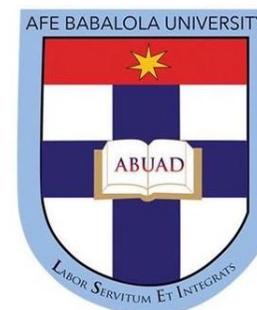




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BRIDGING THE GAP: HARNESSING DIASPORA PHILANTHROPY FOR SUSTAINABLE RURAL INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE

Lewis Edwin Chigova* and Costa Hofisi* *

ABSTRACT

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Research on diaspora philanthropy's contribution to rural development is growing. With increasing Zimbabwean emigration, investigating the migration-remittance-development nexus is vital. This paper explores the main drivers, actors, and opportunities central to diaspora philanthropy in bridging the resource gap in rural development through a qualitative research approach. Document analysis and literature review are applied as data collection tools. It uses Ubuntu, Stewardship Theory, and the United Nations' "leaving no one behind" mantra as theoretical frameworks to showcase how diaspora philanthropy can aid in bridging the resource gap in rural infrastructure development. The paper highlights the rural projects that have received support from diaspora communities in Zimbabwe. Additionally, the paper exposes the institutional, legal and policy frameworks enabling diaspora philanthropic activities in Zimbabwe to maximise their potential impact on rural communities. It concludes that diaspora philanthropy contributes to sustainable rural infrastructure development. The paper recommends reviewing the Zimbabwe diaspora policy and enacting enabling legislation to provide clear guidelines for enabling frameworks for diaspora philanthropic activities.

Keywords: diaspora philanthropy, remittances, rural infrastructure, migration, sustainable development, Zimbabwe.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Globally, human migration has acted as a development catalyst for several countries. Koff succinctly argues that “migrants have historically contributed to development as actors”.¹ One widely accepted contribution is through remittances sent to the migrants’ countries of origin. Countries such as Mexico, Israel, China, the Philippines, India, Nigeria, and Somalia are some of the largest recipients of migrant remittances. The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) (2022) stresses that more than 70 countries rely on remittances for at least four per cent of their gross domestic product.² Thus far, diaspora philanthropy, the exercise of sending resources to the home country, has advanced with the waves of global migration.^{3 4} Several studies have investigated diaspora philanthropy in different areas.^{5 6 7 8 9 10}

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- ¹ Harlan Koff, 'Diaspora philanthropy in the context of policy coherence for development: Implications for the post-2015 Sustainable Development Agenda' (2017) 55 *International Migration* 5 5.
- ² International Fund for Agricultural Development, '12 reasons why remittances are important' <<https://www.ifad.org/en/web/latest/-/12-reasons-why-remittances-are-important>> accessed 30 June 2022.
- ³ Deby Babis, Ester Zychlinski and Maya Kagan, 'Comparing transnational and communal diaspora philanthropies among temporary migrant workers: The case of the Filipino community in Israel' (2021) 32 *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 372.
- ⁴ Shawn Teresa Flanigan, 'Crowdfunding and diaspora philanthropy: An integration of the literature and major concepts' (2017) 28 *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 492.
- ⁵ Babis, Zychlinski and Kagan, 'Comparing transnational and communal diaspora philanthropies among temporary migrant workers: The case of the Filipino community in Israel' 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa
- ⁶ Mark Sidel, 'A decade of research and practice of diaspora philanthropy in the Asia Pacific region: The state of the field' (2021) *Univ of Wisconsin Legal Studies Research Paper*.
- ⁷ Susan Appe and Ayelet Oreg, 'Philanthropic entrepreneurs who give overseas: An exploratory study of international giving through grassroots organizations' (2020) 49 *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 502
- ⁸ Hanna Shaul Bar Nissim, "'New diaspora philanthropy'? The philanthropy of the UJA-Federation of New York toward Israel' (2019) 48 *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 839.
- ⁹ Anne Monier, 'The role of social capital in transnational elite philanthropy: The example of the American Friends groups of French cultural institutions' (2018) 16 *Socio-Economic Review* 387.

¹¹Throughout the numerous studies, the significance of diaspora communities in development has been emphasised, but it is important to acknowledge that the country systems exhibit differences.

In recent years, many reasons have been attributed to the attraction of studies relooking at the concept of diaspora philanthropy. Koffi ¹² located diaspora philanthropy policy coherence context within the sustainable development goals. Plasterer's study on Somali migrants shows that one of the most significant signs of optimism was the diaspora's unwavering desire to assist with peace-building and development.¹³ Babis et al. explored and compared the dynamics of communal and transnational philanthropies among migrant workers by looking at the Filipino community in Israel.¹⁴ The importance of studying diaspora philanthropy has been amplified by the need for alternative financing methods to achieve sustainable development goals (SDGs) and ensure that no one is left behind. Further, this scholarly inquiry is particularly relevant to the African Union's Agenda 2063 and Zimbabwe's goal of becoming a middle-income country by 2030. This fitting backdrop shows the need to explore the diaspora philanthropy framework's applicability to rural infrastructure development in Zimbabwe. The imperative for such an exploration is to respond to new developmental realities, such as declining official development assistance to third-world countries like Zimbabwe.¹⁵

This study specifically focuses on analysing Zimbabwe for the following reasons. Zimbabwe is experiencing a significant increase

¹⁰ Nishikant Singh and Priyanka Koiri, 'Migration, diaspora and development: impressions from India' (2018) 12 *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy* 472.

¹¹ Kathleen Newland, Aaron Terrazas and Roberto Munster, *Diaspora philanthropy: Private giving and public policy* (Migration Policy Institute 2010).

¹² Koffi, 'Diaspora philanthropy in the context of policy coherence for development: Implications for the post-2015 Sustainable Development Agenda'.

¹³ Robyn Plasterer, *Transnational philanthropy: Somali youth in Canada and Kenya* (UNHCR, Policy Development and Evaluation Service 2011).

¹⁴ Babis, Zychlinski and Kagan, 'Comparing transnational and communal diaspora philanthropies among temporary migrant workers: The case of the Filipino community in Israel'.

¹⁵ Lewis Edwin Chigova and Costa Hofisi, 'Diaspora philanthropy for rural infrastructural developmental projects in Zimbabwe: Trends, challenges and opportunities', *The diaspora* (Forthcoming).

in its migrant population.¹⁶ As a result, there has been a rise in yearly remittances, as reported by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, contributing to 10.1% of the country's GDP in 2021.¹⁷ However, Zimbabwe faces socioeconomic challenges, such as budgetary constraints and an 80% national infrastructure financing gap.¹⁸ These challenges have been worsened by the decline of official development assistance and the difficulty in attracting foreign direct investment, limiting opportunities for private participation in rural development.¹⁹ To address rural infrastructure development shortfalls, diaspora philanthropy presents an innovative strategy considering new social and economic realities.²⁰ Chigova and Hofisi²¹ argue that the relationship between diaspora philanthropy and rural infrastructure development in Zimbabwe has not been adequately examined.

Previous research documents several case studies of remittances' contributions to migrants' countries of origin. Identifiable previous studies from Sub-Saharan Africa contend that remittances can lead to improvements in the community infrastructure, such as schools, health centres, and roads.^{22 23 24 25}

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- ¹⁶ Zimbabwe National Statistical Agency, '2022 Population and Housing Census: Preliminary Report on Migration' <https://www.zimstat.co.zw/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/Migration_2022_PHC_Report_Final.pdf> accessed 20 November 2022.
- ¹⁷ World Bank, 'Personal remittances, received (% of GDP) - Zimbabwe' <<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.TRF.PWKR.DT.GD.ZS?locations=ZW>> accessed 19 November 2022.
- ¹⁸ Tonderai Kapesa, Gift Mugano and Houdini Fourie, 'Financing public infrastructure in Zimbabwe: Current trends and future alternatives' (2021) 10 *Public and Municipal Finance* 82.
- ¹⁹ United Nations - Zimbabwe, 'Common country analysis Zimbabwe 2021' <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/UNCT_ZW_CommonCountryAnalysis_2021Final_0.pdf> accessed 4 November 2021.
- ²⁰ Rosemary Vargas-Lundius and others, 'International migration, remittances and rural development' <<https://www.fao.org/3/ak405e/ak405e.pdf>> accessed 30 June 2022.
- ²¹ Chigova and Hofisi, 'Diaspora philanthropy for rural infrastructural developmental projects in Zimbabwe: Trends, challenges and opportunities'.
- ²² Richard H Adams Jr and Alfredo Cuecuecha, 'The impact of remittances on investment and poverty in Ghana' (2013) 50 *World Development* 24.
- ²³ Deodat E Adenutsi, 'Do international remittances promote human development in poor countries? Empirical evidence from Sub-Saharan Africa' (2010) 4 *International Journal of Applied Economics and Finance* 31.
- ²⁴ John C Anyanwu and Andrew EO Erhijakpor, 'Do international remittances affect poverty in Africa?' (2010) 22 *African Development Review* 51.
- ²⁵ Pernilla Larsson and Josefin Ångman, 'Remittances and development: Empirical evidence from 99 developing countries' <<https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:733959/FULLTEXT01.pdf>>.

The continuous rise in remittance flows makes diaspora philanthropy a critical area for additional research.²⁶ This research aims to analyse diaspora philanthropy and expand the conversation on migration, remittances, and development. This is done through a case study approach considering Zimbabwe's unique variables. The inquiry complements and fills the research gaps left by earlier studies focussing on diaspora strategies that generate favourable environments for incentivising diaspora philanthropy²⁷ and diaspora strategies intended to engage individuals with their homeland.²⁸

In terms of theoretically espousing diaspora philanthropy, the study's theoretical exposition is anchored on Ubuntu, Stewardship Theory, and the United Nations mantra of leaving no one behind. The central academic contribution of this paper is advancing an Ubuntu-driven diaspora philanthropy that aims to make migrant communities stewards of their communities of origin whilst leaving no one behind in the development agenda. This inquiry stands out from previous investigations as it utilises a unique theoretical framework that has not been used before, even in the studies on motivational factors.^{29 30 31 32} The second policy contribution of this paper is to influence the Zimbabwe Economic Development/Growth Strategy to consider diaspora philanthropy as an alternative model of financing rural development. The basis of this input is rooted in studies by, for example, Devesh Kapur's seminal work, which conceptualises remittances as the "new development mantra",³³ and Shirlita Espinosa, who views

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Mark Boyle, Rob Kitchin and Delphine Ancien, 'Ireland's diaspora strategy: Diaspora for development?', *Migrations* (Manchester University Press 2016).

²⁸ Nir Cohen, 'Diaspora strategies: Actors, members, and spaces' (2017) 11 *Geography Compass* e12308.

²⁹ Shaul Bar Nissim, "'New diaspora philanthropy'? The philanthropy of the UJA-Federation of New York toward Israel'.

³⁰ Jennifer M Brinkerhoff, 'Creating an enabling environment for diasporas' participation in homeland development' (2012) 50 *International Migration* 75.

³¹ Smadar Lavie and Ted Swedenburg, *Displacement, diaspora, and geographies of identity* (Duke University Press 1996).

³² Tjai M Nielsen and Liesl Riddle, 'Investing in peace: The motivational dynamics of diaspora investment in post-conflict economies' (2009) 89 *Journal of Business Ethics* 435.

³³ Devesh Kapur, *Remittances: the new development mantra?* (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) 2003).

diaspora philanthropy as an alternative to development aid.³⁴ Thirdly, this paper acknowledges that the National Development Strategy 2021-2025 proposes “improving diaspora participation in national development” by, for instance, reviewing the Diaspora Policy and enacting the enabling legislation.³⁵ Hence, this study argues for a framework, for example, that can inform Zimbabwe’s new diaspora policy to include diaspora philanthropy as a specific instrument for rural infrastructure development.

This paper is organised in the following manner: after this introduction, the paper discusses literature on the understanding of diaspora philanthropy. After that the paper’s theoretical expositions are presented, followed by the methodology. The other sections discuss diaspora philanthropy in Zimbabwe, the primary actors involved, the institutional, legal and policy frameworks, the main challenges and opportunities, and environmental factors’ influence. The paper concludes with recommendations and proposed areas for further research.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Previous research shows that the practice of diaspora philanthropy is centuries old.^{36 37 38} However, diaspora philanthropy’s emergence as a research field can be traced to the beginning of the twenty-first century, and its definition has evolved over the years.^{39 40} Seminal studies that used the term diaspora philanthropy include Eliezer David Jaffe^{41 42} and Israel Katz⁴³,

³⁴ Shirlita Africa Espinosa, 'Diaspora philanthropy: The making of a new development aid?' (2016) 5 *Migration and Development* 361.

³⁵ Zimbabwe Treasury, *National Development Strategy 2021-2025* (Zim-Treasury 2020).

³⁶ Paula D Johnson, *Diaspora philanthropy: Influences, initiatives, and issues* (Philanthropic Initiative 2007).

³⁷ Newland, Terrazas and Munster, *Diaspora philanthropy: Private giving and public policy*.

³⁸ Plasterer, *Transnational philanthropy: Somali youth in Canada and Kenya*.

³⁹ Babis, Zychlinski and Kagan, 'Comparing transnational and communal diaspora philanthropies among temporary migrant workers: The case of the Filipino community in Israel'.

⁴⁰ Sidel, 'A decade of research and practice of diaspora philanthropy in the Asia Pacific region: The state of the field'.

⁴¹ Eliezer D Jaffe, 'The crisis in Jewish philanthropy' (1987) 2 *Tikkun* 27.

involving Jewish donations to Israel.⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ Diaspora philanthropy's other conceptual variations include homeland philanthropy, migrant philanthropy, transnational giving, transnational philanthropy, and communal philanthropy.⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ Both remittance and diaspora philanthropy scholarships show the complexity of distinguishing between remittances and philanthropy since the two are neither synonymous nor mutually exclusive.⁴⁸ Sidel ⁴⁹ concurs by submitting that the variance between remittances and diaspora philanthropy is intricate and thin. Fagen, ⁵⁰ Plasterer ⁵¹ and Flanigan ⁵² explain that remittances represent a fraction of diaspora philanthropy, which includes the intense exchanges of ideas, ideologies, goods, volunteer labour, knowledge, skills, political practices, technological understanding, and other forms of social capital. On the other hand, Johnson ⁵³ reasons that diaspora philanthropy merely constitutes a tiny share of remittance flows that migrants send to their countries of origin.

Lethlean ⁵⁴ provided one of the earliest definitions of diaspora philanthropy by stating that it includes "individual and organised giving to causes or organisations in an original homeland by a population outside of its homeland". Johnson ⁵⁵ also offered a

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- ⁴² Eliezer David Jaffe, 'Sociological and religious origins of the non-profit sector in Israel' (1993) 8 *International Sociology* 159.
- ⁴³ Israel Katz, 'Israeli society and Diaspora philanthropy: How well does the gift perform?' in Barry A. Kosmin, Paul Ritterband and (eds), *Contemporary Jewish Philanthropy in America* (Rowman & Littlefield 1991).
- ⁴⁴ Babis, Zychlinski and Kagan, 'Comparing transnational and communal diaspora philanthropies among temporary migrant workers: The case of the Filipino community in Israel'.
- ⁴⁵ Sidel, 'A decade of research and practice of diaspora philanthropy in the Asia Pacific region: The state of the field'.
- ⁴⁶ Babis, Zychlinski and Kagan, 'Comparing transnational and communal diaspora philanthropies among temporary migrant workers: The case of the Filipino community in Israel'.
- ⁴⁷ Johnson, *Diaspora philanthropy: Influences, initiatives, and issues*.
- ⁴⁸ Plasterer, *Transnational philanthropy: Somali youth in Canada and Kenya*.
- ⁴⁹ Sidel, 'A decade of research and practice of diaspora philanthropy in the Asia Pacific region: The state of the field'.
- ⁵⁰ Patricia Weiss Fagen, *Migration, development and social services* (Georgetown University 2009).
- ⁵¹ Plasterer, *Transnational philanthropy: Somali youth in Canada and Kenya*.
- ⁵² Flanigan, 'Crowdfunding and diaspora philanthropy: An integration of the literature and major concepts'.
- ⁵³ Johnson, *Diaspora philanthropy: Influences, initiatives, and issues*.
- ⁵⁴ Esther Lethlean, *Diaspora: The new philanthropy?* (Queensland University of Technology 2003) 1.
- ⁵⁵ Johnson, *Diaspora philanthropy: Influences, initiatives, and issues*.

more detailed definition of diaspora philanthropy by including the following elements: (1) charitable giving from individuals who reside outside their homeland, (2) maintain a sense of identity with their home country, (3) give to causes or organisations in that country, and (4) give for public benefit. Throughout the years, the definitions of diaspora philanthropy have been modified by different scholars in their evolution. For example, Koff⁵⁶ defines diaspora philanthropy as “a diaspora’s transfer of resources to its country of origin in the framework of transnational philanthropy”. Likewise, Abdel-Samad and Flanigan⁵⁷ give a more refined definition of diaspora philanthropy reasoning that it involves: “...diaspora members assisting in various forms (money, goods, volunteer labour, knowledge, skills, and other assets) for the social benefit of members of an ancestral community beyond the individual’s immediate family members, in a country or region where there is a population with whom the donor has ancestral ties”. This study follows the above definition by Abdel-Samad and Flanigan.⁵⁸ Further, it emphasises that supported rural community infrastructure includes that which qualifies as public goods in terms of their non-rivalry and non-excludability. As conceptualised in this study, sustainable infrastructure development includes projects that involve time to time building or rehabilitating school and health facilities, sinking or rehabilitating boreholes, providing piped water systems, electrifying facilities, construction or refurbishment of dip-tanks, and other developments in rural areas.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Koff, 'Diaspora philanthropy in the context of policy coherence for development: Implications for the post-2015 Sustainable Development Agenda'.

⁵⁷ Mounah Abdel-Samad and Shawn Teresa Flanigan, 'Social accountability in diaspora organizations aiding Syrian migrants' (2019) 57 *International Migration* 329 330.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Chigova and Hofisi, 'Diaspora philanthropy for rural infrastructural developmental projects in Zimbabwe: Trends, challenges and opportunities'.

3. UBUNTU, STEWARDSHIP THEORY AND LEAVING NO ONE BEHIND AS THEORETICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL FRAMEWORKS FOR DIASPORA PHILANTHROPY

Ubuntu starts from the maxim “a person is a person through other persons”.⁶⁰ ⁶¹ Ubuntu is presented as a grounded theoretical conception of development ⁶² and a moral theory.⁶³ ⁶⁴ In context, Ubuntu emphasises that people depend on each other to fulfil their humanity. The core principle of Ubuntu is the responsibility to assist the community as a moral obligation.⁶⁵ Past studies show that diaspora groups maintain sentimental and material links to their homeland through networks of shared cultural, religious, and social traditions.⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ To this end, Ubuntu promotes diaspora participation in community development. The Ubuntu interpretation in this study follows a capabilities approach that suggests that material resources can enable care relationships.⁶⁸ In line with Ubuntu's thinking, material resources promote good participation in the community. ⁶⁹ Diaspora philanthropy is conceptualised through Ubuntu as an expression of commitment

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- ⁶⁰ Thaddeus Metz, 'Human dignity, capital punishment, and an African moral theory: Toward a new philosophy of human rights' (2010) 9 *Journal of Human Rights* 81.
- ⁶¹ Thaddeus Metz and Joseph BR Gaie, 'The African ethic of Ubuntu/Botho: Implications for research on morality' (2010) 39 *Journal of moral education* 273.
- ⁶² Motsamai Molefe, 'Ubuntu and development: An African conception of development' (2019) 66 *Africa Today* 97.
- ⁶³ Metz, 'Human dignity, capital punishment, and an African moral theory: Toward a new philosophy of human rights'.
- ⁶⁴ Augustine Shutte, *Ubuntu: An ethic for a new South Africa* (Cluster Publications 2001).
- ⁶⁵ Matthew Crippen, 'Africapitalism, Ubuntu, and Sustainability' (2021) 43 *Environmental Ethics* 235.
- ⁶⁶ Shaul Bar Nissim, "“New diaspora philanthropy”? The philanthropy of the UJA-Federation of New York toward Israel'.
- ⁶⁷ S. Vertovec, 'Religion and diaspora' in P. Antes, A. W. Geertz and R. Warne (eds), *New approaches to the study of religion vol 2* (Verlag de Gruyter 2004).
- ⁶⁸ Nimi Hoffmann and Thaddeus Metz, 'What can the capabilities approach learn from an Ubuntu ethic? A relational approach to development theory' (2017) 97 *World Development* 153.
- ⁶⁹ Shutte, *Ubuntu: An ethic for a new South Africa*.

by migrants to the overall good of their communities of origin. Under the Ubuntu theoretical approach, migrants' participation in rural infrastructure development through diaspora philanthropy in "healthcare enables them to take care of others and in education facilitates their contribution to others' well-being".⁷⁰ Linked to the Ubuntu theory is the ability of diaspora philanthropy to develop migrants into "stewards" of rural infrastructure development.

The concept of stewardship is widely used in environmental protection and religious practices⁷¹ and has, over the years, extended its use to management and development studies.⁷² The Stewardship Theory centralises the idea of service for others and not self-interest.⁷³⁷⁴ Like Ubuntu, the theory "assumes a commitment to the welfare, growth and wholeness of others..."⁷⁵ Under the stewardship theoretical framework, migrants are viewed as loyal to their communities of origin. According to Hernandez,⁷⁶ the Stewardship Theory alludes to the "extent to which an individual willingly subjugates his or her interests to act in protection of others' long-term welfare". Hence, in its limited application, the Stewardship Theory adheres to collectivism.⁷⁷ This paper argues that diaspora philanthropy is part of stewardship strategies to develop rural infrastructure. Armstrong⁷⁸ shows that stewardship strategies include "the building of a number of relationships, partnerships and collaborations that self-manage and self-regulate" several aspects of rural development projects. The paper submits that adopting Ubuntu and

⁷⁰ Hoffmann and Metz, 'What can the capabilities approach learn from an Ubuntu ethic? A relational approach to development theory'.

⁷¹ Jim Armstrong, *Stewardship and Public Service: A Discussion Paper Prepared for The Public Service Commission of Canada* (Public Service Commission of Canada 1997).

⁷² Andrew Keay, 'Stewardship theory: is board accountability necessary?' (2017) 59 *International Journal of Law and Management* 1292.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ Peter Block, *Stewardship: Choosing service over self-interest* (Berrett-Koehler Publishers 1993).

⁷⁵ Cam Caldwell and Ranjan Karri, 'Organizational governance and ethical systems: A covenantal approach to building trust' (2005) 58 *Journal of business ethics* 249 255.

⁷⁶ Morela Hernandez, 'Toward an understanding of the psychology of stewardship' (2012) 37 *Academy of management review* 172 174.

⁷⁷ Keay, 'Stewardship theory: is board accountability necessary?'

⁷⁸ Armstrong, *Stewardship and Public Service: A Discussion Paper Prepared for The Public Service Commission of Canada*.

Stewardship to reflect on diaspora philanthropy forms part of efforts to make rural communities not be left behind.

The mantra “leave no one behind” was pledged by the United Nations member states when they adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The Agenda for Sustainable Development acknowledges the essential nature of human dignity and strives to prioritise those who are the farthest behind.⁷⁹ The “leave no one behind” thinking is central to attaining Sustainable Development Goals. The United Nations Committee for Development Policy⁸⁰ argues that several countries must take advantage of opportunities for inclusive rural development. Rural infrastructure development is one of the critical developmental areas lagging in many developing countries and creating uneven development. The philosophical thinking enunciated in leaving no one behind has become a guiding pillar in developing enablers of strategies to improve health, education, water, and sanitation outcomes and reduce extreme poverty, particularly in marginalised communities such as rural areas.

Nobel laureate Elinor Ostrom asks, “What should we do about community problems?”⁸¹ The study attempts to reason that triangulating Ubuntu, Stewardship and leaving no one behind can provide a theoretical and philosophical exposition to justify the use of diaspora philanthropy in rural economic development. The three frameworks explore diaspora philanthropy as “an expression of strong transnational social bonds and of the wish to improve the lives of those left behind”.⁸² The paper argues that the approaches discussed have significant features and important theoretical foundations that should be considered when understanding the importance of reflecting diaspora philanthropy in sustainable rural infrastructure development.

⁷⁹ United Nations, 'Sustainable Development Goals kick off with start of new year' <<https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/blog/2015/12/sustainable-development-goals-kick-off-with-start-of-new-year/>> accessed 20 November 2022.

⁸⁰ The United Nations Committee for Development Policy, Committee for Development Policy 20th Plenary Session (United Nations 2018).

⁸¹ Elinor Ostrom, 'A communitarian approach to local governance' (1993) 82 *National Civic Review* 226.

⁸² Hein De Haas, 'Migration and development: A theoretical perspective' (2010) 44 *International Migration Review* 227.

4. METHODOLOGY

This paper delves into diaspora philanthropy in sustainable rural infrastructure development in Zimbabwe, utilising a qualitative approach. Through this approach, the researchers investigated diaspora philanthropy's contribution to Zimbabwe's rural infrastructure development. The paper examined and generalised from selected activities mainly in rural areas from Matabeleland, Manicaland and Masvingo Provinces because they suffer from marginalisation and underdevelopment. The second reason is that the 2022 Zimbabwe Census Report shows that Zimbabweans from the provinces contributed the highest numbers of emigrants and that the majority of emigrants seeking employment opportunities in other countries are from rural areas. The paper used document analysis to obtain crucial information on migration and remittances and examine the various projects in rural Zimbabwe supported by diaspora philanthropy. This method was preferred as documents objectively reflect reality.⁸³ Only reliable sources were used, including Zimbabwe Treasury fiscal statements, Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe monetary policy statements, Zimbabwe government policies, the World Bank, and the United Nations reports, media reports, and reports from intermediary community organisations. In addition, data was gathered through a literature review, and content analysis was used to analyse the information obtained. The researchers conducted a literature review on diaspora philanthropy and rural infrastructure development to establish a solid basis for the study and identify research areas requiring further exploration. The literature review approach included carefully analysing and synthesising existing studies from databases such as Google Scholar, PubMed, Scopus, and Web of Science. The authors utilised a range of relevant keywords, including diaspora philanthropy, migrant remittances, rural development, and

⁸³ A. S. F Silva, 'Document analysis' in C. Wagner, B. Kawulich and M. Garner (eds), *Doing social research: A global context* (McGraw Hill 2012).

Zimbabwe diaspora. Critically evaluating these studies helped the study comprehensively understand these topics central to diaspora philanthropy.

5. AN OVERVIEW OF DIASPORA PHILANTHROPY IN ZIMBABWE

Diaspora philanthropy provides immense opportunities for migrants to become stewards of their communities of origin. The philosophy of Ubuntu mandates that people take care of each other and participate in the development of their communities. Studies and policy documents, such as budget statements and development plans, corroborate the presence of significant resource constraints in Zimbabwe. According to Koffi,⁸⁴ diaspora philanthropy has the potential to assist developing communities in various ways, such as enabling the contribution of private resources, promoting collaborative development models, facilitating connections between local actors in host and home countries, and encouraging innovative partnerships between governments and non-governmental organisations. Official central bank statistics show that Zimbabwe received about US\$1.2 billion in remittances in 2020, US\$1.7 billion in 2021 and US\$1.9.7 million in 2022.⁸⁵ The World Bank⁸⁶ also exposed that Zimbabwe's diaspora population contributed nearly 10 per cent of the country's gross domestic product through financial remittances in 2020. The contribution of remittances to Zimbabwe's gross domestic product confirms the IFAD⁸⁷ findings that remittances are an engine of socio-economic growth and transformation – particularly for rural areas.

Admittedly, since remittances constitute about 10 per cent of Zimbabwe's gross domestic product, they contribute to SDGs.

⁸⁴ Koffi, 'Diaspora philanthropy in the context of policy coherence for development: Implications for the post-2015 Sustainable Development Agenda'.

⁸⁵ Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, Weekly Economic Highlights, 23 June 2023 (Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe 2023).

⁸⁶ World Bank, 'Personal remittances, received (% of GDP) - Zimbabwe' < <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.TRF.PWKR.DT.GD.ZS?locations=ZW> > accessed November 2021.

⁸⁷ International Fund for Agricultural Development, '12 reasons why remittances are important'.

The IFAD ⁸⁸ affirms that diaspora philanthropy plays a role in ending poverty (SDG 1) and hunger (SDG 2), promoting good health (SDG3), quality education (SDG 4), clean water and sanitation (SDG 6), decent work and economic growth (SDG 8); and reducing inequalities (SDG 10). In this case, attaining these sustainable development goals through mobilising diaspora philanthropy is vital for Zimbabwe's achieving middle-income status by 2030. Studies on Mexico, ⁸⁹ Nigeria, ⁹⁰ the Philippines,⁹¹ and Somalia ⁹² expose a relationship between remittances and diaspora philanthropy. Hence, a thesis showing an increase in remittances reflected in a rise in diaspora philanthropy is a reality that studies have proven to be true. Without any doubt, diaspora philanthropy emerges as a portion of remittance flows channelled to uplifting communities. ⁹³

The 2022 Zimbabwe national census survey report estimates on Zimbabwe's diaspora population postulate that almost a million Zimbabweans live in other countries, ⁹⁴ and figures are expected to grow due to the prevailing socio-economic conditions in the country. Past studies by Nissim ⁹⁵ and Vertovec ⁹⁶ observe that diaspora communities keep in touch with their countries of origin. Vargas-Lundius et al. ⁹⁷ add that because many migrants have established a continuous social and economic interaction with their communities of origin, they play unique roles as change agents in their countries. Similarly, migrant communities participate economically and in developing their Zimbabwean areas. Previous studies in Zimbabwe's Tsholotsho and Mutasa

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Araby Smyth, 'Re-reading remittances through solidarity: Mexican hometown associations in New York City' (2017) 85 *Geoforum* 12.

⁹⁰ Adenutsi, 'Do international remittances promote human development in poor countries? Empirical evidence from Sub-Saharan Africa'.

⁹¹ L Joyce Zapanta Mariano, 'Doing good in Filipino diaspora: Philanthropy, remittances, and homeland returns' (2017) 20 *Journal of Asian American Studies* 219.

⁹² Plasterer, *Transnational philanthropy: Somali youth in Canada and Kenya*.

⁹³ Flanigan, 'Crowdfunding and diaspora philanthropy: An integration of the literature and major concepts'.

⁹⁴ Zimbabwe National Statistical Agency, '2022 Population and Housing Census: Preliminary Report on Migration'.

⁹⁵ Shaul Bar Nissim, "'New diaspora philanthropy'? The philanthropy of the UJA-Federation of New York toward Israel'.

⁹⁶ Vertovec, 'Religion and diaspora'.

⁹⁷ Vargas-Lundius and others, 'International migration, remittances and rural development'.

districts show diaspora philanthropy supporting rural infrastructure projects.^{98 99} In these and other rural infrastructure developmental initiatives, (local and diaspora) communities have been at the centre of developing rural infrastructure projects such as schools, health facilities and water services. In other words, rural infrastructure development in Zimbabwe has been anchored in many ways on co-production, that is, collaborations between communities, governmental actors, churches, private sector, civil society sector and development partners, in different forms, structures and arrangements. The study delves into the topic of diaspora philanthropy and highlights the promotion of this concept through policies that mainly target migrant communities.¹⁰⁰ Various examples of rural development projects in Zimbabwe supported by citizens living abroad expose the willingness of diaspora communities to develop their ancestral communities.^{101 102} Below are some of the case studies reviewed.

In Zimbabwe, a non-profit organisation called Citizens Initiative¹⁰³ successfully crowdfunded from diaspora communities to provide aid to several schools, some of which were affected by Cyclone Idai in 2019. Among those aided was Masibinta Secondary School in the Binga district, where a school block was constructed in 2021. After the devastating Cyclone Idai in 2029, the organisation also coordinated the construction and refurbishing of classroom blocks, toilets, and water supply systems in other districts, such as Bikita, Chimanmani, and Chipinge. Citizens Initiative was responsible for coordinating the construction of classroom blocks at Rimbi Primary School and Mandara Primary School. They also assisted in completing

⁹⁸ Godfrey Tapfumaneyi Madziyire, 'Evaluating the impact of philanthropic activities in public high schools in Mutasa District, Zimbabwe: an educational management perspective', University of South Africa 2015).

⁹⁹ Gracious Ncube and Georgina Gómez, 'Remittances in rural Zimbabwe: From consumption to investment?' (2015) 4 *International Journal of Development and Sustainability* (IJDS)(Online) 181.

¹⁰⁰ Koff, 'Diaspora philanthropy in the context of policy coherence for development: Implications for the post-2015 Sustainable Development Agenda'.

¹⁰¹ Madziyire, 'Evaluating the impact of philanthropic activities in public high schools in Mutasa District, Zimbabwe: an educational management perspective'.

¹⁰² Ncube and Gómez, 'Remittances in rural Zimbabwe: From consumption to investment?'.

¹⁰³ Citizens Initiative 2022) <<https://www.citizensinitiative.org/>> accessed 10 October 2022.

another classroom block at Ndima Primary School, refurbished a classroom block at Rimbi Primary School, built toilets at Ngangu Primary School, finished the construction of toilets at Tafara High School, and provided water pipes to connect to clean water at Ndima High School. A study on philanthropy conducted by Madziyire in Mutasa District, Manicaland Province, looked into 29 public high schools and found that approximately two-thirds received infrastructural support.¹⁰⁴ This support included improvements to classroom blocks, library buildings, school buildings' electrification, science laboratories, teacher's quarters, toilet blocks, and water supply.

The completion of various community projects in Bulilamangwe has been made possible with the support of diaspora communities. These projects include the Nyele Community Centre, which serves as a waiting mothers' shelter at Tokwana Clinic, as well as the construction of Zompata Primary School, Luvuluma Clinic, Hungwa Primary School, Dombodema Hall, and the refurbishment of Muke Primary School, Mnigau Primary School, and Macingwana Clinic.¹⁰⁵ Members of the diaspora communities mobilised financial resources for the rehabilitation of St Joseph dam in Bidi Village, Matobo District.¹⁰⁶ In the same district, members of the Fumugwe community in the diaspora mobilised funds and materials and constructed a building block at Fumugwe Clinic in 2015.¹⁰⁷

Figure 1 provides a comprehensive overview of diaspora philanthropy for sustainable rural infrastructure development in Zimbabwe. The diagrammatic presentation is based on the research philosophy of epistemological constructivism, which suggests that knowledge is subjective as it is socially

¹⁰⁴ Madziyire, 'Evaluating the impact of philanthropic activities in public high schools in Mutasa District, Zimbabwe: an educational management perspective.'

¹⁰⁵ Mthabisi Tshuma, 'Diasporans, locals key in infrastructure development' Chronicle (Bulawayo 18 August 2020) <<https://www.chronicle.co.zw/diasporans-locals-key-in-infrastructure-development/>> accessed 10 March 2023.

¹⁰⁶ Nkosilathi Sibanda, 'Diaspora fundraiser for St Joseph's Dam' Sunday News (Bulawayo 17 October 2020) <https://www.sundaynews.co.zw/diaspora-fundraiser-for-st-josephs-dam/#google_vignette> accessed 15 March 2022.

¹⁰⁷ World Vision Zimbabwe, 'New Clinic commissioned at Fumugwe, Matobo District' <<https://www.wvi.org/stories/zimbabwe/new-clinic-commissioned-fumugwe-matobo-district>> accessed 20 February 2022.

constructed.¹⁰⁸ According to Van der Waldt,¹⁰⁹ a framework designed through constructivism is founded on a solid theoretical framework encompassing a broader cognitive scale of abstraction. As discussed earlier, this paper employed qualitative research methods by reviewing existing literature and analysing documents for qualitative data collection. The Figure below is premised on data, method, and source triangulation by merging theoretical perspectives of Ubuntu, Stewardship Theory, and the United Nations leave no one behind thinking; migration-remittance-development praxis; extant literature; and the review of documents such as the Zimbabwean government policies, the 2013 constitution, official government data, World Bank Data and United Nations documents. The illustration represents “a causal network of variables or influences”¹¹⁰ that can also be appreciated as a network of interrelated concepts that, when combined, provide a comprehensive understanding and soft interpretation of diaspora philanthropy in rural infrastructure development.^{111 112}

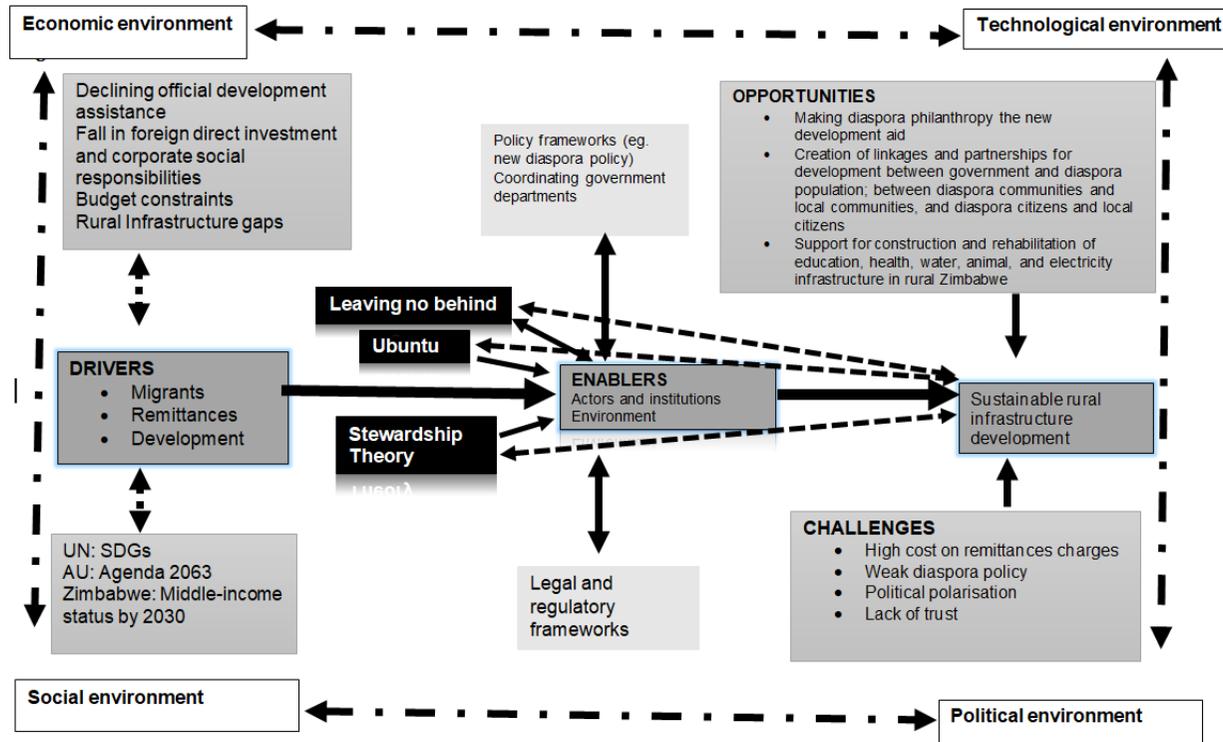
¹⁰⁸ Bagele Chilisa and Barbara Kawulich, 'Selecting a research approach: Paradigm, methodology and methods' (2012) 5 *Doing social research: A global context* 51.

¹⁰⁹ Gerrit Van der Waldt, 'The role of government in sustainable development: Towards a conceptual and analytical framework for scientific inquiry' (2016) 24 *Administratio Publica* 49.

¹¹⁰ Matthew B Miles and A Michael Huberman, *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (Sage 1994) 133.

¹¹¹ Van der Waldt, 'The role of government in sustainable development: Towards a conceptual and analytical framework for scientific inquiry'.

¹¹² Bas Levering, 'Concept analysis as empirical method' (2002) 1 *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 35.



The overview in Figure 1 summarises the factors influencing diaspora philanthropy's role in advancing rural infrastructure development in Zimbabwe. The paper has primarily revealed the drivers or reasons for diaspora philanthropy. It further underscores that Zimbabwe has a significant population of migrants, and official data indicates an increase in remittances to the country. Additionally, Zimbabwe faces resource constraints, struggles to attract foreign investment, and experiences a decline in official development assistance, like many other developing nations. Therefore, diaspora philanthropy stands out as a resource for developing rural education, healthcare, power, and water infrastructure. The study's theoretical framework underscores the essential roles played by Ubuntu as a moral and development theory, Stewardship Theory, and the philosophy of leaving no one behind. The subsequent sections elaborate on the enablers, challenges, and opportunities.

6. ACTORS IN DIASPORA PHILANTHROPY IN ZIMBABWE

Studies show several actors in diaspora philanthropy.^{113 114 115} The main participants in diaspora philanthropy in Zimbabwe are the migrants or members of the diaspora population. These migrants act as individuals in their capacities in informal and formal groups such as professional associations and private sector-led organisations. When diaspora philanthropy is exercised through tools such as crowdfunding, it tends to include many people and intermediaries.¹¹⁶ The other actors involved in diaspora philanthropy include individuals or organisations in the country of origin. In Zimbabwe, in the projects reviewed in this study, the main actors included non-governmental organisations acting as intermediaries between the diaspora and local communities. Organisations like the Matobo Community Trust Fund and Citizens Initiative often coordinate infrastructure development projects. For example, through mobilising resources, engaging local communities and providing general project administration support services. According to Vargas-Lundius et al.,¹¹⁷ various entities such as governments, financial institutions, and international development agencies must acknowledge the increasing influence of migrants on the economic and social development of countries receiving remittances. The study submits that the Zimbabwean government, through establishing legal, policy and institutional frameworks, must empower its diaspora citizens to mobilise each other and resources to develop rural infrastructures such as schools, health facilities and potable water services. Phenomena such as diaspora philanthropy prove that citizens in their communities are not helpless and incapable.

¹¹³ Babis, Zychlinski and Kagan, 'Comparing transnational and communal diaspora philanthropies among temporary migrant workers: The case of the Filipino community in Israel'.

¹¹⁴ Newland, Terrazas and Munster, 'Diaspora philanthropy: Private giving and public policy'.

¹¹⁵ Flanigan, 'Crowdfunding and diaspora philanthropy: An integration of the literature and major concepts'.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ Vargas-Lundius and others, 'International migration, remittances and rural development'.

¹¹⁸ However, they can be partners or co-producers with the government in solving community problems.

7. ZIMBABWE'S INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS FOR DIASPORA PHILANTHROPY

Currently, there is no public institution in Zimbabwe solely dedicated to coordinating activities related to diaspora philanthropy. Because of this, the National Development Strategy 2021-2025 proposes that the Government of Zimbabwe envisions “establishing formal institutional and coordination structures” to improve diaspora participation in national development. These structures play a crucial role in diaspora philanthropy.¹¹⁹ They must be transparent, inclusive, and flexible to new realities, such as the capacity to adapt to opportunities brought by new technologies.

Certain factors influence the institutions involved in developing rural infrastructure projects in Zimbabwe. These factors include the scale of the project, type of project and sector in which the project will be implemented. Small projects, for example, are likely to involve government less. A citizen is expected to drill a borehole and provide piped water or small irrigation systems in their village without affecting a government institution. On the other hand, the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education can allow a former student to refurbish a classroom block by engaging the school head or school development committee. Still, they might have first to engage the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education district schools inspectorate, rural district council or church authorities to, for instance, build a school block, provide a piped water system, or electrify a school. A much bigger project, like building a new school or health facility, attracts the involvement of different governmental ministries, institutions, and departments at various levels.

¹¹⁸ Ostrom, 'A communitarian approach to local governance'.

¹¹⁹ Zimbabwe Treasury, National Development Strategy 2021-2025.

8. LEGAL AND POLICY FRAMEWORKS FOR DIASPORA PHILANTHROPY IN SUSTAINABLE RURAL INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT

Coherent laws and policies are necessary to support diaspora philanthropic activities for sustainable development and policy implementation. The imperative has been heightened since the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and other organisations consider resourcing development central to the SDG agenda.¹²⁰ As such, Brinkerhoff¹²¹ argues that creating an enabling environment is necessary to incentivise and facilitate diasporan efforts for development. For example, Dziva and Kabonga¹²² identify ways to incorporate SDG targets into by-laws, policies, and development plans, create community and resource mobilisation partnerships, and fund SDGs in rural communities.

In its preamble, the 2013 Constitution of Zimbabwe¹²³ alludes that the people of Zimbabwe are “determined to overcome all challenges and obstacles that impede our progress”. Section 13(1d) of the Constitution provides that the state and its institutions must take measures to “bring about balanced development of the different areas of Zimbabwe, in particular, a proper balance in the development of rural and urban areas”.¹²⁴ Diaspora philanthropy is one way to assist the government in fulfilling these constitutional responsibilities. The challenge is that although the 2013 Constitution seeks, there is no enabling legislation for diaspora philanthropy in Zimbabwe.

¹²⁰ Koff, 'Diaspora philanthropy in the context of policy coherence for development: Implications for the post-2015 Sustainable Development Agenda'.

¹²¹ Brinkerhoff, 'Creating an enabling environment for diasporas' participation in homeland development'.

¹²² Cowen Dziva and Itai Kabonga, 'Opportunities and challenges for local government institutions in localising sustainable development goals in Zimbabwe' (2021) *Sustainable Development Goals for Society Vol 1: Selected topics of global relevance* 219.

¹²³ Republic of Zimbabwe, *Constitution of Zimbabwe* (Government Printers 2013).

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

The National Development Strategy 2021-2025 sets the tone for diaspora philanthropy.¹²⁵ The NDS 2021-2025 seeks to “improve diaspora participation in national development” by adopting the following strategies during the strategy period:

- a. Review the Diaspora Policy and enact the enabling legislation;
- b. Promote inside-out and homeland-driven diaspora engagement;
- c. Establish formal and institutional coordination structures; and
- d. Establish diaspora trade and investment frameworks to promote private-public partnerships with diaspora consortiums.¹²⁶

The government of Zimbabwe promises to review the 2006 Diaspora Policy, which is now obsolete, as acknowledged in the NDS 2021-2025.¹²⁷ This is an essential step towards formally operationalising and sustaining diaspora philanthropy activities in the country. The policy must incorporate diaspora philanthropy as a specific strategy for rural infrastructure development. It must emphasise the following policy actions:

- Delivering rural infrastructure development to marginalised communities in line with the SDGs and leaving no one behind
- Adhering to constitutional aspirations of overcoming all challenges and obstacles that impede the progress of the country as well as a striking balanced development of rural and urban areas
- Operationalising the NDS 2021-2025 by practically improving diaspora participation in national development
- Creation of a new diaspora policy and the enactment of enabling legislation as proposed in NDS 2021-2025
- Fostering a citizen-based co-production approach anchored on Ubuntu and Stewardship that engages diaspora communities, public agencies, the private sector and non-government organisations, digital tools, and rural communities.

The reviewed diaspora policy must be complemented by a coherent legal framework enunciated in the NDS 2021-2025. The

¹²⁵ Zimbabwe Treasury, National Development Strategy 2021-2025.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

enacted legislation must define what qualifies as diaspora philanthropy, put citizens at the centre of projects and give the government supportive and monitoring roles.

9. DIASPORA PHILANTHROPY: THE MAIN OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES IN RURAL INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT

Diaspora philanthropy gives Zimbabwe opportunities to develop rural infrastructure against a decline in official development assistance, foreign direct investments and budgetary restrictions. Therefore, the need for government to incorporate strategies enabling migrants to participate in rural development into their development agendas becomes imperative. The increase in remittances is undoubtedly encouraging, as reflected in the share of contribution to the gross domestic product, which stood at 10 per cent in 2020.¹²⁸ Also, since official statistics point to further increments in remittances received, remittances contributions to the gross domestic product are unquestionably rising. Against this backdrop, a submission can be made that diaspora philanthropy is the new development aid,¹²⁹ creating new development actors¹³⁰ in Zimbabwe. More so, according to the IFAD,¹³¹ between 2022 and 2030 (the target year for achieving the SDGs), an estimated US\$5.4 trillion will be sent by migrant workers back to their communities of origin in developing countries. Hence, as iDiaspora¹³² emphasised, the intersection between development and philanthropy is rooted in the recognition that neither the market nor government can do it alone regarding development. Recognising the reality of diaspora philanthropy, Zimbabwe's

¹²⁸ World Bank, 'Personal remittances, received (% of GDP) - Zimbabwe'.

¹²⁹ Espinosa, 'Diaspora philanthropy: The making of a new development aid?'

¹³⁰ Meryem Senay Ataselim, 'Diaspora as development actors: A source of human and social capital for local development in Turkey', City University of New York (2014).

¹³¹ International Fund for Agricultural Development, '12 reasons why remittances are important'.

¹³² iDiaspora, 'Session 3 - Diaspora philanthropy: Time, talent, and treasure' (2022) <<https://www.idiaspora.org/en/event-calendar/session-3-diaspora-philanthropy-time-talent-and-treasure>> accessed 30 June 2022.

policymakers can utilise it to support rural infrastructure development. Therefore, if diaspora remittances are harnessed as a resource, the government can ensure that no one is left behind, empower its citizens living abroad to become stewards of their communities of origin and mobilise the spirit of Ubuntu for the greater good.

Diaspora philanthropy enables Zimbabwe to create developmental linkages and partnerships with its migrant population. Different case studies of countries like Israel, the Philippines and Somalia show that members of a country's diaspora community can spearhead development. Documented cases of rural development projects in Zimbabwe supported by citizens living abroad expose the willingness of diaspora communities to develop their ancestral communities.^{133 134} This missing link in the diaspora philanthropy in the rural development matrix is the facilitation role of the government. The NDS 2021-2025 recognises the need for and importance of “establishing formal and institutional coordination structures”.¹³⁵ Suffice to highlight the notion that this coordination structure must connect 1: the government and its citizens, 2: migrants and their communities of origin, and 3: diaspora citizens and local citizens for development. Consequently, doing so would provide immense capabilities for Zimbabwe to attain middle-income status by 2030, meet sustainable development goals and leave no one behind.

Further, the proximity of the fourth industrial revolution and the advancement of digital technologies such as social media provide increased opportunities for harnessing diaspora philanthropy. Fourth industrial revolution tools such as big data make it easier for the government to trace its citizens, provide platforms for resource mobilisation and link diaspora citizens to their communities. New disruptive arrangements such as crowdfunding

¹³³ Madziyire, 'Evaluating the impact of philanthropic activities in public high schools in Mutasa District, Zimbabwe: an educational management perspective.

¹³⁴ Ncube and Gómez, 'Remittances in rural Zimbabwe: From consumption to investment?'.
¹³⁵ Zimbabwe Treasury, National Development Strategy 2021-2025.

can support diaspora philanthropy,¹³⁶ create stewards¹³⁷ and foster community expression.¹³⁸

Despite the above, there are concerns about the applicability of diaspora philanthropy in rural infrastructure development. Chigova and Hofisi¹³⁹ argue that diaspora philanthropy necessitates enquiring about its long-term use as a development alternative for rural infrastructure projects. They argue that sustainability in diaspora philanthropy is unclear, for example, if the support to projects can be ongoing and consistent as financiers are often once-off supporters. Where commitment to support a project is shown, the fact that it is voluntary means that diaspora members can withdraw support since there will be nothing binding supporters to projects. The other concerns relate to the reluctance of the government to have a database for projects that have been or can be supported by Zimbabwean citizens living abroad. No official government databases currently capture the specific projects financed through diaspora philanthropy at district, provincial and national levels.

The other challenge to diaspora philanthropy in Zimbabwe stems from the absence of a coherent legal framework. This gap limits the practice of diaspora philanthropy since there are no clearly defined limits. When public infrastructure is involved, laws and regulations guide the public good, limit abuse, and provide consequences for those with ulterior or criminal motives. The NDS 2021-2025 alludes to the necessity of enacting legislation for diaspora engagement in development, but it is taking a long time for the legal framework to be implemented.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Flanigan, 'Crowdfunding and diaspora philanthropy: An integration of the literature and major concepts'.

¹³⁷ Lewis Edwin Chigova, 'Civic crowdfunding for community infrastructure rehabilitation: the case of the City of Harare', North-West University (South Africa) 2020).

¹³⁸ LE Chigova and G Van der Waldt, 'Civic crowdfunding as development alternative in local governance' (2021) 29 *Administratio Publica* 167.

¹³⁹ Chigova and Hofisi, 'Diaspora philanthropy for rural infrastructural developmental projects in Zimbabwe: Trends, challenges and opportunities'

¹⁴⁰ Zimbabwe Treasury, National Development Strategy 2021-2025.

10. THE INFLUENCE OF ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS ON DIASPORA PHILANTHROPY

In the analysis of any phenomenon, the external environment poses a significant influence on success or failure. The external environment in this paper comprises political, economic, social, and technological factors. These factors must be seriously considered to understand opportunities and threats.¹⁴¹ The political environment in Zimbabwe is highly complex and can affect diaspora philanthropic activities. A previous study by Johnson¹⁴² argues that diaspora philanthropy is prone to abuse by individuals with other intentions. In a country like Zimbabwe, where opinion surveys by Afrobarometer show a high level of political polarisation and mistrust between government and citizens, diaspora philanthropy can be a contestable phenomenon.¹⁴³ Chigova and Hofisi¹⁴⁴ lament circumstances where philanthropic contributions can be made for political mobilisation instead of exclusively rural infrastructure development. Tutlam et al.¹⁴⁵ argue that hostilities between the Zimbabwean government and its diaspora population hinder diaspora philanthropy-supported rural development. Further, Muzorewa and Nyandoro¹⁴⁶ believe that certain political parties in Zimbabwe might gate-keep access to rural areas through diaspora-supported initiatives for political reasons.

¹⁴¹ T. Sammut-Bonnici and D. Galea, 'PEST analysis' in K. Glac (ed), Wiley Encyclopedia of Management (John Wiley and Sons 2015).

¹⁴² Johnson, *Diaspora philanthropy: Influences, initiatives, and issues*.

¹⁴³ M Bratton and E. V Masunungure, 'Heal the beloved country: Zimbabwe's polarized electorate' Afrobarometer Policy Paper No 49 < https://www.africaportal.org/documents/18766/ab_r7_policypaperno49_heal_the_beloved_country_zimbabwes_politized_electorate.pdf> accessed 11 July 2022.

¹⁴⁴ Chigova and Hofisi, 'Diaspora philanthropy for rural infrastructural developmental projects in Zimbabwe: Trends, challenges and opportunities'

¹⁴⁵ Chaan Koang Tutlam, Joseph Geng Akech and Susan Chenai, 'Africa's democratic deficit: The role of the diaspora in bridging the gap between citizens and government' (2019) 3 *Global Campus Human Rights Journal* 28.

¹⁴⁶ Terence Tapiwa Muzorewa and Mark Nyandoro, 'The rural electorate in Zimbabwe's elections 1980-2018: Consciousness and voting preferences.' (2021) 20 *Journal of African Elections* 141.

The framework in Figure 1 considered economic factors, including the cost of remitting to Zimbabwe. The World Bank ¹⁴⁷ stresses that the cost of sending money to Sub-Saharan countries is higher than in other regions. An analysis of the costs of remitting shows that it costs an average of 8.2 per cent to send US\$200 in 2020. ¹⁴⁸ Since many Zimbabwean migrants are in South Africa, remitting companies such as Mukuru, Mama Money and Hello Paisa charged about 10 per cent of the money sent in June 2022. In addition, Zimbabwe's relatively unstable monetary policy landscape negatively impacts diaspora philanthropy, as laws and policies can change overnight. Currently, there are disparities between exchange rate regimes, especially between the official and unofficial (parallel/*black market*) rates.

More so, technological advancements are bringing in new capabilities and possibilities for development. Technologies linked to the Fourth Industrial Revolution are changing the relationships between government and citizens and even creating increased connectivity between citizens in different geographical locations. Digital technologies allow the use of instruments such as crowdfunding. Flanigan ¹⁴⁹ observes that crowdfunding might strengthen efforts in diaspora philanthropy. In Zimbabwe, crowdfunding-based diaspora philanthropy has been used to support rural infrastructure development by, for example, a local non-governmental organisation called Citizen Initiatives. ¹⁵⁰ The documented crowdfunding-supported diaspora philanthropy activities depended on online platforms like Twitter and Facebook and online crowdfunding platforms such as GoFundMe. Hence, it can be argued that the technological environment plays a role in diaspora philanthropy.

The social environment relates to relationships between citizens and communities. In the earlier sections of the study, the author explored how concepts such as Ubuntu are central to the practice

¹⁴⁷ World Bank, 'Defying predictions, remittance flows remain strong during COVID-19 crisis' <<https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2021/05/12/defying-predictions-remittance-flows-remain-strong-during-covid-19-crisis> > accessed 2 February 2022.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Flanigan, 'Crowdfunding and diaspora philanthropy: An integration of the literature and major concepts'.

¹⁵⁰ Citizens Initiative.

of diaspora philanthropy. Apart from that, studies by Nissim,¹⁵¹ Madziyire,¹⁵² Ncube and Gomez,¹⁵³ Vargas-Lundius et al.,¹⁵⁴ and Vertovec¹⁵⁵ have shown that diaspora communities remain attached to their communities of origin. It is essential to continuously study the practice of diaspora philanthropy to see how social relations evolve, particularly in the face of enabling new technological advancements and political and economic dynamics.

11. CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The study looked at diaspora philanthropy as an instrument suitable for addressing rural infrastructure development gaps. In doing so, the paper reflected on Ubuntu, Stewardship Theory and the leaving no one behind mantra as theoretical lenses to understand diaspora philanthropy in rural development. This paper has demonstrated that diaspora philanthropy allows Zimbabwean citizens living in other countries to participate in their communities as, for example, stewards in rural infrastructure development. The paper revealed that diaspora philanthropy emerges from the development realities where the Zimbabwean government is resource-constrained and official development assistance is dwindling, resulting in marginalised rural communities being left behind. Hence, this study indicates that diaspora philanthropy is bringing in new actors in development and becoming a new form of development aid. Practically and as a contribution to policy, the inquiry is essential for Zimbabwe because it can inform the imminent new diaspora policy under review and the legal framework that will be enacted.

It is recommended that Zimbabwe's government should regularly assess remittance fees to promote the use of formal channels for

¹⁵¹ Shaul Bar Nissim, '“New diaspora philanthropy”? The philanthropy of the UJA-Federation of New York toward Israel'.

¹⁵² Madziyire, 'Evaluating the impact of philanthropic activities in public high schools in Mutasa District, Zimbabwe: an educational management perspective.'

¹⁵³ Ncube and Gómez, 'Remittances in rural Zimbabwe: From consumption to investment?'

¹⁵⁴ Vargas-Lundius and others, 'International migration, remittances and rural development'.

¹⁵⁵ Vertovec, 'Religion and diaspora'.

remitting among its citizens. According to the World Bank, Zimbabwe remains one of the costliest destinations for remitting. Hence, if remittance charges are reduced, diaspora philanthropy can be encouraged. This reduction will likely encourage diaspora-based citizens to remit more resources towards developing their communities of origin. In addition, the study recommends that Zimbabwe must speed up efforts to review the 2006 Zimbabwe Diaspora Policy. In its NDS 2021-2025 proposition, the Government of Zimbabwe stated it would seek to improve diaspora participation in national development. In light of that, the paper urges the government to spell out in the new Zimbabwe Diaspora Policy that diaspora philanthropy is one of the instruments for allowing citizens living in other countries to partake in national development. A coherent legal framework must complement the policy. Finally, the paper proposes the following as critical areas for further enquiry. Firstly, there is a need for quantitative studies that explore the exact amount of remittance monies that translate to diaspora philanthropy. Secondly, surveys must examine the type of rural projects receiving the most support from diaspora communities and the dominating districts or provinces.