the elected and electorate who are members of the BSD community.

11.3.3 Volunteer Needs

While it was perceived by staff that volunteers are motivated by uniforms, shoes and bicycles, discussions with the volunteers indicated that most volunteers did not have these items. Furthermore, I observed that some of the volunteers were barefooted, while others wore tattered shoes. However, I observed that a few volunteers were wearing Batsiranai T- shirts. The ensuing quotes support these observations:

11.3.3.1 Uniforms, Shoes and Bags

We once also complained about the story of shoes, we need shoes.... we walk barefoot, its very hot here and if we could get uniforms- the uniforms are helpful; they are for us to be recognized as being in the programme because without a uniform you are not known in the community...Volunteer3 FGD L

I can say we need the whole kit, shoes, a bag the papers we carry around and a uniform so that we are also recognised in the community... Volunteer1 FGD M

As suggested earlier on, the issue of uniforms and recognition in the community may tie in well with the issue of respect in the community. Documentary evidence indicates that this is an issue which has been the subject of discussion in the past:

...community facilitators need a form of identity like uniforms ... for easy identification in the community and other meetings they attend... (Batsiranai Annual Participatory Review Workshop Report 2003: 5)

11.3.3.2 Transport - Bicycles

Apart from uniform related issues, volunteers also spoke of the troubles associated with walking long distances:

We walk on foot, on real foot.... I can say it's about 16 or 18 kilometres...the distance is too much, I don't know if you [referring to researcher] can even walk it! ...if we could have bicycles ... Volunteer4 FGD L

... we walk long distances, we don't have transport, if we could get bicycles, then we would be able to cover the distanceif you are visiting a child far away, you have to leave your house before the sun comes up so that you get there at least by midday... Volunteer2 FGD M

As already noted, BSD is a difficult place to travel due to the harsh terrain as well as the widely spaced villages. As noted in chapter two, I observed that the district is largely dry, with very bad roads which are dominated by steep falls and rises accompanied by deep pot holes which made worse by the fact that the roads are not tarred, hence the constant erosion. During the informal interactions, I was told that there was only one bus servicing between all the villages and the business centre. However, there were concerns that the bus operate was about to pull out due to the state of road networks. Furthermore, as noted in chapter two, fuel was a scarce commodity which exacerbated transport woes. In any case, it would be sound to assume that the volunteers who walked barefooted for miles would not have been able to afford transport fees. This being the case, volunteers indicated that they find covering the distance between villages challenging and hence the expressed need for bicycles and shoes. Hence, the provision of bicycles was identified in documentary evidence as a solution to communication problems, due to distance coverage.

11.3.3.3 Training and Funeral Support

When volunteers were asked if there was anything they wished to add at the end of the interviews, they identified the following:

... we are united but I think people need to be educated from time to time, in communities, there is need for more community workshops, like now its been a long time since we have had community workshops, workshops are now just for the committees, this is now causing a some division because others tend to say; err, you are the only ones who go there, but as for now we are trying our best to also teach them what we learn at the workshops... Volunteer K

I don't know how this story will fit in with the story under discussion but as we are now, we just walk and walk [gravity of the work and distances to cover] if I die today working with Batsiranai, if I die, I wish they would remember me, to say, there is our member who was working with orphans, I don't know how this is perceived because right now, they don't remember us...there is one [former volunteer] we buried without any support... Volunteer4 FDG L

While training committee members is necessary, as expressed above, tensions were brewing as non committee members are beginning to feel left out. Apart from that, the desire for Batsiranai to support volunteers with funerals, in the event of their own deaths, was expressed. In this, volunteers felt, the programme does not remember them in spite of their hard work as evidenced by the case of their colleague who was buried without support from Batsiranai. Documentary evidence also indicates that this is a concern which has been raised in the past:

Participants felt that some constraints can be addressed ... [including] no funeral assistance for both OVC and orphan care community facilitators [volunteers] (Batsiranai Annual Participatory Review Workshop 2003:8)

While this may appear odd, African communities value funeral support from community members as will be discussed in chapter twelve in relation to the concept of Nhimbe.

11.4 Children's Needs and Challenges

While documentary evidence indicates that support rendered to children was having a positive impact as expressed below, there remained a number of unmet needs and challenges.

The provision of school fees and food... was seen to have contributed to the improvement of the standard of living of some households with OVC. Some children who had dropped out of school were seen to have rejoined school [and through] provision of counselling, though this was limited participants felt that it was effective in improving the psychosocial well being of OVC. They reported that relationships between orphans and their care givers... and community improved as a result of counselling... and led to some orphans changing their behaviour, for examples, minors no longer taking alcohol... the children's group that reviewed programme

activities for 2001 was happy that all the above had happened (Batsiranai Review Workshop Report 2001: 5)

While volunteers confirmed the above were happening, they also expressed a number of concerns starting with food distribution points considered too far away from young children's homes:

...you are talking of young children... the one who owns the cart wants to be paid, so the cart owner will now say; give me a portion of the food that you have been given as a payment ... so for the children to complete the whole month with that food it's now impossible because they have given some of it away as payment... Volunteer1 FDG L

As explained above, since some young children offer their food as part payment for the transport, they run out of food before they get the next package. A second challenge highlighted pertained to the need for more school fees due to increase in children in need as expressed below:

...some of the children don't even have their school fees paid for, because there is little money...We see many children, we write their name in the book and give to the office, but you hear office saying; stop writing for now because the orphans are too many.... like now when other orphans come to receive food, the ones not written down will also be waiting there, they are many orphans...Volunteer3 FDG M

...they are many children who are crying because of school fees, at times the child would have received support for form four [equivalent of GSCE] but for the child to proceed to form 5, they [staff at the office] say to us, you have to wait till those who proceeded to form 5 have finished next year....Volunteer R

.... because of this endless death among us, if you work with 20 children paying their school fees by the time the year ends we have about 50 children at the same school who have been orphaned. That is one big problem because the number of orphans keeps on increasing so for us to keep pace with payments for all, it's a problem. Volunteer F

School fees remain a challenge because of high levels of parental deaths, and the number of children requiring this kind of support keeps increasing. The interview extract below with Staff G highlights the breadth of the challenge:

C: So in this area, how many OVC would you say you have?

R: It used to be around 7 000 back then but now is about 11 000/ 11 500

C: How far is back then?

R: Ohm, I would say 2001/ 2002 but you see now they have increased, isn't you are asking about all OVC?

C: Yes

R: They are many and at the moment we are unable to reach out to all of them especially with regards to school fees, we can't cater for all of them because the funds are not enough but there are now many OVC

The high death rates in the district directly impact on children's vulnerability hence the increase of around 4 000 in a period of about four years. This explains the waiting lists

which keep expanding. Some children who passed their GSCEs could not proceed to the sixth form due to insufficient funds, hence they had to wait for the ones before them to complete before they could start. In addition to the above, children were concerned about lacking uniforms, books and pens.

11.5 Children's Perception of Support Provided

In line with the desire to engage with children's voices on issues pertaining to them, a focus group discussion was held with some of the children receiving support from Batsiranai. As the discussion was conducted on a school day, the children came over the clinic soon after they finished their schooling for the day as arranged by volunteers in liaison with staff. Fortunately, the clinic being located adjacent to the school meant that the children didn't have much walking to do. While they were understandably hungry having spent the whole day at school, with the sun was almost setting, volunteers had left food for them from the lunch they had cooked which they ate. I observed that the children appeared reasonably dressed in school uniforms even though their shoes were worn out. Along with them, the children carried small plastic bags which held their meagre books. As the children and I settled down in one of the shabby clinic buildings for the discussion, I asked the children about the problems they faced and their perception of the support they were receiving. The support children indicated to be receiving was in line with data gathered from staff, volunteers and documentary evidence. Now in their teens (15 – 17 years old) and in secondary school, the children indicated that Batsiranai had been catering for their school fees since primary school as indicated in the interview extract below:

C: When did you start getting help with school fees from Batsiranai?

R1: From primary school

R2: From primary school

C: What about you this side, when did you start getting help with school fees?

R3: From primary school they were paying school fees

R4: From primary school as well

R5: From primary school

R6: Primary school

C: So you all started receiving school fees support from primary school

All: Yes [all respond in agreement]

While the children were confident about the school fees support, when asked about psycho social support, it was a bit different as highlighted in the interview extract below:

C: Ok, let's move on to other stories, let's move on to this story of psychosocial support, and tell me what happens there?

[Silence]

C: How come you are all silent?

[Silence]

C: Ok, ohm, have you heard about psycho social support before?

All: No [shaking their heads]

C: I see, you should have said we have never heard that strange word before! You shouldn't be afraid to talk, you shouldn't be afraid to say when you don't understand. See now I know you don't understand what this means.

R2: I was going to say that [all giggle]

C: Suppose you are feeling like things are not standing right in your head, say there is something bothering you and then you see mother so and so or father so and so [volunteers] and then they ask you, how are you feeling? Do you tell them about the things not standing right in your head, say you are feeling sorrowful? Do you say, I am feeling sorrowful about this and that?

R1: Yes, I tell them

C: ok, so when you tell them how it does make you feel?

R1: it feels better, when you talk, because they will say, do this and that, or they just listen

C: Ok, how about others? Do you talk about those things?

Others: no [shake their heads]

C: Ok, lets use another example, we all know that a person's body doesn't only need sadza [Zimbabwean staple food] and vegetables, a person can eat as much sadza and vegetables but spend many days just crying and being without happiness because there is something that is bothering them in the mind [all laugh]. So what happens is that you get someone, a person that you can talk to, if there is something bothering you; say I am feeling like this and that because troubles are too many, and if you talk to someone you might find that it helps and your mind becomes free. So do you receive that kind of support?

Others: no, no [grants and moans of disagreement]

C: Tell me then, when you talk to these mothers and fathers [volunteers] what do you talk about? Only that we shall meet at the garden [gardening project] at 1 o'clock. [All laugh] is it like let's meet at the garden to water the vegetables and then that it is bye - bye?
[Silence]

R5: there is no real, real talk

C: there is no real talk

R5: No

C: What is real talk?

R5: That one where you say those things like I am sorrowful

C: How come there is no real talk?

R4: ohm, err, it's hard to have real talk, but you can have that with your friends

C: so who else has real talk with friends?

R1: I do

R3: Sometimes

C: how about you, who do you, have real talk with?

R2: With my friends

C: Now let's talk about Masiye Camp where children have real talk and play games. Has anyone ever been there?

All: No [shaking their heads]

C: No one has ever been there?

All: No [shaking their heads]

C: Have you heard about it from the office or fathers and mothers [volunteers]?

All: No

C: so what do you talk about with the mother and fathers [volunteers] when you see them?

R3: we tell them we have no money for the grinding mill

C: what else?

R2: We say we have no pens and books to write in

C: Anything else?

R1: We talk about school, they come to school to ask the teachers how we are doing, to see if they are any problems, they visit us at home to see us

R4: They also talk about our school fees, we talk about the garden where we grow vegetables

C: ok, I heard about the garden from mother Tinovimba [volunteer]

As evidenced by the interview extract from above, the concept of psychosocial support was not known to the children. Furthermore, as the researcher, I struggled to also translate the concept into what the children could easily understand. However for the children, this came down to having “real talk” with either volunteers or friends. Of the six children present one indicated to have this “real talk” with volunteers while the rest indicated that they spoke to their friends. While indicated that some children had been to Masiye Camp for psychosocial support, the children involved in this study had neither been nor heard about the place. This isn’t however surprising given the following interview extract with staff G at Batsiranai:

C: How often do have these camps?

R: With regards to that it depends with our funding partners, it depends on how often they can fund us for that. We haven’t been able to have as many outings, this year we were only able to do two outings...we do see that children are benefiting a lot from it ..

C: So how do you choose the children you take to the camps?

R: We are not the ones who choose our caregivers [volunteers] are the ones who choose, we here at the office just make the date arrangements for the different wards. We usually balance out the gender to say the same number of boys and girls, then we say to the care givers, you have to choose someone who hasn’t been to the camp, so they know when they do their home visits that at this homestead there is so and so and they need this. We usually tell them that we want the most affected children and because they live among them they know who to identify

As suggested above, camping outings depend on the amount of funding available and selection is based on extreme need, which may explain why the children interviewed in this study had not been. However, children having “real talk” with their friends can be viewed from the perspective put across by Batsiranai staff whereby other children are trained peer counsellors:

Like I was saying sometimes, children find it easy to say to another child, I have been having these problems here and there. Sometimes the child is afraid to tell the care giver so they go to their peers; who are trained peer counsellors, they are children Staff G - Batsiranai

However the issue raised by one of the children that volunteers tell you *do this and that* resonates with the narration below offered by one of the volunteers:

[Ndaneta was having problems with her grandmother] I got there and said, what is it... and she said, my problem is that grandmother, doesn’t allow me to go find work each time I say I want to go look for work she doesn’t allow me, but look at my clothes, I have no clothes to wear, she opened up and told me everything... She really wanted to hang herself; she was taken off from the tree where she was going to hang herself...I said ok, approach grandmother this way, talk to her like this and it worked... Volunteer3 FGD L

While evidence suggests that the programme cannot cater for all children's needs, some of the children involved in the study expressed lack of response to requests for not being heard or ignored:

...some things have been heard [by Batsiranai], things like exam fees and school fees but some, no, things like books, like seeds for the garden.... R3 FGD N

In the face of overwhelming need, children take it that when their needs are not being met, they are being ignored. While children indicated that they were happy with their own committee (whose members are elected by the children) which met once a week to discuss issues affecting them as children to forward to the ward committee, they expressed unhappiness with the ward committee (which they referred to as the adult committee):

We are not happy with the adult people's committee sometimes, because you hear that there are seeds for the children- but you don't hear about it until the seeds are all gone, so things just go wrong, they are not done in a straight forward way....R1 FGD N

... the clothes, we don't get them, because they are very few when they come but some of the people who don't need them are the ones who get, those people who are not even orphans sometimes they [adult committee] give to their children...R5 FGD N

The above quotes express two issues; firstly the amount of clothes and seeds delivered on the ground are not enough to meet the need. This implies that not every child gets, as acknowledged by the children above in relation to the clothes. On the second note, children charge that some volunteers in the adult committee give clothes to their own children. Documentary evidence (Batsiranai Annual Review Workshop 1999: 9) alludes to this:

The children noted that some guardians use donated resources for their own benefit.

However, in the case of documentary evidence, it is not clear whether the guardians referred to are volunteers or others. Lastly, one of the challenges highlighted by children pertained to the issue of stigma as expressed below:

C: ... so this story of stigma, you know when others say or do things to us in a mocking way, like looking down on you because of who you are, has anyone experienced this?

R2: It happens, sometimes you can arrive where others are [hanging out] and then you say something, or you ask something and then someone says to you, how can you not know such a simple thing, it's because you are an orphan that is why you are so dump [low voice]

R1: Sometimes when you are at school in class and you lift up your hand to say something you will hear one shouting at you saying put that hand down for us, you think this is Batsiranai

C: Is that what other children say?

R1: Yes

C: When they say this is not Batsiranai what are they trying to say?

R1: They will be say you don't know anything other than Batsiranai [low voice]

This is supported by evidence from Batsiranai staff whereby it is indicated that while stigma has gone down in the villages, children still encounter it at school:

...it's much better now (stigma issues), people no longer point at children saying, ohm, that one is an orphan or that one is sick, even the children when we ask them they say it's better but sometimes at school they say some children pick on them saying your father is dead, this and that but things are better in the villages. I can say stigma has gone down. Staff G - Batsiranai

The interview extract below resonates with the idea also raised by children above in relation to their connection with Batsiranai:

C: what about this story of stigma, do children you support encounter stigma?

R: yes at the workshops, when the children attend workshops and they come away from the workshop say with a bag or T shirt, they say they are labelled, like "those are Batsiranai children" in a degrading way that whole thing of saying, "Batsiranai children", it has some negative connotations, like saying they may have the disease

C: How do the children feel about that?

R: Really bad; you know it's like at times you feel they [children] don't want to participate in some of the activities because they fear being labelled...its those other children not receiving support from Batsiranai who stigmatize them, one girl was saying when I come to the workshop I fear it being said; Batsiranai children are coming from a workshop, so it's something they try to deal with Staff I - Batsiranai

While stigma is suggested to have gone down, there is evidence that children are still experiencing stigma from other children within the school environment and out in the community.

11.6 Summary

This chapter has presented qualitative research findings from BSD with regards to community debates and volunteering. Findings suggest that there is a community in BSD as experienced by staff and volunteers and it is this community which owns the OVC crisis. This community was described as being defined by demarcated boundaries, traditional leadership, connectedness to children and all other inhabitants. The identity of Batsiranai was presented as encompassing traditional leaders, staff, volunteers, children and all the other committee structures, with greater emphasis on the idea of the CBO being community owned. Volunteers were described as the bedrock of the programme. The notion of volunteering however emerged as a concept with contradictions given its imposition on people who didn't choose to render services but were rather chosen by the community. Religion, love, reciprocity, respect, the overwhelming needs of children and

the social obligation contract were identified as important underpinnings to volunteering. In addition to the need for an acceptable token, other needs such bicycles and shoes were identified, alongside uniforms for visibility in the community. Children had some unmet needs due to the large scale of the problem, i.e. shortage of school fees and food and food distribution sites being too far away, The children spoke of “not being heard” on the need for seeds and books while equally acknowledging that things were not always enough for everyone. Children however valued working in their garden with adult help and selling the proceeds to buy pens and books. Some volunteers were however charged with lack of fairness in relation to clothing distribution. Children also encountered stigma from their fellow children in school and community settings. The concept “psycho social support” as emerged problematic, as the children could not identify with it. However, children’s labeled this “real talk” and indicated having this with friends, with the exception of one who had with both friends and volunteer. While Masiye Camp was a source of psycho social support with desirable impact, this was subject to donor funding which was limited, which consequently dictated rationing to the most affected children. Having heard the voices from the community, and children within the MS – Batsiranai partnership, the next chapter presents findings on *nhimbe*, given the exclusion of cultural resources and reference points in development aid, and partnerships.

Chapter 12

The Notion of *Nhimbe*

12.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the question proposed in the rationale: How can indigenous cultural resources be harnessed into development partnerships on OVC? Previous research with Zimbabweans affected by HIV/AIDs has presented evidence that service planning and provision should be cognizant of the traditional cultural resources which service users employ in their ordinary lives (Chinouya et al 2003). As noted in chapter one, the inclusion of *nhimbe* in this study should be seen as a further development of Kaseje's analysis (1987) which highlighted the importance of indigenous cultural resources in development aid partnerships between north and south. Findings are presented in the following categories:

- *Nhimbe* Concept
- Agenda Setting
- Countering Dependency
- Division of Labour and skills
- Solidarity, Respect, Trust and Reciprocity
- *Nhimbe* Advantages and Disadvantages
- Harnessing *nhimbe* as an Indigenous Cultural Resource.

12.2 *Nhimbe* Concept

Research participants were asked to give their understanding of the *nhimbe* concept and they defined it as having the following facets:

... It recognizes that households have different resources and livestock, in terms of human labour and at some point people need to support each other. The traditional Shona culture was not ego centric... there was a greater interconnection and interdependence and if someone was working on a task, people would invite their neighbours to provide extra labour/ hands... KI E

... if one had this job to be done, he/she would call upon people in the village to say, people... my field needs to be weeded or my sorghum needs to be separated from the chaff.. its like a cooperative where people share the burden of doing a certain job without being paid for it...KI T

The whole idea is about food security...a person with a field was the one who called for a *Nhimbe*... when ploughing, planting, weeding, harvesting and threshing... , a *Nhimbe* would be done so that all these activities were done on time... to avoid birds and locusts- destroying the crops, as well having too much work to do on your own. .KI W

... the overall framework is obviously working together... its very task orientated If we are doing a *nhimbe* to roof a house; I am going to call upon males, with someone who has the skill of roofing. If its about weeding we are saying please bring your holes, both man and women, then the third broad thing, it has a concept of merry making, people eat and drink at the end of a working day, its an opportunity for people in the villages to network, because you will hear someone saying this information you are asking for, I heard it at so and so *nhimbe*, they share information, because then you will the people in the village coming together, if there are some problems going in you will hear about it at the *Nhimbe* . KI S

From the four excerpts above, *nhimbe* is described as multifunctional, i.e. it is task oriented and people came together to support one another to complete identified tasks as it recognizes that people have different resources as expressed by KI E. Furthermore, in the traditional Shona culture there was interconnection and interdependence, hence people often utilised each other's labour without receiving payment for it. And as expressed in the quote by KI W, *nhimbe* tasks were underlined by the need to ensure food security. In addition, *nhimbe* was regarded as a way of safe guarding the crops from predatory birds and locusts. Even though *nhimbe* is described above as largely pertaining to food security, it provided opportunities to network and share information. While people helped each other to complete tasks, food constituted an important aspect of *nhimbe* as expressed through the notion of "merry making" through eating and drinking. As expressed below, *nhimbe* also played an important role in the traditional polity system, due to its very organisation and multifunctional role.

...its not just a process where people are just not there working on a plot, its like women meeting at a well, experiences are shared and ideas are generated, at the *nhimbe* when people sit down to drink mahewu in the traditional polity system always assumed is that, they discuss issues affecting them, to say – what did you make of that meeting at Batsiranai or what is happening to so and so, it was something which allowed communities to meet and maintain oneness, a sense of community , this was what strengthened the sense of community; like these are our ideas, this is how we do things, we share the same burdens and our way of life is like this...KI E

The sharing of information and burdens, was perceived as expressed above, a process which nurtured and strengthened the community. Traditional leadership also had an important part to play as even though people's trust of them is now fickle as expressed below

C: what about the chief, did he play any role?

KI E: *Nhimbe* was usually managed by the chief or kraal head, so if someone wanted to have a *nhimbe* they would go to the chief and say we want to have *nhimbe* on such and such a date to do this task, the chief could then say, actually its not possible because someone else is having a *nhimbe* on that day – so you may want to consider the date, because then families would break themselves apart so at the end of the day the person would not have much work done in the field ...but nowadays people don't trust the chiefs as much

C: why is that?

KI E: Err, one day you here that chief and that one are Zanu PF *chiremwaremwa* [bat but in this case used to denote a spy]

12.3 Nhimbe Procedures

12.3.1 Agenda Setting

When key informants were asked about *nhimbe* procedures a number of themes emerged, starting with agenda/ task setting being the prerogative of the one who has called for the *nhimbe* as expressed in the following quotes:

...when you go to a *nhimbe*, people can express their views, but it's not on what to do, it can be on how to do it ...what to do is prerogative for me who has invited you to the *nhimbe* but now on how to do it – because we have different levels of expertise, if we are threshing sorghum they use those long sticks, someone may be very good at identifying those good long sticks, but we are very clear about the task we have here- and the task itself is not going to change... KI S

...you are the lead figure [one who has called for the *Nhimbe*], you simply share the information- what needs to be done and once people know what they are suppose to do they work on it – it's like ants really – how they all work together and know what each ant is suppose to be doing... KI V

The owner of the field set the task and would ask people to bring tools. While suggestions *on the know how* of carrying out a task are perceived to have been welcome because of the appreciation of different levels of expertise, the task identified did not change. In the example pertaining to threshing sorghum, above, people utilised their expertise in identified tasks.

12.3.2 Countering Dependency

While there was interdependence, people hosting *nhimbés* had to demonstrate that they were contributing something to make the task happen:

You could not just have a *Nhimbe* as easy as that [laughing]. You had to be prepared because it is the case that you are actually having a bit of outgoings on that day because you need to say thank you to the people and you must show that you are doing it whole heartedly by giving what you have... KI W

The food was not very important, whether you had very little or much, what was important was that you demonstrate that you are not just being dependent on others, by showing that you were putting your own effort into the task... So in order to aid this demonstration, I would cook food, perhaps brew some beer but then it's my own contribution, so what would happen is that during the *nhimbe*, people would come with their ploughs and cattle and start working on the plot. KIE

Contributions to own *nhimbe* were observed in working alongside others and providing food for people to replenish their energies. Thus despite of the contributions of others, one had to demonstrate that they were simply depending on others.

12.3.4 Division of Labour and skills

Key informants also noted that there was division of labour depending on the task and expertise was acknowledged and accordingly utilized:

...in essence you had a clear cut division of labour when it came to things like threshing sorghum, but sometimes both men and women would do the threshing with men leaving once the threshing was complete and women would remain behind to do the sifting ...KI W

... if I wanted my house roofed, I may not even have the roofing expertise myself but then I identify those among us who are good at it, I inspect the competence of those doing the job, but that does not mean I just stand by, I and others who are not roofers will be passing on the grass to those on the roof, so everyone knows what they are doing...KI S

...depending on the task, lets say you wanted your field ploughed; you would have people bring in their plough, like each family and their draught power... each family would then concentrate of a specific part of the field ... the plough would be handled by a person who knows exactly how to keep it steady behind the cattle... KI V

... on that day tasks are rolled out, you can say—this family or this individual will plough from here to there because if you don't do that, you know when you just put people together there is a risk of some people not doing much so defining the roles and tasks is very important KI E

Quotes above suggest there was division of labour and defined roles for those who came to help. Furthermore, depending on the task men and women worked accordingly, for instance, once the threshing of sorghum was complete, women remained behind to do the sifting as this was considered women's work. In relation to expertise, community members knew who among them could perform a given task well, hence the idea that the one who knew how to handle the plough steady took their position by the plough. When it came to roofing, those with the expertise were identified, however as further explained above, having this sort of expertise around did not entail that the owner of the *nhimbe* took a back seat, but helped alongside others passing the grass to the roofers. Furthermore, tasks were allocated which ensured that people worked as it introduced an element of accountability.

12.4 Rationale for Community Commitment to *Nhimbes*

12.4.1 Solidarity, Respect, Trust, Allegiance and Reciprocity

When asked about the underlying reasons behind people's commitment to *nhimbes*, the notions of solidarity, respect, trust, allegiance and reciprocity emerged as important themes as suggested in the following excerpts:

... those who call for *nhimbes* trust that people will show up and those who show up also trust that should they need to do a *nhimbe* in the future others will show up too, so there is

respect...it's also like I said about funerals, people help to bury the dead because they trust that when it happens to them others will arise ... KI W

... there is an element of trust and respect, [you] trust that they will come and do the work, and they will come because they respect you, if there is no respect for you people will not come, labour and time are very scarce in the rainy seasons and if you get these from people, they certainly respect you... KI V

... the notions of trust and respect are also embedded in reciprocity and how people share the tasks...you trust people will come and eat your food in good faith... and you must do the task properly, we say if we are weeding, please let's do it properly, don't bury the weeds ... KI S

As highlighted above in the first quote, there was an element of trust, i.e. *nhimbe* hosts simply trusted others would show up, and those who showed up trusted that in future they would receive the same support, should they need it. This is likened to funerals where people come to support with mourning and burying the dead, in the belief that others would be there for them too. The notion of trust is expressed as embedded in the notion of reciprocity. This also ties in with the issue of respect expressed in the second quote that people would show their respect by turning up even at the peak of the rainy season when people are extremely busy. As expressed above, if a *nhimbe* host wasn't respected, people wouldn't show up.

The notion of reciprocity also ties in with the notion of allegiance whereby people are perceived to pay their allegiances to people they trust and respect:

... in the Shona culture, we pay our allegiances to people we respect and trust in our communities; so people would say if there is a *nhimbe* at Y's and if I don't go to this *nhimbe*; how am I going to look at Y in the eye when I didn't attend her *nhimbe* when she needed my help. ..it also ties with things like Zunde ramambo and funerals – if you don't come to mourn with others, why should they come to mourn with you? If other men go to dig the grave for the deceased and you don't participate, people will be watching, when it's at yours [the funeral], people will do the same ... And I know even in this day, while we can say we live in England, I can't touch hands with those mourning in Zimbabwe but when I go home I know there is a round to be done because if I don't, they will not come to ours. It's even more important when you are not there to catch up with touching hands because you are thinking of your parents, they may have problems and you are far away, so it's about this reciprocity, the issue of allegiance, it's there because reciprocity is now skewed. KI S

... if you look closely at what happens in the burial societies you would realize that they do borrow from *nhimbe* a lot, you could also look at the concept of *rosikas*- these savings and rotating clubs, *mukando*- where people take turns to give each other money, so when you look at the elements we have talked about before, such as trust, respect etc, they are also embedded in there, and the difference is on tasks. The Zunde ramambo concept is also part of that... KI W

In the Shona way of life, people are perceived to pay allegiance to those whom they respect and trust within the community. People felt bound by a sense of respect as well as obligation. This sense of obligation is also linked with occasions such as funerals . In

this, the notion of reciprocity is also at play in the practice of grave digging and mourning with others. A Shona resident in England still engages with matters of reciprocity, with regards to funerals by doing a round of “touching hands”¹.. Noteworthy to add that as a Zimbabwean myself, I have experience of this process as well as sending home money called “chema”² in the event of funerals. *Nhimbe* facets have been incorporated into other community activities such as savings and rotating clubs described as “*mukando*” where community members take turns to give each other money.

12.5 *Nhimbe* Advantages and Disadvantages

Having presented findings on the concept of *nhimbe* and its procedures, some disadvantages were identified:

...people come in as equal partners whether you have 15 cattle and I have a hoe, it doesn't make you any superior... we will perform the task and we will part as equals, there is no one bigger than the other... there is also the understanding in terms of accountability...If you come to a *nhimbe* and do a shoddy piece of work then it's a reputation that is at stake... KI S

...*Nhimbe* may also be used as a weapon to promote acceptable behaviour in the community, as people will know that they need each other... KI V

... it is more about carrying out a task for a specific time, because you are saying we now need to plough because rain has fallen and if we try to do it ourselves as we are here, we will not finish, ... KI W

... you lessen the task, the more the people the less time you spend on a task, two, sharing of information and learning- when I come to the *nhimbe* I might actually learn to do other things, e.g. if I attend a threshing *nhimbe*, I may become a very good thresher of corn, wheat ... KI

As expressed above, in spite of the varying contributions people made to one's *nhimbe* no one was perceived as superior. There was also an understanding in terms of accountability, if people did not perform allocated tasks properly, it ruined their reputation in the community, hence the idea that *nhimbe* can be used to promote acceptable behaviour in the community because people know and depend on each other. Furthermore, *nhimbe* was described as an occasion where people networked, shared information and discussed community issues. In this, *nhimbe* enabled a sense of unity

¹ Touching hands in the Shona culture is a symbolic act whereby family members, friends, and community members visit the bereaved during the funeral or after and offer their condolences and support. However, it is notable that people do literally touch the hand of the bereaved and proclaim “*tibatei maoko, nematambudziko*” translating to “we hereby touch hands in this bereavement”. The bereaved would then respond accordingly. The touching hands process involves funeral contributions ranging from financial resources, maize meal, cooking, grave digging, wailing and comforting those who mourn by being physically present by their side through out the funeral.

² *Chema*, loosely translating to “mourn” is money that is given to those bereaved to help them with funeral arrangements. However, it's usually not the amount which matters but the act of giving.

which nurtured and strengthened community relations. Crucially, *nhimbe* was identified, in the second quote above to lessen the work due to the fact that people worked together to complete tasks which individual households could not complete on their own within a specific time frame which ensured food security. The acknowledgement and use of expertise was an advantage in the sense that community members benefited. Another advantage highlighted pertains to people learning new skills due to their interaction and working with those with specific expertise.

Nhimbe disadvantages were also identified:

... because it's a mass production, the quality may be compromised, I think one might have that because it might be sensitive to blatantly supervise ... you will always have those elements-people who don't do things right... KI S

...while *nhimbe* helps those who are respected, its doesn't help those who are at the periphery of society... suppose you are a witch, who will come to your *nhimbe* and eat your food? KI

As the first quote indicates, with collective production, the quality of work may be compromised due to supervision challenges. Blatantly supervising can be insensitive as it may evidence lack of trust in those performing the task. In addition to this, the second quote suggests that those at the fringes of society can be marginalized, i.e. those people generally not respected by the community and those thought to bring misfortune on others such as witches.

12.6 Harnessing *Nhimbe* as a Cultural Resource?

Despite the initial surprises about discussing *Nhimbe* in an academic context, when the key informants with international development working experience were asked to identify potential links between partnerships in international development and *Nhimbe*, and any potential to harness these linkages as a traditional cultural resource, some initially remarked that the question was somewhat challenging:

That's a tough question [in a thoughtful manner] though I am thinking maybe not because I can see things that are familiar there... KT W

Yowee [expression of lamentation], one needs to think about this! KI T

While others took a little while to think about linkages and eventually coming up with some, others like KI E readily found a link:

The whole concept of *nhimbe* would be applicable at any time, because you are talking of community contribution, what is the contribution of this community in this endeavour? You find that in all partnerships, you don't go in with nothing and expect to be given everything, going back to what I said, in *nhimbe* it is important to demonstrate that you are just not be dependent... Even when I was working at CRS, we used to have a proposal appraising committee and if CBOs like Batsiranai handed in a proposal to us, we would ask, does Batsiranai want to dependent on CRS for everything? We would look at what they were bringing to the table, so that we could beef it up, so the concept of *nhimbe* is applicable because you are bringing something to the table....
KI E

As expressed above, *nhimbe* is perceived as applicable to partnership working. An organisation does not enter a partnership empty handed, in the same way a household hosting a *nhimbe* is expected to demonstrate its own contribution to counter dependency when being helped by others. The idea of supporting rather than constituting an organisation suggests that it had to have a contribution which could be topped up.

Furthermore, ownership in *nhimbe* was identified as an issue which can be linked to partnership:

... the first thing would be about ownership, if the north could understand that I am going to the south for their *nhimbe*, I from the north must not identify the task to be done, they must identify the task because they know best what task needs attention, then what they may bring from the north may be the expertise which we will apply- but the task is mine and.... for this period we are at my *nhimbe* I am in charge, regardless of the expertise that you have, but I will have respect for you and expertise because of that mutuality, I will respect your views and you must respect mine but ultimately the *nhimbe* is mine and mind you the reason why I am calling you from the north ...is that I have a task and I admit that this task is too overwhelming for me, I can't complete it, I do want and need your help, but the fact that I need your help doesn't necessarily mean you must take over, that is why I was saying what to do remains mine, the how to do it we can always discuss ... you are simply filling the gap on what I already have, you are not leaving gaps for me to fill.. KI S

In the main, it is expressed that the north must approach partnership working as a *nhimbe* where the south has identified a task which needs support. As they come to the south bringing their expertise to the task, their views will be respected, just as they are expected to respect southern views. This process is likened to the way that neighbours coming to *nhimbe* utilised their expertise, for the benefit of other community members. However, what is crucial is that the south maintains its leadership and ownership.

What is required is that the north helps to "fill the gap" given what's already available and not create a further gaps, which resonates with the idea raised above by KI E of beefing up whatever resources are already available. Creating further gaps can happen

when development agendas are misplaced. Another issue which was linked to *nhimbe* and partnership working was the issue of trust:

... the connection to that is about trust, our modern day partnerships have to be based on trust of what you want to do, as we do in *nhimbe* and we have to believe in what we want to achieve because if one party is pulling in this direction and the other, in that direction then we can not achieve what we want to achieve ... KIE

The element of trust which exists in *nhimbe* is seen as equally important for partnership working and also sharing a belief in the task to be accomplished. Another issue raised pertains to valuing southern knowledge:

... everyone knows something, people in the south have their own way of life and in that way of life, they have knowledge which they can contribute rather than privileging certain people as having superior knowledge... It is true that INGOs bring in very good ideas but like in *nhimbe*, they need to be good ideas because people think they are really good enough to be applied to the task and not just because that is the only way people can get help... KI V

People in the south have knowledge which they can contribute to the tasks which overwhelm them. In approaching tasks, northern knowledge should not be perceived as superior to the local. INGO ideas should be deemed good enough if local people perceive them to be so, not because acceptance is the only way to accessing support. However, there is evidence that northern ideas have dominated southern organisations simply because it was the only way to access northern contributions:

Sometimes you think what on earth are these people [Northern donors] thinking because their agendas are hardly, very remotely understood at times... because you have donor F saying here is our agenda for the next three years,... at some point there was a donor with funds for women in construction and we knew that the programme is not even suitable, we knew that if we asked women what they would rather do they would have told us something completely different but then because we wanted the money, not very much for the sake of the beneficiaries- as I have said you know already its not their sort of thing, so the money is simply for my survival so that I can stay in my job as an employee- so this isn't about the beneficiary, the beneficiary is secondary, the organization's survival comes first -this is what contradicts the notion of *nhimbe* because donors are coming with their laid out agendas when they shouldn't KI T

The setting of agendas by northern donors makes organisations position themselves in terms of having access to funds for organisational survival. This happens even when partner organisations are fully aware that such agendas divorced from potential beneficiaries given the case of "women in construction". In this instance, donor agendas are perceived to prevail despite not being suitable because organisations also put their survival above the needs of the beneficiary which contradicts the notion of *nhimbe*.

In the light of all the above, the quote below sums up the link between *nhimbe* and partnership working:

... I would say the community is not self centered and working in partnerships is not a new thing at all for them, you know people have always met to work on a particular task with specific roles and working on community a project is not something new, within the *nhimbe* concept people have always worked together helping each other ... KI W

12.7 Summary

In line with the theme of partnership working, findings on the concept of *nhimbe* were presented in this chapter. *Nhimbe* was defined as a partnership between an individual or family and community members as they come together to work on a specified task which largely related to food security. This was underpinned by respect, trust, solidarity, reciprocity and allegiance which are all interlinked. Division of labour and skills were highlighted as crucial elements in *nhimbe* procedures alongside the utilization of expertise. To counter dependency, own contributions to the tasks of the recipient of help were identified as a prerequisite. *Nhimbe* advantages and disadvantages were identified. Findings suggest that *nhimbe* elements have been incorporated to modern day living as in the case of burial societies, rotating clubs and savings clubs among others. In the light of this study which concerns INGO – CBO potential partnerships on OVC, evidence indicates that *nhimbe* elements are linked to partnership working, and as such lessons can be drawn from the former to inform the latter in north –south development activities.

Chapter 13

Discussion of Findings

13.1 Introduction

In this chapter, findings from this thesis are presented and discussed. This chapter begins by stating the major findings of this research. An analysis is provided to explain the meaning, importance and relevance of the findings while relating to relevant literature. In this, alternative explanations are considered.

13.2 Partnership in Practice

13.2.1 A Process of Interdependence, Negotiations, Tensions and Development

Findings from this study suggest that partnership working on OVC between a CBO and INGO is possible, when power relations are acknowledged as inherently problematic. Findings from the MS and Batsiranai case study indicate that the partnership relationship was not static but developed over time. This resonates with comments by Brehm (2004) as discussed in chapter nine that literature often fails to take cognizance of the fact that partnership relationships change over time. Furthermore they are shaped by contextual elements that are crucial to understanding how they can and do work. In this process, MS was considered a good partner against a backdrop of the relationship being the longest at almost 10 years. It is notable that findings indicate that the relationship was initially fraught with undesirable elements from the perspectives of both organisations. The long term nature of the partnership was, to some extent credited with transforming the relationship to one of negotiation underpinned by the realization of interdependence. Crucially, findings suggest that MS' development activities are framed around partnership working with southern organisations, and hence, the organisation is acutely aware of its dependency on CBOs such as Batsiranai to do project implementation. Hence, interdependence is acknowledged by both parties as key to the relationship. This resonates with Fowler's (2000b) assertion as discussed in chapter nine, whereby interdependence is considered important, without which the relationship will be fraught with dependence and patronage. Thus the case of Batsiranai and MS suggests that when both organisations need the relationship as evidenced by interdependence, the relationship is more likely to work.

Findings also suggest the presence of inherent power tensions within Batsiranai's partnership relations with partners, MS included. Thus, far from being harmonious, the process was initially loaded with power tensions (Nwamuo 2000, Barghouthi 1997, Muchunguzi and Milne 1995, Fowler 1998, Smillie 1995). While, this was initially the case with MS, Batsiranai still perceived some of its relationships with funders as not partnerships due to such power tensions, even though they were labeled as such. Findings from this study and elsewhere (Brodhead 1994) suggest that the language of partnership hides unequal relationships. However in the light of this study whereby the relationship between MS and Batsiranai improved, it can be suggested that the first phase of a partnership can be challenging for both organisations, with the donor partner venturing into a new territory dictating the terms of reference and conditions because of the financial resources. As the case study indicates, MS was and remains acutely aware of its privileged position in terms of setting the terms of engagement in respect of transfer of financial resources. While this is the case, findings also demonstrate that the perception that northern governments and their people give and southern governments and their people simply receive, is narrow and simplistic given that Batsiranai made vital contributions towards the partnership with MS. MS valued and acknowledged such contributions as equally important against a backdrop of its own limitations.

Literature on partnerships tends to focus on financial resources as the source of power, with donor organizations doing to *recipient* organizations what *recipient* organizations cannot do to donor organizations (Elliot 1987). While it remains the case that MS had the power to either "take them on" or "not", as part of what northern organisations can do to southern organisations which the latter cannot similarly do to the former, the relationship wasn't necessarily framed around this. In the literature, the partnership relationship is reduced to one whereby the one who holds the purse strings calls the shots, i.e. priorities and agendas are set by the donor/ INGO and not the *receiving* CBO (Barghouthi 1997). However, findings have shown that Batsiranai set its agenda and sought external support and when this was obtained from MS and others, the agenda did not change. In the light of this, Abrahamsen's (2004) call for a novel analysis of power in understanding the transformations currently taking place under the rubric of partnership because the narrow focus on power prevents the capturing of all transformations, and techniques of cooperation and inclusion as discussed in chapter nine should be seriously considered. This study's findings which showed that Batsiranai's partnership with MS was

perceived to have interdependence, negotiations, dialogue, ownership and had crucially undergone some positive transformations, is a contribution to Abrahamsen's call for evidence. This isn't to deny the persistence of power struggles, but that, in this case, a process has been put into place which acknowledges them while seeking a broader understanding of partnership working.

This study has shown that within the partnership, even though MS was the powerful partner, all power did not reside with it as the funding organisation given the negotiations and dialogue which are part the techniques of cooperation and inclusion as put forward by Abrahamsen. The implication here for OVC partnerships between INGOs and CBOs is that such relationships need not be narrowly viewed in terms of domination but rather, can aim for interdependence. However, for this to be the case, INGOs must perceive the importance and crucial role that a CBO can play as a link to the local beneficiaries. This poses questions about the potential of operational INGOs to partner with CBOs on OVC given the fact that being operational potentially suggests having the capacity unlike MS which explicitly acknowledged its capacity limitations. In any case, given the scarcity of INGO- CBO partnerships on the ground, it seems that the former still need to be persuaded about role that CBOs can potentially play in meeting OVC needs. On another note, the case of MS and Batsiranai demonstrated that when organisations have shared objectives, the relationship is more likely to work, which resonates with Johnston and Lawrence (1988). The implication here is that OVC partnerships between INGOs and CBOs should be based on shared agendas and objectives. While this may seem obvious as an objective, the competence of INGOs for sharing power with CBOs on the ground is not obvious to commentators. The fact that the MS- Batsiranai ten year partnership was perceived as having reached phasing out stage was linked to the fact that the partnership had achieved its objectives hence was deemed successful. Furthermore, findings suggest MS was considered a good partner, in contrast to other partners in spite of the initial difficulties encountered in the relationship.

This resonates with literature which states:

Since 1993, MS has committed much time and many resources to the partnership concept and practice. In fact, in phase one of INTRAC's research, MS stood out amongst the ten European NGOs as the organisation which has devoted the most attention to developing partnerships. It also has the most thoroughly developed policy and strategy for the development of partnerships... (Harris -Curtis, 2004:127).

Given that MS devoted 10 years to the partnership with Batsiranai, it isn't surprising that it stood out as an organisation which devoted attention to developing partnerships as highlighted above. However, the issue of phasing out remains a subject with very little coverage in the literature with the exception of Harris -Curtis (2004) in terms of what actually transpires and what this entails, especially to the CBO after the partnership relationship has been phased out. However, there is an indication in literature (The Alliance and SAT 2004) of OVC support partnerships coming "under graduation" based on similar phasing out indicators¹ suggested by MS. This suggests that even though a partnership relationship may be riddled with tensions as further discussed below, it can improve, accomplish its objectives thereby reaching a successful phasing out stage. However, it is noteworthy that findings indicated that MS and Batsiranai would still have some form of relationship. What this sort of relationship would be called, in the light of the partnership being phased out, was not clear. Given that Harris- Curtis (2004) notes that accelerated withdrawal from a partnership risks the sustainability of programmes, the phasing out process described above is likely to aid Batsiranai's sustainability. Partnership relationships need time to grow and cannot be thought of as static. The case study shows that potential partners can negotiate their way through genuine tensions presented by unequal power to some measure of real interdependence. How this plays out in respect of phasing out as well as having a legacy relationship afterwards is a fraught issue deserving of close attention.

As this study showed, the partnership between MS and Batsiranai, required trust, which Brehm (2004) described as hard to measure and crucially binding as discussed in chapter nine. While trust emerged as central to the positive evolution of the partnership relationship, it took years of commitment which resonates with Mohiddin (1999). Furthermore, findings suggest that establishing trust largely hinged on staff continuity, i.e. high levels of staff retention and commitment which are all highly interpersonal. This being the case, trust building in a partnership is most likely to suffer in the presence of high staff turnover which consequently has negative implications on the relationship. Even though Mohiddin (1999) aptly acknowledges the importance of trust, its demand on time and effort, there is limited acknowledgement in the literature of the role played by

¹ Organisational indicators: diversified funding, functional and transparent governance structure. Programmatic indicators: Ability to mobilize and support volunteers, quality services. Strategic indicators: having long term strategic plans

people in establishing long lasting partnership relationships. Partnership literature therefore shows a limitation in understanding that trust has to come from somewhere within inter personal relationships with the exception of Lazar (2000) and Blois (1999) who point out that it is people who trust and not organisations. The need for time in nurturing trust in partnership relations is however in sharp contrast with the management project structure, with its short and rigid time frames as utilised by most INGOs as discussed in chapter five.

Findings suggest that building successful partnerships entails foregoing immediate tangible results, and being flexible on the part of an INGO. MS evidenced flexibility by supporting Batsiranai when it was not officially registered and without any track record. This is hardly a step that most INGOs and donors would be willing to take due to the preference for “ready made projects”. However it remains the case that all “ready made projects” have to start somewhere. By engaging with Batsiranai, MS engaged in risk taking and the Alliance and SAT (2004: 17) aptly note:

... risk taking and risk management are an inherent part of grant making and should be embraced by all those involved (I)NGOs ... and donors need to be prepared to gamble on groups that do not have a track record. In extreme cases they also need to be prepared to write off money for the benefit of experimentation.

Foster (2005a) concurs that donors and their partners, INGOs included, should take the risk and trust communities. Citing the case of The Firelight Foundation (FLF) a USA foundation which provides risk grants to CBOs and emerging NGOs, Foster argues that such “grants led to organisational growth, with strengthening of NGO leadership, strategic development and increased community participation” (ibid.: 13) with 75% of grants given considered successful and considered for re-grants. Crucially, it is notable that risk grants made by FLF are one year grants awarded to organisations with little or no experience of administering external donor funding. This is potentially a good starting point to narrowing the gap between donor funded programmes and community initiatives. However, given the fact that most INGOs and donors are risk averse, the implication is that many community initiatives are unlikely to get support. At this point, it can be suggested that donor risk averseness is one factor potentially contributing to the scarcity of OVC partnership in spite of the global policy mantra. The case of FLF mentioned above, however, suggests that donors are beginning to be innovative and flexible when it comes to partnership working on OVC.

13.2. 2 Benefits and Challenges

This study showed that from its inception, Batsiranai consisted of a group of keen community members though largely untrained to respond effectively to the OVC challenge despite prior knowledge and experience. In addition, the programme needed to establish the nature and extent of the challenge as well as financial resources, setting up structures within, official registration, opening bank accounts, office space and acquiring office requisites. Findings indicate that the relationship between MS and Batsiranai transformed the latter's capacity from the beginning as it provided financial support, advice and crucially invested in its institutional development. This implies that it is possible for an INGO to work with a community initiative and support it to become a fully fledged registered CBO. However, there is need for caution as some community initiatives may not have the potential or wish to become formal CBOs. Notable here is that INGOs must recognize that community initiatives are usually not officially recognised, and as such are often not considered for partnerships whereas the case of MS - Batsiranai demonstrates that if an INGO is willing to invest time and resources, initiatives with potential can develop. This isn't to suggest that community initiatives without potential to become CBOs must not be supported. The question is how to support them to do OVC work within the remit of their particular potential taking into account their uniqueness.

This study showed that MS invested in Batsiranai's institutional development and it is partly due to this that the latter became successful and attracted other partnership relationships. This suggests that if a CBO is to some extent a learning institution, bearing in mind it is the people within organisations who learn, this promotes success. Whether and if institutional development takes place as desired appears central to a CBO's survival because it is through this that it can set up and nurture appropriate structures, and utilize them to effectively deliver to OVC, and most of all attract other potential external partners. The case of Batsiranai suggests that in order for a CBO to expand its activities in an effective way, organisational capacity needs to be developed and INGOs are well placed to support this. Literature (Schmale 1996 Brinkerhoff 2002, Kamara and Kargo 1999, The Alliance and SAT 2004, The Alliance and FACT 2001 , Tear Fund 2004, Care 2004) aptly argues in the same vein, i.e. CBOs must be supported with their institutional development, as this is their major weakness. While the case of

MS and Batsiranai demonstrates that this kind of institutional development transformation under partnership working is not only desirable but possible and pivotal, there is a dearth of literature which examines practical case studies (see Davies 2002, Lowndes and Skelcher 1998). To some extent, the case of MS and Batsiranai, demonstrates forcefully that INGOs have certain strengths, i.e. expertise, financial resources and ability to communicate as discussed in chapter six, which can be used to support CBOs' institutional development. The study has also shown that Batsiranai's other supporting partners (those that came after MS) came on board with Batsiranai on the basis that the CBO was already "standing on its two feet" with appropriate delivery and management structures to engage with the beneficiary and potential donor partners at varying levels. Lack of INGOs willingness to support CBOs in this manner works in favour of well established national NGOs. This is further exacerbated by the fact that most donors tend to have stringent selection criteria for partners and as such very few, if any, community initiatives can meet them. An apt case would be that highlighted by Kelsall (2001) whereby DfID failed to fund any local NGOs in Tanzania because it could not find any appropriate partners, which boils down to an issue of institutional development. This also suggests that donors, do not necessarily perceive their role as that of supporting institutional development but financial provision, which underscores the main argument of this thesis, i.e. INGOs are best placed to support CBOs if they deploy partnership working. Thus findings show that when institutional development is taken seriously as a process which requires time, effort, commitment and other resources, it can lay the foundation for a CBO's survival and effective service delivery. However, cognizance should be taken of the fact that institutional development remains an ongoing process in the life span of an organisation.

Findings also suggest that partnership working between Batsiranai and MS enhanced cost effectiveness due to lowering of operational costs given proximity to beneficiary and use of volunteers. Thus Batsiranai and MS were afforded with a scale of service delivery which neither organisation would have achieved alone. This largely evidences interdependence already discussed in the section above, through which the motivation for partnership working, i.e. to enhance effectiveness and efficiency in development work (Brinkerhoff 2002) is achieved. In terms of cost effectiveness, findings suggest that trust played a crucial role in reducing costs within the partnership as findings have shown that MS did not constantly visit the field to check whether and how Batsiranai were

delivering on partnership objectives. This resonates with Borzel (1998) who notes that partnership working can reduce information and transaction costs via trust building and coordination between partner organizations.

While findings and literature (Opare 2007, Foster 2002a) suggest that INGO – CBO partnerships on OVC can be cost effective, this study has also shown that this can happen at huge expense to community members involved. The implication here is that INGOs must endeavour to strike a balance between their contributions and those made by the communities they seek to support. This study also showed that the partnership relations between Batsiranai and MS (other partners included) contributed to effectiveness by affording it with crucially needed resources which would not have been otherwise available. Without external support from MS and others, Batsiranai would not have been able to set up office and appropriate structures, train staff and volunteers and meet children's needs effectively. Taylor (1991: 254) concurs, "Empirical evidence shows that in many instances where local initiatives have been sustained and expanded there has been some involvement from outside". Indeed, literature widely posits that community initiatives desperately need external support to be effective (Foster 2005b, Foster 2002b, Tear Fund 2004, Foster 2005a, The Alliance and FACT 2001, Foster 2002a). This suggests that without appropriate support, it is almost impossible for community initiatives on OVC to effectively meet children's needs and or expand and yet as Foster (2005a: 13) argues, "mechanisms to deliver small grants combined with appropriate technical support to community groups are rudimentary or non existent".

This illustrative study has shown that partnership working can be used to harness the strengths of each organization, i.e. an INGO and CBO to enhance OVC responses. This resonates with Brinkerhoff (2002) who contends that partnership working can enhance efficiency of development activities and exploitation of the comparative advantage of organizations involved, while rationalizing resource and skill utilization. Furthermore, these findings indicate that some initial CBO liabilities such as poor institutional development and lack of financial resources can be mitigated by INGOs, against a backdrop of their expertise, ability to mobilize resources and communicate while riding on their values as discussed in chapter six.

While this study has shown that partnership working on OVC is beneficial, it remains a process riddled with challenges and tensions, some of which have been highlighted above. Findings have shown that because of the difficult terrain in Buhera South, and its sizable geographical space as well as the number of stakeholders involved in the OVC partnership, coordination and access to beneficiary are challenging. While access to beneficiary had implications for trust as discussed above, a balance needs to be maintained between monitoring and trust building.

Findings have also shown that the fragile environment in Zimbabwe impacted negatively on Batsiranai due to the short term funding contracts drawn up by INGOs and donors in response to the *ghost NGO bill*. Batsiranai's partners - INGOs and donors alike played a *wait and see game* and in this, the former was made subject to one year contracts, which gravely impacted on the organization's ability to plan. While yearly contracts were understandable given the fragile political environment, the project approach emerged as generally problematic, given its restrictive time frames which do not take cognizance of the fact that partnership working requires time to develop as Brehm (2004: 25) argues "...as funding is often only given for three years; this is not long enough and undermines sustainability." This largely resonates with the discussion in chapter five, where INGOs are criticized for utilizing western tools through the project management structure, which entails the use of the LFA. While this may be the case, this study has also shown that in the case of MS, an INGO can be flexible in its approach to development by taking into account the heterogeneous nature of contexts. However, findings suggest that the amount of flexibility exercised by INGOs can be limited due to their dependence on their home governments as demonstrated in the case of MS, whose activities were largely impacted by aid cuts as further discussed later on in this section. Furthermore, the use of LFA by most INGOs suggests the opposite of flexibility given the rigid nature of the tool. This being the case, this study argues that INGOs should endeavour to be flexible in their approach to partnerships.. Noteworthy here is that MS is relatively a small INGO with limited financial resources, in comparison to others mentioned in chapter four, hence its flexibility can not be linked to a massive financial backbone to deal with failed experiments as suggested by Tverdt (1998). And as Foster (2005a) argues, CBOs need long term funding that is continuous to ensure that they sustain their responses to OVC needs as the HIV epidemic is a long term development cause which requires long term

funding commitments. This being the case, using LFA without flexibility militates against programme sustainability

Apart from the unrealistic time frames, findings showed that some of Batsiranai's partners did not disburse funds on time and still demanded accountability reports on the original project scheduled time scales, an issue also highlighted by community respondents in Southern Africa in a research study (Foster 2005a). This suggests inflexibility and poor downward accountability on the part of funding partners. These findings resonate with the issue of INGO legitimacy which is inherently linked to problems of transparency, accountability (Clark 2003, Weiss and Gordenker 1996, Edwards 2000) whereby accountability often goes upwards to donors than downwards to beneficiaries (Hately and Malhotra 1996, Mawdsley et al 2002). This resonates with the discussion above regarding the project approach which is designed to provide accountability to donors, rather than to those receiving support. While the issue of transparency was beyond the remit of this study, the case of legitimacy in relation to MS is discussed further below. Even though findings suggest that MS' accountability is somewhat problematically skewed towards Denmark, it can be suggested there was a degree of downward accountability to Batsiranai given the negotiations and idea of interdependence. In this, it can be suggested that the degree to which an INGO is flexible potentially impacts on its ability to be downwardly accountable.

This study showed that Batsiranai faced challenges in relation to multiple accountabilities as an organization with diversified funding. This translated to at least four different partnership relations with international organisations, with each having different accountability requirements. While CBOs and NGOs are encouraged to diversify their funding pot (see SAT and the Alliance 2004, Michael 2004) to increase sustainability and independence, the resultant web of multiple accountabilities it creates is often overlooked. Given that Batsiranai is a small organisation with limited staff, multiple accountabilities increase staff workload. Pooling donor funds which can lead to a standard reporting mechanism for partners to such funds, e.g. The case of Zimbabwe's OVC Program of Support (PoS) known as "basket funding" spear headed by UNICEF and recently launched may be a good starting point in mitigating multiple accountabilities. The POS was established as a mechanism for donors to finance OVC interventions, with UNICEF serving as the manager for pooled donor funds (UNICEF 2007a). In this, national NGOs and CBOs such as Batsiranai are perceived as implementing partners. The PoS is based

on a pooled fund mechanism, where donors contribute to a common basket where funds are co-mingled with the aims to mobilize predictable funding and ensure that funds are channelled down to communities. The initiative is funded from official donors such as DfID, NZAID, SIDA and the European Commission (UNICEF 2007a). This being the case, this study argues that INGOs remain best placed to support CBOs given that Batsiranai's ability to access such funds hinges on its ability write grant proposals which is all part and parcel of institutional development.

Findings have indicated that MS encountered difficulties with its local partners (Batsiranai included earlier on in the partnership) with disclosure of other funding partners. This created tensions within partnerships, as refusal to disclose was described as literally "hiding information". Though such "cover ups" are not acceptable this may have been due to funding insecurities because of the yearly contracts mentioned above as well as funding scarcity on the ground. While this may have been more about survival within a contentious and unpredictable landscape, it can erode trust, a vital component to partnership working. At worst, this can destroy the partnership as it is difficult for organisations to work together without trust. Furthermore, playing funders off against each other can lead to the duplication of services, hence wasting badly needed resources. This study also found that there is poor coordination among donor organisations which similarly leads to duplication of services. Thus poor coordination among donors makes it easy for local organisations to play them against each other as neither of them know what the other is funding while leaving gaps. This being the case, donors need to harmonize and coordinate their efforts. Furthermore, partnerships between local and external organisations need to consider the implications of funding scarcity on the ground as well as any other factors which have the potential to promote such cover ups and openly address these.

The amount of funds disbursed by donors and INGOs also emerged in this study as a thorny issue for Batsiranai, mainly because the CBO felt that donors were thinly spreading resources by having as many partners which compromised programme impact. However, given that Zimbabwe experienced a drastic reduction in development aid, as discussed in chapter one, the scarcity in funding may have contributed to this phenomenon due to overwhelming need on the ground. On the other hand, having a number of southern partners can be beneficial to donors and INGOs for the purposes of

fundraising in the north, they may feel pressured to have as many partners as possible. Furthermore, as discussed in chapter one, the partnership discourse is now viewed as the framework currently governing development aid relationships between north and south. This being the case, donors may feel pressurized to show that they are embracing this by having as many partners as possible. There is a need to make reasonable financial contribution to enable the effectiveness of those resources to be judged.

Findings also indicate that Batsiranai's dependency on external funding was regarded as a threat to its sustainability, though with a potential solution, i.e. income generating activities which external partners were not keen to inject capital. Notable is the fact that while Batsiranai was able to dialogue and negotiate with some partners, findings also indicate that it is totally dependent on external funding sources, against a backdrop of a fragile socio economic and political context whereby neither the state nor private enterprises can support the voluntary sector. Batsiranai's dependency on external funding and its desire to engage in income generating activities are issues identified with the majority of southern national NGOs and CBOs (Nogueira 1987, Michael 2004). Furthermore, there is evidence from this study, i.e. the case of women in construction that dependency on external resources often sways local organisations from their original agendas, to that of donors which resonates with Michael (2004) and Lawson (2000: 17) who cites a Malawian NGO official: "I am in the environment planting trees and the donor comes to me and says, 'it is a pity you are planting trees when I have all this money for credit'. Straight away I become a credit organisation".

What this seems to suggest is that donor preoccupation with particular development agendas at any given time tends to influence the objectives of southern organisations. This is unhealthy as organisations tend to become more opportunist. While this may be the case, findings on Batsiranai have shown that its original agenda hasn't changed since inception. There may be a few explanations for this. First, this partly suggests resilience on its part as well as having partners like MS who shared the CBO's objectives. Secondly, the participation of community members in the programme may have been a focal point as argued by Michael (2004: 137) that "the more involvement communities have in project development, implementation and decision making, the more likely they will either to refuse outright projects that do not meet their needs....". On another note however, current donor interest with the HIV/AIDS agenda may have helped Batsiranai.

However, Batsiranai's financial dependency remains a thorny issue as this has implications for its capacity to respond to programme needs, i.e. findings have shown there are children on waiting lists and even though Batsiranai fully acknowledges volunteer needs it can not meet these due to financial constraints.

Given these limitations, Batsiranai's desire to engage in income generating activities isn't misplaced. Furthermore given the decline in aid and scaling back of donor agencies which Fowler (2000b) notes, is likely to continue, as findings have shown in the case of MS, it is indeed crucial for CBOs like Batsiranai to generate revenues through other means than donors. Further more, reducing dependency on donor funds can help Batsiranai gain further legitimacy in the eyes of the beneficiary and state, as potential donor influence is reduced (Atack 1999). Given the lack of donor appetite to fund income generating activities, CBOs must focus on the private sector and other sources, e.g. diaspora communities. Literature shows that a thriving private sector can support OVC initiatives as in the case of Swaziland (UNAIDS 2006) where funds from the Swaziland post and telecommunications corporations were used to provide fencing for community gardens for OVC and in Kenya where Barclays Bank and Citi Bank support OVC initiatives through Pathfinder International (Thurman et al 2007). However, the ability of the local private sector to engage in philanthropy hinges on its stability. It may be a while before philanthropy takes off in Zimbabwe where the private sector has been fast shrinking until most recently. It is however notable that before the years of economic peril, corporations such as Coca Cola and Chibuku breweries among others exhibited philanthropic attitudes towards community groups in Zimbabwe. Given this past record, it can be suggested that there is potential for CBOs to get support from the private sector in the near future. While income generating activities may be helpful for CBOs, Fowler (2000c: 98) calls for caution as engagement with commercial activities "invites problems in the areas of political intolerance, government suspicion, policy dilemmas, public confusion and potentially serious management difficulty".

Diaspora communities can be a source of revenue for community groups, particularly given the fact that Zimbabwe now has a well established diaspora in the north due to the mass exodus which took place in the past decade. In the same vein, Michael (2004: 150) argues that "diaspora philanthropy and remittances could play an important role in helping African NGOs [and CBOs] to develop financial independence from their donors".

Crucially such sources of funding would come from people who understand local needs and dynamics, better than official donors, which can improve effectiveness. On another note, Batsiranai's dependency on external support also mirrors MS' dependence on the Danish government with dire implications. Some of MS activities had to be shut down or reduced due to changes in the political landscape in Denmark, i.e. change of government. This being the case, it can be argued that partnerships can be riddled by chains of dependency which can send ripple effects, in the event of changes at the top. The case of MS dependence on the Danish government however ought to be seen as a general weakness of most INGOs as discussed in chapter six. While it is the case that most INGOs work hand in glove with official donors, the case of MS showed that, to some extent donor influence isn't always a bad thing given that the Danish government encouraged the partnership approach and placed emphasizes on capacity building of southern partners supported by Danish NGOs receiving state aid as guided by the policy document *Strategy for Danish Support to Civil society – including cooperation with Danish NGOs*. Given that the MS – Batsiranai case study have shown that this was a worthy endeavour, it can be argued that the influence of northern governments needs to be critically assessed, as some influence may actually work in favour of the south which is the opposite of what is often perceived. Findings also suggest that INGOs and donors are fond of blueprints and grand theories. As discussed in Chapter five, blue prints and over simple grand theories are highly embedded in western thinking (Potter et al 2004, Brohman 2001, Stoir and Taylor 1981, Chambers 1983) and as Easterly (2006) argues blue prints will not fix the world's problems. This being the case, donors and INGOs need to be flexible by employing alternative ideas of development.

This study has shown that advocacy and lobbying issues can be extremely challenging to address in partnerships against a backdrop of a fragile political environment which is pervaded by state intimidation and violence towards citizens. Findings showed that Batsiranai did not consider advocacy as a priority, but undesirable engagement with politics, i.e. a realm for political parties. This reluctance resonates with literature (The Alliance and FACT 2001, Michael 2004) whereby community groups and local NGOs often feel that this isn't their mandate. As this study showed, Batsiranai's reluctance to engage in advocacy caused tensions with its partners, MS included. In this, findings indicate that MS is guided by the political approach in its partnerships with southern organisations, while Batsiranai took the position that the community had no such

mandate, but focus on the children. However, MS position on the political approach was echoed, as the way forward by the Zimbabwean development consultant interviewed in this study. This view point is important particularly coming from a Zimbabwean as it mitigates the idea of lobbying being seen as a northern idea for change, i.e. in the case of MS political approach. However, Batsiranai's reluctance ought to be viewed against a backdrop of Zimbabwe's colonial and post independence history mapped in chapter five where Moyo (1993) credits the mass suffering of rural constituents during the liberation war, the independent state's anti pluralism position under the notion of nationalism and the continued partisan violence for thwarting the voice of CSOs. Thus Batsiranai's narrow perception of OVC needs resonates with Moyo's assertion the CSOs formed in this environment have no interests beyond their immediate concerns. This is further exacerbated by the fact that in most African countries, NGO legislation, as will be discussed in the ensuing section, seeks to curtail the political involvement of NGOs. The reluctance of CBOs to engage in advocacy is therefore underlined by multiple mutilating elements. However, these challenges withstanding, the needs of OVC can not be solely addressed by CBO service delivery without addressing the wider contextual environment which affects children's lives as well the rest of BSD community. This being the case, this study argues in support of the political approach adopted by MS because development activities almost always have political aspects which demand attention. For instance the poverty affecting people in BSD and the state of children's lives with roots in political issues. CBO reluctance to engage in advocacy has negative implications nationally and globally. At a national level, there is a risk of the state formulating ill informed policies due to policy disengagement with such groups. CBO reluctance to engage with advocacy debates carries the risk of further diminishing state accountability to the rural poor, given that as part of CSOs they can provide checks and balances on the state (Peruzzotti 2006). As discussed in chapter 6, INGOs face criticism for poor linkages with local constituents, especially the rural poor in the global south. The criticism is on two fronts, i.e. poor funding allocations to advocacy issues (Anderson 2000) and the limited participation by southern organisations in international networks and policy debates (Mercer 2002 Edwards 2000)

On the first criticism, this study found that Batsiranai's international partners were eager for Batsiranai to engage in advocacy, hence funding had advocacy aspects to it. Batsiranai found this disquieting hence its seeking of "refuge" in NANGO, whose integrity was subject to numerous criticism by key informants in this study and

literature (Michael 2004, Raftopolous 2000) for having closer ties with the state and for being at odds with its *raison d'être*. However, the fact that Batsiranai's partners, i.e. MS included were eagerly pushing for Batsiranai to engage in advocacy, questions the idea that donors and INGOs are not eager to fund advocacy. These findings resonate with Michael (2004) who notes that while donors are often not keen to fund political aspects of development work; in Zimbabwe it has been the opposite with donors' often courting controversy and threats for doing so. Michael owes donors' uncharacteristic decision to fund advocacy issues in Zimbabwe to the contentious relationship between the state and the civil society landscape, i.e.

As the government has sought to repress local NGOs working in the areas of lobbying and advocacy, donor confidence in the government has waned and donors have increased their support to NGOs. This has resulted in conflict, both over money and over political space... in a country which was, for many years, a *de facto* one party state ... (Michael 2004: 65)

This seems to suggest a recognition of the need to fund advocacy , against a backdrop of a fragile state. This is also resonates Sithole (1997), as noted in Chapter 6, that the lack of a credible opposition party prior to 1999 meant that civil society organisations were increasingly being called upon to fill the political vacuum. While Michael (2004) notes that a number of NGOs in Zimbabwe have incorporated advocacy, the case of Batsiranai's reluctance seems to suggest that the rural constituent is lagging behind.. Notable here is that findings, indicate that MS directly supported other local organisations with advocacy issues which were more vocal. However, these were largely urban based NGOs.

On another note, Zimbabwean NGOs, both in Zimbabwe and in the diaspora are engaging with the current Constitution reform process taking place in the homeland (Musoro et al 2010). Within Diaspora in UK and South Africa, there is now a wider recognition among Zimbabwean organisations that engagement with advocacy and lobbying is important in narrowing the policy gap between the state and its citizens. The formation of the Zimbabwe – UK Diaspora constitution coalition, which seeks to collate Diaspora views on the new constitution for presentation to COPAC is a part of this. However donors, have not been as keen to fund diaspora involvement in this political aspect, despite, the Joint Africa – European Union Strategic Partnership (JAESP) and the Action Plan adopted in Lisbon in 2007, which states that the European Union and African Union will seek to empower non state entities (such as the Diaspora) and its active involvement

in democracy building among other issues (AU - EU 2007). This suggests that donors are yet to practice what they preach about empowering non state entities in democracy building, especially the Diaspora. Even though donors and INGOs are eager to fund advocacy, Michael (2004: 51) aptly argues that NGOs (and CBOs) in Zimbabwe still “lack policy influence and opportunities to participate in higher level decision making ...” This suggests that the policy making environment isn’t as open and the case of the current constitution making process makes a sound example. As Musoro et al (2010) note, while the Zimbabwean coalition government is fully aware of the need to engage Diaspora communities within the process, evidence of political will to do so has been thin on the ground. This being the case, Diaspora organisations are having to lobby extra hard behind the scenes, even though the state can clearly open up the space for their formal involvement as rightfully due.

While it has been argued that INGO linkages with CBOs and NGOs in the south can improve INGO legitimacy in global policy debates and positions in chapter six, the case of Batsiranai has shown that linkages between international and local may not necessarily translate to engagement in advocacy work at the very local. Even though partnership working can be viewed as a starting point to addressing the advocacy challenge, there are many hurdles to overcome. In the case of Batsiranai hurdles pertain to the country’s historical background, its present state of fragility which results in state suspicion as well as the perception of community members towards engagement with advocacy. Of central importance is the need to recognize that local organisations may not only lack the capacity to carry out advocacy, but that the contextual environment may not always be encouraging. While appropriate linkages between local and international organisations, such as between MS and its various southern partners, can feed into global networks without necessarily advocating in their home countries, this can have negative implications for national policies due to disconnection. And as discussed in chapter six, this can be a serious problem (Edwards 2000). Furthermore, advocacy within one’s locality and country would be the first appropriate step instead of the far placed global. However, MS’ adoption of the partnership approach whereby it works with southern partners should be viewed as its starting point to its legitimacy to speak in relation to the south and also partly addresses the issue of transparency in terms of who is speaking for who in global networks (Edwards 2000) as discussed in chapter six.

This being the case, there is an urgent need for CBOs such as Batsiranai to recognize that development work involves some political aspects which they must seek to address. Thus while controversial, the assertion that “if NGOs [and CBOs] are to be effective, they should be politically involved” (Moyo 1992: 10) should be seriously considered. This however does not mean that these organisations should align with political parties, but rather lobbyists in line with their development programme mandates. In the case of Batsiranai, the HIV/ AIDS and OVC agendas are two intertwined challenges whose roots are both social and political. This being the case, this thesis argues alongside Michael (2004) that organisations must engage in advocacy work which touches upon the remit of their development agendas. To quote Michael (2004: 155):

... But within whatever field they choose to be active, local NGOs [and CBOs] must be ready to confront the underlying social and political forces that perpetuate underdevelopment ...[because] without confronting these political elements within development, local NGOs will never truly be able to change the lives of the poor and marginalised in their regions ...

However, the call for engagement with advocacy work demands further CBO capacity building as well as awareness and consciousness raising in order to overcome, the immediate concern mindset and the impact of the country’s historical past and present state of fragility. INGOs as partners in development can play a crucial role in supporting CBOs. The state also has a crucial role to play, i.e. Mitigating its’ restrictive stance towards civil society organisations by opening up the political realm. However, state support should not be tantamount to becoming bedfellows. The cases of Bolivia, Colombia, Philippines and Brazil suggest that states can open up operational spaces for civil society organisations with positive outcomes in terms of influencing national policy agendas and directions (World Bank 1997).

13.3 Partnership Working and Contextual Challenges

Findings from this study showed that the contextual environment in Zimbabwe militated against partnership working between Batsiranai and its partners, MS included due challenges widely acknowledged in literature (Clemens and Moss 2005, Meldrum 2008, UNICEF 2007, Proudlock 2007, Prowse and Bird 2007, Bird and Busse 2007, Kagoro 2005, IBA 2004, Africa Commission on Human Rights 2002). The case of Zimbabwe’s legislative environment which was discussed in chapter eight as being unfavourable to the growth and self determination of civil society organisations emerged in this study as equally problematic. Findings suggest that the *ghost* NGO bill did much harm as the

donor community lost confidence in the state's ability to provide an enabling operational space within which resources could be channelled to both NGOs and CBOs. This translated into less funds and short term contracts being awarded for development programmes including HIV/AIDS and OVC (USAID 2008). While the NGO bill was never signed into law, it nevertheless caused disquiet as some donors abandoned ship due to the belief that, a legal status for the bill was imminent, against a backdrop of other forms of repressive laws having already tweaked and enforced as discussed in chapter eight. This issue resonates with Bratton (1989) who cites similar strategies being used by the state in Togo, Ethiopia and Kenya in the past to restrict NGO activities. Michael (2004) similarly cites the case of Tanzania. As the World Bank (1997) and Michael (2004) further note, in many African countries, NGO legislation does to a great extent restrict the sanctioned activities of both CBOs and NGOs, from acting in the political realm. In the case of Zimbabwe, the facets of the *ghost* NGO bill as discussed in chapter six in detail evidenced a real attempt to keep CSOs from the political arena. Apart from this, there is competition for donor funding between NGOs and the state:

... as funds that donors choose to invest in NGOs [and CBOs] are funds that government would have received in their absence and because of these perceptions, government agencies will rarely suggest to donors that local NGOs are more experienced or better equipped to undertake a particular donor project (Michael 2004: 123).

However, the case of state legislation on NGOs and CBOs largely suggests that the legislative environment, within which partnership relations are founded and pan out has implications for their survival and achievements. Thus partnership survival and achievements can not solely be based on the immediate relationship between community groups and INGOs, but also on the external legislative environment, a point which literature often overlooks. While it is often recognised that state power can stifle CSOs in general the argument does not often extend to examining how this impacts on partnerships between the local and external. On a critical note, the dearth of literature on the impact of state legislation on partnership working, rather confirms the lack of case studies on the subject. This being the case, the scarcity of partnership case studies, consequently creates a knowledge gap which illuminates how contextual legislation impacts on partnership working. The discourse of partnerships between local and global organisations therefore needs to pay close attention to the external rules of engagement especially in political fragile contexts This raises questions about the willingness and capacity of the state to create an enabling environment through formulating and

implementing appropriate legislation. Given the appropriate commitment, such legislation would, to some extent positively impact on partnership working between local and international organisations on OVC, and other development programmes. The comment by World Bank (1996: xviii) on NGOs in Bangladesh, i.e. “NGOs need support and encouragement from the government to facilitate their operations and extend their positive contributions” can therefore be aptly applied to OVC partnerships between CBOs and INGOs in Zimbabwe.

Findings from this study have also shown that the general socio economic environment prevailing within a country has implications for partnership working on OVC between local and external organizations. The case of Batsiranai’s links with Irish AID showed that the state’s failure to develop and implement sound and appropriate monetary and fiscal policy militated against partnership working given the funds which disappeared due to a bank closure. While no organisation could have anticipated a bank closure, Irish Aid’s response, i.e. terminating the partnership poses questions regarding the ability of INGOs and donors alike to fully appreciate the risks associated with working in fragile spaces. However, the case of Zimbabwe is not unique given the recent financial crisis in the north which showed that even long standing financial institutions can face a meltdown due to state failure to adequately regulate and monitor financial services. In spite of this melt down, some financial systems in the north, can offer a measure of protection to customers in the event of financial mishaps, unlike in Zimbabwe where Batsiranai could not get its funds back. Extra scrutiny when banking funds is therefore required in fragile spaces where financial systems may be unsound. This can be done as part of risk management with INGOs given their expertise, supporting CBOs to make informed choices. However, due to their remote locations, rural CBOs may have limited banking choices.

Findings showed that the official pegging of Zimbabwean currency by the state cost development programmes money, as organisations were forced to exchange donor dollars through official channels in a country where the black market rate was more reflective of the real value of the local currency. In this instance, it can be argued that due to official currency pegging, state coffers gained while development programmes lost out. Linked to this issue, was the case of hyper inflation which emerged in this study as one of the factors which made programme planning extremely difficult and unpredictable. Again

this brings shows the need for sound monetary and fiscal policy and the role that the state can play in creating an enabling operating environment for INGO – CBO partnerships on OVC.

The case of Irish Aid and Batsiranai, i.e. termination of partnership relationship and other issues discussed in this section raises important questions about partnership working in fragile spaces. The question as to how INGOs and donors make sense of partnership working in fragile spaces needs to be addressed. In terms of responding to such a fragile context, it becomes clear that the application of situation analysis through LFA as discussed in chapter five is not sufficient. This calls for utilizing contextual analysis as further discussed in section 13.4.3.1. For now it is notable that this is more likely to capture these complexities and irregularities. Findings showed that MS' foreign staff faced immigration challenges, with some receiving deportation orders. While the extent to which this impacted on the country programme wasn't explored, it nevertheless caused disquiet. The fact that MS carried on with its country activities, suggests commitment to its local partners as well as resilience. In the light of this, it can be suggested that the Batsiranai and MS partnership survived a lot of battering from the external environment.

Findings also showed that it took Batsiranai over five years to get registered because of government bureaucracy and red tape. This discourages registration and militates against partnership working between INGOs- CBOs given aversity of the former to work with unregistered CBOs. This is understandable given that INGOs and other external organisations need to exercise caution given the case of “briefcase NGOs”, a wide spread phenomenon in Sub Saharan Africa e.g. in Tanzania and Senegal, albeit this being rare in Zimbabwe (Michael 2004). This also brings to light the role of the state in putting in place a process that is enabling, rather than discouraging. However, given that Batsiranai was caught up in the process for years, there is need for external organisations/ INGOs to practice discretion as MS did.

13.4 Potential of Community

13.4.1 Participation, Ownership, Linkages and Sustainability

Findings from this study showed the presence of a community as identified and experienced by local residents and CBO staff in BSD. This is particularly important against a backdrop of the existence of “community” being under dispute as stated in

chapter 1. The community identified in this study encompassed, children, elected counsellors, elected committees, church leaders, kraal heads, general inhabitants, as governed by traditional leadership. This resonates with Uphoff (2004: 73) as discussed in chapter seven, where local communities were described as self governing through formal or informal authority. As this study showed, no one could have initiated a community response on OVC without the approval and support of traditional leadership which also suggests that traditional leadership are gatekeepers. In the main, traditional leadership was perceived as one of the most defining features of the community. While lack of material wealth was acknowledged as a hindrance to effectively support OVC, it did not mitigate against the existence and experience of community by those living within it as all problems were described as found inside a community, and not outside. These findings counter the idea, put forward by Barnett and Whiteside (2002: 208- 9), that “poor ones may not be communities at all” as indicated in chapter one.

As for Batsiranai, findings suggest that its identity is grounded in the identified community. The implication here is that the existence of a community as identified and experienced by its members is perhaps key to a community’s potential to addressing issues affecting it. Thus the potential of a community to respond hinges on, among other factors, whether and if the population in question can perceive and identify an existing community, with functional structures. In the case of Batsiranai, findings indicate that traditional leadership gave credence to “community” as further discussed below. This being the case, traditional institutions need to be understood and taken cognizance of, as well as how communities identify themselves as being in “existence” as opposed to “not being communities at all” under the auspices of alternative ideas to development. This is particularly because alternative ideas to development allow contexts to be understood in their diversity. This being the case OVC development work should start with the people identifying their terms of reference instead of outsiders.

Findings suggested that even though Batsiranai worked in partnership with MS among other partners, its identity was not constituted by those partners, but rather, the community as experienced by volunteers, traditional leadership and staff. As noted in chapter eleven, volunteers spoke of seeing “their car coming” and referred to the project office as “our office” and to MS and other partners as the “friends who help us to look after our children”. While these examples may seem trivial, they suggested a degree of ownership. Furthermore, volunteers exhibited confidence and sense of ownership, which

is important for programme sustainability. This may have to do with the fact that Batsiranai's initiation was deeply embedded in the community as evidenced by the involvement of key community members. This potentially resonates with Esman and Uphoff (1984), who argue that locally initiated local organizations are more likely to succeed than those externally instigated. Furthermore, Foster (1996) suggests that CBOs whose initiation is facilitated by external agents face ownership challenges as highlighted by Germann et al (2009) in a four country study on behalf of World Vision (WV), which developed an ambitious programming model for mobilizing and strengthening community led support for OVC. The study, which identifies the strengths and weaknesses of community care groups (CCGs) and Community Care Coalitions (CCCs) which are responsible for coordinating and networking to inform WV – and as the facilitator, notes:

Despite WV and the CCC's guide's special attention and efforts to ensure and encourage community ownership – many CCCs struggle to experience and communicate independent of WV and have not yet developed a full sense of ownership by the community (Germann et al 2009: 4).

While external instigation may potentially entail the challenges above, there is also evidence that individual outsiders can be instrumental in initiating community responses to OVC with modest achievements as in the case of the Bethany Project, in Zvishavani District, Zimbabwe, which started in 1995, with a British Volunteer as a leading facilitator (Phiri et al 2000). While these mixed outcomes seem to suggest that the jury is still out on the impacts of a CBO being locally and externally initiated, it can be suggested that individuals, whether local or external can potentially act as helpful catalysts. However, the case of an external organisation initiating community groups as in the case of WV above appears to herald more challenges. This may have something to do with local people perceiving the external organisation as having the capacity to provide solutions – in comparison to say an individual. While this may be the case, it remains clear that ownership is not solely dependent on how a CBO is initiated, but many other factors. However, the case of Batsiranai appears to suggest that being locally initiated promoted a sense of programme ownership which resonates with literature (Foster 1996, Esman and Uphoff 1984). The sense of ownership identified in this study may also be attributed to MS' approach to development, i.e. people centered development, i.e. alternative ideas to development. This being the case, it can be suggested that people-centered development as utilised by MS partly enabled Batsiranai to nurture self

determination especially during the early years of the partnership, when MS was its sole partner.

While findings suggest OVC problem ownership by community members, i.e. volunteers, there was indication that this has not always been the case given the usage of “now ours” as well as the fact that caregivers –were not receiving assistance from community members. Evidence suggests that community members perceived traditional leadership as the custodian of the poor and orphans, within the pre colonial era. In this, community members worked in a field set aside by traditional leaders, known as *zunde ramambo*. However, community members blamed colonialism for tearing apart the African family and disempowering the chiefs from exercising their “fatherhood” responsibilities towards their people, orphans included. This happened as chiefs were given tax collection roles by the colonial state as noted in Chapter seven. But as the chief had to achieve his responsibility to the poor via community members, the problem was still defined as the community’s problem. . However prior to Batsiranai launching there was evidence of some local chiefs (in Romorehoto and Birchenough) utilizing *Zunde Ramambo* and providing draught power to plough in orphans’ fields.

It is notable that the shift in OVC challenge ownership could also be attributed to the awareness raising campaigns which showed home-grown films about orphanhood and widowed. This possibly suggests that OVC campaigns can have positive implications for OVC, as some community members may be misinformed or simply naïve which resonates with literature in the case of in Kenya (Thurman et al 2007, Thurman et al 2009) and Swaziland (UNAIDS 2006). However, the fact that some of the campaign methods were home grown films may have made a real difference in the case of Batsiranai’s campaign as community members could easily relate to the localized scenes. This seems to suggest that campaign methods need to relate to the local people knowledge, culture and tradition.

In the light of this study showing the revival of traditional practices such as *Zunde Ramambo* along side community gardens set up to support children which evidences self reliance , it is crucial that INGO – CBO partnerships on OVC take cognizance of such traditional practices. The utilization of local knowledge and traditions within this partnership evidences the embracing of alternative ideas to development. In this, there is evidence of participation in sharp contrast to consultation as done by most INGOs

(Hulme and Edwards 1997). There is evidence in the literature to suggest that similar traditional practices are being used in community initiatives for OVC in Malawi (Phiri et al 2000) and Swaziland where *Zunde ramambo* is known as Indlunkulu (UNAIDS 2006). While this evidences self reliance these gardens and fields largely depend on rainfall patterns and in drought prone regions like BSD, harvests can be minimal as similarly experienced in Swaziland. Findings from this study and elsewhere (UNAIDS 2006, Phiri et al 2000) have shown that traditional leadership support is key to the revival of traditional practices such as *Zunde Ramambo*. This being the case, it can be suggested that traditional leadership can be utilised as a form of social capital in OVC community initiatives. This resonates with Marsh (2003: 17) who argue: “these traditional institutions typically reflect social norms of solidarity and reciprocity, constituting a social safety net in villages with meagre livelihoods and sharp inequalities”.

Furthermore, findings have shown that traditional leadership consistently gave moral support to Batsiranai and encouraged community members to be involved. This largely resonates with literature (Phiri et al 2000) whereby it is noted that strong and active traditional leadership determines the quality and magnitude of response to OVC from a given community. Furthermore, research findings from Lesotho (Manyeli 2007), Swaziland (UNAIDS 2006), Ethiopia; Mozambique Zambia, Uganda (Germann et al 2009) and Zimbabwe (Foster 2002b) also allude to the importance of traditional leadership in mobilizing community response to OVC and strengthening community ownership. This suggests that traditional leadership can have positive implications for OVC community responses, when awarded due acknowledgement in culturally acceptable ways.

However, given the highly polarized Zimbabwean environment where traditional leadership is openly partisan, when they shouldn't be, there is need for caution. Findings showed that traditional leadership was excluded, alongside government representatives from Batsiranai's decision making structures, as a way of guarding against potential political interference and power struggles. This means that the community was well versed with its political landscape and its complexities. While this study has shown that that the role of traditional leadership in community initiatives can potentially be underpinned by tensions, in politically fragile environments, literature (Marsh 2003) which is generally pro utilization of such institutions, does not engage with these

tensions. This suggests that this is an area which requires further research, particularly given the importance of traditional leadership in defining communities as well as their potential to support community initiatives on OVC work. However, the implications of these findings on community initiatives and CBOs alike is that, they have to be extremely critical of traditional leadership as failure to do so may lead a CBO being entangled in external power struggles at the expense of children who need support. While findings also suggest that traditional leadership and government officials, wanted to be involved in the decision making structures, exclusion did not banish their support. By selecting traditional leadership to be patron of the programme while excluding him from decision making structures, it can be suggested that Batsiranai played a balancing act of inclusion and exclusion with positive outcomes, i.e. acknowledging and respecting traditional leadership afforded Batsiranai with local legitimacy. This implies organisations in similar circumstances may have to partake in similar balancing acts.

Findings suggest that Batsiranai adopted a participatory approach as evidenced by the various structures put in place as highlighted in the organogram in chapter ten. In this, elected volunteers engaged in decision making e.g. assessing children in need of support, hand picking the worst affected children for interventions such as camping and liaising with school heads with regards school fees. These examples which suggest high levels of participation from elected community members resonate with Brinkerhoff (2002) who notes that CBOs are the most common conduit for participation and consequently, they contribute the best that participation has to offer as discussed in chapter seven. Furthermore, findings suggest that Batsiranai's ability to stick to its agenda contributed to its perceived success. What this seems to suggest is that when communities identify local needs as an agenda for development activities, the greater the likelihood of community ownership. This resonates with Owens (1993: 241) who posits that, "Indigenous organizations have the best potential to implement participatory development initiatives that respond to genuine local need". Furthermore, allowing community members to make key decisions as those made by volunteers can also contribute to programme ownership and sustainability. The high levels of participation evidenced in this study, chime with alternative ideas of development whereby participation can create a sense of self worth through rediscovering local histories and traditions (Brohman 2001). While Batsiranai have worked hard to achieve this level of participation, MS must also be credited for enabling this process through its belief in

people-centered development. While INGOs often involve communities in their projects in the name of participation there are marked differences as argued by Kajese:

Are International NGOs really serious about participation and self reliance at the grass roots level. Do our NGO partners in the north appreciate the fact that for village people, participation and self reliance does not mean being present and cooperating in working on something when thinking and ideas have originated from outside them and their situation. (Kajese 1987: 81).

Agendas brewed outside of the community imply no participation at all, even though community members can gather under a tree and endorse an activity. In the light of this, the OVC concern originated from the community, and the partnership sort to understand the structures in the community as well as their inclusion, the children included. This is a process which demands resources, and the partnership availed these. The inclusion of children in Batsiranai's structures potentially enable their voices to be heard, in contrast to the case of the CCCs facilitated by World Vision where Germann et al (2009:3) note, "the participation of vulnerable children and youth was almost absent in all CCCs". The presence of participatory structures within Batsiranai and its success, potentially tie in with Esman and Uphoff's (1984) assertion that a CBO's decision making structures and overall performance indicates greater success with more participatory arrangements in place.

However, findings also showed that some elected committee members showed lack of commitment by not attending meetings and or training workshops and the Management Board was persistently identified as ineffective. Furthermore while committees were crucial for programme running, findings suggested that the numerous committees made activities difficult to run due to coordination and communication challenges. Given the socio economic hardships in BSD, this may not be surprising. However, given that the board is meant to provide checks and balances for the programme, its ineffectiveness can put the community's ability to influence programme direction under threat as this potentially implies that program staff have more influence than should be the case. This may suggest the presence of a powerful elite, i.e. programme staff. While the idea of a powerful elite raises concerns regarding the credibility of a CBO as being a fair and representative entity (Khan 2007), findings indicate that board members were trained as part of capacity building. However, it also remains the case that these are as good as they are because of the legitimacy which derives from election by other community members. There is no doubt that, a CBO board needs charismatic people who are capable of

thinking independently so as make critical and objective contributions to the programme but the need for democracy and participation can impede this. This being the case, CBOs seeking to establish similar boards should educate and sensitize electing community members about the importance and potential implications of their electoral choices. In addition, community members can devise an appropriate check list or criteria which informs the basis for electing those to occupy such positions. This isn't however to say that community members are naïve about the potential of fellow community members, but suggest ways of improving the calibre of those elected in the light of the challenges put forward in this study. However these challenges notwithstanding, participation remains important for fostering community ownership which is important for sustainability. The implication for community initiatives responding to OVC is that as a starting point to fostering participation, they need to start by putting in place participatory structures. Having set up these, it becomes a question of whether they are effective and if not; further questions can be posed on how to improve.

Findings have also shown that Batsiranai has representatives of local government ministries, i.e. Departments of Health and Social Welfare in its structures. While excluded from decision making structures, these linkages were more strengthening than not, e.g. workshops were held at government clinics and schools, for free, which reduced programme costs and information sharing, and close liaisons were established between Batsiranai and schools in meeting children's fees via favourable block grants as well as training of teachers to spot vulnerable children. This is particularly important as Batsiranai's response to children is not an isolated response, but falls under the government's NPA for OVC as highlighted in chapter 1. The NPA for OVC incorporates various stakeholders, government departments included. This being the case, such linkages are important for the national programme. These findings concur with Michael's (2004) research study in Zimbabwe whereby NGOs had closer ties with local government departments in spite of hostility from central government as discussed in chapter eight. Similar linkages are also perceived beneficial in the case of the World Vision facilitated CCCs:

In most CCCs teams, the research team found that there was not sufficient participation of Government representatives in CCCs. In CCCs where there was good, broad government stakeholder representation the leverage of such CCCs was much stronger (Germann et al 2009:3)

In addition, other evidence in the literature suggests that links between CBOs and government departments on OVC are generally helpful (Thurman et al 2007, UNAIDS 2006 Phiri et al 2000). While it isn't clear how these links are managed by the CBOs and community initiatives in question, Esman and Uphoff (1984) note that how government linkage with local organisations is managed is more important than how much involvement there is while stating that excessive government linkage is unlikely to produce developmental benefits. In this, they concluded that government linkage is desirable as long as it does not become directive and leaders and community members do not lose control. Given that Batsiranai does not receive funding from the local government departments in question, and has kept representatives from decision making structures, it can be suggested that the CBO has managed to benefit from such linkages without losing control. What this entails for similar organisations is that they should endeavour to establish linkages with appropriate government departments, albeit with caution especially in politically fragile environments, lest they lose their autonomy to state departments.

13.4.2 Strong leadership, committed staff and high levels of literacy

Findings from the study showed that the presence of strong, dynamic and learning leadership contributed to Batsiranai's strengthening and success. The subject of leadership resonates with literature on similar initiatives (The Alliance and FACT 2001) and general development literature (Khan 2007). However, it is notable that the continuity of Batsiranai's leadership may have contributed to programme success given that trust building had taken place over ten years between the leadership and other stakeholders. While this maybe the case, Khan (2007) argues that there are instances when this can cause organizational stagnation. However, the case of Batsiranai showed that it is a growing organization under its current leadership. Furthermore, it was postulated in chapter seven that CBO leaders tend to be more educated (Datta 2007) as well as act as gate keepers who co-opt the vulnerable (Brinkerhoff 2002). However findings from this study showed while the leadership is educated and exposed, so are the rest of Batsiranai staff. Furthermore, the participatory structures within Batsiranai potentially safeguard against such cooption. In addition, this study has shown that gate keeping is the prerogative of traditional leadership, and not CBO leadership.

This study has shown that Batsiranai had a low staff turnover rate despite its remote and harsh terrain location which may be because of the existence of good working relations between staff and community members, as well as funding partners. Low staff turn over was identified to have promoted continuity and nurtured trust between staff and community members in the same way trust was nurtured between Batsiranai and MS based on staff continuity. The implication here is that in the presence of high staff turn over, trust can be difficult to build which consequently affects programme activities. Against a backdrop of Batsiranai's project staff being highly educated and qualified, findings also suggested they embraced learning which contributed to the CBO's progress in terms of forging new partnership relations and other useful links. However, this tends to contradict the general belief in literature that CBOs tend to have weak structures (Brinkerhoff 2002, Datta 2007, Khan 2007) due to poor levels of education and high levels of illiteracy (Owens 1993). Furthermore, while Blackett- Dibinga and Sussman (2008) decry illiteracy challenges in relation to volunteers in OVC community initiatives, this study showed that literacy levels in Buhera South district are high at 83% (Batsiranai 1998) which is generally in line with Zimbabwe's high literacy rates (PRF et al 2003). This being the case training and record keeping were not challenges as in other communities as those noted by Blackett-Dibinga and Sussman (2008). While poor literacy skills can cause challenges in relation to information recording and keeping, these challenges can be mitigated by using oral communications while availing donors with the required written information (Blackett-Dibinga and Sussman 2008). In the main, high levels of staff turn over, poorly educated staff and illiterate volunteers can negatively impact on community initiatives on OVC, hence the need to pay attention to these.

13.4.3 Volunteers are the Anchor of Community Responses to OVC

Findings from this study and elsewhere (Phiri et al 2000, Foster 2000a, Foster 1996, Thurman et al 2007, CARE 2004, Tear Fund 2004, The Alliance and SAT 2004, Germann et al 2009, The Alliance and FACT 2001, UNAIDS 2006, Foster 2005b, CARE 2005) show that voluntarism is the chief corner stone of OVC community initiatives. The commitment also evidenced by Batsiranai volunteers, is not an isolated case as this is the case in Swaziland where volunteers cook for children at NCPs and help with tending to gardens to feed the children (UNAIDS 2006), Ethiopia, Mozambique, Uganda and Zambia where volunteers do home visits to OVC (Germann et al 2009), Other community initiatives using volunteers are in Kenya (Thurman et al 2007), Zimbabwe

and Malawi (Phiri et al 2000, Foster et al 1996, The Alliance and FACT 2001), Mozambique (Tear Fund 2004) and Rwanda (Care 2004). These findings indicate that, community responses to OVC are overwhelmingly dependent on the commitment of volunteers for service delivery. In the absence of committed volunteers, it is difficult to fathom how community responses to OVC would exist. This being the case, a lack of an identified community as experienced by the population in question, poses serious challenges for OVC work as this study has shown that volunteers are part and parcel of the identified community. Thus OVC policy makers need to be cautious about the problematic nature of community particularly in conflict or war zones where structures which constitute community may no longer exist and/or are extremely fragile. This potentially makes it more difficult to mobilize those perceived as “community members” by outsiders. In the main, the problematic nature of community poses challenges for alternative ideas to development as community is seen as a potential beacon to development as observed with the notion of “community development”. Given that much hinges on community, the question who or what is community should be considered a starting point and the *supposed* community should address these questions. This study showed that volunteers’ motivation to support OVC is underpinned by reciprocity against a backdrop of the overwhelming presence of sickness and parental death whereby children’s vulnerability is made more pronounced. Likewise Foster (2002b) and Mukuyogo Williams (1991) note that the principle of reciprocity is a prominent characteristic of people living together in traditional rural societies whereby community members support each other through ploughing each other's fields, contributing to field labour and food in times of serious need especially at funerals or marriage ceremonies. Thus findings from this study and elsewhere (Phiri et al 2000, Foster 2002b, Mukuyogo & Williams 1991) show that reciprocity is based on a system of solidarity which ensures individuals will receive the same assistance, should they face similar adversity. Culture reinforces this system through oral tradition: *What has befallen me today will befall you tomorrow* (Hamutyenei and Planger 1987). This proverb echoes volunteers’ sentiments in this study, i.e. should they wake up dead, their children will also receive support. Given these findings, it can be suggested that the system of solidarity and reciprocity plays an important role in community relationships as this enables community members to render support to one another. The system whereby such arrangements take place can be termed traditional cultural capital and as such, this is context dependent. If this form of traditional capital is to be harnessed, existing traditional value systems in

contexts should be examined as failure to do so will either overstate the potential of a community or undervalue its fund of traditional cultural capital. This can be done as part of contextual analysis as opposed to situational analysis which is used as part of the management project structure as highlighted in chapter five. While situational analysis is useful for gap identification in service provision, Foster (2002b) argues:

But situational analysis, as carried out by many external organisations is insufficient in areas that are complex, those that involve a high degree of community participation, or those that demand consideration of the cultural and religious views of beneficiaries and participants (Foster 2000b: 8)

Foster's argument above resonates with Wallace et al (1997) and Brohman (2001) as argued in chapter. This being the case, drawing from Salole (1991), Pantin (1989), Foster (2002b) and the above authors, this study argues that INGOs partnering with CBOs on OVC work should utilise contextual analysis because contexts are complex and heterogeneous spaces. As Foster (2002b: 8) argues understanding the context of a problem is much more difficult than understanding the situation. At this juncture, Pantin's (1989 cited in Foster 2002b) description of what the contextual analysis approach entails becomes crucial:

First, you go in there and listen to the people. You listen to them for periods varying from a year to three years before attempting any organised project. In fact when you start doing something with them, you never stop listening. You listen until you are tired of listening and then you listen some more. You listen until all the cultural arrogance has been drained from your mind and you really begin to hear the voice of the people as the important element in their own development and as far more important than the wonderful schemes and ideas that are ... (Pantin 1989 cited Foster 2002b: 8)

Given the above quote, it is clear that this approach is a demanding process. However by utilising situational analysis in complex and heterogeneous contexts, development actors "respond" to perceived "situations" in order to "fix" that which is considered dysfunctional, this way they

overlook the fact that ordinary people have considerably more skill and a much greater vested interest than outsiders in overcoming their own problems ... while lip service is paid to the strength of local cultures, existing practices may be disregarded for the sake of the project design (Foster 2000b: 8).

However, findings from this study have shown that the MS - Batsiranai partnership was to some extent as intensely involving as evidenced by high levels of flexibility, time, and participation. Furthermore, findings have shown how the partnership paid attention to the strengths of the local culture, knowledge and traditions through the inclusion of traditional leadership and tapping of the traditional value system. This, to some extent

evidences that MS' approach to development is not rigid but flexible and genuinely committed to people centred development. Against this backdrop Foster (2002a: 1909) aptly argues:

If external agencies are going to provide assistance for orphans and vulnerable children, they have to do it right, with the first rule being do no harm. There is less risk of harm when international organisations implement interventions, such as the drilling of boreholes ... that do not directly affect community coping systems ...

The implication here is that INGOs and other agencies seeking to partner with community groups should endeavour to understand the traditional value system as part of contextual analysis to prevent the undermining of community coping mechanisms. Foster's (2002a: 1909) rule thumb, i.e. "do no harm" is one which external partners such as INGOs must fervently endeavour to observe and the case of MS and Batsiranai has demonstrated to some extent that observing this rule thumb, however costly, is worth it. Central to this, is the need by external partners such as INGOs to recognise the limitations posed by the utilization of situational analysis for a complex issue as that of OVC.

Findings also showed that faith whose facets include compassion and love play a key role in motivating volunteers to support OVC, which supports other studies (Phiri et al 2000, Foster 2002b, TearFund 2004, Germann et al 2009). Faith, in the case of Christianity emerged as highly instrumental to volunteer motivation, a point confirmed by Foster (2002b) who notes that faith is indeed an integral, if not the most important part of a community's life. Under the Christian faith, believers are challenged to follow the leadership of Christ in identifying with the poor, sick and needy: "Religion that God our Father accepts as pure and faultless is this: to look after orphans and widows in their distress ..." (The Holy Bible, James 1 verse 27) While it is the case that Zimbabwe is predominantly a Christian nation hence the majority of BSD community members professing to be Christians, other religious such as Islam make similar calls. Faith therefore plays a crucial part in shaping community responses to OVC as it provides moral guidance on how community members should respond to those in need. While individual faith is neither tangible nor easily assessable, it can be argued that, Batsiranai volunteers demonstrated their faith through supporting OVC as commanded in the Christian scriptures:

What good is it, my brothers, if a man claims to have faith but has no deeds? ... Suppose a brother or a sister is without clothes and daily food. If one of you says to him, go, I wish you

well; keep warm and well fed, but does nothing about his physical needs, what good is it? ... faith by itself, if it is not accompanied by action, is dead ... (The Holy Bible James 2: 14)

Given the above scriptures, it is clear that one's faith can only be demonstrated by acts and in the light of this, the idea of community members proclaiming allegiance to any faith does not necessarily translate into acts of compassion towards children. It can only be hoped that it would be so. However, this brings to bear the potential role that faith leadership can play in shaping community responses to OVC, as they are in a position to both encourage and admonish their congregants in this endeavour. Indeed, literature (Foster 2002b, Chinouya et al 2004, Yates 2003) has shown that faith based organisations are positively responding to the HIV/ AIDs epidemic and OVC as they have credible leadership and existing structures which members can readily identify with. In a research study focusing on the work of The Anglican Diocese of Manicaland in Zimbabwe, Chinouya et al (2004) note how the church has been supporting OVC through its parishes. Foster (2000b) also cites the case of Malawi whereby Muslim Friday prayers are used to raise money which is used to support orphans, the sick and widows in the community through women's groups.

The case of Batsiranai has however demonstrated that non faith based community groups can respond to the crisis guided by dispersed faith in individual community members who may not necessarily belong to the same congregation, i.e. a community within a community. This study also showed that apart from faith, some volunteers felt bestowed with a gift of love and compassion which motivated them to support children. This aligns with the idea of "having a caring heart", which motivates acts of compassion (Foster 2002b: 18). This suggests that while faith is a stronger motivator, it is not the only source of motivation.

13.4.3.1 Volunteering: Social Obligation, Poverty and Non Payment

Findings from this study showed that there are tensions underlying the concepts of "volunteer" and "volunteering" mainly due to the presence of a moral obligation contract which partly explains the agent's commitment. Findings have shown that that Batsiranai volunteers are *selected* by other community members as people of high moral standards who are respected which is also the case in Swaziland where traditional leadership plays a key role in their selection (UNAIDS 2006) and Lesotho where traditional leadership has to approve (Manyeli 2007). Firstly, it is noteworthy that the word "volunteer" doesn't exist in Shona and Ndebele, the local languages, hence its usage

in its original Anglo Saxon form. Secondly, the contradictory undercurrents associated with the usage of “volunteer” makes the process of volunteering somewhat paradoxical as it is the case that: only he/ she that was perceived morally sound in the eyes of the community was elected for a role as demanding and though he/she might have initially felt unwilling he/she rose to being the elect because “when duty calls you answer”. Such language as used by volunteers suggested the presence of a social obligation contract operating within a moral framework guided by normative reasoning of what is right or wrong in the eyes of both the elect and electorate who are members of the BSD community. While there was no simple demarcation of right or wrong, volunteers appeared bound by a moral framework which is highly embedded in a religious, social, traditional and cultural construct. Such normative reasoning, within the BSD community, far from being private was rather public and dispersed, accompanied by what may be seen by outsiders as insignificant, non-material, trade offs i.e. recognition and respect from the wider community upon which volunteers’ sense of identity, belonging and morale partly hinge. This being the case, it can be suggested that volunteers could not easily deviate from the demands of this moral framework.

Thirdly, the notion of “volunteering” emerged as problematic, in light of the connotations of free choice and unencumbered autonomy which it bears in common parlance, which may itself be embedded in a specific but unstated parochial cultural ensemble. “Volunteering” is derived from the root, “voluntary”, which when applied to an act is “performed or done of one’s own free will, impulse, or choice; one not constrained, prompted, or suggested by another” (The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, Volume 2: 3600) and “Volunteer.... is a person who freely offers to do something ... a person who works for an organisation without being paid” (Concise Oxford English Dictionary 1999: 1606). Thus volunteering is not a requirement but rather discretionary and without pay. This being the case, findings from this study indicate that the specific cultural ensemble which prevails in BSD, finds “volunteering” embedded in collectively structured obligations where individual action is significantly constrained and shaped by the promptings of neighbours and where the absence of payment is puzzling. Notable here is that faith remains part and parcel of the fulfilment of these collectively structured obligations. Even though the concept of volunteering continues to evolve with changing times in the north (where young people or graduate students now routinely undertake voluntary work to gain work experience) its usage in the south for community members

as those in BSD clearly poses challenges due to lack of consideration for local contextual dynamics. Findings showed that from their perspective as local people called “volunteers”, they were aware that the original source of the notion typically refers to relatively privileged people economically (from the global north). Those “volunteers” can afford to do work without pay but nevertheless can have expenses paid for lunch and travel. This study has shown that none of this applies to the volunteers from the south except for working without pay. Their comments suggest this role and concept needs reviewing.

Furthermore, findings have shown that volunteers are people in dire need due to the prevalence of poverty, the AIDs epidemic and drought in the district. This resonates with the case of volunteers in Swaziland where the majority of them were poor people heavily impacted on by epidemic (UNAIDS 2006). This is central to the tensions described above given that volunteers in this situation are people in need, hence the call for an acceptable token. While other studies (UNAIDS 2006, Thurman et al 2007, CARE 2004) concur that volunteers involved in OVC initiatives need tokens to keep them motivated, the discussion does not proceed beyond this. It is however notable that some programmes already provide acceptable tokens, i.e. an initiative in Kenya supported by Pathfinder International provides US\$29 per month to volunteers to cover transportation costs in relation to household visits (Thurman et al 2007) which is in sharp contrast to a token of US\$0.40 per year given to Batsiranai volunteers. Against a backdrop of volunteers being the backbone of community initiatives, there is need to address this issue. In the case of Batsiranai, findings showed volunteers professing the desire to help children without a wage payment. In the main, the desire to help the children underpinned by a number of motivating factors rendered a wage payment “wrong” based on this desire and the CBOs constitution, in which community members stipulated wage payment for programme staff only. Of central importance is that while volunteers, exhibit a great deal of self reliance, this shouldn’t be used to deny them support. In this instance, not giving an acceptable token would give credence to the argument put forward by Collins and Rau (2000: 40) that in “too many instances, the rhetoric about [community] coping mechanisms has become an excuse for doing little or nothing to reduce pressures on communities” as stated in chapter 1. This is particularly the case because, this study has shown that real participation can be costly as volunteers lose valuable time to sustain their own families thereby giving credence to the concerns

that participation “at the most basic level, it may involve real or imputed financial losses due to the time commitments required for adequate participation” (Mansuri and Rao 2004: 11).

In the light of these participation challenges, development actors need to consider the implications of real participation. In the light of real participation being aligned with alternative ideas to development, it can be suggested that as a growing body of knowledge, its horizons can be broadened by further illuminating the impacts of real participation for the rural poor. This study has established that high levels of participation are crucial for programme ownership, albeit being costly on community members. While giving tokens is desirable, there is a strong need to balance this need and self reliance in communities, hence the Congolese proverb, “when you call for rain, remember to protect the banana trees” (Foster 2005a: 19). On this analogy, the banana trees are the traditional cultural capital and value systems which underpin community coping mechanisms. Furthermore, the token given should resonate with the idea that

.....those who herd cattle they also drink the milk of the cows... Volunteer2 FGD M
...when you make porridge for the child you also take a mouthful.... Volunteer R

In the main, the idea is that one can have a small helping in a way that is negligible to the whole, i.e. taking a mouthful of porridge out of a bowl does not mean the child is left to starve, in the same way milking a cow while out herding cattle does not mean there is nothing left to milk. The acceptable token needs to be viewed in this light.

Findings also showed that volunteers have other requirements such as uniforms for visibility, shoes and bicycles to make long distance home visits easier. The long distances covered by volunteers for home visits and workshops, on foot and at times barefooted emerged as an area of concern given the sparsely populated and widely spaced landscape of BSD, with its harsh terrain. This was particularly the case due to the demand this placed on time as well as the communication problems this caused for committee members. These findings question the idea that CBOs cut costs due to proximity to the beneficiary (Foster 20002a, Opare 2007). This isn't to say there are no savings to be made, but that contexts differ and as such require varying resource allocations. In this instance, making bicycles available to volunteers would motivate them as well as make their long journeys bearable, while still keeping costs relatively

minimal. This would also mitigate the participation costs discussed above. Having shown in this study that volunteers are chosen by community members as respectable individuals of high morals, the desire for uniforms for visibility should not be surprising as this potentially reinforces a sense of respect from others.

Findings also suggest that volunteers desire to be supported with funerals in the event of their own death. While this may sound strange, research studies (Steinberg et al 2002 Nyambedha et al 2003; Drew et al 1997, Foster 2005a,) have shown, that in sub Saharan Africa, death is considered one of the most important rites of life. This being the case, in the event of death, one hopes for a decent farewell. This implies that those left behind in the deceased's circle of relationships should affirm their allegiances and respect by availing them a befitting burial. Sub Saharan African funerals, are underpinned by solidarity, reciprocity and respect, the same elements which this study has shown to underpin community coping mechanisms. Against this backdrop not making contributions to a volunteer's burial who may have dedicated years of their life to OVC work is considered out of context. However, this isn't in any way to suggest that a programme should make a sizeable contribution, but rather a gesture in the spirit of solidarity and reciprocity against a background of the need to show consideration for local traditions and value systems. In line with this, it is notable that, in Zimbabwe, when an individual dies, the deceased's formal place of employment usually makes a token contribution. This calls for flexibility. The notion of alternative ideas to development potentially sits well with this as part of listening to voices from below. Such a contribution may also further motivate volunteers.

Based on these findings, it can be suggested that volunteers have needs which are often undocumented and poorly understood by policy makers and external agencies such as INGOs. This is partly because of a lack of volunteer voices in literature which is a great cause of concern given that they are the anchor of community responses. Furthermore, global policy on OVC show with very little appreciation of the fact that communities render their support via poor community members, i.e. volunteers. This is tantamount to the poor supporting the destitute in contexts without a welfare system for the poor. This is an area which calls for further research. On another note, the use of volunteers in rural development raises further questions regarding the transformation of rural communities using volunteers in contexts without a welfare system. Non wage payment is likely to

keep one on a temporary basis and if they get paid employment they are likely to leave. Those who aspire to take formal employment later on are not likely to participate as the time they spent in volunteering may not be counted as experience for a formal job application. Furthermore, those in paid employment have no or less time to volunteer which potentially leads to the idea that volunteering for rural community activities is for the unemployed.

13.5 Overwhelming Needs, Talking with the Children and Listening

While findings from this study also suggest that the support given to children is having a positive impact on their lives, the programme had other challenges as well as not being able to meet needs on the ground. One of the challenges pertained to the long distance which young children had to cover to collect their food due to the distribution points being far placed. In essence, this issue ties in with the concern about proximity discussed in the previous section, because of the widely spaced geographical coverage of BSD. Considering that children were reported to use part of the food as payment for transportation costs, this is an issue which needs to be reviewed depending on the resources that are available. Furthermore, findings also indicated that the programme was overwhelmed particularly with regards to school fees payment. The overwhelming need for school fees by children resonates with literature (Whiteside 2002 Nyambedha et al 2003, Ayeiko 1997, Foster et al 1997a, UNDP 2007, Ntozi 1997, Bicego et al 2003, Bourdillon 2000). Given that children are the future, their right to education must be upheld. In this OVC debate, this calls for more resources to be channelled to their education, not only by Batsiranai and her partners, but government included. The GOZ, as discussed in chapter 1, provides, through the NPA for OVC (2003), a basic education assistance grant to OVC. This being case, the provision of school fees by Batsiranai is supposed to complement government assistance. However, given that Batsiranai has a long list of children waiting to receive this type of support, this raises questions about the availability of the government's provision. Against a backdrop of government depleted revenues as highlighted in chapter 1, this provision may be poorly resourced. In addition to the above, findings indicated that children lacked school uniforms, books and pens which the community (the children included) was attempting to meet through communal gardens and *Zunde ramambo*. The involvement of children in these endeavours is important as it encourages independence as well as learning new skills, i.e. farming.

The provision of external psychosocial support to children emerged in this study as extremely limited due to financial resources. The extreme resource limitation unravelled in this study can be linked to the idea that donors are not keen to fund “soft” issues in development in comparison to “hard” issues like education as suggested by findings from a London Metropolitan University MRES dissertation by the author (Madziva 2004). While children indicated not having “real talk, talk” with volunteers in reference to psychosocial support, they indicated having this with friends. In line with this, findings also indicated that Batsiranai trains children for peer counselling which suggests that, the programme is aware that children often find it hard to talk to adults. However, the indication that children desired to have “real talk, talk” with volunteers, but not having this delivered suggests there is room for improvement with regards to support rendered by volunteers. This issue to some extent aligns with an example cited by Foster (2002b) whereby children were asked to act out role plays of what they perceived as good as opposed to bad visits by volunteers and children indicated that at times they were hardly greeted or spoken to during such visits.

Findings also indicated that children felt some of their needs were ignored. This seemed to suggest implicit priorities. Furthermore, findings showed that children interviewed were not happy with some volunteers whom they accused of giving clothes to their own children. While this raises questions regarding the faithfulness of those few volunteers, this isn't surprising given that its service delivery for the very poor is via the poor. An acceptable token may help to mitigate this. While findings also suggest that clothing and seed donations are not always enough for all the children, the process of allocation was not perceived to be transparent by the children. This is particularly important as (Foster et al 1997) notes that children's voices can be difficult to hear in the midst of already overwhelming agendas. Listening to the children in this instance can provide us with helpful insights.

Findings also indicated that even though stigma has decreased, children experienced stigma from other children within school settings and community. The idea of children stigmatizing other children resonates with literature (Foster et al 1997a) as discussed in chapter three. In this, children faced stigma due to orphanhood status (paternal), orphanhood in general and on the basis of receiving support from Batsiranai. Given that the stigma is coming from other children, it can be suggested that while older community members are likely to attend, or have attended OVC awareness campaigns and other

community gatherings held by Batsiranai, children do not or would have not. In the light of this, it can be suggested that children in the larger community need to be sensitized regarding other children's vulnerability and school settings are potentially suitable to deliver this.

13.6 Harnessing *Nhimbe* as a Traditional Cultural Resource

Findings from this study suggest that *nhimbe* is a partnership practiced at local levels within Shona traditional societies and also can make culturally competent contribution to partnerships in development aid. It's a traditional cultural resource which recognizes individual and/or house hold limitations in carrying out specific tasks, such that they call upon community members to come to their aid. While findings indicate that *nhimbés* were held for the completion of a variety of tasks, the majority were food security related. The notion of *nhimbe* explored in this study resonates with a description given by Kajese (1987) who first highlighted this at a symposium aimed at generating *An Agenda of Future Tasks for International and Indigenous NGOs: Views from the South*:

... the concept expressing the nature of the partnership between northern NGOs and their Southern counterparts is that embodied in the idea of the Shona Nhimbe. Nhimbe is a partnership between the owner of the field and the friends and neighbours who have come to help. (Kajese 1987: 80)

Given that *nhimbe* dates back to traditional Shona societies, this implies that the arrival of development partnerships in Zimbabwe is not necessarily a new phenomenon. The implication here is, as also suggested by findings, that Shona traditional societies have long understood partnership working through *nhimbe* involving interdependence and interconnection.

In terms of the *nhimbe* procedures, findings from this study suggest that the host maintained the position of agenda setting irrespective of his own limitations, and the size and nature of contributions made by community members to the task at hand. This resonates with Kaseje who notes:

The nature of the partnership is clearly such that there is a recognized, de facto as well as de jure owner of the field, however limited his resources and skills... and regardless of the vast resources brought to bear in his aid by friends and relatives... I never recall hearing ... that [on the day of Nhimbe] some big families with lots of resources- cattle, ploughs ... came and took over the direction of the work, deciding what needed to be done, by whom, when ... (Kajese 1987:80)

The fact that community members made contributions towards the task set by the host suggests that they respected the idea that the *nhimbe* host knew his own needs best. Against this backdrop of agenda setting being the privilege of the *nhimbe* host, it was also suggested that the notion of agenda setting under *nhimbe* can be harnessed for development partnerships i.e. INGOs should understand that communities know best. In terms of OVC, community groups know and understand the needs and predicaments of children best in the same way the *nhimbe* host knows best about the task at hand which requires support. Findings suggest that it was unheard of for community members to attend a *nhimbe* and impose a task on the host, for to do so would have evidenced disrespect. Furthermore, the amount of contributions made by community members towards a *nhimbe* did not entitle them to change the direction of the work.

In the same vein, this study has shown through “women in construction” that donors can overtake development agendas, when they earmark funding for certain agendas which are divorced from the cultural meanings that make sense to people on the ground. This is in sharp contrast to *nhimbe* as described above. Southern organisations may align themselves with externally imposed agendas for the sake of organisational survival, even when acutely aware of their inappropriateness. This concurs with the view that donor assessments can cause communities “to think in terms of how they need to position themselves to receive external aid rather than how they can best solve their own problems and obtain the resources to implement those solutions” (Foster 2002a: 1909).

This study also showed that while receiving contributions from community members was pivotal for task completion, the host had to demonstrate their own contributions as a way of countering dependency. As Kajese notes:

...I never recall hearing ... that when the day set for the cooperative work [*Nhimbe*] no one showed up, the family decided to do nothing until other people came to work with it (Kajese 1987:80)

The idea of a host waiting on others before venturing on the tasks ahead would have evidenced lack of ownership as well as laziness and dependency. Apart from these elements being undesirable, being thought as such invited lack of respect, in a society where respect is of central importance to one’s being “*ubuntu/hunhu*” as explained by Chinouya et al (2003) in relation to African communities living in England. These locutions refer to a moral universe in which the individual refers to her/himself as constituted in relation to others rather than being self-subsistent in an atomistic sense. The

idea of making contributions also emerged in this study as key to development aid partnerships whereby INGOs seek to establish the nature and extent of contributions CBOs propose to bring to the partnerships. Similarities can therefore be drawn between *nhimbe* and OVC work with crucial lessons for INGO – CBO partnerships. Firstly, it must be understood that in most of the cases, community members are not just waiting for external contributions, but are already doing something, in their limited capacity just as the host family ventures into field hoping that others will come to help. Literature (Foster 2002a, Foster 2002b, Phiri et al 2000, UNAIDS 2006) and this study showed in the case of Batsiranai that there were community members already responding to children's needs without external support. However, it was also evident that without external support, Batsiranai's response would have made only a limited difference to children's lives. Thus, in seeking external support, community groups such as Batsiranai recognize their limitations in meeting children needs in the same way a household seeks support from community members to complete a task through *nhimbe*. And as in development partnerships, such limitations are mitigated by external contributions from INGOs. Foster clearly articulates community groups' recognition of limitation:

Local people have committed themselves and their resources to helping orphans. Many are now looking for additional sources of support. *Water, water everywhere, nor any drop to drink* is the cry of many groups desperately looking for small injections of capital to help expand their struggling initiatives (Foster 2002a: 1909)

The idea of interdependence emerged as central to *nhimbe* as well as partnership working in the case of MS and Batsiranai. Within *nhimbe*, it was highlighted that traditional Shona societies were highly dependent on each other, particularly due to the absence of a cash economy. In terms of partnership working, this study showed that MS had limited capacity hence its dependency on the CBO for service delivery, i.e. interdependence between the two. However, the scarcity of partnerships between INGOs and CBOs suggests that the former don't always perceive the importance that the latter can play in OVC work.

Furthermore, findings suggest within the *nhimbe* process, there was division of labour whereby different levels of expertise were acknowledged and utilised. Thus *nhimbe* hosts were aware of their skills' limitation as well the expertise of others. Similarly, findings from this study showed that at Batsiranai's inception the key original task force members were aware that, there were others outside of their community who possessed "more knowledge" i.e. expertise than they did. Crucially the notion of others with "more

knowledge” resonates with the varying levels of expertise acknowledged under *nhimbe*. On another hand, “more knowledge” does not suggest that community members don’t know anything but rather have different knowledge, which resonates with *nhimbe* where “everyone knows something” . This being the case the others, i.e. external actors with “more knowledge” need to also seek to explore and understand community knowledge, before imparting their own. This way, community knowledge can be incorporated into programmes as part of utilizing alternative ideas to development.

Findings showed that the underlying reasons behind community members’ commitment to *nhimbe* were linked to the presence of solidarity, respect, trust, allegiance and reciprocity. Community members attended other people’s *nhimbés* believing and trusting that should they host one in the future, others would come to their aid. Also linked to this, community members pay their allegiance to people they trust and respect. In this, people felt bound by a sense of obligation and respect to attend other people’s *nhimbés* as well as rendering support at funerals. In contemporary times, *nhimbe* elements emerged as still applicable to funerals as highlighted in the case of *chema* and *touching hands*, among other contributions such as grave digging. Social obligation emerged as underpinning the act of volunteering in relation to OVC. The fact that social obligation underpinned *nhimbe*, funerals as well as volunteering, suggests that it is an important traditional value system within Shona societies which can be harnessed for development partnership along with other forms of traditional cultural capital. Findings have also shown that *nhimbe* elements, i.e. solidarity, trust, reciprocity and respect and allegiance have been incorporated into modern day living in terms of burial societies, rotation clubs and savings clubs which enable communities to cope with difficult situations (see Foster 2002b, Foster 2005b 2005, Hamutyinei and Plangger 1987, Mukuyogo and Williams 1991). This suggests the resilience of traditional value systems in a changing world of globalization, rural to urban and trans-national migration.

In conclusion, findings relating to *nhimbe* have shown that there were advantages with people bringing more resources in support of the host, enabling families to achieve food security. Furthermore *nhimbe* nurtured a spirit of community unity and people shared information and networked. In the same vein, the partnership between MS – Batsiranai has demonstrated that sharing and networking through dialogue was crucial to effectiveness. Findings also suggested that people who attended *nhimbés* learnt new

skills, which is also the case in partnership working partly through institutional development and interaction. Under the rubric of alternative ideas to development *nhimbe* elements can be tapped for partnership working in international development as suggested by those interviewed in this study. As a starting point, a community group can position itself within *nhimbe* as a host with an identified agenda. The elements of trust, respect, solidarity, allegiance and reciprocity can be discussed as potential underpinnings to the expected partnership. This isn't however to suggest the perspectives of external agencies such as INGOs are ignored, but rather also brought into discussion alongside those of the local thereby promoting an appropriate fusion that is understood by both. The harnessing of *Nhimbe* in development partnerships can be built upon the idea of "recognition" as put forward by Taylor 1992 (in Appadurai 2004) in his contribution to the ethical debates on multiculturalism. As Appadurai (2004) notes, Taylor's work showed the existence of "politics of recognition" where there was "an ethical obligation to extend a sort of moral cognizance to persons who shared world views deeply different from our own" (Appadurai 2004: 62). As Appadurai further explains, this view point gives tolerance political legitimacy thereby making "intercultural understanding an obligation, not an option and recognises the independent value of dignity in cross-cultural transactions apart from issues of redistribution." This being the case, this study argues that external agencies such as INGOs have an ethical obligation to take cognisance of southern cultural practices such as *nhimbe* in development partnerships. However, the honours is upon southern organisations such as CBOs, and in the case of Zimbabwean ones to flag up to their northern counterparts what *nhimbe* is about and why it's good practice. In the words of Appadurai,

The idea is that the poor need to claim, capture, refine and define certain ways [*Nhimbe*] of doing things [partnership working] in spaces they already control and then use these to show donors [INGOs]... that these *precedents* are good ones and encourage other actors to invest further in them. This is a politics of *show and tell*, but it is also a politics of *do first and talk later*. (2004: 75)

However, there is also room INGOs such as MS, which this study has shown to embrace alternative ideas of development to *show and tell* donors how risk taking and adopting a long term perspective to development partnerships can lay the foundations for a development that is apt for contexts. Ms therefore now needs to do more *talking* with donors, given that its approach shows results.

However, *nhimbe* emerged as having a number disadvantages, i.e. firstly, quality of work maybe compromised due to mass production as well as the sensitivity associated with monitoring community members. This calls for suitable accountability and monitoring systems to be identified and utilised which take into account the presence of *nhimbe* and underpinning elements whereby the community member's accountability is structured within a collective sense of social and moral obligation. This being the case, *nhimbe* can play a dual role, i.e. CBOS in rural Zimbabwe flagging it up as the guiding framework, for discussion and fusion with external. In addition external agencies can seek to improve accountability mechanisms in partnerships utilizing it as an initial yardstick for assessing the potential of community given that it promotes socially acceptable behaviour.. Non-shona communities may have similar forms of traditional cultural capital to *nhimbe*. This demands time and resources, to unravel and harness. This study has shown that *nhimbe* does not necessarily benefit those at the margins of society. As Foster (2005b) notes, those deemed responsible for the misfortune of others, are neither respected nor supported but ostracised by community members. This is the inverse of *nhimbe* 's promotion of "acceptable behaviour" within the community. In harnessing *nhimbe*, attention must be given to those marginalised by their communities. This requires cultural sensitivity.

While this study has shown that the notion of reciprocity underpins *nhimbe* it can be problematic in applying to development aid partnerships because it is often simplistically perceived that the south has nothing to reciprocate to the north. This is because partnership working is largely dominated by northern perspectives. The notion of reciprocity within development aid from south to north calls for further research. In this, Kajese's (1987: 80) argument should be considered:

Do our northern counterparts see us in any reciprocating their *generous* donations of money and know how? What do they take back in their purses after they have *emptied them* in the south? Aside from the sentimentality of our simple lifestyles, conditioned in some cases by our poverty ignorance, in what sense do northern organisations really regard their southern counter parts as donors too. We do not have to exchange identical gifts, pound for pound, but we do have to exchange gifts and sincerely accept those gifts.

This study argues that the utilization of alternative ideas to development, i.e. incorporating resources such as *nhimbe* can potentially allow for new sources of insight, understanding and creative solutions to development (Brohman 2001). The case of MS has shown that INGOs can play a role championing alternative ideas to development by supporting CBOs in a way which allows them to nurture community agency as well as

harness local and traditional cultural resources which underpin their coping mechanisms. Kajese (1987: 83) argues, what is required in the south, "... is the adaptation of some of the western concepts and development of new principles which take into account of the cultural setting of the indigenous NGOs (and CBOs)". In this, harnessing *nhimbe* can be a potential starting point while bearing in Appadurai's (2004: 59) words that, "it is in culture that ideas of the future, as much as those about the past, are embedded and nurtured". Having discussed this study's findings the next chapter presents the conclusion and recommendations.

Chapter 14

Study Conclusion and Recommendations

14.1 Introduction

This study set out to examine the impact of MS on Batsiranai's response to OVC in Buhera South District, Zimbabwe, to go some way to remedying the case study deficit on partnerships in practice and analysed *nhimbe*, a Shona traditional cultural resource with the aim of demonstrating the practical implications of the study within the Zimbabwean context. By exploring the Batsiranai- MS partnership and *nhimbe* this thesis aimed to examine whether and how partnership working between CBOs and INGOs on OVC support in rural Zimbabwe is possible, and how cultural resources can be harnessed for such partnerships through addressing the following questions:

- Is there such thing as a “community” in rural Zimbabwe and if so, what is the position of “community” as a potential service provider to OVC needs?
- What is the nature of CBOs and to what extent are CBOs, as part of “community”, suitable conduits for rendering OVC support given the “pro community” discourses amongst international policy makers and donors?
- How can INGOs, as part of the global community support rural based CBOs' OVC initiatives in the global south under the partnership framework?
- What are the practical issues involved in INGOs rendering support to CBOs on OVC responses under partnership working
- How does the larger contextual environment, i.e. social, economic, political, and cultural, impact on the formation and survival of such partnership relations?
- How can indigenous cultural resources be harnessed in development aid partnerships in respect of OVC?

14.2 Study Conclusion

This thesis has shown that an INGO and CBO partnership on OVC is possible when power relations are acknowledged and recognized as inherently problematic. In this the partnership was unravelled as a relationship which is not static, but develops over time. Thus while a partnership can be fraught with many challenges from its inception, given sufficient time, resources and commitment it can develop to a desirable one which can

reach phasing out stage. However, as the thesis has shown, the positive development of a partnership is partly linked to the presence of interdependence, whereby each organisation realizes and acknowledges the necessity of the relationship. In the absence of interdependence, the relationship is likely to be ineffective. The study has also shown that power relations remain problematic given an INGO's privileged position in setting the terms of reference and engagement as well as resource transfer. In this, the concept of partnership emerged as hiding unequal relationships. However, as the case of MS has shown, an INGO's limited capacity for programme implementation can lessen the extent of this privileged position through interdependence. In the same vein, this study has shown that a CBO can make vital contributions to the partnership relationship, which dispels the idea that southern organisations simply receive. As the case of Batsiranai has demonstrated, while such contributions are not of monetary value, they are nevertheless crucial to the relationship achieving its objectives. This study has also shown that within a partnership relationship, a CBO can identify its own agenda and stick to it which is contrary to the idea that donors set the priorities and agendas for local organisations. This study noted the presence of shared objectives, processes of negotiation, techniques of inclusion, cooperation through dialogue as well as the presence of trust as enabling factors. While trust emerged as crucial for the success of the partnership, this study has also shown that it took a long time to develop and its development hinged on the continuity and commitment of human relationships between MS and Batsiranai, as well as community members. This implies that in the absence of staff continuity, trust building is compromised which consequently negatively impacts on the partnership relationship and its objectives. Furthermore this study has shown that trust building requirements such as time and resources are at odds with the management project structure used by most INGOs. Central to the success of the MS- Batsiranai partnership, this study has also shown the exceptional approach of MS to development, i.e. its emphasis on the partnership approach and people centered development as evidenced by its flexibility and risk taking. Against this backdrop, it was suggested INGOs should be more prepared to experiment and engage in risk taking.

As this study has shown through the case of MS and Batsiranai, partnership working can be beneficial in a number of practical ways. MS supported Batsiranai with establishing the nature and extent of the challenge, financial resources, setting up structures within, official registration, office space, acquiring office requisites among other requirements.

Crucially MS supported Batsiranai with its institutional development. In the main, this study has shown that rendering institutional development support to CBOs is pivotal to its effectiveness in development activities (Brinkerhoff 2002, Kamara and Kargo 1999, Schmale 1993, Narayan et al 2000). The case of Batsiranai has indeed demonstrated that community initiatives on OVC need external support to strengthen their responses to OVC as often argued in literature (The Alliance and SAT 2004, The Alliance and FACT 2001, Tear Fund 2004, Care 2004, Foster 2005, Foster 20002b, Foster 2002a). Without external support, Batsiranai's response to OVC in BSD would have remained marginal. In this, due recognition must be paid to the fact that MS enabled Batsiranai to access other external funding partners through support for institutional development. In the main, this study has shown that INGOs are better placed to support CBOs to respond to OVC due to their strengths in resource mobilization, communication and expertise thereby mitigating latter's weakness, i.e. poor institutional development and lack of financial resources. With regards to the position of donors, this study has argued that they do not necessarily perceive their role as including supporting institutional development rather than just financial provision. However, in rendering support, it was noted that INGO must take cognizance of the fact that community initiatives have infrastructural needs.

The case study has shown that partnership working can enhance cost effectiveness given the low operational costs due to volunteer use and proximity to beneficiary. This included enhanced effectiveness and efficiency in development work, some of the underlying reasons for partnership working (Brinkerhoff 2002). Furthermore, the presence of trust in the partnership reduced programme costs (Borzel 1998). It was noted that partnerships should endeavour to develop trust as it allows a local organisation to develop, strengthens the partnership as well as reduces costs in the long run. However, the study also showed that, when an INGO is flexible, trust can be abused by partner organisations in a number of ways including not disclosing vital information about other funders with serious implications for the partnership relationship.

This study has also shown that partnerships face many other challenges from within the relationship and the larger external environment, e.g. the partnership required a lengthy period of time to establish trust. While this is at odds with the project approach, this study has shown that long term funding and continuous support can lead to sustainable responses to OVC, against a backdrop of the HIV epidemic being a long term

development cause, which equally requires long term financial commitments (Foster 2005). This called for flexibility within partnerships. In line with this, this study has shown how the project approach (as used by some of Batsiranai's external partners) entails upwards accountability to donors rather than downward accountability to programme recipients (Foster 2005, Brehm 2004, Hately and Malhotra 1996, Mawdsley 2002, Eriksson Baas 2005) who, in this case, include children and their families. In line with this, the case of Batsiranai has demonstrated that some partners can fail to disburse funds on time (Foster 2005) and yet still demand accountability reports on original time scales, which further evidenced lack of flexibility as well as downward accountability. This being the case, donors and INGOs need to be aware that in the long run, their lack of flexibility affects the effectiveness of programmes. While this study has shown that MS' accountability was problematically skewed towards Denmark, the presence of interdependence as well as the evidence of Batsiranai sticking to its original agenda to some extent implied a degree of multi-directional accountability. However, in the main, the accountability challenges shown in this study indicate that partnership working is fraught with power tensions. While effective partnerships, as in the case of MS – Batsiranai can acknowledge and attempt to mitigate those power tensions, they remain inherently problematic. Findings have also shown that while diversified funding is desirable because it partly enables a CBO to be sustainable (SAT and the Alliance 2004, Michael 2004), this creates a web of multiple accountabilities, which tend to increase staff work load. However, this study has also noted that Zimbabwe's OVC basket funding whereby a number of donors pool resources into a single pot for local organisations as implementing partners, can potentially mitigate problems of multiple accountabilities, given that partners have to report to UNICEF as the fund manager. While positively innovative, this initiative further highlights the role that INGOs can play as the ability of a CBO's ability to access such funds hinges on sound institutional development. While Batsiranai has multiple partners, they were disbursing amounts of funds which were considered too small to make any impact to . This was however potentially attributed to the scarcity of donors on the ground which implied that remaining donors were overwhelmed with needs. That aside, the issue of donors being under pressure to appear in tune with global policy on partnerships was also identified as a possible rationale underlying this.

This study also showed that Batsiranai's dependency on external funding was a threat to its sustainability (Noguerira 1987, Michael 2004) against a backdrop of the country's fragile socio economic and political context whereby neither the state nor private enterprises can support community responses to OVC. While Batsiranai's dependency on external resources did not sway it from its original agenda, this study showed the opposite is often the case (Lawson 2000, Michael 2004). In the main, ill informed donor agendas lead to poor development outcomes as local organisations become more opportunist. Batsiranai's ability to stick to its agenda was potentially attributed to resilience and community participation which potentially guarded against imposition of external agendas (Michael 2004). Findings however showed that external dependency had implications for Batsiranai's capacity, i.e. it could only deliver as much support based on resources availed by donors. Batsiranai was acutely aware of its dependency hence the wish to engage in income generating activities which donors were not keen to capitalise. This study has argued that Batsiranai needs to look into generating revenues from other sources, i.e. the private sector and diaspora communities which requires further research. This study has also shown that, MS is dependent on the Danish government which is a general weakness of most INGOs. While this maybe the case, this study has shown that the influence of the Danish government on MS (and other Danish NGOs) has been positive as it encourages partnership working with southern organisations as well as building their capacity. Against this finding, northern government influence needs to be critically assessed, as some influence may actually be more positive than negative. However, being acutely aware of its dependency on the Danish government, this study has indicated that MS has started to seek alternative sources of funding. Most crucial to note here is that in late 2008, MS sought an association¹ with Action Aid (formed in 1972 in UK) in order to strengthen its international policy and advocacy efforts and development activities. Today, MS is a member of Action Aid International. As a member of ActionAid International, MS hopes to reach a much wider scope of the poorest in the world to support long-term development efforts. However, in the light of this study, the field work had already been completed when this association came to light. This being the case, the implications of these changes on MS remain unknown.

¹ see <http://www.actionaid.dk/sw121951.asp>

This study has shown that advocacy and lobbying issues were not a priority for Batsiranai against a backdrop of a fragile political environment underpinned by past and present state intimidation and violence (Moyo 1993). Batsiranai's reluctance was at odds with MS' political approach which guides partnerships with southern organisations. In the main, while Batsiranai and other groups (The Alliance and FACT 2001, Michael 2004)) adopted this stance, this study has argued that there is a clear need for local organisations to fully engage in political debates which pertain to their development activities (Michael 2004, Moyo 1992) as it is the only way to effectively deliver long lasting change. Development actors have an important role in facilitating awakening the consciousness of local people to confront the root causes of poverty as opposed to the symptoms. Batsiranai's reluctance to engage in advocacy was judged to have negative policy implications national and globally. Nationally, this posed a risk of state disconnection with marginalised communities' policy wise, as well as poor accountability. This study has shown that the criticism often laid on INGOs for being disconnected from local communities and their consequent dominance in international advocacy networks is simplistic, as it does not take into consideration the challenging contextual climates often confronting southern organisations. However, MS' adoption of the partnership approach with southern organisations was noted to be a starting point to its legitimacy to speak on behalf of and with the south.

It was argued that the call for engagement with advocacy work demands further CBO capacity building as well as awareness and consciousness raising in order to overcome the "immediate concern" mindset. In this, it was noted that INGOs have a crucial role to play with the state in terms of opening up the political realm

Through the case of MS and Batsiranai, this study has shown that the contextual environment in Zimbabwe militated against partnership working through unfavourable legislation, i.e. NGO bill which resulted in less donor funding availability. In the main, these findings suggest that the legislative environment has negative implications for partnership working and due consideration should be paid to this is an area overlooked in the literature which tends to focus on the immediate partnership relationship. In this, due recognition must be paid to the role of the state in terms of creating an enabling environment through legislation as well as positively supporting partnerships. Findings have shown that the general socio economic environment prevailing in Zimbabwe militated against partnership working in respect of unsound monetary and fiscal policies.

The case of Irish Aid and Batsiranai where the relationship ended due to partnership funds disappearing in a bank closure raised questions about the ability of INGOs and donors to identify complexities in fragile operational spaces and appreciate them as part of risk analysis. In addition, this study also showed that the inflated official pegging of the local currency and hyperinflation was costly to development programmes and made planning extremely difficult as programme budgets had to be constantly reviewed. While this study showed that MS faced immigration challenges, the organisation carried on supporting its local partners thereby suggesting resilience and commitment. Findings have shown that it took more than five years for Batsiranai to be officially registered with the government. While MS was flexible, in working with a non registered CBO, the failure by INGOs' international partners to be flexible in this instance could leave CBOs being caught up between a rock and a hard place. The contextual challenges presented in this study, were noted to be the responsibility of the state to address via sound policy formulation and implementation.

This has shown the presence of a community as identified and experienced by local residents and CBO staff in BSD against a backdrop of the existence of "community" being under dispute. While this study showed that lack of material wealth limited the community's response to OVC, this did not mitigate against its existence and experience. This was at odds with the idea put forward by Barnett and Whiteside (2002) that poor people may not be communities. In line with this, this study showed that Batsiranai's identify, as a CBO, was grounded in the community. Against this backdrop, it was put forward that the existence of a community as identified and experienced by its members is key to its potential to addressing OVC challenges. The study also showed that there was a strong sense of programme ownership by community members, i.e. Batsiranai volunteers which was attributed to the CBO's initiation being grounded in the community as well MS' people centered development approach. This study has also shown that local residents did not always perceive the OVC challenge as theirs to deal with due to tearing apart of the social and moral fabric by colonialism. The return to OVC community ownership was partly attributed to the employment of traditional values, given the use of *zunde ramambo* as well as awareness raising of by Batsiranai using indigenous films about orphanhood and widowhood. The implication for similar awareness raising is that they should engage with local tradition, cultural and social constructs to make the desired impact. The use of *Zunde ramambo* with traditional leadership support alongside the

setting up of community gardens to help children as shown in this study evidenced self reliance which is important for countering external dependency. In the light of this, it was put forward that INGO – CBO partnerships on OVC take cognizance of traditional practices and knowledge as part of embracing alternative ideas of development. Furthermore, this study has shown that traditional leadership can be a key to the success of community initiatives on OVC (Phiri et al 2000, UNAIDS 2006). Given that this study has shown that traditional leadership was key to the revival of positive traditional practices as well as Batsiranai's success, it was proposed that it should be harnessed as traditional cultural capital in OVC community initiatives while being cautious about its potential to be quoted in political controversies which can derail programme objectivity. However, this study has also shown that Batsiranai played a balancing act on inclusion and exclusion by selecting traditional leadership to be patron of the programme while excluding it from decision making structures, alongside government representatives. Overall, this implies that community initiatives on OVC operating in such environments may have to partake in similar balancing acts.

This study has also shown how Batsiranai adopted a participatory approach whereby community members engaged in higher levels of decision making which potentially resulted in community ownership. It was put forward that communities should inform OVC development agendas through participation. In this, MS was credited for enabling this process through its belief in people centered development, which gave room for flexibility in contrast to the rigidity of most INGOs as guided by the management project structure. In line with the presence of participatory structures, this study also showed the inclusion of children in the CBO structures as well as their involvement in programme activities. This was commended as it potentially enabled children's voices to be heard. While Batsiranai's decision making structures were highly participatory thereby potentially leading to its overall success there were challenges to these structures, such as an ineffective management board and lack of commitment from some committee members. While board members were trained as part of capacity building, it was argued that they are as good as they are because of the legitimacy which derives from election by other community members. Against this backdrop, it was proposed that that community members should be educated and sensitized about the importance of their electoral choices in similar community initiatives. Nevertheless, the example of board problems hereby summarized, suggests that participation is neither easy nor

straightforward. However, setting up participatory structures remains important as a starting point to delivering participation. Questions can always be asked about effectiveness and ways to improve.

This study has also shown how Batsiranai's linkages with local government ministries, i.e. Departments of Health and Social Welfare were strengthening rather than not. While government linkages are hereby summarised as generally beneficial (Michael 2004) and more so for OVC community initiatives (Thurman et al 2007, Phiri et al 2000, UNAIDS 2006), government linkages should not be allowed to become directive as this leads to the loss of community control (Esman and Uphoff 1984). The case of Batsiranai showed that, leaving government representatives out of decision making structures can be an appropriate way of managing these linkages while deriving benefits. Similar initiatives may need to play this balancing act as well.

This study also showed that the presence of strong, dynamic and continuous leadership contributed to Batsiranai's success in spite of the criticism that, such leadership can lead to the cooption of the vulnerable through gate keeping (Brinkerhoff 2002) and organisational stagnation (Khan 2007). Continuity was credited with enabling trust to be built between the leadership, community members, other staff and funding partners. Furthermore, Batsiranai had a low staff turnover rate despite its remote and harsh terrain location which was attributed to the existence of good working relations between staff and community members, as well as funding partners. This further suggested that human relations and their continuity are key to the nurturing of trust, at all levels of the partnership including CBO internal structures. This study has also shown how staff at Batsiranai embraced learning, partly via institutional development delivered by MS which contributed to the CBO's progress in terms of forging new partnership relations and other useful links. In this the high levels of education among staff, and literacy levels were at odds with the low levels often believed to be inherent in rural communities (Brinkerhoff 2002, Datta 2007, Khan 2007, Owens 1993, Blackett-Dibinga and Sussman 2008). Against this backdrop, it was noted that poor staff retention, poorly educated staff and illiterate volunteers can negatively impact on community initiatives on OVC, albeit in varying ways.

In line with other studies (Phiri et al 2000, Foster 2000a, Foster 1996, Thurman et al 2007, Care 2004, Tear Fund 2004, The Alliance and SAT 2004, Germann et al 2009, The Alliance and FACT 2001, UNAIDS 2006, UNSRID 2005, CARE 2005) this study has shown that voluntarism is the chief corner stone of OVC community initiatives. Volunteers are part and parcel of identified communities. It was argued that OVC policy makers need to consider the problematic nature of community as an entity that can be identified by those living in it and experiencing it. The question who or what is community should be posed as a starting point to its active involvement.

This study also showed that volunteers' motivation to support OVC is underpinned by traditional cultural capital, i.e. reciprocity, social – moral obligation, love and compassion and faith all which operated as a system of solidarity. In relation to faith (Christianity), the case of Batsiranai showed that community groups can respond to the crisis guided by dispersed faith in individual community members who may not necessarily belong to the same congregation, hence the idea of a community within a community. Given that this system of solidarity is context dependent, it was put forward that existing traditional value systems should be closely examined as failure to do so can either overstate the potential of a community or undervalue its fund of traditional cultural capital. This can be achieved through contextual analysis as opposed to situational analysis as used by most INGOs. Thus drawing from Salole (1991), Pantin (1989), Brohman (2001), Chambers (1983), Wallace et al (1997) and Foster (2002b), this study has argued that INGOs seeking to partner with CBOs on OVC should go utilise contextual analysis as this enables the complexities and heterogeneous nature of spaces to be understood while harnessing useful knowledge, practices and traditional value systems as part of traditional cultural capital. In this, Foster's (2002a: 1909) rule of thumb, i.e. "do no harm" is one which external partners such as INGOs were admonished to observe. In this, MS' approach to development was commended for its flexibility as it enabled the community's traditional cultural capital and value systems to be preserved and harnessed, which evidence its commitment to alternative ideas of development.

However, the concepts of "volunteer" and "volunteering", emerged as problematic, i.e. there are tensions underlying their applicability due to the presence of a moral obligation contract which partly explained agents' commitment. The study has shown how Batsiranai volunteers are selected by other community members as people of high moral

standards in the community. This made the process of volunteering somewhat paradoxical, against a backdrop of volunteering being generally understood in the global north as an individual and private choice. In this, this study has shown that community members, on selection, felt duty bound by a social obligation contract operating within a moral framework guided by normative reasoning of what is acceptable to the rest of the community as embedded in a religious, social, traditional and cultural construct. This being the case, this study has shown that the specific cultural ensemble prevalent in BSD, placed “volunteering” in collectively structured obligations where individual action was significantly constrained and shaped by the promptings of neighbours. In absence of free choice, the absence of payment was puzzling. However, the local “volunteers” were acutely aware that the source of the notion typically refers to relatively privileged people economically in the global north who can afford to do work without pay. Most crucially, this study has shown how these local “volunteers” are people who are also poor and in need, hence their call for an acceptable token. While literature (UNICEF 2006, Thurman et al 2007, Phiri et al 2000, CARE 2004) was in tune with the need for a token, the debates surrounding this do not engage with the tensions summarized above, hence the need for further research. While this study has shown, that community members can exhibit high levels of resilience; it was put forward that this should not be an excuse for development stakeholders such as donors and INGOs to reduce their burden. Against this background as well as real participation being costly, in terms of the loss of one’s time to economically sustain a household while engaging with OVC work, it was suggested that, volunteers should be given an acceptable token. In deciding what is acceptable, a community’s terms of references must be utilised, e.g. Batsiranai volunteers’ framed this around traditional oral proverbs to do with “*small helpings*” that are negligible to the whole.

In the main, there is need for further research on the costs of real participation on poor people and how this can be balanced out against other competing claims such as the pivotal need for their participation. This can further add depth and breadth to alternative ideas of development as a growing body of knowledge.

In addition to the need for an acceptable token, this study has shown that volunteers require uniforms for visibility, shoes and bicycles against backdrop of long distances covered for home visits and workshops. While the lack of transport to cover the long distances caused communication and coordination challenges, it also brought to question

assumptions often made about proximity to the beneficiary, thereby cut costs (Foster 20002a, Opare 2007). This called for caution and in depth contextual consideration for resource allocation. In this instance, it was suggested that bicycles could motivate volunteers and shorten their journeys thereby reducing the cost of participation on them, while still keeping programme costs relatively low. The need for uniforms for visibility was noted to be an issue embedded in issues of recognition and respect, and should be addressed as such.

This study has also shown that volunteers desired to be supported with funerals in the event of own death against a backdrop of death being considered as one of the most important rites of life in Sub Saharan Africa (Steinberg et al 2002 Nyambedha et al 2003; Drew et al 1997, Foster 2005a). In the main, the anticipation for a decent burial by the late circle of relationships is embedded in the same notions which underpin community coping mechanisms, i.e. the system of solidarity. It was suggested that partnerships between CBOs and INGOs should consider appropriate gestures of token as part of showing solidarity.

Volunteers' concerns raised in this study have shown that they have needs which are largely undocumented and poorly understood by global policy makers and external agencies such as INGOs which was attributed to the lack of southern volunteer voices in academic debates, which is paradoxical given that they are the anchor of community responses. Global policy makers, show little appreciation of the fact that community responses to OVC are delivered by the poor in the absence of a state welfare system for the poor. This is an area which calls for further research, so as to assess how community self reliance and coping mechanisms can be balanced with alleviating the extra burden brought on by participation. In the greater scheme of things however, questions were raised about the transformation of rural communities using volunteers in contexts without a welfare system given that non wage payment is likely to temporary keep one, with higher chances of leaving in the event of securing paid employment. Given that, those in employment may not have time to volunteer; this potentially suggested that volunteering in rural community activities is for the unemployed, who are usually the poor and destitute. In the light of this, it was put forward that volunteering in rural development activities, OVC included must be given some national formal recognition e.g. certification and national volunteer day where community members are honoured for their tireless contributions.

This study has shown that despite the support rendered to children by Batsiranai which is bettering their lives, the programme is overwhelmed which suggests that there is need for more resources. However, in the light of education being key to children's future as responsible adults and contributing citizens to the development of their nation, this need calls for more resources to be channelled to education by all stakeholders, most particularly the government. An appropriate response by the government in terms of school fees, can mitigate the pressure on Batsiranai and allow it to focus on other needs such as food, psychosocial support and economic strengthening. The study has shown that children lacked school uniforms, books and pens which the community and children were attempting to meet through communal gardens and *Zunde ramambo*. This evidenced self-reliance and ought to be encouraged as a way of guarding against dependency. The involvement of children in these activities was commended for encouraging independence and learning farming skills. Furthermore, the issue of external psychosocial support needs more resources support, given that this was extremely limited due to donors' hesitancy on funding "soft" issues in development in comparison to "hard" issues like education. This study has shown that children indicated not having "real talk, talk" (psychosocial support), which suggested that there is room for improvement with regards to support rendered by volunteers in this issue. However, the fact that children indicated to have this "real talk, talk with friends", suggested that Batsiranai's peer training was an apt initiative. While some of the children felt some of their needs were being ignored, albeit it being clear that the programme is overwhelmed, this was partly attributed to potential programme explicit priorities. Furthermore, it was noted that some children were disenchanted with some volunteers whom they accused of giving clothes to their own children. While this raised questions regarding the reliability of some volunteers, this was potentially attributed to the lack of an acceptable token for the poor while supporting the poorest. In line with this, while clothing and seed donations were not always sufficient for all children, the process of allocation was deemed not transparent by the children. This called for the programme to be transparent to children on how distributions and allocations are made as this would potentially alleviate their concerns. This study has also shown that while stigma has decreased, children reported experiencing stigma from other children within school and community settings. In the light of children stigmatizing fellow children on the basis of their vulnerability and accessing support, it was put forward that there should be targeted

awareness campaigns delivered through the national school curriculum on HIV/AIDS education .

With regards to the notion *nhimbe*, this study has shown that it is a partnership practiced at local levels within Shona traditional societies and mirrors partnerships in development aid. This being the case, there were potential lessons to be learnt from it as a traditional cultural resource. Firstly, it was put forward that the notion of agenda setting under *nhimbe* can be harnessed for development partnerships whereby external organisations should respect the OVC development tasks chosen by communities given that they know their needs best. Given that *nhimbe* clearly stipulates that agenda setting is the prerogative of the host, there is a lesson for external organisations to grasp, as failure to do so encourages southern organisations to derail from real needs of local people as they become opportunists (Foster 2002a).

Given that the *nhimbe* host had to demonstrate their own contributions as a way of countering dependency, similarities were drawn with the partnership approach whereby organisations like Batsiranai have to evidence and make various contributions to the partnership with MS. Failure to make own contributions evidenced lack of ownership, laziness and dependency, elements known to invite lack of respect, in a society where respect is of central importance to one's being "*ubuntu/hunhu*" (Chinouya et al 2003). In the main, these locutions refer to a moral universe in which the individual refers to her/himself as constituted in relation to others rather than being self-subsistent in an atomistic sense. However, in receiving contribution from community members, this study has shown that a household did not just wait for others to show up, but ventured to the task. In this, community initiatives on OVC are already responding albeit in limited fashion (Foster 2002a, Foster 2002b, Phiri et al 2000, UNAIDS 2006). However, without external support, it was acknowledged that groups like Batsiranai's would only make a marginal difference to children's lives. Seeking external support was therefore seen as an acknowledgement of a community's limitation in meeting children needs as the case under *nhimbe*.. While this may be the case, it was also put forward that INGOs potentially evidence a lack of appreciation in respect to the important role that CBOs can play given the scarcity of partnerships between the two.

This study has shown that within the *nhimbe* process, division of labour was acknowledged based on household awareness of own skills' limitation i.e. different

levels of expertise were utilised, in the same way that Batsiranai's key original task force members were acutely aware of the expertise in others. However, it was noted that, while others, i.e. outsiders had expertise, this did not suggest that that community members don't possess knowledge, but rather have some other knowledge which was reinforced by the idea that "everyone knows something". This being the case, it was argued that those external actors and organisations, must seek an understanding of community knowledge, so that their knowledge and expertise is not blindly applied, but rather fine tuned by local knowledge so as to be appropriate. This requires an alternative way of doing development, i.e. alternative ideas of development. This study has also shown that *nhimbe* elements, i.e. solidarity, trust, reciprocity and respect and allegiance have been incorporated into modern day living in terms of burial societies, rotation clubs and savings clubs which enable communities to cope with difficult situations which suggested the resilience of traditional value systems in a changing world. This being the case, *nhimbe* can play a dual role in development partnerships i.e. CBOs in rural Zimbabwe flagging it as a guiding framework, for discussion and fusion with external agencies' ideas, as well as external agencies, potentially seeking to improve accountability mechanisms in partnerships utilizing it as a starting point yardstick to assessing the potential of community given that it promotes socially acceptable behaviour in the community. In this, communities without *nhimbe* may have similar forms of traditional cultural capital. Given that this study has shown *nhimbe* to have disadvantages, e.g. quality of work being compromised due to mass production as well as monitoring sensitivities, it was put forward that, suitable monitoring systems be utilised while bearing in mind that *nhimbe* attendees were also accountable to the host, and not just themselves as is often the case with donors in development partnerships. As this study has shown, *nhimbe* did not necessarily benefit those at the margins of society, e.g. witches. This called for attention to be given, to those often marginalised by their communities for various reasons, while being mindful that communities have their own way of life which needs to be respected, within reason and cultural sensitivity whereby harmful practices, which militate against children's well being and development should be challenged.

While this study has shown that the notion of reciprocity underpins *nhimbe*, it was discussed that its applicability to development partnerships could be problematic given the simplistic view that southern organisations have nothing to give back to the north.

This being the case, this study called for further research to illuminate on reciprocity within development partnerships i.e. from south to north. As a starting point to this, cognizance should be taken of the fact that potential exchanges do not have to be identical (Kajese 1987). In conclusion, this study has argued for the utilization of alternative ideas of development whereby traditional cultural resources are incorporated into development activities with the anticipation of improving the effectiveness of interventions. This study has shown through MS that INGOs can play a role championing alternative ideas of development when they partner with CBOs responding to OVC needs in a flexible manner whereby community agency is nurtured. In this, attention is paid to what works as opposed to grand theory generation which turns out to actually be simplistic. Mainstream development theory and practice has got flaws, and alternative ideas of development such as *nhimbe* can mitigate those flaws, within a specific context and cultural ensemble. Given that interdisciplinary approaches to development remain at the margins of the intellectual environment which esteems “scientific” and “rigorous research” (Brohman 2001) which results in grand theorization, it was pointed out that southern development ideas such as *nhimbe* face being academically ignored.

14.3 Study Recommendations

The findings of this study have implications for stakeholders involved in development partnerships in respect of OVC in Zimbabwe, most specifically INGOs, rural based CBOs and the state. Such implications inform the ensuing recommendations.

1. INGO should partner with CBOs in responding to the OVC crisis

As a starting point to formulating partnerships with rural based CBOs this study recommends that INGOs should:

- Recognize the existence of community when identified and experienced as such by residents and recognize that community potential varies as partly determined by quality of leadership, levels of literacy among members, ability to attract educated qualified staff who are committed to the cause, nature and level of locally meaningful traditional cultural capital and value systems.
- Do communities no harm – this demands flexibility, and risk taking hence entails stepping out of confines of the management project structure by utilizing contextual analysis which enables the complexities, heterogeneous nature of spaces and traditional value systems at play to be unravelled and understood as a

starting point to harnessing traditional cultural capital and value systems which underpin community coping mechanisms.

- Prioritize CBOs institutional development as this shapes their success and long term survival in terms of accessing other sources of funding such as official donors. In this, appropriate participatory structures should be established and community members should be involved in higher levels of planning which is key to nurturing community programme ownership.
- Facilitate CBOs' engagement in advocacy and political debates concerning OVC needs which requires greater investment in order to overcome contextual mutilating factors.
- Urgently consider volunteer needs: A. giving volunteers an acceptable token using their terms of references in defining what is acceptable, as a way of balancing participation costs and nurturing resilience. B. making appropriate gestures of token for volunteer funerals in the event of death. C. factor in bicycles to shorten journeys and reducing the cost of participation, and uniforms for visibility and recognition
- Provide more resources for psychosocial support to aid towards children's development and, future participation in society as happy and responsible citizens.

2. In partnering with INGOs, rural CBOs responding to OVC needs should:

- Harness traditional leadership with caution and the position of traditional leadership within the local political landscape should inform the nature and extent of their involvement in programmes.
- Establish linkages with local government departments for national programme integration and potential benefits which can be derived thereof, while guarding against political interference.
- Engage in advocacy and political debates pertaining to OVC, as this is the only way to bring about lasting solutions.
- Seek alternative sources of revenue, e.g. the private sector and diaspora communities.

3. INGO – CBO Partnerships on OVC should harness indigenous perspectives and listen to the voices of children. Partners should:

- Identify resources in the locality analogous to *nhimbe* as a potential where Southern organizations and communities set the terms of engagement with international partners such as INGOs
- Position themselves using local analogues of *nhimbe* where CBOs act as hosts with identified development tasks which require support and spell out the kind of partnerships they envisage with the international community using *nhimbe*-type procedures and elements as a way of creating a fusion that is culturally and context appropriate.
- Develop (with support from the state and IGOs such as UNICEF) child targeted awareness campaigns to reduce stigma which can be delivered through the national school curriculum as part of HIV/AIDS health education.
- Be transparent with children on how supporting packages are distributed and allocations made particularly, when resources are not sufficient to as to alleviate their concerns.

4. The state should create an enabling environment and offer support to INGO – CBO partnerships by:

- Establishing national social, economic, and political stability through appropriate policy formulation and implementation.
- Alleviating school fees payment burden from CBOs, so that they can focus on other needs such as psychosocial support and economic strengthening.

14.4 Future Research

This study opens up avenues for future research, which include:

- Examining how INGOs and donors make sense of partnership working with local organisations in fragile spaces.
- Exploring the applicability of the concept of “volunteering” in OVC initiatives where discourses of social obligation are more embedded than individual choice.
- Assessing how self reliance and coping mechanisms can be balanced out with the need to alleviate the extra burden brought on by participation.
- How Diaspora communities can fund community initiatives on OVC, and how they can also effectively engage with the state in terms of nation building.
- Exploring the notion of reciprocity between north and south in terms of *nhimbe*

14. 5 Study Limitations: Methodological and Epistemological Issues

Firstly, the strengths of this study lie in the utilization of a case study whereby the case of MS and Batsiranai generated an in-depth insight into partnership working in practice between INGOs and rural based CBOs on OVC support, through qualitative research methods. The case studied provided an example of a broader class of partnership working relations between INGOs and rural based CBOs in Sub Saharan Africa where the majority of OVC live.

However, given the use of the case study approach and qualitative research methods, findings from this study cannot be generalized across the partnership working realm. While I have argued in chapter two that generalization is “overvalued” as a source of scientific development while “the force of an example is understated” (Flyvbjerg 2004: 425), it remains the case that quantitative research enables researchers to come up with representative data across a wide spectrum. However, it was not the mandate of this research to produce generalisable data which are representative of INGO - CBO partnership on OVC, but rather provide an illustration of how such relations pan out in practice as argued in chapter two. Furthermore, the case study approach opens up the partnership working realm for quantitative research to check the incidence and prevalence of links and findings unravelled in this study.

My interpretation of study findings was informed by the cultural capital I share with respondents. Firstly, I have privileged access to experiences of living with HIV/AIDs. This includes the death of family members including acting as primary caregiver for a parent and subsequent orphanhood, all of which influenced my interpretation of participant views in Zimbabwe where I was born and grew up as a Shona speaker. This enabled me to relate to the experiences and views of people in Buhera South due to shared experiences though in different contexts. In other words, this shared experience meant that I had some form of “inside” knowledge about the subject matter contextual diversity notwithstanding. My ability to acknowledge my OVC status lowered potential barriers where respondents might wonder about whether I stigmatized them. Secondly being Zimbabwean and a Shona-speaker enabled me to consider that a respondent’s apparent confusion about the meaning of a word, such as “volunteer”, might be a clue to a genuine cultural difference in the discourse about normative obligations between aid “partners” rather than a translation error on the part of CBO members. Given that I was

able to explore the social realities in BSD, the social constructivist knowledge claims were suitable for this study in comparison to others such as post positivism. First and foremost, it wasn't the aim of this study to "construct grand generalizations for control and predictability" Maguire (2000: 22), but investigate a unique situation, i.e. partnership working relationship within a given context so as to feed into the relevant knowledge base. Furthermore, it is my view point that adopting postpositivism would have as Cloke et al (1991) argue, separated the study from research participants given its position that research must be neutral, value free and objective. As a researcher and young woman "somewhat freshly bereaved" and researching on similarly affected others, trying to maintain neutrality and being non value laden would have been impossible. If anything, this would have alienated me, the researcher from myself as well as from the study population, with whom I had common experiences. This being the case, being guided and informed of the post positivist approach would have made the study somewhat "people -less" (Kitchin 2006: 6) as it would have ignored beliefs and views within myself as well as the study population otherwise highly charged with these, given the subject of HIV/AIDS. In the words of Maguire (2000: 20) positivists (and post positivists):

Collude in their own dehumanization. They agree to fragment themselves by compartmentalizing their lives. Beguiled by the notion of scientific objectivity, they accept the premise that it is possible, even praise worthy to separate their beliefs and values from their daily work. The work of those researchers, whose values and passions show, is criticized on the basis that it is subjective and unscientific

Given the above criticism that social constructivism and other philosophical approaches, such as participatory research are too subjective and not scientific, I would argue that without emphatic interpersonal exchanges, it would not have been possible to gain meaningful insights into how research participants make sense of their experiences.

Given the use of a case study in this study, I found it challenging to draw case boundaries which resonated with Denscombe (2007) who notes that case boundaries are often difficult to define, hence the difficulties in deciding what sources of data to include or exclude in the case. Initially, I had planned to incorporate MS Denmark personnel as sources of data with regards to the impact of southern partners on the organization's policy directions as a way to potentially gauge whether southern partners actually influence policy direction. In the greater scheme of things, evidence of this or lack of it would have been telling about the position of southern voices (Batsiranai included) on

MS policy agenda and direction. However, this did not happen for two reasons. Firstly, I had already accumulated a great deal of data from MS Zimbabwe and partly felt that by interviewing MS Denmark staff, I would be stretching case boundaries too far as their responses would not have necessarily covered the partnership between MS and Batsiranai, but MS and its southern partners in general. Secondly, while the MS-Batsiranai partnership was the main focus on this study, I also had the concept of *nhimbe* to investigate. Faced with this, and the partnership case study which by its very nature has many stakeholders, hence many categories to investigate, I decided to exclude MS Denmark staff even though I collected and utilised MS Denmark documentary evidence. This being the case, I remain concerned about the exclusion of MS Denmark staff responsible for overseeing southern country programmes and partners such as Batsiranai and its potential impact on data outcomes.

In addition to the above challenges, drawing case boundaries in data gathered in relation to the MS – Batsiranai partnership proved extremely challenging given the fact that both organisations had other partnership relations with other organisations. While questions posed in interviews were focused on the MS – Batsiranai partnership, responses given by respondents often stretched to cover other partnership relations. This means that some of the data gathered, was beyond case boundaries. While this sort of data was often illuminating and hence included in study findings, it could not be verified as it was beyond the remit of this study to engage with actors involved in those relationships, e.g. the case of Irish Aid and Batsiranai where the partnership was terminated. While in hindsight, I have wondered whether I could have put more effort in bringing back research participants to the MS – Batsiranai partnership, I equally felt the need to be flexible so as to allow their perspectives on certain themes to be heard and understood, even if that meant “straying” a bit from the main focus. To a greater extent, I felt that being flexible was an amiable compromise, as rigidly drawing case boundaries would have inherently limited the capturing of participants’ partnership experiences in terms of depth and diversity. I however remain concerned about the impact of my case boundary flexibility on study findings.

While I was flexible with case boundaries, an attempt was made to engage with key stakeholders in the partnership as data sources, .i.e. the children whose needs form the basis for the partnership, staff from both organizations and volunteers who deliver the support on the ground. While data gathered from these participants was illuminating, the

exclusion of other ordinary community members, i.e. those who select volunteers and other representatives, may have compromised data quality. For instance, because of this, findings could not indicate how these other community members perceive the OVC crisis as well as the Batsiranai response within their community.

On another note, examining the subject of development was challenging given that it is a multidisciplinary subject, whose full breadth and diversity was beyond the scope of this study. Even though attempts were made to discuss the various development themes which pertained to this study focus, e.g. INGOs, development paradigms, partnerships and OVC, I remain concerned about whether I adequately engaged with the appropriate development debates. Furthermore, research articles cited in chapter three of this study had some limitations including the uncertainties surrounding the application of research findings derived from qualitative studies within sub Saharan Africa countries to a larger scale. Another limitation relates to the age definition of a child. While the main sources of orphan statistics used in this study (UNAIDS 2004, UNAIDS and WHO 2009, UNICEF 2006) used the under 18 age limit, some sources (Foster et al 1995, Gregson et al 1994, UNAIDS et al 2002) whose data was used in this study defined orphans as children under the age of 15 without one or both biological parents. This being the case, steps were taken to minimize the use of the sources which excluded children over 15 and below the age of 18, given that the 18 age range is in tune with most international and national instruments, Zimbabwe included. However, data from surveys in Africa may have the potential for age error as some children may not been registered at birth. In this, data inaccuracies would have resulted from lack complete lack of birth of registration or late registration with a higher likelihood of distorted dates of birth. This being the case data utilized in this study that had been classified according to registered age may be inaccurate for this reason.

Despite the original and significant contribution that this study makes to our understanding, it would have been very much better had it been grant-supported as would be the case if it had been a research council or major charity resourced enterprise. Despite partial tuition support from the home Department, my living expenses, travel, and subsistence for the Zimbabwean fieldwork were self-funded based on extensive very demanding paid work in the public sector during the whole of the doctoral programme.

14.6 Theoretical Contributions

This study identified in chapter one the lack of partnership case studies between INGOs and southern CBOs, and more specifically in relation to OVC service provision, against a backdrop of disputes pertaining the existence and potential of communities as service providers. Against this background, this study has made a contribution to the INGO-CBO OVC partnership literature using case study evidence grounded in qualitative data. Thus, this study gives us a more solid basis for understanding some of the ingredients for producing effective partnerships on OVC which are culturally competent between INGOs and CBOs. Furthermore, it has contributed towards understanding of *nhimbe*, a traditional cultural resource and how it can be harnessed for such partnerships. The study has also contributed towards understanding the position and potential of community as a service provider to OVC using the BSD community. Further contributions were made towards understanding the position of volunteers as the anchor of community responses and the tensions and underpinnings associated with volunteering. Such volunteering tensions and underpinnings have not featured in OVC partnership debates. More research on volunteering in similar community initiatives can potentially improve our understanding of such tensions and underpinnings.

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Appendix 1: Interview Schedules

(1.a). Topic guide for interviews with Batsiranai Staff

Information about interviewee and Organisation

- What is your job title?
- What are your roles and responsibilities?
- What are your educational qualifications?
- What/ who is Batsiranai?
- What is the organizational structure of Batsiranai?
- What are the strengths of Batsiranai?
- What are the weakness of Batsiranai?
- What are the potential solutions to the weaknesses you have identified?

Batsiranai's Focus Areas

- What are the programme focus areas?
- How are focus areas delivered?
- Who decides on what areas to focus on?

Batsiranai's OVC response

- What is the number of OVC in programme areas?
- What are the roles and responsibilities of volunteers?
- What motivates volunteers?
- What is the leading to process of volunteering?
- How effective Batsiranai's response to OVC needs? (psychosocial / stigma issues/ school fees, food, clothing)
- How do you assess the impact of batsiranai's response
- What are the challenges in addressing OVC needs?
- What are the potential solutions to the challenges you have identified?

Community position

- What/ who is community?
- What is the nature of relationship between Batsiranai and community?

Partnership working

- How many international organisations does Batsiranai work with?
- What relationships are classified as partnerships?
- Based on experience of partnership working, how do you define partnership?
- How do you describe Batsiranai's partnership relationship with MS?
- How autonomous is Batsiranai to design and manage its programmes ?
- What are the benefits of partnership working (with MS)?
- What are the challenges of partnership working (with MS)?
- what are the potential solutions to the challenges you have identified?

(1b). Topic guide for interviews with MS Staff

Information about interviewee and Organisation

- What is your job title?
- What are your roles and responsibilities?
- What are your educational qualifications?
- What are the strengths of MS?
- What are the weaknesses of MS?

MS- Zimbabwe Focus Areas

- What are the programme focus areas?
- How are focus areas delivered?

- Who decides on what areas to focus on?

Partnership working

- What relationships are classified as partnerships?
- Based on experience of partnership working, how do you define partnership?
- How partnership relationships are initiated (the one with Batsiranai included?)
- What is your experience of partnership working with Batsiranai?
- How autonomous is Batsiranai in designing and managing its programme?
- What are the benefits of partnership working (with Batsiranai)?
- What are the challenges of partnership working (with Batsiranai)?
- what are the potential solutions to the challenges you have identified?

MS' assessment of Batsiranai's response to OVC

- How do you describe Batsiranai's response to OVC?
- How do you describe volunteer responsibilities?
- How do you describe volunteer commitment?

(1c). Topic guide for interviews and focus groups with Volunteers

Community and OVC crisis ownership

- Who / what is community?
- Who/ what is Batsiranai?
- Whose problem is the OVC crisis in BSD
- What is the nature of relationship between you and programme staff?

Volunteering and OVC

- When did you start volunteering?
- How did you come to volunteer
- What are your roles and responsibilities?
- Are your suggestions and ideas considered by staff?
- What underpins volunteering motivations?
- How do you describe the impact of your contributions to children's lives?
- How do you describe the impact of the programme to children's lives?
- What challenges do you face in volunteering?
- What are the potential solutions to the challenges you have identified?

(1d). Topic guide for focus group with children

- What is your age?
- When did you start receiving support from Batsiranai?
- What support do you receive from Batsiranai (follow up on psychosocial support and stigma)
- How do volunteers support you?
- How would you describe your relationship with volunteers?
- What are the needs you have in your daily lives which the programme can not provide for?
- As children, what can you do/ are you doing to support yourselves?
- What would you like to change in relation to the support that you receive?

(1e). Topic guide for interviews with key informants on *nhimbe*

Information about the interviewee (those without international development working experience were not asked questions on development partnerships)

- What is your age?
- How long have you worked in international development?
- In what capacity do / did you currently work in international development?
- How would you describe your experience of development partnerships?

Nhimbe as a traditional cultural resource

- What does *nhimbe* mean to you?
- Have you experienced *nhimbe*?
- What underpins the notion of *nhimbe*?
- Can you tell me more about what people do during a *nhimbe*?
- What would you consider to be the strengths of *nhimbe*?
- What would you consider to be the weaknesses of *nhimbe*?
- Is there a connection between *nhimbe* and the modern partnership approach? If yes, could you explain?
- Do you think the principles of *nhimbe* could be harnessed as a traditional cultural resource into modern day development and partnership work? If yes, how?

Additional questions

- What are your views on Batsiranai (and other CBOs) in relation to engaging advocacy issues pertaining to OVC?
- How would you describe the effectiveness of NANGO?

Appendix 2: Information about the research and consent forms

(2a) Information about the Research

1. About the Researcher

My name is Cathrine Madziva and I am a PhD student studying social policy at London Metropolitan University in the United Kingdom. Please find below my contact details:

Department of Applied Social Sciences
Ladbroke house
62- 66 Highbury Grove
London, N5 2AD
United Kingdom
Telephone: ...
Email:...

2. Title of Research Study

The impact of International Non-governmental Organisations (INGOs) on the Response of Community-based Organisations (CBOs) to the HIV/AIDs related Orphan and Vulnerable Children (OVC) Crisis in Zimbabwe: The case of Batsiranai Project in Manicaland

3. Invitation to participate

I am inviting you to participate in the above titled research study. Before you make any decision it is important that you understand what the research is about, why it is being done and what your expected involvement is. Please take time to read the information below and should you have any questions please do not hesitate to ask.

Please take your time to decide whether you wish to take part or not

4. About the research study

I am carrying out research on the orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) crisis in Zimbabwe and the impact of international non governmental organisations on the response of Community based Organisations (CBOs).This study focuses on how Batsiranai is responding to OVC in Buhera South District with the specific aim of considering the impact of MS, on this response. Through an exploration of partnership working between Batsiranai and MS, my study aims to examine whether and if partnership working between CBOs and INGOs on OVC support in Zimbabwe is possible.

5. Why you are being Invited to participate

You are being invited to take part because of one or more of the following reasons:

- You work with Batsiranai as paid staff or as a volunteer to support OVC
- You work with MS-Denmark /Zimbabwe to Support OVC
- You have worked with MS- Zimbabwe and or Batsiranai in the past in relation to OVC
- You are an international development/ social/ academic commentator
- You are an OVC expert in Sub Saharan Africa

I will also be inviting young people receiving support from Batsiranai to take part in the study.

6. Do you have to participate?

It is entirely up to you to whether or not to take part. Once you have gone through the information describing the study I will ask you to sign a consent form to indicate that you have agreed to participate. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any given time without having to give any reason. This would not affect your work / working relationship with Batsiranai and or MS Zimbabwe and or any other organization.

7. What will happen if you agree to participate?

You will be expected to attend an in-depth interview and or focus group discussion which will last no more than 2 hours at an agreed time and place.. Individual interviews and focus group discussions will be audio taped. I will also observe on going meetings and seminars. When having individual interviews and focus group discussions I will make use of audio taping

8. What are the possible benefits of participating?

I can not promise the study will readily benefit you but the information will help to create a knowledge base which may influence national and global policy implementation regarding the support rendered to OVC through Community Based Organisations by international non governmental Organisations.

9. What are the possible disadvantages and or risks of participating?

There are no identified disadvantages and/ or risks of participating in this study

10. How will the research study be conducted?

I will contact individual participants and agree on time and meeting places. I will make use of qualitative methodology which will include holding focus group discussions and individual in-depth interviews.

11. What will happen to the Results of this study?

Results of this study will be made available to research participates in a summary form through MS-Zimbabwe and Batsiranai Offices. Results contribute to my thesis .

12. Will your participating in the study be kept confidential?

Yes. I will follow the required ethical and legal guidelines. I will handle all information in confidence. Tapes will be stored securely , under lock where only my supervision team and I have with access. Individual identities will not be disclosed in the final report. Interviews will be coded to make individuals anonymous. My supervision team and I have a duty of confidentiality towards you the research participant.

13. Who has reviewed this study?

All Research carried by London Metropolitan university PhD students is considered by the Research Ethics Committee in order to protect participants' safety, rights, well being and dignity. This study has been favourably reviewed by the London Metropolitan Research Ethics Committee.

14. What if you have a complaint to make?

Should you have any problem or complaint regarding this study please approach me directly or call me on X and I will do my best to answer your questions. If you are however not satisfied and wish to make a complaint you can do so through my Director of Studies and/ or the Research Office.

Professor Eileen O'Keefe Telephone: 00442071335002 Email: e.okeefe@londonmet.ac.uk . Address: Department of Applied Social Sciences London Metropolitan University Ladbroke house 62- 66 Highbury Grove London, N5 2AD United Kingdom	Research Office Telephone: Tel: +44 (0) 20 7133 2962 Fax: +44 (0) 20 7133 2219 Email: research@londonmet.ac.uk Address Graduate School London Metropolitan University Room GC112, Tower Building 166-220 Holloway Road London, N7 8DB United Kingdom
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(2b). Information about the Research Study: Young People

1. About the researcher:

My name is Cathrine Madziva and I am a PHD student studying at London Metropolitan University in the United Kingdom.

2. Title of Research Study

The Orphan and Vulnerable Children Crisis in Zimbabwe: the impact of International Non-governmental Organisations on the Response of Community based Organisations. The case of Batsiranai Project in Manicaland

3. Invitation to participate

I am inviting you to participate in the above titled research study. Before you make any decision it is important that you understand what the research is about, why it is being done and what your expected involvement is. Please take time to read the information below and should you have any questions please do not hesitate to ask.

Please take your time to decide whether you wish to take part or not.

4. About the study

I am carrying out research on the needs of children and the impact of International non governmental organisations on the response of Community based Organisations (CBOs) in supporting them. In this study, I will be focusing on the work that Batsiranai is doing to support young people like yourselves in this community. It is hoped that by coming to talk to you, relevant knowledge will be gained which may inform other organisations on how to support children like yourselves to live better lives.

5. Why you are being invited to participate

You are being invited to take part because you are a young person receiving support services from Batsiranai

6. Do you have to participate?

It is entirely up to you to whether or not to take part. Once you have gone through the information describing the study I will ask you to sign a consent form to indicate that you have agreed to participate. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any given time without having to give any reason. This would not affect the services you receive from Batsiranai.

7. What will happen if you agree to participate?

You will be expected to attend a recorded focus group discussion which will last no more than 2 hours at an agreed time and place

8. What are the possible benefits of participating?

I can not promise the study will benefit you personally but the information will help to create a knowledge base which may influence national and global policy implementation regarding the support rendered to children through Community Based Organisations by international non governmental Organisations.

9. What are the possible disadvantages and or risks of participating?

We may be discussing sensitive topics. If you decide to take part but feel uncomfortable or unhappy about carrying on, you can withdraw at any time. Following participation, participants can talk to a counsellor, if the experience has been distressing.

10. How will the research study be conducted?

I will contact you and agree on time and meeting places. I will make use of qualitative methodology which will include holding focus group discussions and individual in-depth interviews.

11. What will happen to the results of this study?

Results of this study will be made available to research participants in summary form through MS-Zimbabwe and Batsiranai Offices. Results contribute to my thesis.

12. Will your participating in the study be kept confidential?

Yes. I will follow the required ethical and legal guidelines. I will handle all information in confidence. Tapes will be stored securely, under lock where only my supervision team and I have access. Your identities will not be disclosed in the final report. Interviews will be coded to make individuals anonymous. My supervision team and I have a duty of confidentiality towards you the research participant

13. Who has reviewed this study?

All research carried by London Metropolitan University PhD students is considered by the Research Ethics Committee in order to protect participants' safety, rights, well being and dignity. This study has been favourably reviewed by the London Metropolitan Research Ethics Committee.

14. What if you have a complaint to make?

Should you have any problem/ complaint or query regarding this study please approach me directly or call me on and I will do my best to answer your questions. If you are however not satisfied and wish to make a complaint you can do so through Batsiranai office/ volunteers/ field officers. You can also complain directly to:

Professor Eileen O'Keefe Telephone: 00442071335002 Email: e.okeefe@londonmet.ac.uk . Address: London Metropolitan University Ladbroke house 62- 66 Highbury Grove London, N5 2AD United Kingdom	And or: The Research Office at London Metropolitan University Telephone: Tel: +44 (0) 20 7133 2962 Fax: +44 (0) 20 7133 2219 Email: research@londonmet.ac.uk Address Graduate School Research Office London Metropolitan University Room GC112, Tower Building 166-220 Holloway Road London, N7 8DB United Kingdom
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(2c). Consent form for Young People

Title of project

The impact of International Non-governmental Organisations (INGOs) on the Response of Community-based Organisations (CBOs) to the HIV/AIDs related Orphan and Vulnerable Children (OVC) Crisis in Zimbabwe: The case of Batsiranai and MS in Manicaland.

About the Study in Brief

We shall be discussing your needs as young people and Batsiranai's response to those needs. This study is meant to explore whether and if INGOs can support CBOs to reach children/ young people in your circumstances more effectively. Voices of those accessing services are crucial to judging those services.

Name of Researcher responsible for the project: Cathrine Madziva

Please tick the following boxes and sign below if you agree.

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet pertaining to the above titled study

☐

2. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have these answered fully

☐

3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without having to give any reason and this will not affect the support I receive from Batsiranai.

☐

4. I agree to participate in a recorded interview

☐
5. I agree to the use of some of my quotations in reports

☐
6. I agree to the interview being typed out

☐
7. I agree to take part in the study.

☐

Name of young person: Signature: Date:	Principle investigator (Consent seeker): Cathrine Madziva Signature: Date
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* One copy for each when completed

(2d). Consent form for Adults

Title of project
The impact of International Non-governmental Organisations (INGOs) on the Response of Community-based Organisations (CBOs) to the HIV/AIDs related Orphan and Vulnerable Children (OVC) Crisis in Zimbabwe: The case of Batsiranai and MS in Manicaland.

Name of principal investigator responsible for the research study: Cathrine Madziva

Please tick the following boxes and sign below if you agree to take part.

8. I have read and understood the information sheet pertaining to the above titled study

☐
9. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have these answered fully

☐
10. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without having to give any reason

☐
11. I agree to participate in a recorded interview

☐

12. I agree to the use of some of my annonymised quotations in reports ☐

13. I agree to the interview being typed out ☐

14. I agree to take part in the above titled study ☐

Respondent Name: Signature: Date:	Principle investigator (Consent seeker): Cathrine Madziva Signature: Date:
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*One copy for each when completed.

Appendix 3: Documentation from MS and Batsiranai utilised in the study

- Batsiranai (1998): Buhera South Children Care Programme, Report of Feasibility Study
- Batsiranai (1999): Batsiranai Annual Review Workshop 1999
- Batsiranai (2001): Batsiranai Review Workshop Report 2001
- Batsiranai (2002): Batsiranai Review Workshop Report 2002
- Batsiranai (2003): Batsiranai Annual Participatory Review workshop report 2003
- Batsiranai (undated): Batsiranai, Buhera South Orphan Care Programme
- MS – Zimbabwe (2005): MS- Zimbabwe Annual Report 2005, no: 1/2006
- MS – Zimbabwe (2005): Record of Proceedings of the MS Zimbabwe Annual Meeting, no: 2/2006
- MS and Danida (2003): Evaluation, MS at Cross Roads
- MS- Denmark (2001): Solidarity through Partnerships 2001. A policy paper for MS in the South
- MS- Denmark (2005): Action with Attitude.
- MS- Denmark (2005): Partnership against Poverty- March 2005, MS in the South, Changing the Focus in Personnel Assistance
- MS- Zambia (2003): From Projects to Partnerships – MS in Zambia
- MS- Zimbabwe & Batsiranai (1998): A Statistical Analysis of Baseline Data on Buhera south Children's Programme
- MS- Zimbabwe (1995): MS- Zimbabwe Review 1995
- MS- Zimbabwe (2000): Partnership for Development, Partner Activities 1999 – 2000.
- MS- Zimbabwe (2003): Zimbabwe Views, issue no: 1
- MS- Zimbabwe (2005): Zimba Views: Partnership Against Poverty, issue no: 3