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# Geographies of Giving:
# How Place & Space Matters in Maputo, Mozambique

Currently in its field research phase, research work at the University of Cape Town examines the nature of community giving and traditional notions of philanthropy in Mozambique. More specifically, the study is analysing these practices in two community contexts: the neighbourhoods of Minkadjuine/Mafalala and Zimpeto in the suburbs of Maputo, Mozambique. This study looks at community giving and indigenous philanthropic efforts through both the lenses of development studies, and how local philanthropy has been accessed or recognized as a component of development, as well as moral geography, paying particular attention to how notions of place and space define ones sense of responsibility for another within an established neighbourhood or geographic area.

This study itself sits on an overlap between two important sets of debates going on that involve philanthropy or community giving. The first is that of development studies and the discourse on aid from the West to the developing world. This is dominated mainly by stakeholders and academics *from* the Western world, and primarily focuses on economic development as a precursor to social development (Easterly, 2006 and 2014). The second is that of cultural geography, and more specifically, the discussion of moral geography, and how ones' location and cultural affinity can determine whom one bears responsibility for. Cultural geography itself as a discipline has become a space for dialogue about community development and the issues it presents, although no scholars have taken on the philanthropic lens specifically. As a discipline that will "increasingly explore creative practices and the ways that people enact identity, belonging, pleasure and difference throughout society," cultural geography is poised to frame some of the unanswered questions about community giving.

*Studying Giving:*

Though much of the literature on philanthropy and giving has been written within the last fifteen years, there is important work done within the sociology discipline that reflects an interest in how societies address their own problems, as well as how academics can interpret the actions of community actors.

One of the earliest examples of this is Marcell Mauss' work The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies. Originally published in English in 1954, the work

records decades of research on Native American tribes, Polynesian societies, and areas of present-day Indonesia. Mauss was the first academic to introduce the notion of philanthropy alongside ethnographic and sociological study. He looks at social welfare and the role of the state (67), but also at the role of community members within traditional societies and how they view giving.

The act of giving a gift, which sometimes might be an attempt to help (54), is "…to accept something from somebody is to accept some part of his spiritual essence, of his soul." (12) Mauss also makes the important link between giving and living together economically within a single geographic area, drawing distinctions between gifts and economic systems or money exchange (46). He also directly draws connectivity between giving and civic engagement, explaining that "One can also see how this concrete study can lead not only to a science of customs, to a partial social science but even to moral conclusions, or rather, to adopt once more the old word, 'civility' or 'civics' as it is called nowadays." (83)

Following Mauss, there are relatively few researchers who have undertaken large studies to analyse philanthropic giving. The only other example of this type of work is Francie Ostrower's Why the Wealthy Give: The Culture of Elite Philanthropy. The product of a study conducted in the mid to late 1980's, Ostrower's work takes readers to the other side of the globe, where philanthropy has been propagated as the responsibility and conduct of an elite set of wealthy individuals in and around New York City. As opposed to linking philanthropy to cultural values and long-standing tradition, Ostrower explains that philanthropy has been invented in its current form in America, and that all other giving is merely "charity" (17). Her definition of philanthropy is one shared by many who have done work in the field, which is that "…elites take philanthropy, however, and adapt it into an entire way of life that serves as a vehicle for the cultural and social life of their class, overlaying it with additional values and norms" (29).

Ostrower conducted interviews with 99 wealthy individuals in America, attempting to explain why wealthy individuals give, and how that so-called 'culture of giving' has affected the rest of the world. This includes the developing world, and the footprint that Ostrower believes elites would like to make outside of their geographic area (57). She observed that philanthropy for wealthy individuals is not a form of civic engagement, but a form of social stratification and advancement, as well as something many do out of guilt rather than affinity (99).

She shares this view with Joel L. Fleishman; whose work The Foundation: A Great American Secret: How Private Wealth is Changing the World connects the establishment of financial institutions and philanthropic giving mechanisms as something that is inherently the intellectual property of the Western world, and more specifically, the wealthy Western world (Fleishman 2007, 109).

Professor at University of Virginia in the United States Oliver Zunz, author of Philanthropy in America: A History, connects philanthropy to the Western world, however not simply to the realm of the elites. His research has focused on how so-called "mass philanthropy" has changed how cultures interact with each other, and more specifically how the Western world has impacted the developing world. His analysis of post-World War Two America indicates that Americans were able to use philanthropic giving as not just a shared cultural pastime, but as a form of nationalism and national identity (Zunz 2011, 65). As time passed, mass philanthropy, or the giving of money in small amounts by millions of Americans, became the norm (72).

"Mass Philanthropy" in America, according to Zunz, contributed to a robust nonprofit sector that would serve as both a reflection of society, but also a service provider for the United States Government (272). This allowed impact to extend far beyond national borders, and international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) took a more prominent place in philanthropic circles. According to Zunz, "It is now possible for every citizen willing to spend a little money to respond directly and almost instantly to world emergencies simply by sitting down at a computer or picking up a cell phone. The great beneficiaries of the new superfast mass philanthropy are the larger charities and INGOs, for they have the know-how to intervene when needed" (307).

Along the same lines, practitioners have perpetuated the idea that Western societies have an ethical responsibility to communities in the developing world to *be* philanthropic. In a compilation of best practices by western philanthropic institutions entitled Giving Well: The Ethics of Philanthropy published in 2011, writer Thomas Pogge attempts to dictate parameters for this responsibility in his chapter "How International Nongovernmental Organizations Should Act." He explains that these organizations have a high level of moral responsibility (Pogge 2011, 56) in allocating resources that are finite (94). He explains, "…an INGO should incorporate risk and uncertainty into its decision making in such a way as to maximize its expected long-run cost-effectiveness" (92). He also operates with certain assumptions about philanthropists, mainly that "…the affluent people giving money to INGOs are mostly white and somewhat racist" (90).

This historical record has led to a dialogue about philanthropy that has been somewhat one-sided. Western donors have been the empowered actors within this history, and those residing in developing countries have been the recipients. Despite Mauss' revelations about what a gift truly means in ancient societies and the community ties and traditions that contributed to its definition, the vast amount of discourse on gift-giving and philanthropic decision-making has left out this segment of the world's philanthropists.

*Analysing Alternative Philanthropy*

Beginning in approximately 2004, the literature on philanthropy and community giving takes a different turn. Aided partly by increased funding by private foundations such as the Ford Foundation and Charles Stewart Mott Foundation to study the landscape of so-called "local philanthropic efforts," large-scale and small-scale studies have emerged that look at specific regional philanthropic trends. This has included annual giving reports that look at global giving trends (see Charities Aid Foundation, 2013), as well as the analysis of institutions in the developing world. TrustAfrica[1] is just one such organization leading this research, and has fostered studies such as 2008's "Survey of African Regional Organizations – Civil Society Organizations, Research Institutes, and Think Tanks."

These studies have led to a small but robust canon of literature that focus primarily on how giving is manifested across many different country contexts. It is this canon of literature that has inspired some questions being addressed by this study. The largest academic study within this canon is that of Susan Wilkinson-Maposa, Alan Fowler, Ceri Oliver-Evans and Chao F.N. Mulenga completed in 2006. "The Poor Philanthropist: How and Why the Poor Help Each Other" study, supported by the Ford Foundation and housed within the University of Cape Town's Graduate School of Business, looked at Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, and Zimbabwe and how philanthropy was expressed by the "poor" communities within these countries (Wilkinson-Maposa et al 2006, viii).

The "Poor Philanthropist" study is the only study conducted at the community level on African philanthropy until this point. While it provides interesting insight and sets the basis for many types of dialogue around so-called "poor philanthropy," it also brings to light what other areas of research remain. The study looked at four countries, and conducted focus groups to discuss what "help" in these communities means (4). One of the interesting and potentially problematic aspects of this study is the fact that the amount of focus groups varied widely among countries, providing for a challenging context in which to compare results (25). The authors of the study deemed the "help" given among the poorest echelons of society in

[1] www.trustafrica.org

these four countries to be “horizontal philanthropy,” as opposed to the “vertical philanthropy” that is utilized among international donors, and among large organizations versus grassroots social movements (12).

One of the most important contributions to the discourse on indigenous philanthropy made by the Poor Philanthropist study aside from opening up the conversation to include poor communities is that it gives voice to the *reasons* why people give (40). This is crucial because it shows that poor recipients and donors of money, time, or social support *do* evaluate the recipients of this giving, and have ideas about what giving means in their community (41). As noted by the authors, “there is a consistency between who respondents said they do not/will not help and what their examples tell us about who they do help and/or go to for help. In short, one helps people who need help, are of high moral character, use help wisely, are thankful, and who one is on good terms with and who one can trust” (40).

Additionally, the “Poor Philanthropist” study created categories of people who are both recipients and givers of different types of help, which inform what types of bonds exist within local communities. They can include: Immediate Family; extended family; non-family; mutual assistance groups; informal associations; and formal associations (45). The study does look at geographic location as being a factor in how people decide who to help, and how much to help. A neighbor “could be one and the same as family or friend, as they are not mutually exclusive, particularly in a rural context. Neighbors are often considered as a surrogate ‘family’ and referred to using familial language. ‘Neighbor’ was often used by informants to refer to anyone with a particular affinity in terms of physical proximity” (41).

The study also introduced readers to the fact that philanthropy in Africa is not explained simply as a manifestation of the Xhosa philosophy “Ubuntu,” which is loosely translated as “I am because you are.” The philosophy is, across many types of literature (see Graham 2009, Wilkinson-Maposa, 2008, and Southern Africa Trust 2013) credited with being a “reason” for African philanthropy. The authors of “The Poor Philanthropist” indicate, however, that this is not a dominant enough reason. It is a factor, but requires further contextualization: “‘Ubuntu is vanishing, its complete, and now the language is ‘mind your own business.’ Because our homes differ in terms of income, where some have income and others do not have income, those with income give material help more than emotional help, and those homes with nothing provide emotional help and their presence.’” (58)

Wilkinson-Maposa added to the “Poor Philanthropist” study in 2009 to create “The Poor Philanthropist II” and “The Poor Philanthropist III,” both of which serve as tools for

practitioners working with communities in southern Africa. The findings have been compiled into a toolkit known as the "Multi-Directional Philanthropic Framework," which has in turn created a "Philanthropy of Community" wheel that demonstrates *how* donors and other actors can access resources within local communities for social change (Wilkinson-Maposa 2009, 18).

In addition to "The Poor Philanthropist," more recently international foundations as well as local wealthy African foundations (see Tony Elumelu Foundation, Mo Ibrahim Foundation) have expanded the call for research to include both academic and gray literature on the concept of African philanthropy, and how it can be interpreted both within and outside Africa. The most recent inception of this is the compilation: Giving to Help, Helping to Give, edited and released in 2013 by advocates and practitioners Tade Akin Ana and Bhekinkosi Moyo.

The collection of essays seeks to remind people "Philanthropy is no longer about narratives of passive, poor and miserable Africans receiving help from rich, fortunate, and often Western outsiders. The emerging narratives about philanthropy in Africa are about an increasingly confident and knowledgeable assertion of African capacities to give only to help, but also to transform and seek to address the root causes of injustice, want, ignorance, and disease" (Ana 2013, vii)

Texts such as these, while not examples of the academic rigor of "The Poor Philanthropist," further advance the discussion of what African philanthropy looks like and how it relates to larger discourses on culture, sociology, and psychology on the continent. One thing that is clear across the board is that while South Africa is mentioned several times in this volume (see Mahomed, Wilkinson-Maposa, Fowler 2013), Mozambique is not mentioned at all, and contributions from non-Anglophone Africa are rare.

Much of the discussion focuses on African philanthropy as a "phenomenon" that is impacted by cultural, geographic, and political considerations (4). There is a push from many individual authors to harness and institutionalize the philanthropic or charitable efforts that are happening in communities, and to "…use horizontal forms of philanthropy as the foundation for the vertical expression of modern day philanthropy" (Fowler 2013, 46).

Lastly, a number of texts drafted by nongovernmental organizations and foundations have grappled with the idea of local philanthropy and how donors and western audiences should look it at. Community-based organizations such as Cape Town's very own *Inyathelo: The South African Institute for Advancement* has written several concept papers, including "Advancing Philanthropy in South Africa" (Gastrow &Vayanos, 2009) which shifts discussion towards practitioners and how those involved with civil society organizations must think about institutionalizing philanthropic efforts in the South African context. One of the conclusions drawn from these texts is that philanthropy is best when institutionalized and organized according to a more regimented and organized framework. Whether this is directly in conflict with community definitions of philanthropy is not clear, however the texts themselves surmise that institutional philanthropic giving in the form of foundations, trusts, and other formal mechanisms can be a modern expression of traditional values such as *ubuntu*.

Aside from overall discussions by and for African philanthropy experts, including the work of Wilkinson-Maposa and others in the "Poor Philanthropist" study, there is no literature written about Mozambique in the context of philanthropic giving. There have been studies on donor corruption (see Hanlon 2004, Flaherty 2002) and how Mozambican activism has emerged post-civil war (LeFaunu 2013, 199). However, these discussions have lacked a bridge connecting Mozambique to the rest of the conversations on giving. This is important as Mozambique shares a regional position within Anglophone Africa, and yet has not been compared in this sense to the rest of its counterparts, particularly on issues of development and community discourse. Mozambique will add a dimension to the study that may differ from or be similar to the cultural definitions of philanthropy and the moral geographic boundaries that South Africa has.

Identifying the ways in which local communities express their own ideas of philanthropy is not a new idea, but one that has begun its evolution and expansion in earnest over the past twenty years of research. African philanthropy in particular, and developing country philanthropy more generally, has become a discourse whose form suggests the idea that of giving must resemble the philanthropic history and manner of the west. The need for more robust academic research to be conducted at the community level is evident, as is the ability to build off of and utilize the work of cultural geographers and sociological researchers alike. Additionally, the literature points to a deep desire to link cultural practice with a degree of uniformity; i.e. placing moral geographic expectations on individuals and organizations within communities themselves. This opens the discourse further, indicating the need for not just a look at the way in which people give and why, but also what pressures they face to conform to a certain geographic moral standard within Maputo.

*Research Design & Analysis*

This research study will utilise qualitative social science techniques prevalent in the cultural geography field of study. This includes individual interviews, and participant observation alongside focus groups and textual and transcript deconstruction and analysis, with particular attention paid to the role of individual and organisational narrative in forming community decision-making.

In order to maximise the depth and breadth of research, the project will focus on identifying and working with local institutions in my research sites and the people who are affiliated with these institutions. This is best conducted through the use of focus groups with supplemental interviews in order to engage the maximum amount of participants in a community group setting, which is familiar and culturally appropriate for the sites identified. The supplemental interviews will allow for further investigation based both on the results of the focus groups themselves, but also on recommendations from community members and other stakeholders. These include:

- Religious institutions (mosques, churches, temples)
- Local nonprofit organizations (sometimes designated as social welfare organizations)
- Formal and informal groups (women's groups, small business groups, local political affinity groups)

Looking at the institutions will allow for a sense of what types of institutions are organically formed and sustained in these neighbourhoods, as well as the priorities and values of those that are involved with them. One particularly strong caveat to the choice of these institutions is that each institution, in whichever form, must be locally managed and **majority funded by local people or organisations**. This is key to the potential outcome of the study, as many international nongovernmental organisations operate in neighbourhoods like these, however come with international funding, and may have less relevance to a discussion about community giving than those operating within the community itself.

The study will be conducted in Mozambique to both reveal the ways in which context affect the community giving practices of the different field sites, as well as to more appropriately build on questions in the philanthropy debate. Examining only one single site would provide interesting information on defining community giving practices, but would not further the focus of the discussion both within the lens of development, and within the realm of moral geography.

What is most important about comparing and contrasting two communities within Mozambique for the purposes of this study is that the methodology of interviews and focus groups allows for an analysis of what people *say* a community is like, and what is observed by the researcher in several different settings. According to Pamela Shurmer-Smith, "Interviews are useful for getting people to state the normative values of the community (the way that it is felt things 'ought' to be). For this reason they are particularly useful when dealing with leaders and public figures, who quite often will not talk to a mere researcher in any other way, and even then demand a prepared list of questions in advance. The interview, no matter how skilfully conducted, is artificial; this means that it is valuable for tapping into self-conscious practices, knowledge and beliefs." (Shurmer-Smith 2002, 96) This idea is carried through in presenting the two communities as a comparison in an attempt to look at how communities talk about themselves, and how their history and identity is demonstrated around the idea of community giving.

The two sites to be analysed will be:

*Mafalala/Minkadjuine:* The neighbourhoods of Mafalala and Minkadjuine are essentially one neighbourhood divided by a main road, Avenida de Angola. While Mafalala is more well known because of the famous Mozambican leaders who were born and grew up there, Minkadjuine is equally rich with history as one of Maputo's oldest neighbourhoods. The overall Mafalala area has recently become home to a new influx of "historical tourists," those interested in learning about the birthplaces of Mozambican leaders such as first president Samora Machel and second president Joaqim Chissano.

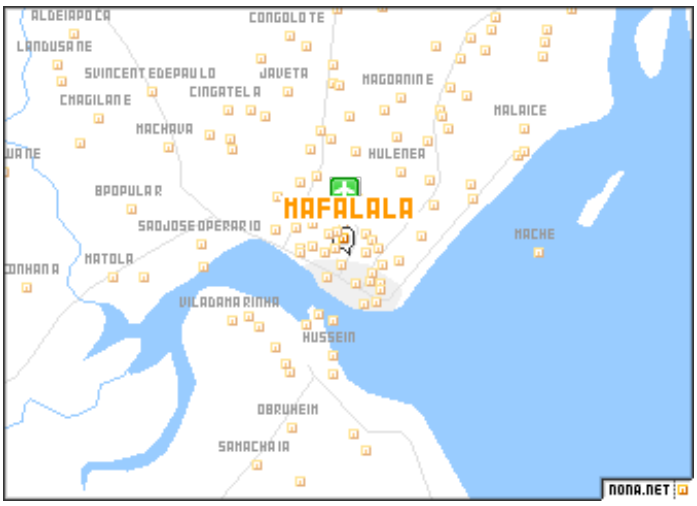


Image 1: Mafalala location within Greater Maputo (www.danatours.co.mz)

Image 2: Main road, Mafalala (Oppenheim, 2014)

*Zimpeto:* The Zimpeto neighbourhood, located approximately 5 kilometres from the city centre, is currently one of the most densely populated neighbourhoods in Maputo. It is relatively new in development, with housing first appearing en masse in the area in 1998. Unlike Mafalala/Minkadjuine, which has been a part of Maputo since the Portuguese colonial period, Zimpeto has arisen as a result of increased migration to Maputo of Mozambicans from the North of the country. The population of Zimpeto has also increased in the early part of the twenty-first century as a result of the massive return of refugees and internally displaced Mozambicans at the end of the Mozambican civil war in 1992. It is also currently home to massive development with funds from the Chinese government in Mozambique, including the presence of a large sports stadium, constructed at a cost of nearly $65 million U.S. Dollars. (Soares da Costa, 2011)

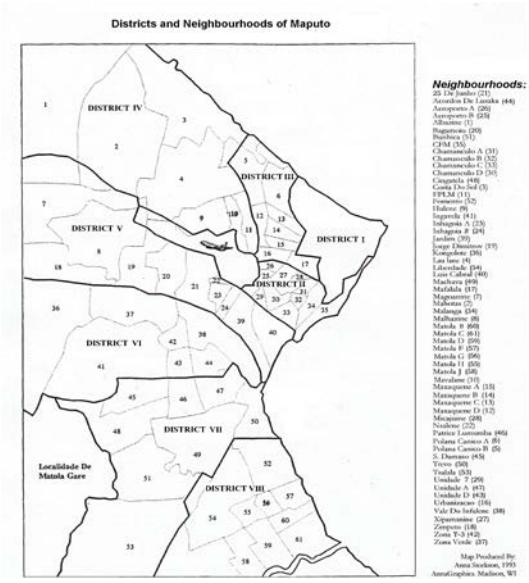


Image 1: Districts of Maputo, including Zimpeto (www.almalink.org)

Image 2: Zimpeto Stadium and informal market (Oppenheim, 2014)

In choosing the research sites, several important criteria were considered:

- Access to interview sites (both logistical access and language access)
- Neighbourhoods with similarities in historical context (i.e. Choosing one well established neighbourhood, and choosing one neighbourhood in each country made up of more recent migrants.)
- Previous field research conducted in the neighbourhood
- Ability to identify institutions within the neighbourhood

*Data Collection:*

Data collection will include the following methods:

- Focus Group interviews within each site

For the purposes of getting a comprehensive view of each of the neighbourhoods, two focus groups will be organized within each field study site. The focus groups will include representatives from various institutions, and will be advertised both through the institutions themselves as well as through word of mouth and posted signs with logistical information.

- Participant Observation notes

The participant observation aspect of this study will include participation in activities in the neighbourhoods that will better inform the sense of experience that community members have when going about activities both within their organisations and without. It will also provide a base from which to build trust and camaraderie with community members overall. An example of this will be attending and observing religious services within the field sites, which will provide an opportunity to both participate in and observe the activities of the different institutions and how they differ or are the same from each other and from those outside of the geographic area.

- Mapping of all neighbourhoods and civil society organisations within each of them

*Importance of the Study*

One of the largest challenges facing the developing world today is the intersection between where local "culture" ends and the plotted course of "development" begins. Many conversations by prominent scholars (Sachs 2011) have separated the conversations, placing the development of countries, both socially and economically, in the hands of institutions, governments, and the "international world order" rather than local individuals and communities that make up these societies. This is problematic for several reasons, including the neglect of local philanthropic efforts to stimulate multifaceted development across the developing world.

Additionally, focusing the community studies themselves in Maputo, Mozambique allows for the results to reflect not only an understudied country like Mozambique, but also community contexts that can be used as models for future comparison studies. Described further in the methodology section, the study itself will look at one old and established community and one community that has been newly created within the last 15 years as a

result of post-conflict migration, something happening all over countries throughout the developing world - particularly in Africa.

There have also been very few studies conducted on local charitable and philanthropic effort in the developing world, leading to a conversation dominated by funders and other stakeholders on the state of philanthropy being derived from and dictated by western discourse (Fleishman 2008, Zunz 2011). However, growing trends within the development studies debates indicate that those involved in development *must* begin to think more local about communities, and shift the conversation to funding initiatives that have local buy-in (Munk, 2013). This set of debates about aid directly intersects with the debates occurring in the geography field of study, particularly in the discussion of moral geography, I.e. Delineating responsibility based on geographic location. What is lacking is a set of academic research drawing on bringing these fields together. This study will allow for this connectivity.

It is also crucial to open up both sets of discourse to a more non-Anglophone audience. Mozambique has itself been studied very little compared to the rest of southern Africa, and even Africa overall. Community studies that exist on Mozambique have been mainly interested in issues of migration and urban development both pre- and post-1990's civil war (Jenkins, 2001 and 2009) and none reflect intensive narrative study on community giving. Even studies such as "The Poor Philanthropist," which is discussed at length in the literature review section of this proposal (Wilkinson-Maposa, 2006), addresses both Mozambique and the other countries it looks at in a very general manner, not focusing on the issues that are particular to those national contexts. More is needed on Mozambique to determine what makes it similar to and different from other countries in the region on these subjects to better inform further work on community development.

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