Caregiving – a feminist perspective on the lived experiences of caregivers in Harare

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Declaration

I, Sarudzai Mahomva, declare that this thesis titled “Caregiving – a feminist perspective on the lived experiences of caregivers in Harare” is a product of my effort. All sources cited have been acknowledged with complete references. I have not previously submitted this thesis to any other institution of higher education. I hereby declare that I am aware that the copyright is vested in the University of the Free State. I hereby declare that all royalties as regards intellectual property that was developed during the course of and/or in connection with the study at the University of the Free State, will accrue to the University. This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements in respect of the Doctor of Philosophy Degree in the Centre of Gender and Africa Studies, in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of the Free State.

Saru Mahomva
October 2021

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ABSTRACT

Caregiving – a feminist perspective on the lived experiences of caregivers in Harare

In the light of the exponential increase in the population of the elderly, studies have predicted the care crisis of this population group unless adequate measures are taken. This qualitative gender-sensitive case study, which is guided by the symbolic interactionism perspective, argues that one of the possible ways of circumventing the likely elder "care crisis" is to delineate the 'who', 'how' and 'why' of unpaid elder care work in a family setting. Studies from Zimbabwe report on "families" taking care of the elderly. What is not well reported is exactly who does what, how and why within the family setting in an urban environment. What is known is that women are the primary caregivers, and they are also reported as disproportionately affected by poverty and disease (Zimbabwe Census, 2012). However, some studies report on adverse outcomes that are accumulated over the life course, when women place the needs of others before themselves. This study set out to determine the socio-cultural factors amongst other factors that influence who the caregivers are in families and interpret how such socio-cultural practices possibly contribute to placing unpaid family caregivers at risk of poverty. Participants aged 60+ who have cumulative experience as caregivers and receivers were purposefully selected to narrate their experience and to shed light on the nature of agency and adaptive strategies that they deploy in the family provision of elder care. One-on-one life course interviews and participant observation were deployed. Concepts from (1) the life course theory, (2) feminist care conceptual frameworks and (3) feminist intersectionality theory were integrated to formulatea conceptual framework that binds separate areas of the study (gender, care and ageing) into a unified approach. The constructivist grounded theory methodology that guided this study is useful when extant theory does not adequately explain phenomena under study and when developing theory that explains action or social interaction. The findings suggest that care is provided through a family care network. Four main caregiver roles that work in tandem to propel the elder care family network were identified. Family birth order and not gender is prioritised in the elder care decision-making process. Caring masculinities and caring femininities were also identified in this study. Such findings contribute to the development of social policies informed by participants' primary needs, expectations, and concerns. The findings suggest the necessity to expand the notion of social citizenship by possibly exploring some of the indigenous ethics of care practices such as 'zunde ramambo' as described in this study.

Keywords: Gender, caregiving, population ageing, symbolic interaction, life course, constructivist grounded theory methodology, intersectionality

STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

Chapter 1 – Introduction and background. The first section introduces the topic and provides a brief overview of the problem. The introduction is followed by a presentation and discussion on the contextual background of Zimbabwe by paying attention to specific issues related to the research question, namely gender, caregiving and population ageing in an urban environment. The discussion explains why these specific issues compelled the researcher to pursue this line of study. As such, the research question, aims and objectives and the significance and audience of thestudy are also presented in Chapter 1.

Chapter 2 - Literature review and conceptual framework. The introduction section is followed by a literature review that provides an overview of the literature that was consulted to identify the scope of current and early scholarship on the nexus of ageing, gender, and caregiving. This section highlights some of the knowledge deficits that this study could fill. The chapter also clarifies how extant literature provides methodological insight into possible research design optionsto best address the research question as presented in Chapter 1.

After discussing literature and the methodological insights that were gained from the literature review, the second part of Chapter 2 provides a brief historical background on the origins of the theoretical frameworks, namely the life course theoretical framework and feminist conceptual frameworks to place into perspectivehow these frameworks support this study. The feminist conceptual frameworks that are most appropriate to this study include feminist theories of care, feminist theories of gender, and feminist intersectionality theory. These feminists' conceptual frameworks are most appropriate for addressing this study's research question. The key tenets of these frameworks are discussed in relation to ways in which they are of significance to this study. Justifications are provided for combining concepts from the life course theoretical framework and the feminist conceptual frameworks.

Chapter 3 - Research design and methodology. Chapter 3 has four subsections, namely (1) an explanation of the interpretivist symbolic interaction research paradigm and the feminist ideology that underpins this study; (2) justification of why the single-embedded instrumental case study research design is the most appropriate research design to address the aims and objectives of the study; (3) ways in which the constructivist grounded theory methodology supports the exploration of the research question, including the sample, research methods and research instruments; and (4) and explanation of the data collection and data analysis procedure. This study must deploy intersectional sensibilities[1] (Kimberlé Crenshaw, 2015) in developing a research design that is open to the possibility of "intersectional experiences" of participants (Crenshaw, 1991: 1244). As such, some of the feminist ethical considerations and

[1]For example what it is like to be a woman or man of a specific age and perhaps social class, ethnicity, dis/ability in a specific context. A multifactor analysis strategy would be necessary to identify multiple factors that possibly influence difference and similarity of experience of living in that particular context.

concerns with issues of representation, are discussed.The chapter also explains ways in which the study deals with quality control issues and discusses the pilot study, bias, credibility and reflexivity as well as the conceptualisation of concepts. The discussion on data analysis includes a description of ways in which the constant comparative coding method is deployed, including memoing of emerging thoughts. In addition, an intersectional approach to data analysis Leslie McCall (2005, 2009) dovetails with the constant comparative data analysis approach (Kathy Charmaz, 2006) by paying attention to the caring experiences of the cohort (intra group experience) and by comparing the inter group experiences of men and women (intercategorical experience). The study's research design's observed strengths and limitations are then discussed.

Chapter 4 – Findings. Chapter 4 will present the findings from the constant comparative and intersectional analytic procedures. The presentation of some direct quotes from participants will be interspersed with aspects from extant literature to either highlight contradictions or corroborate or verify this study's emerging theoreticalconcepts as per Kathy Charmaz's (2006:166) constructivist grounded theory methodology. This chapter will conclude by explaining how the emerging findings address the aims and objectives of the study.

Chapter 5 - Discussion. Chapter 5 will discuss the most significant findings and how such findings address the aims and objectives of the study. The implications of the findings will be discussed. What will become clear are ways in which the findings address the research question and how the study contributes new knowledge. Chapter 5 will provide some of the practical, theoretical and methodological insights that weregained from the study. Some of the study's strengths and limitations will be explained. As such, appropriate recommendations for future studies will also be presented.

Please note:

- The execution of grounded theory methodology is not a linear process. For this reason, in some instances, footnotes will be used in this study to either clarify some concepts when necessary or to direct one to other sections within the study that are part of the iterative constructivist grounded theory methodology process.
- The full names of those cited will be provided the first time the authors are mentioned. After that only their surnames *et al.* will be used.

LIST OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Age relations	"First, age serves a social organizing principle; second, different age groups gain identities and power in relation to one another; and third, age relations intersect with other power relations. Together, these have consequences for life chances—for people's abilities to enjoy economic security and good health" (Toni Calasanti, Kathleen F. Slevin and Neal King, 2006:17).
Ethnic group	The term "ethnic group" is used in this study to refer to what is commonly referred to as "tribe." AfricaFocus.org (1997) argue that "[anyone] concerned with truth and accuracy should avoid the term "tribe" in characterizing African ethnic groups or cultures … There are, moreover, many less loaded and more helpful alternative words to use…Whatever the term one uses, it is essential to understand that identities in Africa are as diverse, ambiguous, complex, modern, and changing as anywhere else in the world" (Africaforcus.org, 1997: online with no page numbers).
Gender	"Gender refers to the socially constructed characteristics of women and men – such as norms, roles and relationships of and between groups of women and men. It varies from society to society and can be changed." (World Health Organisation, 2018b:1)
Gender relations	"The ways in which gender shapes the distributions of power at all levels of society…" (Diana Koester, 2015:1). The set of roles, behaviours and attitudes that societies define as appropriate for women and men ('gender') may be the cause, consequence and mechanism of power relations, from the intimate sphere of the household to the highest levelsof political decision-making… institutions can also shape the distributionof power by reinforcing and relying on gender roles" (Diana Koester, 2015:2).
Heteronomativity	"[the] assumption that heterosexuality is the standard for defining normal sexual behavior [sic] and that male-female differences and gender rolesare the natural and immutable essentials in normal human relations. According to some social theorists, this assumption is fundamentally embedded in, and legitimizes, social and legal institutions that devalue, marginalize, and discriminate against people who deviate from its normative principle (e.g., gay men, lesbians, bisexuals, transgendered persons)" https://dictionary.apa.org/heteronormativity
Population ageing	Population ageing is described as the rise of the median age of a population. Median age is defined by the United Nations Population Glossary of Demographic Terms (2019) as the "Age that divides the population in two parts of equal size, that is, there are as many persons with ages above the median as there are with ages below the median" (United Nations Population Glossary of Demographic Terms (2019:available online without page numbers).
Social relations	Patterns of interaction across time (Anthony Giddens, 1984). Based on Max Weber's interpretive framework that guides this study "[the] social relation is a sociological, scholarly conceptual category and not a common sense category; it exists in the world of the observers, not in theworld of the observed" (Janusz Mucha, 2006:124).

Abbreviations

SDGs	United Nations Sustainable Development Goals
NSSA	National Social Security Authority (Zimbabwe)
UCSM	Uber-caring senior masculinities
UCSF	Uber-caring senior femininities
WHO	World Health Organisation

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CHAPTER 1: BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

On a global level, the elderly are the fastest-growing age group in our population. Although the notion of who is considered old changes over time and space, the United Nations World Assembly on Ageing (2002) classifies those who are aged 60 years and above as old. Although this study uses the term 'elderly', multiple terms such as senior citizens, older persons, old people and older adults have been used interchangeably to refer to this cohort. Many studies suggest that this exponential increase of an ageing population could translate into possible care crises if not adequately managed (Dhemba & Dhemba, 2015; HelpAge, 2003; 2016; Isabella Aboderin & Jacobus Hoffman, 2015). Of the various definitions of caregiving, a definition that is most appropriate for this qualitative interpretive case study isoffered by Barbara Bowers (1987) in her study on inter-generational caregiving that states that caregiving is, "[the] meaning or purpose a caregiver attributes to a behavior [sic] rather than by the nature or demands of the behavior [sic] itself. Any process engaged in, for the purpose of caregiving is therefore included" (Bowers, 1987:20). Unlike care provision services that are remunerated, unpaid caregiving in which this study is interested is commonly provided by family members. This study argues that, while it is important to manage care for the growing ageing population, it is equally important to establish who the unpaid caregivers are, why; and with what consequences for two reasons. First, it is well reported that a common trend in most countries, including Zimbabwe, suggests a disproportionate representation of women in providing care for the elderly and children. Some scholars suggest that the disproportionate distribution of the responsibility of care labour may ultimately impact on the personal development of caregivers in various ways, including economically and health-wise. This study believes that part of managing "care crises" associated with population ageing necessitates us to empirically analyse ways in which care is socially constructed and distributed. Caring for the elderly is about meeting human need and understanding the conditions and social influences that possibly shape caregivers' experiences as their lives unfold throughout various life stages (Nancy Hooyman & Judith Gonyea, 1995; Fiona Robinson, 2011). Second, if indeed there is an association between gender[2], caregiving practices andthe nature of quality of life in old age, it was necessary to deploy a gender-sensitive analysis strategy to determine the who, how,

[2] "Gender refers to the socially constructed characteristics of women and men – such as norms, roles and relationshipsof and between groups of women and men. It varies from society to society and can be changed" (WHO, 2018b:1).

and why of care and with what consequences. Some scholars have reported on the possibility that those who are employed outside of the home whilst caring for elderly family members might themselves experience a negative impact ontheir own retirement savings (Bradley Schurman, 2015), with women being worse off (Toni Calasanti, 1996; Robinson, 2011). The men and women in this study are purposefully selected to elaborate on some of the factors that have shaped their experience of giving and receiving care as they age. The constructivist grounded theory methodology is deployed to (1) determine the social factors that are implicated in determining who the caregivers are within families; (2) interpret ways in which gendered social practices such as caregiving and receiving manifest in the life trajectories of participants in this case study and to (3) establish what participants consider as personal choice/agency and counter-discourses in the context of care. This case study integrates concepts from the (1) "life course theoreticalframework", (2) "feminist caregiving conceptual framework" and from the (3) "intersectionality" theoretical framework to formulate a conceptual framework for scaffoldingthe study. One framework on its own does not adequately address the research question. The challenge is to articulate possible ways in which the interaction of social relations[3], gender relations[4] and age relations[5] manifest in the lives of caregivers and receivers, an area that this study addresses. The issues that this study addresses are explained next.

1.1.1 Statement of the problem

This qualitative case study notes that the Zimbabwe Census Report (2012) reflects that women are the main caregivers for children and the elderly; yet women are also reported as disproportionately vulnerable to poverty and disease (Gaëlle Ferrant, Luca Maria Pesando and Keiko Nowacka, 2014; Max Lawson, Anam Parvez Butt, Rowan Harvey, Diana Sarosi,Clare Coffey, Kim Piaget and Julie Thekkudan, 2020). It is well reported that the disproportionate gender role allocation of caregiving may lay fertile ground for possible cumulative negative consequences for caregivers, and for society in the long term (Diana T. Meyers, 1987; Hooyman & Gonyea, 1995; Toni Calasanti, 1996).In light of the growing

[3] Patterns of interaction across time (Giddens, 1984). Based on Weber interpretive framework that guides this study "[the] social relation is a sociological, scholarly conceptual category and not a common sense category; it exists in the world of the observers, not in the world of the observed" (Janusz Mucha, 2006:124).

[4] "The ways in which gender shapes the distributions of power at all levels of society… The set of roles, behaviours andattitudes that societies define as appropriate for women and men ('gender') may be the cause, consequence and mechanism of power relations, from the intimate sphere of the household to the highest levels of political decision- making… institutions can also shape the distribution of power by reinforcing and relying on gender roles" (Diana Koester, 2015:1).

[5] "[Age] serves a social organizing principle; … different age groups gain identities and power in relation to one another; … age relations intersect with other power relations. Together, these have consequences for life chances—for people'sabilities to enjoy economic security and good health" (Calasanti et. al., 2006:17).

ageing population, a lot more needs to be understood about some ofthe compelling values, attitudes and belief systems that have influenced ways in which care is practised in Zimbabwe. Nana Apt (2002), one of the pioneers of social gerontology[6] in Africa, has stressed the importance of understanding caregiving in the African context, rather than adapting "social security systems based on those of the industrialized countries" (Apt, 2002:39). With Apt's (2002) argument in mind, this study believes that the life-course experiences of elderly men and women on providing care could shed light on some of the compelling belief systems, norms, and values associated with dimensions of caregiving in their context. The following research questions guided this case study.

1.1.2 Research questions

Caregiving, gender, and quality of life in old age motivate this study's two-part research question below:-

(1) What can the men and women in this case study tell us about how care for the elderly is received and distributed in their context in Harare?

(2) How has caregiving and receiving impacted the lives of the men and women throughout their life course?

Secondary focus questions are:-

(3) Is there a link between caregiving responsibility and subsequent quality of life in oldage?

(4) What are some adaptive strategies that men and women in this study havehad to adopt in their roles as caregivers and care recipients?

1.1.3 Aims and objectives

This case study aims to identify and interpret the social factors that determine who the caregivers are, and to establish whether participants of this study believe they have been privileged and/or disadvantaged by the responsibility of caregiving. Participants' perspectives on what they believe should be an ideal practice of care for the elderly in their context will be sought. Investigating the research question involves establishing from participants' life-course narratives some of the gender relations, age relations socio-economic-cultural systems, norms, values and personal agency that possibly influence the gendered role allocation of caregiving. The study fulfils the following aims and objectives: -

[6] Social gerontology is a fairly new sub-discipline in the field of gerontology that focuses on the social factors that are associated with aging. "Gerontology" stems from the Greek root "geronto" meaning "the old man" and "ology" meaning "the study of" (Harold Cox & Richard Newtson, 1993:17) Where are the women?

a. To identify the nature of elderly care that is being provided within families in Harare.
b. To describe the nature of elderly care that is being provided within families in Harare.
c. To establish any possible benefits, burdens and inequalities between men and women that might possibly exist in the context of caregiving.
d. To interpret the social relations that are implicated at the intersection of gender, caregiving and indicators of quality of life based on participants' life course narratives.
e. To propose new ways of thinking about social citizenship from the perspective of participants of this study.

1.1.4 Significance and audience of study

This study is in response to the exponential increase of an ageing population. There are three reasons for pursuing this study. First, as in most countries, studies report on long-term lifespan consequences when unpaid caregivers place the needs of others before their own. However, the conceptualisation of caregiving is not universal. As explained by sociologists Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong (2002, 2004), care may be viewed differently by the state, by family members, and by those who give and receive care. Part of this study was to establish what caregiving means to those on the ground, giving and receiving care. What was not clear and what this study hoped to clarify was the nature of agency, as well as adaptive strategies of men and women in the negotiation of care provision. Second, most studies from Zimbabwe report on "families" providing care for the sick, children, and the elderly, but do not adequately explain why women disproportionately shoulder the responsibility as suggested by the census report of 2012. The use of a single axis variable such as "family", without linking it to other dimensions such as gender, age, historical period, location, education and other contextual hierarchies of social organisation, fails to adequately capture the breadth and depth of a society's caregiving discourse. This oversight suggests a disconnection between a macro- level provision of care and the actual lived experience of caregivers and receivers, an area that this study addresses. Third, in terms of theory building, the study contributes a gender-sensitive response to population ageing by advancing the discussion of caregiving beyond the men-women gender binary. The study seeks plausible explanations of some of the social dynamics that manifest in providing care and the consequences thereof. The audience of this study includes sociologists, social gerontologists, social workers, public health practitioners, population studies practitioners, and the public. The next section presents the contextual background of the study.

1.2 Background

To recap, this study focuses on the nexus of caregiving, gender and longevity in urban Harare. Many aspects suggest the importance of contextual understanding of the various practices of the care of the elderly amongst Zimbabwean societies. As such, to place this study into context, this background section is divided into two parts. The first part provides a demographic profile of Zimbabwe. Aspects such as population ageing; population dependency ratio; who is classified as old; as well as regional and global demographic patterns are presented. The second part of this background section illuminates the gendered distribution of caregiving, including gendered time use trends and the Gender Inequality Index (GII) of Zimbabwe, amongst other reported facts associated with aspects of ageing, caregiving and gender. Although this background section presents a basic socio-economic profile of the environment in which the study is based, the study ultimately raised questions based on life-course personal experiences of individuals who are classified as old (aged 60+). This study took cognisance of Charmaz's (2006:2)clarification that grounded theorists "[collect] data to develop theoretical analyses from the beginning of a project. We try to learn what occurs in the research settings we join and whatour research participants' lives are like" (Charmaz, 2006:2). As such, to address the aims and objectives of this study, this study foregrounded what participants could tell us about what is going on in their lives in the backdrop of the public facts, figures, and benchmarks on ageing and providing care as discussed in the section that follows. One such public profile is Figure 1 on page 6, which illustrates the population distribution of Zimbabwe by age and gender (Zimbabwe Census Report, 2012). One will note that the population distribution of Zimbabwe (Figure 1) resembles a typical pyramid shape that is synonymous with developing countries. Such countries usually have a high death rate, a high birth rate and low life expectancy.

In comparison, what is known as a"constrictive pyramid," is commonly associated with highly industrialised countries. The shape of the pyramid tapers at the bottom, suggesting low birth rate. The shape is synonymous with populations with low death rate and long life expectancy. Figure 2 on page 6 illustrates the differences between the typical pyramid and the constrictive pyramid shape.

1.2.1 Demographic profile of Zimbabwe

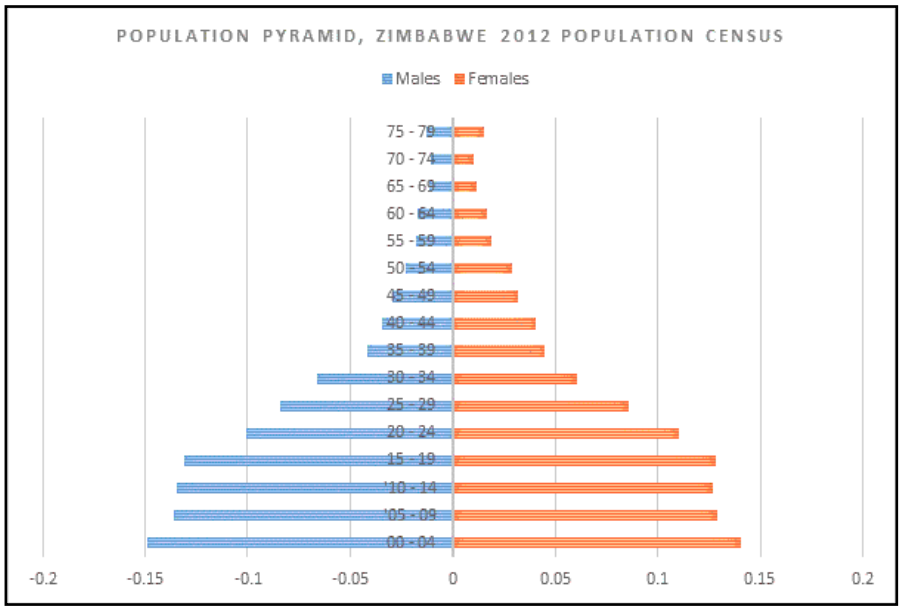


Figure 1: Percentage distribution of the population by age group and gender in Zimbabwe

N female = 6 738 877 (52% of total population). N male = 6 234 931 (48% of total population)

N population = 12 973 808.

Source: Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (Zimstats) (2012a)

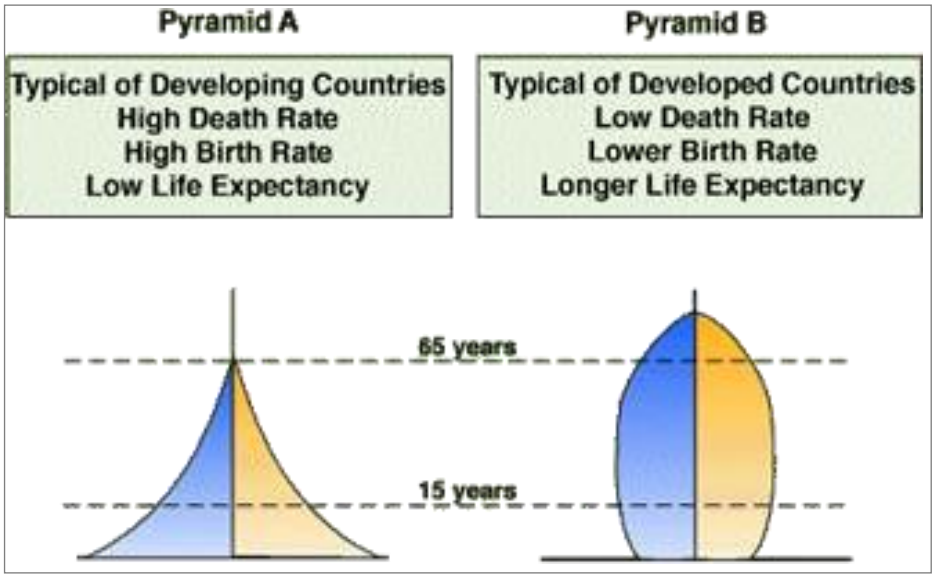


Figure 2: Illustration of different population pyramid shapes.

Source: online Geography resources (https://www.geo41.com/) .

1.2.2 Median age and dependency ratio in Zimbabwe

Population ageing is described as the rise of the median age of a population. Median age is defined by the online United Nations Population Glossary of Demographic Terms (2019)[7] as the "Age that divides the population in two parts of equal size, that is, there are as many persons with ages above the median as there are with ages below the median". In 2021 the median age of Zimbabwe was 18.7 years compared to the UK median age of 40.5 years (Worldometers, 2021), suggesting that the UK population is older. A rise in the median age of a nation is usually partly attributed to declining mortality amongst people over 60 as well as declining fertility rate. Based on the median age index, one may make inferences such as ages of parents and birth rates. The median age of the Zimbabwean population increased from 15.85 years in 1970 to 18.98 years in 2015 suggesting an annual median age growth rate of 2.5% (Worldometers, 2021).

Dependent people are those below the age of 15 and above the age of 64. These age groups are assumed to be out of the workforce (United Nations, Population Division, 2019). A dependency ratio is used to suggest the number of dependents per 100 working-age (+15 to 64) population. One could argue that an increase in the old-age dependency ratio implies that caregiving activities should be empirically articulated to understand who takes care of whom, in what context and with what resources and consequences. In the absence of a solid non-contributory state pension scheme, the dependency ratio could indicate the responsibility that could fall on those classified as non-dependent/working/productive population of +15 to 64 age range. One of the limitations of using chronological age as a dimension of a country's dependency profile is the possibility that those considered dependent (those below 15 and those above 64) could be providing caregiving activities that remain unaccounted for. For this reason, qualitative studies such as this study are necessary to clarify ground roots experiences that might not be adequately accounted for through the use of quantitative benchmarks. In economically developed countries such as the United Kingdom, a high economic dependent ratio is attributed to the large number of elderly dependents whereas in economically developing countries such as Zimbabwe a high level of economic dependency is attributed to the large portion of child dependents. However, one will note that the dependency ratio in Zimbabwe is increasing (Zimbabwe Census, 2012). At the same time, those classified as the productive age group (+15 to 64) are not employed

[7] United Nations Population Glossary of Demographic Terms (2019) published by the United Nations World Population Prospects (2019), is available online and does not have page numbers

in the formal employment sector that is commonly associated with job security. If those who are meant to be the productive members of society remain unemployed/underemployed or employed in the precarious informal sector, what will happen to them when they reach what is officially recognised as the dependent age considering that Zimbabwe does not have a non-contributory pension scheme for all citizens over 60 years old such as offered in Namibia, Mauritius, South Africa, Seychelles and a few other African countries? According to the Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (Zimstats, 2012b), the ratio of an estimated 5.4 million people aged 15 years and above who are classified as being employed is made up of 84% in informal employment, 11% in formal employment and 5% in unclassifiable employment. Also, the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2013:xii) projects that theyear 2047 will be of global significance as for the first time ever globally, those above the age of 60 will outnumber those below the age of 16. 80% of the people above 60 will be from developing countries (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2013: xii).

As this study is focusing on issues of gender, caregiving, and ageing, in light of the reported population ageing, Figure 3 on page 9 is a projected population pyramid of Zimbabwe in the year 2070. The pyramid takes on a wider shape across all age groups compared to that of the 2012 pyramid (Figure 1) that was presented earlier on page 6. Although both graphs suggest that women live longer than men, Genius Murwirapachena and Courage Mlambo (2015:1) discuss the inconsistencies that have been observed in the life expectancy dynamics of Zimbabwe. Their analysis of life expectancy trends during the period 1970 to 2012 notes that, contrary to global trends of women outliving men, in the year 2000 Zimbabwe was one of six countries in which men outlived women. They cite Hallett et al. (2011) who suggest that economic hardship and poor medical provision are associated with poor life outcomes especially for women. The Zimbabwe Census Report (2012:ix) explains that “The decline in life expectancy during the intercensus period 1992 to2002 is attributed to AIDS-related deaths and the improvement between 2002 and 2012 is attributed to the availability of ARTs, which meant that people could live longer with the virusthan before. In fact life expectancy increased by 16.5 years between the two censuses” (Zimbabwe Census Report, 2012: ix). Whilst it is important to quantitatively track possible gender differentiated life expectancy, a lot more needs to be understood from men and women themselves, on what they believe are some of the socio-cultural explanations of gender variation in mortality, longevity and associated distribution of care.

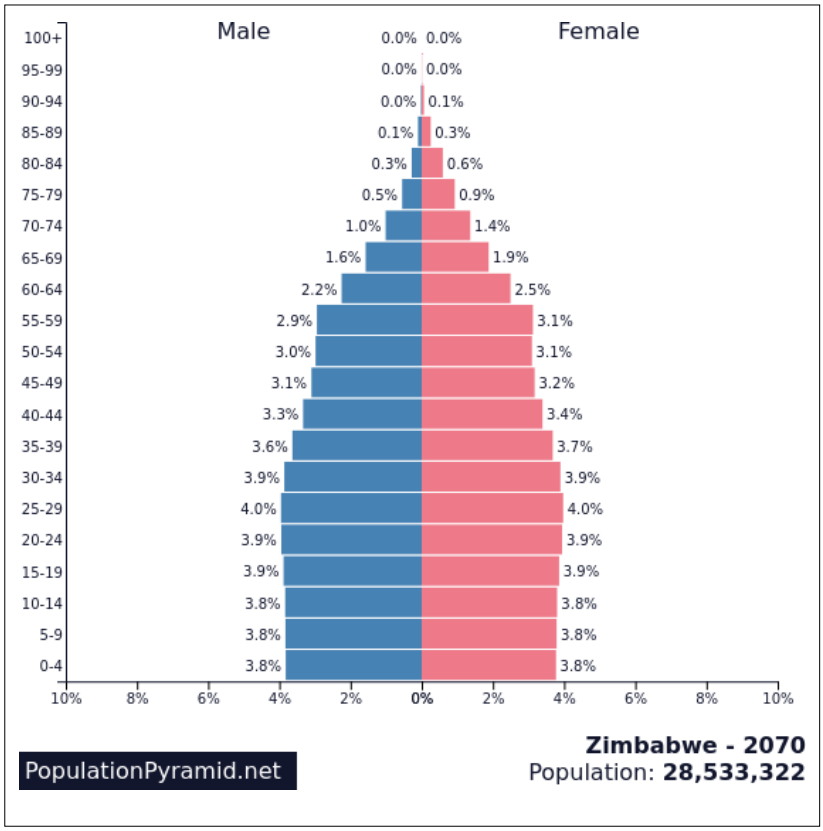


Figure 3: Projected population pyramid of Zimbabwe in 2070

Source: PopulationPyramid.net (2021)

1.2.3. Life expectancy and considerations of who is classified as old

Factors such as food security, public health provision, work ethic, natural disasters and shrinking birth rates amongst other factors are believed to contribute towards life expectancy and the classification of who is considered old or young (Thomas RobertMalthus, 1798). For example, during the global economic recession of 2008 the life expectancy at birth for men in Zimbabwe was 48.17 years whilst that for women was 50.39 years. In the year 2018 the life expectancy of Zimbabwean men at birth is 59.27 years whilst that of women is 61.16 years. Those who are aged 64+ make up 5.8% of the Zimbabwean population of 12 973 808 people (Zimbabwe Census Report, 2012). What are some of the implications of longevity and providing care in Zimbabwe considering the current status of the global Gendered Inequality Index of 2018? This is discussed next.

1.2.4. Gender Inequality Index (GII)

The Gender Inequality Index (GII) was introduced in the year 2010 by the United Nations Human Development Report Office (UNHDRO) to estimate the potential loss of human capital caused by the perceived result of gender inequality in a country or specific area (Gaëlle Ferrant, 2010). Three human development dimensions are used to suggest gender inequality as observed in three aspects of human development. The dimensions are (1) health dimensions as measured by two indicators, namely the maternal mortality and the adolescent fertility rate; (2) empowerment as represented by two indicators, namely the gender ratio of participation in parliament and the level of minimum secondary school education of men and women aged 25 and older; and (3) economic activity as suggested by participation in the labour market. Evidence of gender disparity within these three areas equates to loss of human capital/potential of a country. The idea of the GII metric is to identify any gender parity gaps and prioritise such gaps as areas of concern. For example, the health dimension indicator aims to achieve negative maternal mortality and negative adolescent fertility if possible. Although participation in the labour market is one of the three key indicators of the GII, what is not clear in the Zimbabwean context are ways in which care provision for the elderly might impact caregivers' relation to the labour market. For example, Schurman (2015) of the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) states that "A worker's pension benefits are typically tagged to lifetime earnings, so any disruption to those earnings over a lifetime has a negative impact on pension and retirement savings. This forces workers to work longer to achieve the same retirement goals as their counterparts who are not engaged in caregiving. The irony to all of this is that informal caregiving saves the US economy nearly US$400 million each year" (Schurman, 2015)[88]. In Zimbabwe, it is/was generally assumed that the extended family would take care of the elderly as is customary in most African indigenous ethnic groups (Joseph Hampson, 1990; Andrew Nyanguru, Joseph Hampson, Donald Adamchak and Adrian Wilson, 1994). This study believes that instead of using the umbrella term of "family" it is critical to delineate how family members share the responsibility of care, under what conditions and with what consequences. One will note that the Gender Inequality Index (GII) measures output such as health, education and employment indicators rather than inputs such as gender norms or autonomy (Rachel Marcus and Caroline Harper, 2015; Stephan Klasen, 2017). Whilst the GII is potentially

[8] Policy brief from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2015) year book, published online, therefore there are no page numbers.

useful for highlighting areas of gender inequality and potential loss of human capital, a study such as this one illuminates the actual lived experience as perceived by those on the ground. This study believes that caregiving indicators (input) that are possibly associated with the gains and losses of human potential, whether economically, physically or emotionally, should be accounted for. Figure 4 illustrates another example of the necessity of empirically exploring the lived experience of caregivers and their employment trajectory in contemporary Zimbabwe.

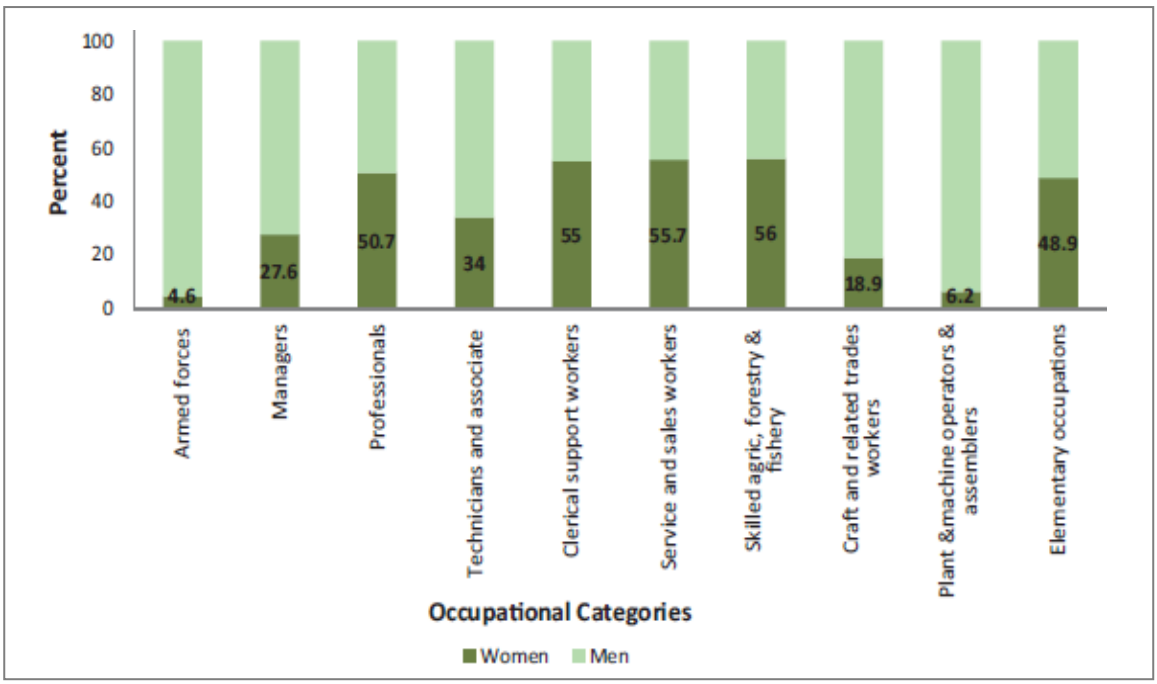


Figure 4: Gender distribution in ten occupational categories in Zimbabwe 2014

Source: Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (Zimstat) (2016:44)

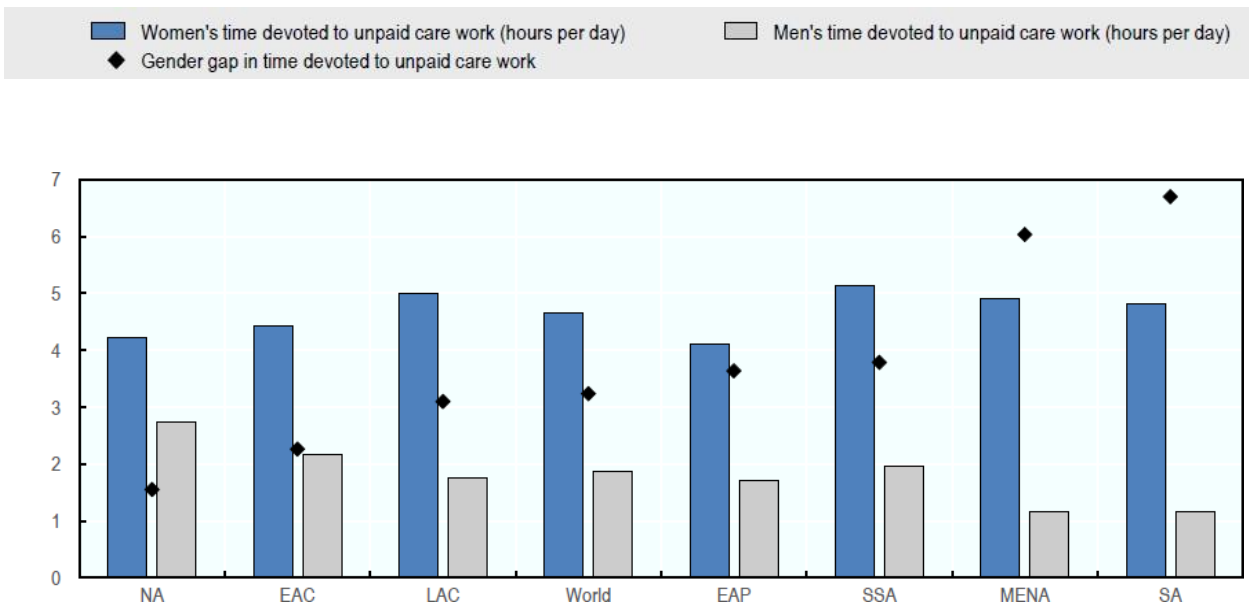
Figure 4 highlights the gender distribution in ten occupational categories in Zimbabwe in 2014. What is not clear from Figure 4 is the possibility that some members of society who are represented in Figure 4 might actually perform what some scholars refer to as a "second shift" or "double burden" (Arlie Hochschild, 1989, 1997; Arlie Hochschild and Anne Machung, 2003). The concept of double burden/second shift refers to unpaid domestic obligations in addition to full-time employment that some women are responsible for. Jean Duncombe and Dennis Marsden (1995) expand the "double shift" concept to "triple shift" by adding the emotional work that is associated with mothering and the possible contribution of mothering to the welfare and maintenance of communities. In recent years, Michele Kremen Bolton (2000) adds the "third shift" concept to refer to the affective expressions that women practice in their homes. Hochschild (1989) reports that amongst dual working

couples in her study in America, women expend the equivalent of one month more than their husbands on household duties. The phenomenon of caregiving practice amongst dual working couples remains underexplored in Zimbabwe. What is unclear is how men and women in this study have experienced the “second shift” or “triple shift”. For example, the Zimbabwe census report (2012: 81) states that it “[is] important to note that most women tend to report that they are homemakers even though they combine housework with other economically productive activities” (Zimbabwe census report (2012: 81). This observation suggests that some of the contextual/subjective elements of human behaviour, including the nature of minutiae of everyday interaction within families may not be adequately captured by quantitative inquiry and demographic statistics, an area that this study aims to explore. It is also possible that quantification may obscure the nature of social reality(Norman K. Denzin & Yvonna S. Lincoln, 2000). As such, in the Global North scholarly interest is gaining momentum on alternative ways of redistributing care labour given the reported care deficit that is associated with their ageing Baby Boomers (Mignon Duffy, 2011). In addition, Goal 5 of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) onthe Agenda for Sustainable Development 2030 aims to address “[key] policy issues and dilemmas about how to reduce the drudgery of unpaid care and domestic work, as well as redistributing it more equally between women and men, and between families and broader society” (Shahra Razavi, 2016:1). In the context of Zimbabwe, what does care mean to members of society and how is the responsibility of care distributed? What are some of the long term implications of such care arrangements?

Whilst it is important to understand the economies of care, it is equally important to understand some of the attitudes, norms, values and policies that contribute to the variance of time spent on unpaid care work between men and women. For example, Figure 5 on page 13 illustrates a gendered distribution of time spent on unpaid care work in households throughout various world regions as reported in an Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) report by Gaëlle Ferrant and Annelise Thim (2019:7). One will note that Figure 5 suggests that time spent on unpaid care work is disproportionately borne by women regardless of socio-economic-cultural and geographic location. Zimbabwe is included in the sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) bar in Figure 5.

If society is a product of human interaction (Peter Berger & Thomas Luckmann, 1966), what is not clear, and is of interest to this study, is the nature of social relations, social processes, negotiation and choice that is associated with gender-differentiated time spent on unpaid

carework as depicted in Figure 5. What can men and women in this study tell us about the meaning behind their time-use on unpaid care?



Middle East & North Africa	(MENA	South Asia (SA)
Eastern Europe and Central Asia	(ECA)	Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC)
East Asia and Pacific (EAP)		Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA)
North America	(NA)	

Figure 5: Average hours/day spent on unpaid care by gender/regions

Source: Ferrant & Thim (2019:7)

1.2.5. Economic value of unpaid caregiving

Another observation is that economic value to unpaid care work has not been reported in Zimbabwe. For example, Figure 6 on page 14 is a gender-differentiated graph that highlights the percentage of those who are classified as “economically inactive”. The United Nations System of National Accounts (UNSNA) that provides guidelines for benchmarking economic activity does not factor in unpaid caregiving labour into the National Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of countries (Marilyn Waring, 1988; Nancy Folbre, 2018). Some caregivers might be classified as “economically inactive” yet their unpaid care labour reduces the economic burden on society (Waring, 1988; Folbre, 2017). For example, in view of the HIV pandemic,

some studies from Africa, including Zimbabwe, report on some elderly people caring for their adult children and descendants, yet the economic value of their contribution to society is unaccounted for in the GDP. Figure 6 below shows the number of economically inactive persons by gender and activity in 2012 in Zimbabwe:

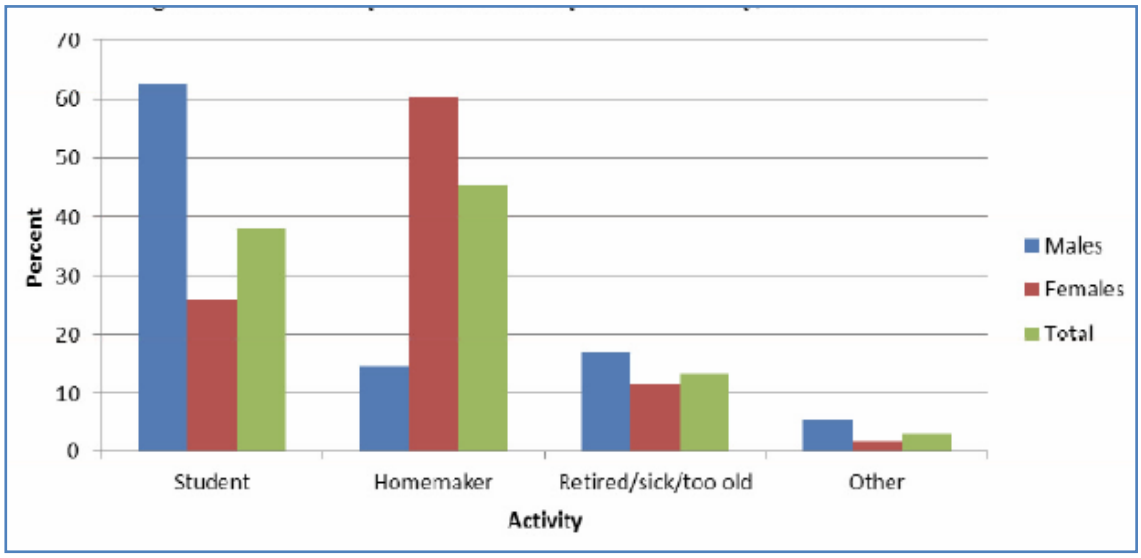


Figure 6: Percentage distribution of economically inactive population
Source: Zimbabwe Population Census (2012:85)

Public Health scholar Peter Arno (2002) estimates that the value of unpaid care work performed by women in America ranges between $148 billion and $188 billion annually. The devaluation of care work suggests a disconnection between a society's social capital system and the actual lived experiences of some of society's citizens. Where there is a lack of adequate social services, unpaid family members fill the void. In most cases the family members are women or children. There is merit in paying attention to social practices (such as caregiving) that are relegated to the private sphere yet such practices constitute issues of public economic and ethical concern (Selma Sevenhuijsen, 2003a, 2003b, 2004; Robinson, 2011). The gender disparity that characterises the unpaid caregiving realm suggests the need to ask why that is so and who stands to benefit when care provision is buried in the home's private sphere of the home?

1.2.6. Care trajectory

What is not clear in the context of Zimbabwe is the average number of years that individuals provide elder care. For example, in the context of America, Peggy R. Smith (2004)comments

that “[women] can expect to spend 18 years caring for elderly relatives” (Smith, 2004:353). Gaining knowledge on dimensions of care trajectories (patterns of behaviour across time) for example - entry into caregiving roles; the nature of care; intensity of care and life transitions that shape the nature of care, amongst other care factors, could possibly contribute towards the development of contextually appropriate work/family policies or interventions (Nana Apt, 2012; Richard Schulz & Jill Eden (eds.), 2016). In the year 2013, at a workshop that was hosted by the North-West University in South Africa, under the auspices of the Global Social Initiative on Ageing (GSIA), experts from different disciplines summed up the situation of the elderly in the sub-Saharan region as:

> A sound empirical and theoretical understanding of these realities is urgently needed, however: Not only to fill an acute gap in our knowledge about the fabric and functioning of African societies, but also to provide a basis for forging appropriate policies to strengthen families and harness their support systems to respond to ageing in the region. (GSIA, Expert Workshop Outcomes, 2013:2)

1.3 Conclusion of Chapter 1

This section, Chapter 1 served two purposes. First, the discussion clarified the introduction of this study by presenting the research question and the aims and objectives of thestudy. As this study is in response to the reported population ageing and possible care crises, this section provided a background of the demographic distribution of the population in relation to gender, and ageing, to highlight some of the factors that influenced the researcher of this study to pursue this line of research. Some topics that were discussed in this section include the population distribution, Gender Inequality Index (GII) and the dependency ratio of Zimbabwe. This background knowledge helps to place the study into context. Second, as will be explained in the Data Analysis section on page 119, the constructivist grounded theory methodology that guides this study suggests that background knowledge of the environment in which a social phenomenon is being observed may come in handy for abductive reasoning purposes (Charmaz, 2006, 2011). Although this background section provides an overall picture of the socio-economic environment in which the study takes place, the resulting theory from this study is grounded in empirical data based on the life course experience of participants who live in the environment that is described above. The participants in this study remain the primary source of data (Charmaz, 2006, 2011). It is also necessary to establish what has been reported on population ageing and caregiving thus the next chapter is the literature review.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter, Chapter 1, presented the research questions, the problem statement and the aims and objectives of this study. The statement of the problem was followed by an introduction and a broad overview of the context in which the study took place. Some of the compelling issues that necessitated the researcher to pursue this line of study in Zimbabwe were explained. This literature review chapter discusses current and early scholarship on the issue of unpaid caregiving trajectories. The chapter explains how this study fits into the broader scheme of scholarship (Erik Hofstee, 2006, 2010; Elizabeth Henning, Sarah Gravett, Wilhelm van Rensburg, 2002). The literature review also highlights what is already known about the topic under review (Catharina Sophia L. Delport, Christa.B. Fouché, & Willem Schurink,2011) and thus contributes to developing the conceptual or theoretical framework that guided this study (Delport et al., 2011). However, as per the practice of the original grounded theory (Barney Glaser & Anselm L. Strauss, 1967), it is believed that an extensive literature review before conducting field research could possibly expose researchers to the risk of contaminating a qualitative study with etic[9] views. This is because grounded theory is an inductive research process that aims to develop theory or hypotheses from empirical data on hand, whereas a deductive research approach takes an existing theory, generates a hypothesis and verifies the hypothesis. Thus, Glaser & Strauss (1967) recommend an initial inductive research approach that defers the literature review to the very end of a study, after data analysis and theoretical coding have begun. At that late stage, when new findings no longer emerge from empirical data on hand, deductive conceptualisation of concepts may be deployed by relating emerging findings to what is reported in literature. Glaser (1992) recommends that having interest in an area of study is sufficient reason to delve into the research process. Glaser (2005b:42) further clarifies that the type of literature review that one may engage with during the initial phase of a study should be unrelated to the topic under review. His advice stems from the belief that reading literature that is unrelated to the topic under review enables one to develop epistemological sensitivity, including learning about developing theoretical codes; improving writing style, and identifying various ways of

[9] Externally defined understanding of a phenomenon – sometimes a researcher's perceptions (Robert Yin, 2010).

minimising research bias or pre-empting the topic under review. In contrast, Charmaz(2006) advocates that it is possible to review literature from the inception phase of a study as opposed to postponing the review to the very end. She mentions that in some cases some people already work in the field under study, and thus they have some knowledge of the phenomenon under review. Charmaz (2006) explains that an initial literature review could stimulate theoretical sensitivity. A clear definition of "theoretical sensitivity" offered by Martin Sehlapelo (2020:33) defines theoretical sensitivity as the, "[ability] of a researcher to perceive the concepts that are embedded in the data and how they relate to each other. It is this ability that distinguishes the researcher who can generate theory from the one who cannot" (Sehlapelo, 2020:33). The exploration of literature is believed to contribute to theoretical sensitivity in various ways depending on the strand of grounded theory used (see page 87) for these variations. For example, Strauss & Corbin's (1990:48) grounded theory approach suggests that a literature reviewof what they term "technical literature" that includes research reports, theoretical or philosophical papers, and non-technical literature that includes letters, videos diaries and biographies amongst other data sources is acceptable and could be used as a guide depending on the nature of a study. They believe that the lack of pinning down an aspect of a phenomenon as suggested by Glaser & Strauss (1967) might result in a researcher chasing after many aspects of a topic unnecessarily, whereas a literature review might help to tame and narrow down the topic under review. Strauss & Corbin (1990) suggest that technical and non-technical literature may contribute in various was including the development of pertinent questions to pose to participants, identifying and mapping out possible sources of information that may contribute towards meeting the aims and objectives of a study, and evaluating ways in which findings either concur or differ from what is reported in literature. However, from exploring some of the grounded theory debates on reviewing literature, regardless of the variation of grounded theory used, the main dictum of theoretical sensitivity in terms of its association with literature review (whether deployed inductively or deductively) is that conceptualization of the emerging concepts should not be forced to fit into a pre-existing body of knowledge. With reference to the constructivist grounded theory that guided this study, any preconceptions were accounted for and appropriately channeled towards argument formation instead ofavoiding perusal of literature altogether during the initial phase of a study (Charmaz, 2003, 2006). In addition, a literature review was one of the institutional/faculty requirements for research proposal submission purposes.

After considering the above approaches relating to literature review in a study within the context of grounded theory methodology, this study explored literature in two phases. The preliminary phase was a '"scoping" exercise that aimed to gain a bird's eyeview of some of the reported "sensitising concepts" that characterise the phenomenon under study. Sensitising concepts are not meant to provide hypotheses of a topic, but serve to stimulate thinking on some of the common aspects that are known about a phenomenon under study (Herbert Blumer, 1954; Charmaz, 2003, 2006). Blumer (1954:7), who is credited with distinguishing sensitising concepts from definitive concepts, explains that a sensitising concept, "[gives] the user a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances. Whereas definitive concepts provide prescriptions of what to see, sensitizing concepts merely suggest directions along which to look" (Blumer, 1954:7). Nicholas Mays, Tony Roberts and Jennie Popay (2001:194) who are credited for advancing the term "scoping", explain that scoping methods "[aim] to map *rapidly* (their emphasis) the key concepts underpinning a research area and the main sources and types of evidence available…" (Mays et al., 2001:194). In this study, scoping contributed towards thinking about possible ways of approaching the envisaged study and to explore the breadth and range of key issues to avoid prematurely focusing on a specific area of study. The second phase was an in- depth literature review that was interwoven with data collection and data analysis with the aim of theory construction (Charmaz, 2006).

To recap, although this qualitative case study aimed to understand the phenomenon of caregiving, gender and ageing, as experienced by participants in their context, what follows is an overview of some of the sensitising concepts, omissions and controversies that were noted in global, regional and local literature on gender, caregiving and ageing in urban environments. The literature review was not limited to a specific historical period but was based on what is reported on dimensions of the nexus of caregiving, gender and ageing. The sequence of the topics are presented in an order that Hofstee (2006:96) refers to as the "funnel order". The funnel order is characterised by presenting major works and classic studies first, followed by other studies that either extend or critique the classic studies and major works. At the bottom of the funnel, how this study fits into the whole picture should be clear.

2.2. Gender and caregiving dyad

The primary literature review suggests that the concept of unpaid caregiving is very broad and should be contextually defined and explained. This is because unpaid caregiving occurs in various socio-cultural-economic-geographic environments that might create different caregiving meanings and experiences (Parvati Raghuram, Pat Noxolo and Clare Madge, 2009). Literature also suggests that patriarchal[10] gender regimes[11] (at a macro level) possibly lay fertile ground that nudge some members of society intoprecarious social roles in both domestic and public institutions (at meso/institutional level).However, considering the range of heteropatriarchies amongst societies, the dimensions of patriarchy are not universal. Raewyn W. Connell (2005, 2018) suggests that the gender relations[12] that influence institutional division of labour norms at any given time should ideally be placed in their social and historical context. For exèmple, historian Nancy Cott (2005) explains that in America the “New Deal Order” that was implemented as a social reform programme by President Roosevelt to restore American prosperity during the Great Depression seemed progressive at first glance. However, a closer look reveals that the New Deal social reform programmes that were meant to tackle wide spread unemployment, privileged white men as “bread winners” over white women and other American ethnicities. One will note that the New Deal Order might have appeared as an avant-garde social reform model; however, it merely reinforced multiple hierarchies of domination including gender inequality, racial inequality and economic inequality that mimicked the gender regime[13] of that period. In Zimbabwe, as in most African countries, some scholars associate the various gender regimes and accompanying division of labour norms with aspects of androcentric [14]influences of colonialism, racial social order, ethnic social order, religion, and cultural practices (Rudo Gaidzanwa, 1996; Otrude Moyo & Saliwe Kawewe, 2011; Mildred Mushunje, 2001; Oyèrónkẹ́ Oyèwùmí, 1997). Hampson (1990) and Nyanguru et al. (1994) provide an overview of some of the care practices,

[10] With its root *-arch*, meaning "ruler, leader", a *patriarch* is a man who dominates something, even if it's just a family: a society or institution organized according to the principles or practices of patriarchy (merriam-webster dictionary).

[11] Patterns in gender arrangements (Connell, 2011)

[12] “The ways in which gender shapes the distributions of power at all levels of society… The set of roles, behaviours and attitudes that societies define as appropriate for women and men (‘gender’) may be the cause, consequence and mechanism of power relations, from the intimate sphere of the household to the highest levels of political decision-making… institutions can also shape the distribution of power by reinforcing and relying on gender roles” (Diana Koester, 2015, 1 & 2).

[13] Patterns in gender arrangements (Connell, 2011)

[14] Dominated by or emphasizing masculine interests or a masculine point of view (merriam-webster dictionary).

values and belief systems that are/have been associated with elder care in indigenous Zimbabwean communities. With reference to state provision of care for the elderly, the work of Edwin Kaseke (1988, 1991, 2005); Dhemba & Dhemba (2015) and Nana Apt (2012) is most relevant to this study. As explained earlier, this study deferred an in-depth review of literature of similar studies from Zimbabwe until the data analysis stage to avoid influencing the findings with etic views[15].

This study notes that what remains limited are empirical studies that report on possible ways in which unpaid care has evolved due to urbanization, formal education, employment trajectories and timing of urban family caregiving transitions against the backdrop of increased life expectancy in urban areas of contemporary Zimbabwe. Insight from the aforementioned scholars provides a springboard from which to understand some of the reported possible factors that have been associated with gendered, class, employment and racial social order during the colonial era to the period when the aforementioned scholars presented their work. This study realised that in light of the reported population ageing, this study needed to contribute to the present day knowledge deficit on unpaid elder care. Under the current circumstances, it was necessary to revisit and connect the past, present and future of caregiving – an area where this study made in-roads. In addition, this study noted that scholarship on unpaid elder care did not pay enough attention to the nature of gender relations and the process of the construction of masculinities and femininities in relation to care (Hooyman & Gonyea, 1995; Robinson, 2011). Literature suggests that the unpaid caregiving discourseis inherently historical and politically situated (Nyanguru et al., 1994; Raghuram et al., 2009, 2016). As such, to address this study's research question, it was necessaryto identify participants who have lived long enough to offer insight into possible variationsof ageing and care provision in their context. Thus, the next theme focuses on ways in which the construct of 'age' has been theorised.

[15] Linguist Kenneth Pike (1967:37) explains that "[etic] viewpoint studies behavior [sic] as from outside of a particularsystem"

2.3. Framing the social construct of age – who are the elderly?

One will note that the understanding and the significance of age stratification has evolved considerably. The concept of “age” may be culturally defined and associated with contextually based expectations (Gunhild O. Hagestad and Bernice L. Neugarten, 1985). Sociologist and gerontologist Matilda Riley (1987) who is credited for advancing debate on the concept of “age” defines ageing as both a process and a structure that is propelled by bio-psycho-social processes. Age as a structure is associated with the nature of social roles expected of individuals. For example, structural age is in some cases used to regulate the legal age of driving, alcohol consumption or the age of marital consent. On the other hand, some argue that the construct of age and age stratification may be used to determine ways in which resources are distributed in the same manner that the construct of gender may be used for inclusion or exclusionary purposes (Calasanti, 2003; Julie Ann McMullin, 2000; Julie Ann McMullin & Victor W. Marshall, 2001). As such, one should not impose a generic understanding of the concept of “age”. One may deduce from this perspective that the construct of age should be understood from the vantage point of other structural and personal dimensions other than physical and biological factors. For example, Toni Calasanti and Alessandro Bonanno (1986) interrogate the underlying socio-economic presumptions that are embedded in the concept of age/dependency ratio. They interrogate the method used for calculating the dependency ratio (discussed in Chapter 1 on page 7) and offer alternative measures that produce different conclusions on the extent of the perceived burden placed by the elderly population group on society. Whilst Calasanti & Bonanno (1986) acknowledge the likelihood of physiological and socio-economic decline associated with ageing, they argue that some of the challenges faced by the elderly are a result of socially constructed dependence amongst a variety of social factors. In addition, language such as “growing ageing population crises” and “dependency ratio” may be viewed as being loaded with negative connotations that stereotypically portray the elderly as unproductive and socially dependent on others. An uncritical approach to age-related stratification might, for example, overlook how social discourse such as age-based retirement imposes forced disengagement, possible social exclusion and perceived dependence. John Macionis and Ken Plummer (2008) argue that no evidence suggests any possible benefit of age-based

disengagement from formal employment. It seems that theconcept of “age” could indeed serve as a control mechanism particularly when the implications of the social construct of “age” are not accounted for empirically. Concerning Zimbabwe, qualitative interpretive studies that pay attention to the meaning that individuals ascribe to behaviour that they attribute to elder care could possibly stimulate thinking about some of the taken-for-granted social practices such as unpaid caregiving. For example, it is necessary to empirically identify possible long term cumulative outcomes that are associated with contextual experiences of ageing, gender and quality of life outcomes. However, one will note that in the discipline of Gender Studies and Sociology, the nature of the intersection of age and gender remains under-explored with specific reference to people who are considered as old (Neal King, Toni Calasanti, Ilkka Pietilä and Hanna Ojala, 2021). Such understanding may shed light on some of the care preferences of men and women as they age. What follows is a discussion on some of the reported patterns of unpaid care provision in various local, regional and global urban settings.

2.4. Caregiving patterns

Literature suggests a wide range of caregiving patterns that are influenced by geographic location, culture and human agency amongst other socio-economic-psychological factors. As articulated by Nidhi Sharma, Subho Chakrabarti and Sandeep Grover (2016):

> Despite the voluminous amount of literature on family-caregiving, there is much that remains to be understood about why people take on strenuous caregiving duties, how they approach their caregiving responsibilities, and the consequencesof taking up the role of a caregiver. For an improved grasp of the experience of caregiving, a more accurate understanding of the caregiving-context, which includes gender, familial relationship, and cultural background of the caregiver is required. (Sharma et al., 2016: 8)

This observation by Sharma et al. (2016) is relevant to this study that notes that in the context of Zimbabwe, there are many more studies on gender, caregiving, and ageing based in rural settings and fewer studies that are based in urban areas. A large majority in developing countries indeed live in rural areas. Rightly so, many studies have concentrated on studying rural populations. It is also true that there has been a significant migration of people from the rural areas to the urban areas in the last four decades. This urbanisation cannot be ignored as one-third (32.2%) of Zimbabwe's population of

13,805,084 in 2018 live in urban areas (indexmundi, 2019). Qualitative empirical studies, such as this study, that focus on the caregiving trajectories that are associated with urban dwelling amongst Zimbabwe's urban populations in contemporarytimes are needed. A recent OXFAM survey by Leyla Karimli, Emma Samman and Thalia Kidder (2016) in five rural communities in Colombia, Ethiopia, the Philippines, Uganda and Zimbabwe describes care-related activities amongst rural men and women. The researchers report on variables that are associated with subsistence living in rural settings. They express the need for further qualitative studies that explore some of the issues raised in their survey.

Although family structures in Zimbabwe have traditionally enabled family members to age-in-place (Hampson, 1990), some recent studies suggest that kin-support structures are eroding, as family members cast their nets wider in search of employment (Nyanguru, et al., 1994; Apt, 2002). Ageing-in-place enables elders to remain in familiar surroundings as they age. Ageing-in-place also has emotional, physical and social dimensions (United Nations & International Association of Gerontology, 2002). For example, a study by Michael Hirst (2005) that is based on longitudinal data from the British Household Panel Survey reports that negative psychological effects on caregivers are more pronounced during the transitional phase of stepping into the role of caregiver and at the end of the caregiving phase. This study realised that a separate interdisciplinary study is called for that addresses the psychological aspects of caregivers as they transition in and out of care roles associated with elder care. However, not all elders have access to family support. A study by Neddie Ncube (2017) conducted in an assisted living facility in Gweru, Zimbabwe, reports on some of the social circumstancesthat nudge some elderly people living in Zimbabwe to live in institutionalised homes for the aged. A similar study by Manase Chiweshe & Mandida Gusha (2013), based in an assisted living facility in Harare, concludes that "[the] experience of old age is intricately linked to class and gender" (Chiweshe & Gusha, 2013:123). These studies, amongst others, suggest that a lot more needs to be understood on the significance of gender as an organising principle throughout a life span including in old age. For example, what is the nature of negotiation that determines who the caregivers are in urban areas such as Harare? What are the short term and long term implications of taking up care roles?

2.5. Geo-contextual variation in caregiving

The literature presents contradictory findings on some of the reported gendered experience and outcomes in old age amongst caregivers in various locations. In some instances, men assume unpaid caregiving roles for the elderly, yet studies have not paid adequate attention to this gender (Sharma et al., 2016). Sharma et al. (2016) comment that “The magnitude and significance of the gender differences, which have been found is also uncertain” (Sharma et al., 2016:13). In the Zimbabwean context, this study notes that empirical studies on the nature of men’s role in unpaid caregiving in elder care are limited.Instead, there is a substantial amount of scholarship on HIV palliative care than on unpaidelder care – an area that needs attention, especially considering that people are reported to be living longer. What is also available are reports on voluntary male caregivers in thecontext of humanitarian home-based care programmes related to the HIV pandemic suchas the ‘The Africare Male Empowerment Project’ as reported by Clarence Hall, Cary Alan Johnson, William Oscar Fleming, Cassie Chipere, Nelia Matinhure, Karen Myllynen and Melissa Kadzik (2006). However, the International Federation of Red Cross (IFRC) (2021) notes that 90% of their Zimbabwe Red Cross HIV palliative care facilitators are women (IFRC, 2021). Another recent example that suggests a low representation of men as unpaid caregivers is a study based in United Bulawayo Hospitals in Zimbabwe by Claire van Deventer and Anne Wright (2017) on the psychosocial impact of caregiving on family caregivers of chronically ill AIDS/HIV patients who receive home-based care. These scholars drew the sample of their participants from caregivers who had accompanied relatives living with HIV-related illness to hospital. One of their sample criteria was that the caregiver had to be involved in hands-on assisted daily living activities, not just home visits. From a total of 11 caregiver participants, ten were female and one was male. Seven of the participants were women over 50 years of age. Although their study is in the context of HIV provision of unpaid care, the disproportionatemale/female ratio of participants in their study could probably suggest that furtherexploration is needed on the possibility of different forms of unpaid care responsibilities that men engage in that are yet to be explored and reported. On the other hand, the male/female ratio could also solidify the suggestion that women are most likely the primary caregivers of the elderly, children and the sick (Zimbabwe Census, 2012). It is worthwhile to follow up on van

Deventer & Wright's (2017) study to establish who tends to domestic duties whilst the caregivers in their study are accompanying the sick to the United Bulawayo hospitals. Some of these issues have to be empirically explored in the context of Zimbabwe to bring to the forefront contextual knowledge about the functioning of some of Zimbabwe's societies and perhaps for providing contextually appropriate interventions.

On the issue of gendered ageing outcomes in urban areas, Netsayi Mudege and Alex Ezeh (2009) of the African Population and Health Research Center in Nairobi offer contradictory findings to studies that suggest that women experience negative life outcomes in old age. Mudege and Ezeh's (2009) study was based in Nairobi's informal settlements that they refer to as 'slums'. Their findings suggest that women in their study fared better than men in both old age and life expectancy. These scholars correlated the quality of life outcomes of the men and women in their study with the social activities that the men and women engaged in during the early stages of their lives. Women were reported as participating in domestic activities (private sphere). They established supportive social networks that enhance their well-being in old age, unlike men who focused on public domains and employment and were not so invested in the domestic sphere. In old age, the men may not effectively tend to their own needs as they lack domestic know-how. Calasanti's (1993, 1996) work also suggests an association between gender, care responsibility and the quality of retirement experience. Contrary to Mudege & Ezeh's (2009) Nairobi study, Calasanti (1996) suggests that men generally fare better in old age than women, regardless of the women being formally employed outside of the home. These observations reinforce the necessity of delineating the caregiving experience by historical period, gender, life transitions, family structure and location, amongst other factors. For example, South African studies such as the one by Monde Makiwane (2011) and Vivienne Bozalek & Nancy Hooyman's (2013) work report onmulti-generational household structures in which the elderly are the main caregivers. Theelders use their pension grant to support their adult children and descendants. Althoughsome might consider such sacrifice as noble and altruistic, others might see the situationas suggesting a form of structural violence (Galtung, 1969). Structural violence involves turning a blind eye to genuine structural inequalities created by various social practices that leave some members of society vulnerable. Such understanding has bearing on issues of social citizenship and human security as discussed next.

2.6. Caregiving at the heart of citizenship

Psychologist Carol Gilligan's (1977, 1982, 2005) body of work is credited for empirically identifying the association of women's expressions of morality and caring. Gilligan (1977, 1982) developed an "ethic of care" theory that identified the moral value to society of what is considered as maternal traits. At that time masculine traits were positively associated with morality whilst feminine traits were devalued. The act of caring has since been recognised as one of the aspects that contribute towards "human security" in democratic societies (United Nations' Human Development Report (UNHDR), 1994).The UNHDR (1994) defines dimensions of human security as (1) "freedom from fear" and (2) "freedom from want" (UNHDR, 1994:3), including an addendum of 1990 that states "freedom to live in dignity" (UNHDR, 1994: 22). Ethic of care scholars argue that providing care in democratic societies is one of the key pillars that underpin social citizenship[16] (Maurice Hamington and Dorothy C. Miller (eds.) (2006); Olagoke Akintola, 2008). As such, dimensions of care that might compromise both caregivers' and care recipients' sense of security should be acknowledged and factored into the public social systems (Sevenhuijsen, 2003a, 2003b). However, accounting for providing care that is being undertaken in the privacy of homes means that access to various types of public social support facilities would have to be made available for members of society who either give or receive care. As mentioned earlier, globally, women are disproportionately represented in unpaid caregiving roles (Ferrant & Thim, 2019). Such affairs suggest that social citizenship is gendered (Amanda Gouws, 2005; Akintola, 2008). It also suggests that a lot more needs to be understood from the men and women themselves who mightbe in the best position to explain their agentic choices under such circumstances. TrudieKnijn and Monique Kremer (1997) articulate that:

> [ungendered] and inclusive citizenship contains two dimensions of care. Only when both the right to give and the right to receive care are assured can citizens (caregivers as well as care receivers) have a real choice about how they want to integrate care in their lives. Only then are people able to choose, at specific times

[16] Thomas H Marshall (1950) divides citizenship into three strands namely civil, political and social. The civil element refers to freedom of speech and right to justice; the political element refers to the right and ability to participate in the exercise of political power perhaps through voting or holding office; whilst the social elements of citizenship refer to the right and ability to access social resources such as education, public housing, public health amongst other social resources pertinent to a specific society.

> within their life course, whether they need time to care, time to be cared for, or whether they need professional care. (Knijn & Kremer, 1997:333).

However, in Zimbabwe, empirical studies that are framed by the feminist ethic of care framework are limited. This observation is expounded by Fainos Mangena's (2009) journal article entitled, "The Search for an African Feminist Ethic: A Zimbabwean Perspective". Mangena states that:

> [while] the idea of developing a care-giving ethic seems to be noble in Western thought, the question we should ask ourselves is; is this idea transferrable to African women's experiences in general and Zimbabwean women's experiences in particular? (Mangena, 2009:21)

One will note that although Mangena's article was written in the context of care provision in light of the HIV pandemic, his observations have a bearing on issues of gendered care practices; self-identity, agency and distributive justice. Mangena's (2009:21) question regarding the transferability of a Western inspired ethic of care to "[Zimbabwean] women's experiences in particular" (Mangena's (2009:21) may perhaps be addressed by taking one step back and examining ways in which a society's caregiving discourse is produced and reproduced. Such contextual understanding of local care practice has the advantage of identifying appropriate solutions that stem from local people's experience, an area where this study contributes. The main issue that should be highlighted is that providing care is "[infused] with power" (Joan C. Tronto, 2015:9) that influences what should be counted as valuable social activity (Tronto, 2006). For example, in order for contemporary economies to run smoothly, someone has to attend to the care needs of the sick, the elderly and the young yet the economic, emotional and physical value of such contribution to society is relegated to the private sphere (Armstrong & Armstrong,2004). Who benefits from the failure of acknowledging the social value of unpaid care? In this regard, Tronto (1993) coined the term "privileged irresponsibility" to refer to socialarrangements that nudge some members of society to take up certain types of responsibilities (willingly or unwillingly) whilst others are absolved from such activities. Privileged irresponsibility is "invisible" such that those who enjoy privileged irresponsibilitytend to be oblivious of any possible injustice. The "epistemology of ignorance" that resultsin "structural ignorance" are concepts that are advanced by Charles W. Mills' (1997) work on racial privilege but may be transferred to other areas of study.

Mangena's comments on 'Western thought' also dovetail with Apt's (2002) sentiments that, instead of adapting "[social] security systems based on those of the industrialized countries…" (Apt, 2002:39), we should think of ways to "[better] harness the energies and resources of the family and the community to meet the social needs of individuals and groups" (Nana Apt and Saija Katila, 1994:23). A closer look will suggest similarities between ethic of care and Apt's scholarship albeit developed in a very different socio-geographic context. Both perspectives view providing care as a collective responsibility that calls for contextually relevant ethical intervention.

Some of the aforementioned scholars suggest the necessity of understanding caregiving from the emic perspective of caregivers as they have 'insider knowledge' of their particular context and why they do certain things, an area that this study contributes. Yin (2010) explains that "[an emic] perspective attempts to capture participants' indigenous meanings of real-world events" (Yin, 2010:11). As will be explained next, such insight suggests that caregiver perceptions and experiences should not be universalised.

2.7. Racial, formal education and religious influences on care provision

Work by Sandra Picot, Sara Debanne, Kevan Namazi, and May Wykle (1997) on perceived rewards for providing care amongst black and white racial groups of caregivers of disabled elders suggests possible variation of perception of care outcomes. Picot et al. (1997) report that African American caregivers in their study reported lower anxiety levels and expressed a sense of pride in caring for the elderly. These scholars also suggest that the African Americans' strong sense of responsibility to care for the elderly is perhaps associated with the African American religious grounding. They note that African American caregivers' attitude towards caregiving is generally positive compared to the Caucasians in their study. Exposure to formal education also seems to be of significance, as these scholars report that caregivers with lower levels of education perceived more rewards in providing care compared to caregivers with higher levels of education. If education, ethnicity and religion seem to be of significance in a caregiver's attitude and coping style, what is the experience of some caregivers and recipients in the Zimbabwean context? Picot et al.'s (1997) study also suggests the necessity of using a broader multi-

dimensional methodological analytic lens to possibly enhance our understanding of the intersection of ageing, caregiving and life outcomes. Some of the methodological and research designs used by similar studies are discussed next.

2.8. Methodological insight from literature review

The inconsistent reports on perceived gender differentiated caregiving patterns and outcomes could be attributed to methodological variations in research sample as well as research design (Sharma et al., 2016). For example, Bronwynne Evans, David Coon and Ebere Ume's (2012) study on Mexican American families reports on an unexpected phenomenon of "collective caregivers" composed of three types of family caregivers. They express that this unexpected phenomenon presented them with research operationalisation challenges. The unanticipated research design challenges suggest that under-explored topics are perhaps better addressed by the use of inductive research methodologies. Inductive methodologies encourage scholars to enter a research setting with an open mind and have the tenacity to tolerant ambiguity (Glaser, 2009) especially in present day diverse environments in which canonical one-size-fits all grand theories[17], no longer adequately account for contemporary social arrangements. Whilst there is a variety of theoretical and methodological frameworks from different disciplines for addressing various aspects of gender, ageing and caregiving, this study notes that to date, most studies emanating from Zimbabwe on providing care tend to adopt a gender essentialist perspective. Gender essentialism ascribes contextually assigned masculinity and femininity traits to men and women. These traits are assumed to be natural, innate and biologically determined (Judith Butler, 1990). For example, Émile Durkheim's (1933) division of labour theory suggests that women's essence is altruistic and nurturing, rendering women the custodians of hands-on caring responsibilities. Men,on the other hand, are seen as naturally geared for activities outside of the home such as war and strategic planning (Durkheim, 1933). Feminist theorists from various disciplines have advanced scholarship on the social construction of gender, not to pit men against women but to pay particular attention to the social construction of gender and some of the implications of a gendered social order. For example, Candace West and Don

[17] Such as Durkheim's (1933) mechanical and organic division of labour theory that proposes how societies develop.

Zimmerman's (1987) concept of "doing gender" might help to shed some light on the nature of the reproduction of the caregiving discourse. "Doing gender" suggests that individuals internalise and self-regulate their behaviour in accordance with social expectations of gender appropriate or inappropriate behaviour. Although "doing gender" implies that individuals are also capable of reformulating or resisting such social expectations, such resistance might be seen as acts of social deviance or might even go unnoticed. As such, the social construct of 'gender' should be viewed in relation to prevailing hegemonic social structures and not simply understood as a person's biological identity (West & Zimmerman1987; Candace West & Sarah Fenstermaker, 1995; Connell, 2005). There is need for gender sensitive, empirically grounded theoretical frameworks that bridge the gender theory and praxis in the sphere of unpaid provision of care. The feminist lens offers a different understanding of ways in which taken for granted normative[18][18] social practices intersect to confer different life experiences and outcomes based on one's ethnicity, class, age, religious and sexual orientation amongst other markers of social standing (Patricia Hill Collins, Lionel A. Maldonado, Dana Y. Takagi, Barrie Thorne, Lynn Weber and Howard Winant, 1995).

The literature review facilitated the researcher in this study to reflect on the development of an appropriate research design that would be underpinned by an appropriate philosophical paradigm and methodological strategy to best address the research question of this study. Sensitising concepts that were identified in literature provided an overview of the possibilities and limitations of various research methodologies as reported by other scholars who conducted similar studies. A summary of the scoping literature review is presented next.

2.9. Conclusion of literature review

This chapter discusses the literature in the area of gender, caregiving and ageing. Four key insights from the body of literature suggest: (1) a need for longitudinal studies that explore the caregiving trajectory – an area where part of this study could contribute. For example, what is known amongst Zimbabwean societies about an individual's initial response after becoming aware of an older adult's need for care? What sort of

[18] Adhering to or reinforcing ideal standards of masculinity or femininity (Merriam-Webster dictionary).

preparations and negotiations are involved in taking up the care role? What is the duration of caring for an elder in the lifespan of a caregivers? (2) There are possible differences in caregiving involvement between men and women. However, reports on these possible gender differences are inconsistent. (3) With reference to the demands that the responsibility of elder care possibly places on individuals, a society's strategy of providing care for the elderly should be of public social citizenship concern along with other public priorities. (4) There are contradictory reports on experiences of men and women caregivers and their life outcomes. A lot more needs to be understood on caregiving trajectories in urban environments such as Harare. From the literature that was perused, this study contributes alternative understanding of ways in which gender, ageing and elder care are intimately related in providing care. Such understanding involves describing and explaining what is happening on the ground. However as noted by Norman Denzin (1992), it is very challenging to prove correlations in qualitative studies compared with validity that is "proved" via the use of appropriate statistical analysis. This study contributes towards "situated knowledges"[19]that offer alternative understanding of what ageing and caregiving means to some Harare pensioners in light of the reported population ageing that was articulated in theprevious chapter, Chapter 1. The study realised that, to gain insight into socialprocesses at the intersection of gender, ageing and unpaid caregiving practices, it wasnecessary to draw from various theoretical frameworks to address the key aspects thatcould address the research question from participants' narratives. As such, theconceptual framework that provides a springboard of sensitising concepts for this grounded theory qualitative case study is explained in the section that follows.

[19] The embedded knowledge that is affected by the history, language and values of the person knowing it. The termarises from social constructionist and radical feminism where the view of these concepts is emphasised that universal knowledge is impossible https://psychologydictionary.org/situated-knowledge/.

2.10. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.11. Introduction of conceptual framework

To recap, this study explores the nature of possible association between ageing, gender and unpaid elder care in an urban area, based on narratives from pensioners who have lived and worked in Harare throughout their lives. The previous section was a literature review that highlighted some of the previous studies that provided insight into some of the studies that have focused on various aspects of ageing, gender and elder care. The study noted areas that this study could contribute. In this regard, the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that will be discussed in this section, help to provide a lens through which to examine social phenomena (Elizabeth Henning, Wilhelm van Rensburg& Brigitte Smit, 2004). As such, the philosophical orientation to best underpin this qualitative study's research question is the symbolic interactionist perspective on society. The symbolic interactionism paradigm[20] is one of the micro-level interpretive research paradigms that aim to either explain, describe or critique context specific phenomenon. Its ontological assumption is the possibility of multiple realities (relativist ontology) insteadof an "objective truth" to be discovered (positivist ontology). Society is viewed as a productof everyday social interactions through negotiation of meaning. As such symbolic interaction not only describes *what* is happened but *why*. Yvonna S. Lincoln & Egon G.Guba (2000) explain that it is possible for qualitative researchers to combine different paradigms as long as the paradigms share the same axiom. Earl Babbie (2016:45) explains that "Axioms or postulates are fundamental assertions, taken to be true, on whichthe theory is grounded" (Babbie, 2016:45). The conceptual framework for this study integrates concepts from three theoretical frameworks to bind separate areas ofstudy (gender, care and ageing) into a unified approach. These theoretical frameworks are (1) the life course theory; (2) the feminist frameworks of care; and (3) the feminist intersectionality framework which will be discussed shortly. The strategy of combining middle-range theoretical frameworks was effectively deployed by scholars Josef Brüder,Fabian Kratz and Gerrit Bauer (2019) when they used the life course theory and panel data to explore the causes and

[20] Symbolic interactionism will be explained further in the Research Design chapter.

consequences of unemployment and reproductionof social inequality in Germany. These scholars suggest that "[a] holistic life course perspective does not require one "big" theory, but profits from combining a varietyof middle range theories concerned with intervening variables (in our case: the causes and consequences of unemployment). Knowledge of life course trajectories increases byconnecting knowledge of many micro-mechanisms" (Brüder et al., 2018: 8). The scholarsoffer insight on the importance of aligning an appropriate theoretical framework with the problem/research question on hand. As explained next, the life course theory is one of three frameworks that offered concepts and propositions for addressing this study's research question, aims and objectives. The life course theory provided a lens from whichto conceptualise issues such as ageing, intergenerational family transitions, individual lifecourse, quality of life and agency that were identified in the participants' narratives. Thediscussion on the life course theory will be followed by an explanation of ways in which the feminist care conceptual framework and the feminist intersectionality frameworkdovetail to provide a platform from which this study examined the possible effects of intersecting factors that were implicated in the caregiving and receiving trajectories of participants. Some of the limitations of these frameworks as they pertain to this study willalso be expanded upon in the discussion that follows.

2.12 Life course theoretical framework

2.12.1. Introduction of life course theoretical framework

The life course perspective was developed from contributions from diverse disciplines such as history, biology, sociology, psychology, demography, anthropology and gerontology. As such sociologist and demographer Duane F. Alwin (2012:217) identifies five different uses of the term life course: "(a) life course as time or age, (b) life course as life stages, (c) life course as events, transitions, and trajectories, (d) life course as life span human development, and (e) life course as early life influences (and their cumulation) on later adult outcomes" (Alwin 2012:217). The concept of "life course" has been used interchangeably with concepts such as "life cycle", "life history", and "life span", yet the concepts are different (Glen Elder Jr., 2000:1615; Alwin, 2012:217). Alwin (2012)

clarifies that the "[concept] of 'life course' therefore *supplements* rather than *supplants* the concepts of "life span" and "life cycle" Alwin (2012: 217). As such, he encourages researchers to pay attention to the need for clarity in their endeavour to understand human lives.

To understand individual life patterns over time, life course theorists make use ofanalytical constructs that include life stages such as infancy, early childhood, adolescence, early adulthood, adulthood, and old age. Each stage is associated with specific socio-economic, biological and psychological transitions such as starting school,leaving home, entering the labour market, marrying and retiring from the labour force. Thus, what life course theorists refer to as "the timing of life" identifies common entranceand exit points of specific life events. Elder Jr. (1998:3) clarifies that,

> [the] timing of life transitions has long-term consequences through effects on subsequent transitions…the developmental impact of a succession of life transitions or events is contingent on when they occur in a person's life. (Elder, 1998:3)

Life course theorists also acknowledge that cultural values and belief systems may possibly influence the timing of lives (Elder Jr., 1998). For example, Anne Tickner (2005:8) cites Waring (1988:15-16) to relate a case of a young girl in Zimbabwe who performs household chores from 4am until 9pm and is classified as "[economically] inactive" or "unoccupied"… Yet national income data, which ignore these reproductive and caring tasks, are used by political elites to make public policy" (Tickner, 2005:8). Although Tickner (2005) cites Waring (1988) to comment on ways in which the global capitalist economy is sustained from an International Relations perspective; some mightconsider the household chores that are assigned to the young girl as child labour. Perhaps the community and family might consider household chores as teaching childrenbasic survival skills that are associated with rural/subsistence living. Failing to teach theselife skills from an early age might be considered as child neglect by the community. As mentioned earlier, some life course theorists suggest an association between early life and subsequent life phases (Glen Elder Jr., 1998). One may wish to follow up on the thenyoung girl to establish her life trajectory and what she now believes has been the cumulative significance/impact/consequence of attending to household chores at an earlystage of her life. Others, including Elisbeth Robson (2004:227) in her work entitled "Hidden Child

Workers: Young Carers in Zimbabwe", argue that "[care-giving] by young people is a largely hidden and unappreciated aspect of national economies which is growing as an outcome of conservative macroeconomic policies … young people have a right to recognition of their work as work" (Robson, 2004:227). Life course theorists, particularly from the discipline of psychology, suggest that childhood events sometimes shape people's lives many years later (Judith Solomon and Carol George, 1996). One ofthe tenets of the life course theory is that age-based role expectation is culturally defined. However, in Zimbabwe little attention has been invested in establishing the nature of possible cultural dimensions of unpaid caregiving, particularly from the vantage point of merging the life course perspective with cultural frameworks of ageing and gender. A conceptual framework that merges gender with contextually defined concepts of ageing, human agency and socio-historical transitions, might contribute towards a better understanding of issues such as timing, sequence, context, trigger events and culture that are associated with unpaid caregiving in the Zimbabwean context. As explained next,it is equally important to understand some of the known family pathways that shape or are shaped by individuals who make up a family unit. A family is believed to transition through various family cycles of development that might affect individual family membersin various ways (Seebohm Rowntree, 1901; Evelyn Millis Duvall, 1967; 1988).

2.13 Family life cycles

To frame the development of families, the life course perspective identifies familylife cycle constructs that include transitional stages such as settling down as a couple, child bearing, expansion of family size, ageing and family loss. Some argue that the transitional patterns suggested by life course theorists are neither universal nor cast in stone, thus various family cycle patterns have been identified since the inception of the family life cycle theory (Duvall, 1967; 1988). It is suggested that such pathways should be understood in the cultural and historical context in which a study takes place. One will note that, apart from William Edward Burghardt (known as W.E.B). Du Bois (1899, reprinted 1996) who is credited for developing the life course perspective and William Isaac Thomas (1907), other early life course theorists did not factor in the possibility of gender differentiated life experience. For this reason, feminist theoretical frameworks, which will also be discussed in this section, are strong in identifying possible gender

differentiated aspects of knowledge building. It is necessary to explain the historical and social context in which the life course frameworks emerged. By so doing, this study will place into perspective, some of the possibilities, limitations and relevance of a life course perspective towards the understanding of ageing individuals within a familysetting based on participants' narratives.

2.14 Historical development of the life course theory

In the discipline of sociology, the life course perspective may be traced to Seebohm Rowntree's (1901) study on intergenerational poverty in York, United Kingdom. His study was developed in the context of major societal changes marked by the Great Depression and world war in the 1930s, and the post-war persistence of poverty. Rowntree noticed that in York, poverty was most notable in three life stages, namely, childhood, childbearing years, and old age. A breadwinner's income had to support family dependents and in old age the breadwinner's income would diminish, suggesting that the life course had structural and individual dimensions within a specific historical context (Vern Bengtson & Katherine Allen, 1993). In this instance, generational time[21] was used to explain family developmental cycles and variations of the construct "persistence of poverty" (Vern L. Bengtson & K. Dean Black, 1973). Almost 100 years after Rowntree's initial study, similar income and poverty patterns could still be observed amongst descendants of the original study (Atkinson et al., 1983; cited by Vern L. Bengtson and Katherine R. Allen, 1993: 472). The trend of the elderly having the lowest average income and an income dip between the ages of 25 and 45, a time when breadwinners marry and raise dependent children, could still be observed. The similar patterns suggest Rowntree's (1901) "family-cycle" observations that certain patterns tended to persist within a family unit across time. When the Rowntree's study was adapted in Sweden which had a different political-economic status from England, between 1967 and 1980, the findings in Sweden were similar to Rowntree's (1901) proposition of 100 years earlier. However, there was variation in the findings in 1980. This is because by then Sweden had a public welfare system in place where individuals no longer depended on their breadwinners' income as the only source of income. In addition, the introduction of the dual earner within

[21] Generational time is a way of classifying a group of people on the bases of the birth year in which the group (cohort) is born

households also contributed to poverty reduction (Björn Gustafsson & Birgitta Jansson, 2010).

Rowntree's work suggests that the life course perspective illustrates three points when applied in a family context. First, the perspective suggests that individual development has causal links to family where a bread winner's income and poverty status of a family are linked. Second, the links persist over historical time and generations until social, political and economic circumstances change and introduce variations of these linkages. For example, the Swedish study mentioned earlier suggests a twist in family poverty trajectory after Sweden introduced welfare assistance. Third, the life course perspective associates personal biography and human behaviour with cultural and social influences that are embedded within a specific historical period and context to formulate explanatory outcomes in old age. The events do not necessarily have to occur in sequence but formulate the sum total of a person's life experience (Glen H. Elder Jr. & Monica Kirkpatrick Johnson and Robert Crosnoe, 2003).

Others trace the origins of the life course theory to William Thomas and Florian Witold Znaniecki (1918-1920) in their study on immigrant Polish communities who had settled in Chicago. By examining correspondence (letters) between Polish immigrants and their families in Poland, Thomas and Znaniecki (1918-1920) paved the way for inductive methodologies in Sociology. They used autobiographical life history data to develop theory during a time when positivism was orthodoxy. Their work amongst the Polish community established the reasons the Polish emigrated from the Polish countryside to establish the self-labelled Polish-American community in Chicago. Thomas & Znaniecki (1918-1920) set out to explain possible social changes such as family and community relations as the Polish migrants interacted with their host communities in America. After settling in America the Polish seemed to maintain and adhere to their own social ties. Although they gradually assimilated into American society, they solidified themselves as an ethnic group that had its own unique ways within the American society. This observation suggests links between structure and agency as the Polish "held fast" to their ways of doing things despite living in a different country. Of significance to this study is the suggestion that individuals are self-reflecting beings who are always "becoming" whilst they continue to interact with their community. For example, the letters that Thomasand

Znaniecki (1918-1920) used for their data analysis suggest ways in which letter writers interpreted their new social institutions in their host country. Their changing attitudes and reflections were also evident in the letters to their significant others, suggesting continued social ties and in some cases disconnections from their original social groups. In the context of this study, the interplay between individual and collectivityhelps to direct this study to establish how self-reflecting participants of this study either influence or are influenced by their communities' approach to caregiving. This interlink between individual and community is described by Thomas and Znaniecki (1918-1920) when their interpretive framework pays attention to ways in which individuals in their studyrespond to social situations and social groups. Thus, life course theory acknowledges that human beings are not "victims" or passive reactionaries to social structures. As such,the identification and understanding of the possible multidimensional manifestation of aspects of human agency and resilience are important to life course theorists. Apart fromThomas and Znaniecki's (1918-1920) work that they published in five volumes, another classic life course framework that offers insight into agency and resilience is the framework based on the work of W.E.B. Du Bois (1899) that is discussed next.

Although Thomas & Znaniecki (1918-1920) are considered pioneers of life course studies in America, W.E.B. Du Bois (1899 reprinted 1996) laid the foundations of the life course theory through his empirical study based on the lives of African Americans who had migrated into the urban Philadelphia's Seventh Ward after the abolition of slavery. Du Bois's (1899) findings suggest that social exclusionary practices were the main source of social problems in those parts of Philadelphia. During that era, social Darwinism theory was used to explain that social challenges, such as crime and rough neighbourhoods that typified black communities, were evidence of inner city residents' innate racial inferiority stemming from moral disintegration after the abolition of slavery (Aldon Morris, 2015). Perhaps Du Bois's work planted the early seeds of an intersectional approach to empirical studies when he identified that mutually reinforcing social systems converged to create specific disadvantage and life outcomes amongst the residents of the Seventh Ward. Such converging/compounding social systems included racial segregation; limited educational opportunities; and the impact of migrating from the rural areas of America into Philadelphia's inner city, amongst other factors. Du Bois's work is particularlyrelevant to this study that is based in urban Harare. Instead of assuming the Seventh Ward residents

to be a homogenous group, Du Bois's study identified intra-racial class struggles and intra-racial prejudice amongst residents of the inner city. Hisinnovative inductive research approach that combined interviews, spatial maps, surveys,and participant-observation (he lived amongst the people for a year) and secondary data produced a different understanding of social problems in urban areas. Between 1898 and1905 Du Bois's work included studies that focused on problems of urbanisation and studies that focused on rural communities and thus he is credited as one of the pioneers of rural sociology in America. By triangulating different methodologies, Du Bois contributed a different understanding of the social processes that contributed to social inequality in the inner city of Philadelphia during that era. Du Bois identified an association between social stratification mechanisms that were based on race, class, gender and urban migration and the challenges that were experienced by the residents. He also identified traits of counter-discourse that people of colour deployed in an attempt to navigate or circumvent a system that was designed to control and constrain their social mobility (Morris, 2015).

In terms of the methodological insight that was contributed by early life course theorists, Elder Jr. (1985) summates that the development of the life course theory is marked by two distinct waves of theoretical development. The early life course perspective that ended after the Second World War inspired scholarly interest in individual life records, and interest in the use of life course narratives during an era when positivism was thenorm. The second life course theoretical wave that evolved in the 1960s stimulated the development of new research methodologies such as Glaser & Strauss' (1967) "grounded theory methodology" and new statistical models for handling longitudinal data. This second wave also expanded the utility base of the life course theory as other scholarly disciplines adapted the life course approach for various discipline-specific purposes. For example, concepts of the life course epidemiology contribute towards the understanding of possible cumulative risk and protective factors that are associated with chronic disease. One such example is a life course study on obesity that has enabled the WorldHealth Organisation (WHO) (2018a) to deploy appropriate interventions and guidelines for managing obesity at various life stages in Malta that is reported as having the highest obesity rates in the European Union. At the time of this study, the life course theoreticalframework continues to evolve as explained next.

One will note a possible third wave of life course theoretical development that others are referring to as the "personal life course" (PLP) perspective. This PLP, championed by sociologist Carol Smart (2007), is an interactionist micro-level perspective that critiques macro level perspectives such as structural-functionalism or Marxist conflict theory. Some of the limitations of structural analysis that are identified by the PLP perspective include the possibility that macro-level big picture perspectives pay attention to institutional social patterns and trends amongst other big picture analysis; thus, they might not adequately capture individual emotions and spiritual outlooks amongst other dimensions of embodiment[22]. PLP theorists argue that macro level analysis runs the risk of portraying the individual as a passive respondent who reacts to external structural factors. Although within the life course theoretical framework the PLP is yet to firmly establish itself as a solid theoretical framework, the perspective places emphasis on the exploration of human agency and personal choice, aspects that were not directly addressed by the early classic life course theories.

With reference to the concept of "family" that this study is interested in, the PLP focuses on the micro-level understanding of what individuals consider as family and what individuals believe as their contribution to the family and vis-a-visa. The PLP argues that "family" could be a non-conventional network of friends, including pets, extended family, or same sex life partnerships amongst other heterogeneous family membership compositions. Thus the PLP is interested in the meaning that individuals ascribe to the nature of the interaction and relationships within their family settings instead of focusing on the function of family as advanced by structural theorists as Durkheim (1933). In this regard some critique the PLP as casting its net too wide to effectively contribute macro-level abstractions that explain social interaction patterns – one of the key focus areas of the discipline of Sociology in the first place (George Ritzer, 1985). Perhaps one might argue that micro-level analyses of phenomena contribute towards the exploration of situated knowledges and possibly offer insight that might have been overlooked or under-explored from the episteme of traditional sociological theoretical canon.

[22] Embodiment - People experience the world by using their bodies, which have different constitutions and are differently located in space and time (https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/feminism-epistemology/).

2.15 Key life course tenets that contribute to this study

2.15.1 Linked lives and human agency

From the above discussion it is evident that one of the key tenets of the life course theory, regardless of the level of analysis (macro/micro), rests on the assumption that lives are interrelated and interlinked. As such, within a family setting it is assumed that providing care is negotiated within families. This study was interested in establishing from participants some of the options that are at the disposal of those who take up unpaid carework. The life course tenet of "agency" suggests that individuals have autonomy to navigate the circumstances they find themselves in (Steven Hitlin & Glen H. Elder Jr., 2007). However, of relevance to this study is that the life course theory also associates the degree of autonomy that is at the disposal of an individual with other social factors such as culture, education and possible religious influence. As explained next, such influence has bearing on what a particular community may consider as the appropriate or inappropriate time of life transitions such as when to marry or who is considered as old.

2.15.2 Timing

Timing refers to factors that are experienced by groups and individuals that are time specific, time dependent and could be associated with exogenous and endogenous influences with possible varying consequences on individuals, families and communities (Elder Jr., 1998). The life course tenet of "timing" is particularly relevant to this study because the concept of "timing" provided a lens through which this study could explore individual and group dimensions of events and stages of life that participants believeare of significance. To date there are three types of time within the life course perspective,namely, (i) historical time, (ii) individual time (also referred to as ontogenetic time) and (iii) generational time (Elder Jr., 1998). Generational time is a way of classifying a group of people on the bases of the birth year in which the group (cohort) is born. For example, people born between the years 1946 and 1964 (who are currently aged between 56 and 74 at the time of this study) are often referred to as the "baby boom" generation. In the disciplines of Information Technology and Computer Science, this demographic cohort is referred to as "digital migrants" because technological innovation such as the use of cell

phones, e-mail and online banking had not been advanced during the period in which this cohort was born. The group born between 1995 and 2015 is referred to as “Generation Z”. This cohort is considered “digital natives” as the group was born into a technologically advancement era and are in some instances, said to be addicted to their digital devices especially cell phones. With reference to the concept of “individual/ontogenetic time” chronological age-grade-life stages are used to benchmark what a particular society refers to as “on time” or “off time”. Age-graded life stages such as childhood, adolescence, middle age and old age are associated with age-based role expectations, rights and privileges that may be culturally defined. For example, the “normal” time that someone may have their first child could be 25 in some societies. When someone gives birth at 15, that individual might be looked upon as being out of sync (off time) by the families and communities in that context. For this reason life course theorists use the concepts of “off time” and “on time” to understand a particular society’s underlying consensus of acceptable “off times” and “on-times” (Hagestad and Neugarten, 1985). It is pertinent to note that individuals themselves do not necessarily passively accept culturally defined “off and on times”. Individuals also observe their own concept of time, perhaps by choosing an appropriate time to marry as opposed to blindly obeying their family’s expectation of what they consider an appropriate marital age. These age-graded “individual time” stages have since been expanded by including further stages as empirical scholarship expands. Finally, historical time refers to large scale social, political, economic events, war, drought and health pandemics such as HIV and the current Covid pandemic, amongst other large-scale factors that affect families and individuals. Such events possibly influence the nature and direction of their life trajectories. The concept of “timing” was of relevance to this study that purposefully selected a sample that could shed light on the elder care trajectory based on historical time, individual time and generational time (Elder Jr., 1998).

A classic illustration of the significance of timing in the caregiving trajectory is a study on older women’s care responsibilities by Linda Burton (1996) entitled “Age norms, the time of family role transitions, and intergenerational caregiving among ageing African American Women”. Burton’s (1996) study suggests that in the community in which her study is based, the age that a mother gives birth to her first child is closely associated with the caregiving roles that are expected of multi-generational women in her family.

Burton's (1996) study identifies a correlation between age norms, family role transitions and the caregiving responsibilities that are either expected of, or provided to, olderwomen in her study. She also reports on differences in caregiving patterns between participants based in rural areas, and the caregiving patterns of families in urban areas. "On-time" and "off-time" child-bearing sequence between generations are of significance within the multi-generational families in her study. For example, she reports that in the urban area, on-time lineage pacing of 20-23 years of generation turnover created a family system of mutual caregiving responsibilities. On the other hand, non-normative lineages that were characterised by what she terms "accelerated childbearing in two successive generations" resulted in an intergenerational family system in which the great-grandmothers experienced role overload associated with caring for dependent multi-generational kin – what Burton (1996:205) describes as the result of "accelerated childbearing" tendencies of the previous two generations in their lineage. The great- grandmothers whose families had experienced "accelerated" childbearing were caring for three and four generations. In another context based in Gospel Hill, Burton (1996) notes that early childbearing created a system of mutual assistance in which older women in multi-generational families were not responsible for caring for any family members. Instead, their off-spring and their grandchildren cared for the great-grandmothers. Burton's (1996) study is a classic illustration of family role transitions, gender, age norms,on-time and off-time scenarios, ordering and sequencing of both individual expectations as well as family expectations that might indeed affect the caregiving trajectories of individuals and families. In this instance, young grandmothers whose families are characterised by accelerated child bearing between generations express what life course theorists refer to as "role overload" including experiencing the negative effects associated with "off time" child bearing. Burton expresses that:

> [a] 29-year-old married woman who becomes a grandmother when her 15-year-old daughter becomes a mother might find herself overwhelmed at attempting to integrate the roles of wife, parent to her own young children, surrogate parent to her grandchild, and, quite possibly, employee on a nine-to-five job. (Burton, 1996:202)

Whilst Burton's study offers insight into some of the caregiving dynamics that are experienced in a family setting that is characterised by multiple generations, this study agrees with Burton's recommendation for further inquiry on the contribution of men in the

very same family settings in her study. It is possible that men contribute a different understanding to the caregiving practices in the communities in which Burton's study was based. Burton's study also suggests the importance of understanding individual trajectories instead of, for example, simply labelling someone as living in poverty in old age. Instead, this study believes that human life should be divided and understood in stages as initially proposed by Rowntree (1901). As such, the following discussion briefly explains the concept of "age" within the life course theory.

2.15.3 Ageing

Unlike George Herbert Mead (1934) who focused on primary and secondary socialisation stages in the development of human beings, life course theorist add a "third age" and a "fourth age" socialisation process to make up four life course stages. They are the childhood, adolescence, adulthood, and old age. The older population are further classified under three life sub-stages, namely the young-old (65–74), the middle-old (ages 75–84), and the old-old (over age 85). The life course theory suggests that socialisation continues throughout all these sequential stages and that the different phases are interlinked (Macionis & Plummer, 2012). Although each life stage might be influenced by the biological process of growth and ageing from infancy, toddlerhood, childhood, adolescence, young adult, prime adulthood, middle age, and old age, the actual course of life is socially constructed (Macionis & Plummer, 2012). Although societies might use the variable of "age" as a form of social stratification, the ageing experience is based on cultural, ethnicity, gender, race and class amongst other variables (Macionis & Plummer, 2012). As will be explained shortly, some feminist theorists view age as a site of political contestation and social inequality (Calasanti, 2003; 2010). Others view "age" as a control mechanism that should be interrogated along with other forms of social variables such as gender, race and class to broaden our understanding of dimensions of ageing.

2.16 Possibilities and limitations of the life course theory

One will note that the classic life course theories were developed in the context of trying to understand some of the possible causes and cumulative effects of social problems that characterised societies of that era. The life course theoretical frameworks have since

provided conceptual apparatus for framing ways in which the interaction of life transitions, chronological age, historical era, culture, major social events (including disruptive events) and associated social changes influence the nature of options and constraints that individuals are exposed to at different stages of their lives from birth to death. The life course perspective, particularly Rowntree's (1901), study has been critiqued for being normative and static as it is mainly based on quantitative analysis of income trajectories that do not offer textured knowledge as offered by qualitative studies. For example, feminist scholars such as Dorothy Smith (1987) who is credited for developing the "feminist standpoint theory" suggest the necessity of understanding social phenomena from the vantage point of those on the ground (bottom up approach) whilst at the same time paying attention to ways in which gender amongst other dimensions shapes such experience. Thus within the life course theoretical framework, Thomas & Znaniecki's (1918) study of Polish immigrants in America is acclaimed for being amongst pioneer studies that were empirically grounded in data such as letters, court documents, newspapers, first person accounts and diaries to name a few diverse data sources. With the exception of W.E.B. Du Bois (1899) who expressed concern for black women's social standing, the classic life course theorists rarely viewed gender as a social stratification construct that warranted analytic inquiry. Thus Dawn Baunach (2001) argues that "[gender] inequality does not begin with adulthood, yet scholarship has dealt most appreciably with indicators summarizing patterns for adults. Life course differences need to be recognized and incorporated into the study of gender inequality" Baunach (2001:61). This argument by Baunach (2001) suggests the importance of crafting a research design that does not treat participants as a homogenous group. With reference to this study, this meant establishing ways in which the construct of gender interplays with caregiving and receiving throughout the life course of participants. However, whilst the life course theory facilitated this study in paying attention to individual and family life pathways, it was necessary to interweave life course constructs with concepts from feminist care and gender theories as explained next. Such life course constructs include: life transition; duration and degree of exposure to providing care; cumulative advantage and disadvantage; linked lives and kinship ties. For example, this study noted that, in Zimbabwe, studies that explain dimensions of the initial phases and exit points of the care trajectory are limited. What is well reported is that women are disproportionately

represented in the unpaid caregiving sphere (Zimbabwe Census Report, 2012). Feminist care frameworks, that are discussed in the next section, augment the life course theory by not only using gender as a category of analysis, but also by treating gender as a principle of socialorganisation (Connell, 2005).

2.17 Feminist care frameworks

The previous section discussed ways in which the life course theoretical framework contributes theoretical lens through which this study explored the interdependent nature of social processes and trajectories that characterise elder care within a family setting based on participants'' narratives. However, there is no universal definition of the construct of "caregiving". It is generally acknowledged that caregiving involves providing instrumental, emotional, physical and psychological assistance to those who are inneed of such. For this reason, some argue that caregiving should be defined by those who are on the ground giving and receiving care (Smith, 2004; Bowers, 1987). As explained earlier, the cumulative effects of caregiving should be accounted for considering that women are reported as the main caregivers in the Zimbabwean society and globally. For example Nancy Hooyman (1999:115) cites Abel (1990) to suggestthat "[many] studies conceptualize caregiver stress as a woman's private responsibility, resulting in policies such as support groups that promote personal adjustment rather than social reform" (Hooyman,1999:115). Feminist scholars have, however, been critiqued for not paying enough attention to older women (Hooyman, 1999). Thus, this study believes that the life course theory that is particularly strong in providing constructs for understanding timing and the linked nature of life, dovetails with concepts from feminist conceptual frameworks that are particularly strong in exploring the social construction and contextualisation of gender as observed by each society. What the life course perspectiveand the feminist care theories have in common is the tenet that lives are interdependent (Gilligan, 1989; Rowntree, 1901). The implications are that caregiving is a necessary human component that sustains humanity, thus the act of caregiving should be understood contextually and from various vantage points. However, with referenceto this study, empirical studies that explain how and why the caregiving roles are formulated and passed on from generation to generation to the present day contemporaryZimbabwe are limited. In addition, what is not clear are ways in which the variant of "age"possibly interacts with "gender" in the sphere of care trajectories. For example, in a European quality of life survey, Patrick McCloughan, William H. Batt, Mark Costine and Derek Scully (2011:29) report that:

> Age is also a determinant of unpaid work, albeit with a smaller quantitative impact. The frequency of involvement first increases, then reaches a maximum before decreasing. The turning points are:

- The mid 40s in the case of caring for and educating children;
- The late 40s in respect of cooking and housework;
- The early 50s for caring for elderly/disabled relatives.

These respective turning points pertain mostly to women. (McCloughan et al., 2011:29).

McCloughan et al.'s (2011) observations above suggest that ideally, caregiving should be empirically explored to identify typical care patterns within a specific society during a particular time. For example, it has now been established that in Africa, including Zimbabwe, some of the elderly people are taking care of their grandchildren asa result of the middle-age cohort having succumbed to various life-altering events, particularly the HIV pandemic (Sitawa R. Kimuna, 2005). It is reported that 60% of AIDSrelated orphans live with their grandparents in South Africa, Zimbabwe and in Namibia (Apt, 2012) suggesting skipped generation households[23]. What remains unclear is the nature of these elders' previous caregiving exposure before taking on the care responsibility of their grandchildren.

Some of the feminist care frameworks that contributed towards addressing the study's research question have been classified by sociologist Paula England (2005) into five frameworks. These are: (1) the "devaluation of care" frameworks that argue that care is devalued because it is mainly performed by women. (2) "public good" frameworks that suggest that, although providing care has ripple effects that benefit society beyond the immediate care receiver, unpaid care work that is provided in the home does not receive adequate market value from the public sphere. (3) "Prisoner of love" frameworksin which caregivers are taken advantage of in complementing the "altruistic" nature of caregiving. Perhaps this concept is almost similar to the concept of "symbolic violence" (Pierre Bourdieu, 1998:39), an ideology that abstracts others as instruments for achievingvarious ends. Symbolic violence has roots in critical theorists' concept of "false consciousness" (Friedrich Engels, 1893; Louis Althusser, 1970) that may be characterised by individuals looking inwards and blaming themselves for some of the challenges they face when such challenges are in fact brought about by prevailing social arrangements. (4) The "commodification of emotion" framework that brings attention to the negative effects of

[23] A family in which grandparents raise grandchildren due to the absence of parents (sociology dictionary.org)

caregivers sacrificing themselves and (5) the “love and money” framework that rejects the assumption that institutionalised care is profit driven whilst careprovided in the home is motivated by genuine love. What these various feminist care frameworks have in common is the understanding that “the personal is political”, a neology that was advanced by Carol Hanisch (1969). “Personal is political” asserts that what happens in the privacy of the home is a reflection of society’s social discourse and should be of public concern. Thus, some scholars conceptualise care as the heart of social citizenship by arguing that when the distribution of care for/by the elderly is not factored into public social welfare provision, those needing care, including their caregivers, might be exposed to risk of various vulnerabilities – thus possibly compromising their social citizenship experience. Gouws (1999) explains that:

> Citizenship is a contested concept that lays claim to equality but the construction of citizenship is very often the cause of unequal treatment of certain classes of people living in divided societies. The divisions can occur along racial, gender, class, ethnic and other lines. (Gouws, 1999:54)

Thus, feminist scholars from various disciplines contribute different understanding of theunpaid caregiving practice within their context. For example, scholars Rhonda Wells- Wilbon and Gaynell Marie Simpson (2009) present their “Ma’at” caregiving framework that is rooted in some of the West African cultural and historical traditions. Their caregivingframework is guided by the womanist perspective. Womanism is credited to Alice Walker(1983), to frame aspects that were/are of concern to women of colour at the time that the feminist movement in America did not address issues of class and race that affected women of colour during the late 1970s and early 1980s (Alice Walker, 1983). The Ma’atframework presented by Wells-Wilbon & Simpson (2009), focuses on ways in which women of African descent hold a place of honour within the family and the community atlarge. The scholars also discuss ways in which the caregiving trajectory is passed on fromone generation to another in their context. Thus, the Ma’at model offers concepts of gender-sensitive distributive justice that are enshrined in spiritual aspects of providing unpaid caregiving. Wells-Wilbon & Simpson (2009) explore ways in which women of African descent in the diaspora play a crucial role in upholding the family, whilst using various strategies of navigating challenging structural factors such as globalisation, migration and racism – issues that disproportionately affect people of colour in their context. Another example from South Africa is offered by Amanda Gouws and Mikki vanZyl (2015) who explore a feminist

ethic of care that is based on the African philosophy of“ubuntu”. These authors argue for the possible benefits of a community response to the needs of others (ubuntu) as opposed to a neo-liberal[24] response to human need. One might perhaps argue that whilst the concept of “ubuntu” calls for a community response to caregiving, the concept of “ubuntu” is innate in almost all the African cultural principlesalbeit different languages. However, women throughout Africa are, at the time of this study, still reported to be disproportionately saddled with the unpaid caregiving responsibility. How does such a situation arise in Africa where relationships between families and communities are meant to be guided by ubuntu? What are men disproportionately saddled with in the distribution of care? If the philosophy of ubuntu is still observed in contemporary communities, a lot more needs to be empirically explored,especially on the dimensions of the distribution of care in relation to gender and ageing.

In recent years, some feminist scholars have advanced caregiving scholarship by highlighting the emerging racial and socio-economic disparities that are associated with migrant caregivers' welfare when migrants travel to the Global North to fill the gap of the reported care-giver deficit that Jeannette Galvanek (2017) describes as the “Global Caregiving Gold Rush”. These recent transnational caregiving trends suggest that aspects of population ageing are situated within global transactions. The depth and breadth of possible implications of such care chains should be continuously evaluated (Hochschild, 2000). One will note that the feminists' concept of social citizenship is almost similar to W.E.B. Du Bois's (1899 reprinted 1996) insight into the life outcomes of urban dwellers of Ward Seven. The concept of social citizenship nudges one to delve deeper into observing the social dynamics of any situation instead of accepting phenomena at face value. With reference to this study, when “family” is the first line of care for ageing members of society, concepts of the intersectionality theory that is discussed next help this study to tease out the concept of “gender” and “age” within the family unit. Intersectionality also facilitates in mapping the social positioning and trajectories of those who sustain elderly care in the absence of universal public assistance. Whilst the life course theory that was mentioned earlier contributes towards the understanding of individual and family caregiving pathways, the intersectionality theory is particularly strong

[24] Neo-liberalism places emphasis on “[minimal] state intervention in economic and social affairs…” Britannica.com

in identifying the nature of gender and age relations in the sphere of unpaid caregiving.

2.18 Intersectionality theory

A definition of the intersectionality framework that is most appropriate to this study is offered by Public Health scholar Lisa Bowleg (2012) who explains that intersectionality is:

> [a] theoretical framework that posits that multiple social categories (e.g., race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status) intersect at the micro level of individual experience to reflect multiple interlocking systems of privilege and oppression at the macro, social-structural level (e.g., racism, sexism, heterosexism). (Bowleg, 2012: 1267)

Whilst Bowleg's (2012) definition of the intersectionality is most appropriate for this study that is underpinned by the symbolic interaction perspective, it is necessary to provide a brief orientation of the origin of the intersectionality theory that was developed within the feminist critical race theory framework but has since been adapted for use across various disciplines.

2.19 Historical development of feminist intersectionality theory

The development of the intersectionality theory is understood in the context of American critical race and gender history. The Global North credits women's suffrage for bringing attention to some of the gender-differiented social practices that marginalised women in those parts of the world. In America, the suffragettes' protest efforts are described as a series of waves. One may suggest that the metaphor of "waves" refers to the ripple effects of suffragettes' victories and defeats from one generation to the next. Instead of imagining a wave that subsides and disappears with the rest of the ocean current, the wave transmits to the next generation's progress and triumph, and areas that need further attention. For example, during the first wave that occurred between 1848 and 1920, suffragettes focused on areas of concern that included advocating for women's right to vote and women's right to own property. Although the right to vote was eventually granted to some women in 1920, through the 19th amendment to the US Constitution of 1919, women of colour were still not allowed to vote. Women of colour were only legible to vote much later in 1965 during the civil rights movement through the Voting Right Act of 1965 (Ellen Carol Du Bois, 1995, 2021; Angela Y. Davis, 1983; Angela Y. Davis, 2019a in *The Bay State Banner* newspaper article of 13 June 2019 reported by Saphia Suarez).

The second feminist wave gathered steam between 1960 and 1980. This second wave widened women's area of foci by including issues that extended beyond political and legislated inequalities. During this wave, women advocated for equal pay and for women to exercise their right to exercise choice regarding reproductive health matters. The concerns of women of colour were either minimised or excluded from feminist scholarship and from feminist praxis. For example, when middle class women were calling for access to birth control, women of colour were calling for the end of unsolicited sterilisation. When middle class women were calling for more opportunities in the formal labour force and equal pay, women of colour had long been working in the homes of the middle class women who were agitating for work opportunities outside of their homes (bell hooks, 2000; Angela Y. Davis, 1981; Friedan, 1963). However, towards the end of the second wave, feminist scholarship had made inroads in acknowledging diversity amongst women instead of taking a "one size fits all" blind spot approach. The second wave of the feminist movement is also credited for bringing a different understanding of domestic violence to America. The second wave feminists highlighted ways in which what were believed to be private matters in the home (for example domestic violence and marital rape), were indeed a reflection of systematic injustice to women at large (Hanisch, 1969).

However, during the early part of the third feminist wave, that is in the late 1980s, legal scholar Crenshaw (1988, 1989, 1991) noted that women of colour did not receive the same attention as other women who had sought legal assistance after being exposed to domestic violence. Crenshaw (1989, 1991) popularised the concept of "intersectionality" after observing multiple ways in which the American legal system failed women of colour. Although Crenshaw (1989) is credited for coining the term "intersectionality", the concept of intersectionality may be traced back to Sojourner Truth's (1851) speech of "Ain't I a Woman?" where she questioned the social location of women who were considered as "slaves" in American society. In academia, perhaps W.E.B. Du Bois (1899) is also amongst the pioneers of intersectionality scholarship when he identified interlocking and cumulative areas of disadvantage that trapped African Americans who had migrated into urban areas, creating what was referred to as "The Negro Problem" in the inner city of Philadelphia. It is evident that the intersectionality framework offers an epistemological lens through which to examine areas of diversity and areas of possible domination that go beyond issues of gender and race.

Women from all over the world have since contributed scholarship on various issues that are unique in their context. Propelled by the third feminist wave, transnational feminism has widened the scope of feminist epistemologies that nudge feminist scholars to re-examine canon feminist theory. For example, in the book titled “Sisters in Spirit: Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Influences on Early American Feminists”, Sally Roesch Wagner (ed.) (2001) suggests that women of the early suffrage movement in America came to the realisation that the Indigenous women of the Haudenosaunee ethnic group enjoyed a favourable social position within their first-nation communities. Wagner (2020, ed.) elaborates that some of the women amongst the early settlers observed that native-American women enjoyed admirable life opportunities such as the right to own land, the right to initiate divorce, women having custody of their children and generally occupying a place of honour and respect in their communities. After such realisation, colonial women possibly began to question their own metropole-inspired belief system of an “ideal” woman and her place in society; thus the early rumblings of the feminist suffrage especially in the East Coast of America (Ellen Carol Du Bois, 2021). Such historical insight into the diverse origins of women’s suffrage, solidifies feminist scholars’ concern with methodological issues such as how, why and by whom some of the studies are conducted. Such feminist consideration includes paying attention to plurality of voices to avoid presenting a one-sided account of women’s experience (Mary Margaret Cook & Judith A. Fonow, 1986; Fonow & Cook, 1991a, 1991b; 2005). Some of feminist methodological concerns include sensitivity to cultural imperialism and the insider/outsider positionality of researchers (Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 1988). Such concerns necessitate one to pay attention to the research topic, the research design and methodological issues such as debate on the nature of, and purpose of rapport that is discussed in the research design section on page 94 (Shulamit Reinharz, 1992; Ann Oakley, 1981; Linda Finlay, 2002, 2003). What follows is an explanation of some of the key possibilities and limitations of intersectionality concepts as they relate to this study.

Although there are variations of the intersectionality approach, what is common amongst these variations is interest in the coalescence of concepts of identity, difference, agency, social positioning and interest in the disparate social outcomes within prevailing social arrangements. Some view intersectionality as either a theory, a paradigm or a methodology (Ange-Marie Hancock, 2016). Intersectionality as a methodology suggests

that the use of single axis frameworks does not adequately capture the complexity of the multidimensional subjective experiences of human beings. As a theory, intersectionality conceptualises some of the unacknowledged ways in which inequalities and disparities are produced via systems of race, gender and age amongst other socially constructed identity categories (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991; Patricia Hill Collins, 1998, 2000; Leslie McCall, 2005, Nira Yuval-Davis, 2006a, 2006b, 2011a, 2011b, 2015). For example, intersectionality provided a lens through which this study could explore ways in which the constructs of "gender" and "age" interact with other contextually relevant factors drawn from participants' narratives. Thus Hae Yeon Choo & Myra Ferree (2010) clarify that intersectionality may generally be for exploring group-centered, process-centered or system-centered unit of analysis. This study believes that such distinctions observed by Choo & Ferree (2010) may contribute towards the synthesis of the unit of analysis particularly in a case study research design approach such as this study.

As a paradigm, intersectionality aims to address areas that remain unanswered when single axis analysis such as gender-neutral or ethnicity-neutral research instruments are used to explain social phenomena (Hancock, 2016). Intersectionality also privileges knowledge from the viewpoint of those who are commonly marginalised by taken-for-granted social practices (Crenshaw, 1989; Hill Collins, 1998; 2000). These tenets suggest that the intersectionality framework could potentially serve as a framework for propelling social change. In this study, an intersectional approach to research design, including intersectional data analysis, facilitated in mapping out multifaceted ways in which elder care is organised at specific times. The intersectionality theory was particularly useful as it is time sensitive, an area that dovetails with the life course concept of "timing of lives". For example, the framework factors in the possibility that one person might be disadvantaged during a particular period yet privileged in another (Hill Collins, 2000). Sensitivity to time was particularly pertinent to this study that was interested in the lived experiences of those who have lived for over half a century. The cohort in this study has witnessed different political ideological terrains to the present day. The tenets of intersectionality that are discussed above suggest that perhaps issues of diversity, privilege and constraints should be understood in relation to human agency, an area that life course theory and feminist conceptual framework addresses. The concept of human agency is clarified next.

2.20 Human agency

The concept of human agency may be defined through various perspectives such as the humanist or feminist perspective (Bronwyn Davies, 1991). Davies (1991) clarifies that "agency" is used interchangeably with such concepts as freedom, autonomy, rationality and moral authority (Davies, 1991:42). Davies' (1991) clarification suggests that the concept of human agency has to be understood within the framework of the social context in which one is situated. Such possibility suggests that agency should not automatically be defined as "free will" or "freedom to act" as there may be factors that may influence one's freedom to act. As such psychologist Albert Bandura (2001) identified three types of agency, namely - individual, proxy, and collective agency that operate in tandem to influence individuals' own expression of agency. In addition, Bandura (2001) warns against generalising Western theories of human agency to non-Western cultures. He argues that the weight given to individual, proxy, and collective agency is different across cultures and different walks of life. For example, in the context of Zimbabwe, ChipoHungwe (2006) discusses ways in which heteronormative[25] practices at various historical periods, have been controlled by various hegemonic social structures to influence public perceptions of dimensions of what is considered as "respectable" or "unrespectable" acts of gendered identities especially the female gender. In trying to conform and operate within the defined frameworks of "respectability", women's autonomy is undermined (Hungwe, 2006). Inductive empirical studies are perhaps better suited in identifying some of the constraints that women have to deal with when they wish to exercise their autonomy within their context.

An anthology edited by Jean Allman, Susan Geiger and Nakanyike Musisi (2002) challenges some of the misconceptions of the nature of agency and status of African women during the colonial era. Their anthology suggests that colonised women were by no means passive victims of colonialism. What makes it particularly challenging is that the history of early societies of Zimbabwe was written as seen through the eyes of the colonial settlers as early Zimbabwe relied on oral history. However, Gardiol Jeanne van Niekerk (2000, 369 & 370) cautions against the possibility of "[throwing] out [sic] the baby

[25] Heteronormativity has been defined as the enforced compliance with culturally determined heterosexual roles and assumptions about heterosexuality as 'natural' or 'normal' (Janice M. Habarth, 2015:166).

with the bath water in the search of an authentic African narrative of women in ancient Africa" (van Niekerk 2000:369 & 370). Her argument suggests that the understanding of the construct of gender should be geographically and culturally situated. As such, "Patriarchy should be interpreted differently in Western and African traditions" (van Niekerk, 2000:375). Puleng LenkaBula and Mpeane Makofane (2010) also express their concerns with how African women's agency is portrayed in mainstream social science. They advocate for a true reflection of black women's agency. Some African feminist scholars add that black women's agency is either distorted, negated in scholarship or negatively presented (Oshadi Mangena, 2003; Amina Mama, 2011). LenkaBula & Makofane (2010) note that black women are portrayed "[through] the imagery of the suffering matriarch (18)… to be pitied (19) and suggest that "Reflecting on African women's agency not only asserts theirfull humanity, it also promotes scholarship that is not complicit to unjust representations or relationships" (LenkaBula & Makofane, 2010:15). These scholars raise valid points on issues of interpretation, representation and researcher positionality. However, it is imperative to note that in recent years, there has been a shift amongst scholars that suggests acknowledgement of various forms of local and transnational forms of agency (Chandra Talpade Mohanty, 2003a; Mohanty, 2003b; (Patricia McFadden, 2014). For this reason, it is important to understand some of the scholars' contribution on human agency in the backdrop of the historical period in which their feminist scholarship or praxis is rooted. Whilst one cannot control how readers or other scholars interpret specific observations, it is equally important to remember that one of the key tenets of feminist scholarship is to engage in ethical research that benefits or advances the interests of communities. The above discussion suggests that human agency should be understood in the social context of the subject. The nature of human agency is relevant to this study that wishes to understand the type of agency that men and women express in receiving or giving care.

2.21 Conclusion of conceptual framework

This section presents the conceptual framework that supports this study. From the above discussion, one can see that this study's research question is best addressed by augmenting some of the concepts that are offered by the life course theoretical framework, feminist care, and feminist intersectional conceptual frameworks. What these

frameworks have in common is the viewpoint that individuals, and families, draw meaning from the contextual environment to which they are subjected. Simultaneously, individuals and families also contribute to the formation as well as their response to these environments (Giddens, 1984). Such social interaction between individuals and their communities suggests that there are multiple realities to be explored in any given situation. For this reason, these frameworks are particularly useful for supporting empirical studies in areas that are understudied such as this study.

In terms of conceptualising the breadwinning dynamics within families, Rowntree's (1901) work provides insight into understanding some of the long-term intergenerational patterns of family interaction as they are linked to socio-economic conditions over time. What is not clear in the present day Zimbabwe are ways in which caregivers themselves interpret the social factors that are associated with ageing and unpaid caregiving in contemporary urban areas, an area that this study was interested in. The life course theoretical framework offers concepts such as social ties, life transitions, pace and duration of transitions, linked lives, epiphanies, resilience and agency, all of which should be understood against the backdrop of the socio-economic-cultural-historical context in which this study is based. Thus W.E.B. Du Bois's (1899) work suggests the necessity of making a distinction between, for example, an urban family and a rural family. With reference to this study, instead of using the umbrella term of "family" providing care, it is important to understand how individuals who make up the "family" interpret their caregiving and receiving experience as they age. The intersectionality theory provides a framework from which to explore the nexus of gender, age and transitioning in and out of care roles. Feminist care theories suggest that the social construction of gender and family should be understood from an historical and cultural perspective of each society. Intersectionality also helps to map out ways in which participants may circumventsome of the established norms and values. The conceptual framework contributed towards the development of an appropriate research design that is described next. As the research design is underpinned by the symbolic interaction paradigm that is influenced by a feminist ideology, the research design will illuminate how symbolic interaction as well as the feminist worldview dovetail and facilitate this study in addressing the research question. The chapter that follows, Chapter 3, explains the decisions made in the development of the research design and methodology.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

To recap, in view of the reported population ageing[26], the aim of this study is to contribute knowledge on caregiving and receiving trajectories in an urban area in contemporary Harare. If people are reported as living longer, what can men and women who have experience in caregiving and receiving tell us about how they have given and received care over the years? Chapter 1 presented the study's introduction and contextual background of Zimbabwe by paying attention to what is known about manifestations of gender and ageing in various spheres of life (Zimbabwe Census, 2012). Of interest to this study are reports that women are disproportionately represented in the caregiving sphere. Older women are also reported as amongst the populations that are most vulnerable to poverty and disease (Zimbabwe Census, 2012). The reported population longevity necessitated this study to present the demographic profile of Zimbabwe for the purpose of clarifying the structure of the society in which the caring and ageing that is described in this study is taking place. Chapter 1 thus presented the research question and the aims and objectives of the study. Chapter 2 was a scoping literature reviewthat was conducted during the initial phases of the study. The scoping exercise placed into perspective some of the areas that need further exploration at the nexus of gender, ageing and elder care provision. The literature review also pointed towards some of the strengths and weaknesses of some of the methodological approaches that were used insimilar studies. Thus, to meet the aims and objectives of this study, it was necessary to develop a research design (Toby Epstein Jayaratne and Abigail J. Stewart, 1991) that could appropriately facilitate the exploration of the nature of social relations[27] (Maximilian "Max" Karl Emil Weber, 1922 reprinted 1978) that participants enter into as they give and receive care within their family setting. Such research design is keenly aware of the importance of designing a research strategy that is sensitive to the variation of experience amongst members of the cohort in this study. To avoid treating participants as a monolithic

[26] Population aging is described as the rise of the median age of a population. Median age is defined by the United Nations Population Glossary of Demographic Terms (2017) as the "Age that divides the population in two parts ofequal size, that is, there are as many persons with ages above the median as there are with ages below the median".

[27] In this study, the concept of "social relations" is guided by Weber's (1922, 1978) interpretive approach to socialaction. Weber (1978) states that "Action is 'social' insofar as its subjective meaning takes account of the behaviour of others and is thereby oriented in its course" (Weber, 1978:4).

group it is imperative to deploy intersectional sensibilities (Crenshaw, 2015) that are attentive to ways in which categories of social difference such as “age,” “ethnicity” and “gender” interplay to influence individuals and communities in various ways. This research design chapter describes the scheme[28] for addressing the research question as summarised below.

3.1.1 Overview of the research design chapter

The chapter is divided into four sections. The first part provides an overview of the rationale behind the research design. As such, the various ontological, epistemological, axiological (Henning, et al., 2004) and rhetorical components (John Creswell, 2003) that are associated with various research paradigms[29] will be discussed. What will become clear is the philosophical worldview and the paradigmatic and theoretical assumptions that influenced the choice of research design and methodology that was deployed to address this study’s research question (Henning et al., 2004).

The second part explains why the single, embedded case study research design approach (Earl Babbie & Johann Mouton, 2001; Creswell, 2007) was most appropriate for addressing the aims and objectives of this study.

The third part of this chapter explains the reasons behind this study’s choice of constructivist grounded theory inductive methodology (Annemie “A.S.” de Vos & Christa B. Fouché, 1998; A.S. de Vos & Hermanus Strydom, 1998; de Vos et al., 2013). The section clarifies the sampling strategy, the research methods and the research instruments that were used.

The fourth part of this chapter is the data analysis section. The data analysis methods and procedures that were followed in this study will be described. Central to the research design are issues of research integrity and ethical considerations, as well as authenticity as explained in this section (Henning et al., 2004; Hofstee, 2006). What follows is the first section of this four part research design chapter. The section initially clarifies the purpose of the research design and how research paradigms are the key pillars that support any study. As such, a description of the interpretive research paradigm, particularly symbolic

[28] a plan for doing or organising something (Cambridge dictionary.org)

[29] Research paradigms are shared beliefs among research communities on how to approach problems (Thomas Kuhn, 1970).

interactionism that supports this study's research design, will follow. Such clarification will highlight the synergy between the interpretive research paradigm, the case study research design approach and the constructivist grounded theory methodology in addressing this study's research question.

3.2 Rationale behind research designs

Research designs are blue prints or detailed plans for carrying out a study from inception to the dissemination of findings (Babbie & Mouton, 2002, 2015). Denzin & Lincoln (2000) refer to research designs as "strategies of inquiry" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000:22) that set paradigms of interpretation into motion. In addition, David A. de Vaus (2001, 2005), Christa Fouché & Willem Schurink (2005) and Yin (1994) emphasise that a research design is a logical structure for answering a research question and should not be confused with the methods used for gathering evidence.

There have been many terms for "research design" that have been used by qualitative researchers to refer to the same concept. These include terms such as "research paradigms", "research approaches" and "research strategies", amongst other terms (Johann Mouton, 2001; Fouché, 2002; Creswell, 2007; Fouché & Schurink, 2011; Godswill Makombe, 2017). de Vaus, (2001) and Makombe (2017) note that, in some instances, there is confusion in distinguishing between research design, research paradigms and research methods. Makombe (2017:3363) observes that "[qualitative] and quantitative methods are sometimes erroneously referred to as research paradigms or research designs. Experienced researchers often use the terms research paradigm, research methods and research design in a loose and confusing manner" (Makombe, 2017:3363). This study takes cognizance of such possibility by explaining the interconnectedness of the research paradigm, the research design and the research methodology in addressing this study's research question. In spite of the many terms that have been used to refer to "research design" there is consensus that to address a research question, the research design (blue print) of any study is influenced by the philosophical as well paradigmatic orientation of a study. It is generally accepted that qualitative and quantitative philosophical orientations differ in various ways that will be discussed shortly, including the role of the researcher in the research process (Babbie&

Mouton, 2002; 2015). However, depending on the nature of a study, some research questions might best be addressed by a mixed method approach that triangulates various research strategies that are usually associated with the quantitative and qualitative research philosophies. Such exception is possible because the philosophical orientation and purpose of a study influences the choice of research question, how the study is carried out, and the interpretation and reporting of findings as will be explained in this section (Creswell, 2008). These philosophical assumptions may be framed bypositivist, interpretivist, pragmatist or critical worldviews on the nature of reality as advanced by various disciplines. The assumptions informing the various worldviews arebased on five aspects, namely, epistemology, ontology, axiology and methodology(Fouché & Schurink, 2011; Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and the rhetorical approach thatrefers to the style and structure of writing and reporting that underpin various research paradigms (Thomas Kuhn, 1970; Creswell, 2003). Babbie & Mouton (2001:75) add that research designs might also vary, based on the consideration of whether a study is empirical or non-empirical. Such considerations have implications on the types of data that are needed to address the research question.

It has also been established that one of the core purposes of a research design is to reduce ambiguity in answering a research question and to establish mechanisms for identifying alternative explanations of existing and emerging theories (de Vaus,2001). Research designs also provide a platform from where researchers may anticipatepossible strengths and pitfalls of a research strategy. Such pitfalls could include issues of logical fallacy, lack of internal and external validity, and failure to establish plausible alternative explanations of a phenomenon, amongst other shortcomings (Thomas Cook & Donald Campbell, 1979; de Vaus, 2005, 2006, ed.). It is appropriate to initially briefly explain why the qualitative orientation to research design was most appropriate for framing this study as opposed to a positivist approach that is briefly explained below.

3.2.1 Positivist philosophical orientation to research design

Studies that are framed by positivist worldviews argue that an objective reality exists outside of individual experience (Babbie & Mouton, 2015). As such, reality may be discovered by emulating natural scientific inquiry that aims to either predict, measure or test a hypothesis. For this reason, the researcher is generally expected to remain

objective, detached and neutral as the researcher observes or measures behaviour. Such an approach to social science also aims to generalise findings and promote research designs that are meant to be replicable. A positivist approach to research design commonly makes use of research models, quantitative data gathering strategies, surveys and laboratory observation. Such data gathering methods are associated with theuse of data interpretation strategies that aim to establish research "validity" as opposed to research "credibility" that is associated with qualitative studies. The positivist research design implies that validity is based on what can either be observed, touched, measured, seen, heard or smelt by various research instruments to qualify as valid knowledge or as truth. Thus, it is common for studies that adopt a positivistic worldview to make use of deductive methodologies that aim to identify cause and effect law-like patterns. Such positivist tenets differ from the tenets of qualitative inquiry as explained next (Henning et al., 2004; Johann Mouton & Hendrik C. Marais, 1990).

3.2.2 Qualitative philosophical orientation to research design

Unlike quantitative research designs that offer a range of research models to choose from, qualitative research designs are not step-by-step recipes to follow (Fouché & Schurink, 2005) but are merely "[recommendations] regarding the right ingredients to use"(Fouché & Schurink, 2005:267). The selection of "the right ingredients" implies that a research design has to make use of an appropriate research process based on the purpose of a study. Such a process is influenced by a study's paradigmatic, ontological and epistemological assumptions as will be discussed shortly. Qualitative studies are interested in studying units of analysis in their natural setting at a specific point in time. As such, qualitative studies may make use of inductive methodologies that either describe, explain or explore context-specific phenomena. Accordingly, researchers are considered as instruments of the research process. As they interact with their research interests, researchers are expected to be mindful that researchers themselves are value-laden (Fouché & Schurink, 2005; Sharan B. Merriam, 1998).

In general, the process of developing a qualitative research design starts with the researcher clarifying the purpose of the research, as done by an architect or builder (de Vaus, 2001, 2005, 2006, ed.). de Vaus (2001, 2005, 2006, ed.) explains that, from the onset, clarity has to be sought on the purpose of a proposed building, in other words,

whether the proposed building is a school, a clinic, a factory or a home. In terms of qualitative research designs such as this study, the researcher has to be clear on whether a study is exploratory, descriptive, explanatory or emancipatory, evaluative, interventionary or participatory action research (Jan Nieuwenhuis, 2010; Strydom, 2013). Such clarification has a bearing on the decision-making process that contributes towards meeting the aims and objectives of a study. Aspects for consideration when developing research designs may also include identifying appropriate literature and theoretical frameworks; identifying the study's unit(s) of analysis; establishing criteria for interpreting the findings; deciding on how data will be collected and analysed; logically linking data to conceptual frameworks and establishing appropriate criteria for research integrity and quality assurance (Fouché & Schurink, 2005; Babbie & Mouton, 2015; Creswell, 2014, de Vaus, ed., 2006). Frank Bechhofer and Lindsay Paterson (2012) summate the relevance of a research design by stating:

> A good research design is one which gives the researcher confidence in the solidity of the conclusions drawn from the data… The idea which lies behind it are complex and sometimes contested. Achieving it not only requires knowledge, thought and ingenuity, but a realisation that research design inevitably involves compromises because it is impossible to maximise everything which is desirable. (Bechhofer & Paterson, 2012:9).

The comments by Bechhofer & Paterson (2012) suggest that, in spite of developing a robust research design, things do not always go according to plan as demonstrated by the recent Covid outbreak that necessitated researchers to observe health and safety precautions/regulations during their field study. It is thus important for a researcher to be well versed with a range of alternative qualitative research designs that might effectively address a research question in the event of unforeseen eventualities. Under such circumstances, alternative research designs may then be presented to the appropriate institutional review boards for consideration. It is thus necessary to briefly discuss some of the various types of qualitative research approaches that are available. It will become clear why the case study research design was most appropriate for addressing the aims and objectives of this study.

3.2.3 Varieties of qualitative approaches to research design

There are many varieties of research designs that are associated with qualitative inquiry as explained by Creswell (2014) who adds that Tesch (1990) identified 28 types whilst Wolcott (2009) identified 22. Qualitative research design genres may also be distinguished according to discipline orientation such as anthropology or sociology (Merriam, 1998). However, five of the most commonly used designs in qualitative studies in various social science disciplines that are mentioned by Creswell (2014:236) are phenomenology, ethnography, case study, also referred to as "casing" in America (Charles C. Ragin, 1992; 2009), grounded theory and biography/narratives. These five research designs are well established and well documented. Fouché & Schurink (2005) effectively summarise the gist of these five research designs. They explain that pure phenomenology describes rather than explains a phenomenon and as such, a researcher is expected to practice theoretical agnosticism that involves entering a research setting without any preconceptions. Phenomenological research aims to illuminate the subjective experiences of participants of a study at a given point. This includes affective emotions, feelings and other intense human experiences. After reading a phenomenological study, readers should end up with a clear impression of what it is like to experience the phenomenon that is described by a study; almost similar to walking in the shoes of the research informants. On the other hand, grounded theory is an inductive approach that aims to develop *in situ* theory from empirical data. It may be confusing that grounded theory research design has the same name as grounded theory research output. Recent years have witnessed the development of alternative approaches to grounded theory such as Anselm L. Strauss & Juliet Corbin's (1990) version; Adele Clarke's (2003; 2005) version and Charmaz's version (2006). For this reason some prefer to use the term "grounded theory methodologies" to indicate that there is more than one version of grounded theory methodology (Günter Mey and Katja Mruck, 2011). Ethnography, on the other hand, identifies and describes characteristics of a particular culture from the viewpoint of an insider (W. Lawrence Neuman, 2011). The findings should clearlydescribe a specific culture after a researcher has immersed him/herself in the lives of those in the study. Another type of research design is the narrative research design. Newspapers, historical archives and social artefacts are also considered part of the narrative research design. Although narratives may be considered a research design, the term "narrative"

also refers to a data gathering method that makes use of life course narratives, biographical and in-depth interviews. This study made use of life course narratives as a data gathering method as explained in the methodology section on page 100. Of the possible qualitative research genres, the case study research design (expanded upon on page 79); was most appropriate for addressing the aims andobjectives of this study (John W. Creswell and Cheryl N. Poth, 2018; Henning et al., 2004).

Although the aforementioned qualitative research design genres are slightly different, they share the same axiom. These qualitative research designs mostly share a preference for inductive methodologies. The ontological and epistemological assumptions that are discussed next, facilitate the qualitative research design to consider the manner in which a research question is addressed; the choice of data collection methods and the interpretation of findings. One will note that paying attention to the links between the paradigmatic, the theoretical and methodological assumptions enhances the robustness of a research design. An appropriate research paradigm provides an analytic lens from which a study may make sense of the empirical data as explained next (Mouton & Maree, 1996; Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Hofstee, 2006, Makombe, 2017).

3.3 Research paradigm

3.3.1 Rationale behind research paradigm

This section will place into perspective why the interpretivist paradigm, specifically the symbolic interactionism perspective, was most appropriate for guiding this study. Research should be supported by a specific paradigm also known as philosophical perspective or worldview (Thomas Kuhn, 1970). The term “paradigm” is from the Greek word *paradeigma* which means “pattern.” The term was introduced by Kuhn in 1962 to refer to the lens used for viewing the world in an effort to understand human behaviour at a given time. Kuhn (1970) described a research paradigm as:

> [a set] of beliefs, values and techniques which is shared by members of a scientific community, and which acts as a guide or map, dictating the kinds of problems scientists should address and the types of explanations that are acceptable to them. (Kuhn, 1970: 175)

Kuhn’s (1970) assertion suggests that different paradigms influence the kind of issues that are viewed as research problems that need to be addressed; how research questions

are formulated; and the methodologies, methods, interpretation of data and the reporting of outcomes of such research questions. Understanding the implications and relevance of research paradigms is best articulated by Lorraine Ling (2017) who states that "[awareness] of the paradigm within which the research is undertaken helps to ensure consistency between elements of the research: the aim; the research question; the appropriate forms of data and data analysis; and the nature of the outcomes and the conclusions that may be reached [sic]" (Ling, 2017:19). For example, classic functionalists and critical theorists take a deterministic perspective of social structures. Their worldview is framed by their assumptions on the influence of social structures onindividuals. Critical theory paradigms are traced to the Frankfurt School whose ontologicalposition is historical realism. As such, critical theorists take a subjective epistemological stance that enables researchers to critique dominant ideologies whilst acknowledging that knowledge is provisional (de Vos et al., 2011a:7). They may make use of mixed research methods in an attempt to measure and explain social phenomena. Some feminist paradigms fall within the critical theorist paradigm by using an empirically defined gendered lens to offer alternative understanding of various discipline-specific issues (Gilligan, 1977, 1982; Butler, 1990; Christine Beasley, 1999, 2008, 2012). Some critical theorists particularly feminist scholars might make use of transformative research designs such as action research and participatory action research for the purpose of addressing various issues of community concern together with community members (Wendy Frisby, Patricia Maguire, Colleen Reid, 2009; Merriam, 1998). The various feminist perspectives are discussed extensively by Beasley (1999).

Traditionally, the main research paradigms have been framed by either positivist or interpretive philosophical assumptions. However, over the years critical theoryparadigms, including feminism, post-modernism, post-positivism and post- structuralism paradigms, have since emerged (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Creswell, 2011). Post-structuralism and post-modernism aim to deconstruct social concepts that have traditionally been taken for granted. As such, Guba & Lincoln (1994) classify postmodernism and post-structuralism within the critical theory paradigm. In recent years, in the scholarly arena, there is a gradual recognition of indigenous knowledge paradigms (Norman K. Denzin, Yvonna S. Lincoln and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (eds.), 2008;Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 2012; Boaventura de Sousa Santos, 2018; Ngulube, 2019). As explained next, the distinctions between the different research paradigms are guided by different philosophical assumptions, namely ontology, epistemology, axiology and methodology that serve as taxonomies or guidance of how problems may be understoodand addressed and presented (Henning et al., 2004; Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

3.3.2 Ontology (the nature of reality – objective or subjective)

Ontology refers to the nature of reality and how we view the social world (Mouton & Marais, 1996; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Positivists would argue that an objective reality exists independently of social actors. In other words, they argue that universal patterns or "facts" may be observed, measured and generalised under certain conditions. According to science historian Ian Hacking (1990:5), Auguste Comte (1798–1857) is credited for the term "posivitism" that refers to "numerical science". However, in his discussion on the decline of determinism in the 20th century, Hacking (1990) adds that ironically Comte himself "despised merely statistical inquiries" (Hacking, 1990:5). Durkheim (1895) is one of the early positivist proponents who saw value in theuse of quantitative research designs to study society as exemplified by his work entitled "The Rules of the Social Methods." An opposing view of the nature of reality is the interpretivist view that is traced to various scholars such as Immanuel Kant, 1724–1804;Georg Simmel, 1858–1918 and Maximilian "Max" Karl Emil Weber, 1864–1920 (Thomas A. Schwandt, 2015). Interpretivism is the philosophical assumption behind qualitative research that supports this study. The ontological bases of interpretivism is that the nature of reality is subjective and is constructed by social actors. This worldview that suggests the possibility of multiple realities was popularized by the Chicago School. For example, diverging interpretations on the same topic might be expressed by the informants of a study; the researcher; and the audience (Catherine Kohler Riessman, 2008; MollyAndrews, Corinne Squire and Maria Tamboukou (eds.) 2013). For this reason, the researcher is viewed as an integral part of the research process. As such, part of developing a research design includes taking into account the possibility of participants' reactivity to the researcher (Helen M. Parsons, 1974). Participants' reactivity to the research process is credited to Henry A. Landsberger (1958) for his "Hawthorne effect[30]"theory that he developed in the context of workplace assembly line performance behaviour. Although other scholars have since critiqued the Hawthorne experiment on the basis of the robustness of the Hawthorne study's research design (Alex Carey, 1967), such insight sensitises interpretive researchers to consider ways in which their own personhood and research instruments

[30] Participants modifying their behaviour when they know that they are being watched.

might influence the research process. As explained next, the research process is also guided by the epistemological tenets that dovetail with the ontological worldview that frames a particular study.

3.3.3 Epistemology

Epistemology is the nature of knowledge and how researchers get to know what they know. The word “epistemology” is from the Greek work *episteme*, which means “true knowledge” (Mouton & Marais, 1990:4). Whilst ontology explains the nature of reality such as the positivists’ idea that there is a reality “out there”, epistemology would ask the question “how do you know?” Positivists would use statistical and deductive data analysis methods to predict or explain facts, including identifying patterns and other hypothesis-testing strategies. They would aim to explain and predict the nature ofrelationships between variables. On the other hand interpretive researchers would try toget as close as possible to the informants of a study. They would engage in field work inan effort to understand the subjective experiences of research participants in the participants’ natural setting. Unlike the objective stance of positivists who observe from adistance, qualitative researchers would try as much as possible to minimise the distancebetween themselves and the informants (Henning et al., 2004). In some instances, the longer they remain in the field with informants, the greater the possibility of gaining betterunderstanding of the informants’ realities (Creswell, 2007:18). However, the epistemological assumptions for qualitative researchers are not stagnant but change over time. As this study is of a qualitative nature, there are different qualitative epistemologicalapproaches that aim to address how researchers get to know what they know. Thomas Schwandt (2000:189-213) and Denzin & Lincoln (2000:11) describe three epistemological approaches to qualitative inquiry, namely social constructivism,hermeneutics and interpretivism that are briefly explained next.

Social constructivists believe that phenomena should be understood within the contextual environment of a community of practice. In other words constructivism aims to understand the processes that are involved in the construction of meaning. Instead of asking “how” they want to know the meaning that a social actor ascribes to a particular phenomenon. They believe that reality is subjective and is co-constructed by social actors. Hermeneutics on the other hand is the interpretation of text and sentences within the

framework of contextual negotiated belief systems and traditions of a particular era. Hermeneutics is popular in interpreting religious texts (Schwandt, 2000). From these three qualitative epistemological approaches, interpretivism was most appropriate for addressing the aims and objectives of this study for the reasons that are explained throughout this research design section.

As a researcher starts the research process, the researcher enters into an existing research tradition that provides guidance and suggestions on ways to manage the depth and complexity of the sphere of research (Hofstee, 2006). In some instances, such as this study, one theory might not adequately frame the research problem, thus the need to consult more than one theoretical framework. Thus the value systems that underpin various research paradigms and associated philosophical assumptions are explained next.

3.3.4 Axiology

Axiology is the theory of the nature and types of values, morals or aesthetics of a study. The word “axiology” is made up of the Greek word *axios* that means “worth” and*logos* meaning "science" (Collins online dictionary). For example, positivists maintain that it is possible for researchers to adopt a distant value-free objective inquiry that is detached from those under study, whereas the axiological assumption of the interpretive paradigm is that a researcher is indeed value-laden. It is thus prudent for the researcher to acknowledge and make explicit the researcher’s own possible influence on the research process (Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Creswell, 2007). Feminist empiricism (Sandra Harding,1986) and symbolic interaction that frame this study, share the same axiom particularly on the concept of the construction of gender and the associated gender symbolism. As such, the research design takes cognizance of Barbara Merrill & Linden West’s (2009) suggestion that:

> Critical theory, combined with feminism and symbolic interactionism, can help identify and explain the workings of structural inequalities (what is in-built and replicated), and their oppressive dimensions, but not in overly determinist or flatly uniform ways. (Merrill & West, 2009:68).

Merrill & West’s (2009) assertions dovetail with Lincoln & Guba’s suggestion (2000) that various approaches within the interpretive paradigm may be combined when necessary,

provided that the various approaches share the same axiom. Within the interpretive paradigm is a continuum of qualitative interpretation as described next. Such clarification is useful for placing into context the symbolic interaction interpretive approach that guides this study.

3.3.5 Different types of qualitative interpretation

Denzin & Lincoln (2003) identify four main interpretive paradigms within the qualitative epistemology. These are positivist and post-positivist, constructivist-interpretive, critical and feminist post-structural. Denzin & Lincoln (2003; 2005) clarify that these interpretive paradigms may further be unpacked into sub-paradigms. In contrast, post-positivism falls within a realist ontology that believes in multiple-realities whilst simultaneously acknowledging the possibility of structural determinants such as race, gender and class. Post-positivist proponents would make use of rigorously defined qualitative methodologies such as surveys and quasi-experiments. In contrast, the constructivist paradigm takes the epistemological viewpoint of subjective reality and the co-construction of realities. Constructivist proponents would use interviews, participatory methods, action research design, and case studies depending on the goal of their study. Some constructivist scholars refer to their participants as “co-researchers” (Babbie & Mouton, 2001).

The implications of developing a research design that makes use of either of the interpretive paradigms are articulated by Denzin (1989). Denzin (1989:111) clarifies that there are different depths and levels of interpretation, namely (1) thin, (2) thick, (3) native, (4) observer, (5) analytic, (6) descriptive-contextual and (7) relational-interactional. Thin interpretations are also known as “gloss overs” as they lack contextual details, history or biography of an event. Thin interpretations offer superficial descriptions of a phenomenon. Of relevance to this study are “relational-interactional” interpretations and “thick descriptions” that move beyond surface appearance to provide details of context, emotion, history and sequence of events amongst other details. Some of the possibilities and limitations of an interpretive approach are explained next.

3.3.6 Why interpretivism was appropriate for this study

The interpretive paradigm is credited to Maximilian "Max" Karl Emil Weber (1864-1920) who developed the concept of “verstehen” that translates to “social action with a purpose” as cited in Neuman (1997:68). Although the interpretive approach aims to understand phenomena from the subjective experience of individuals, there are various schools of thought within the various interpretive paradigms. Variation may be noted in interpretive approaches that aim to describe phenomena whilst other variations aim to either explain or explore phenomena. Phenomenology, ethnography and symbolic interaction approaches are a few variations within the interpretive paradigm. Phenomenology aims to capture broad descriptions of a phenomenon in a particular context and period. This includes understanding what social actors feel and do. However, Neuman (1997:69) explains that “External human behavior [sic] is an indirect and often obscure indicator of true social meaning” (Neuman, 1997:69). As such, proponents of symbolic interactionism that frames this study do not only describe the actions that are observed but also seek plausible explanations of the reasons behind such actions as will be explained shortly. To illustrate the purpose of explanatory research, Neuman (2011:40) explains that a descriptive study would make a record of heavy-drinking parents who abuse their children, whereas an explanatory study would want to establish *why* those parents abuse their children. Debate on the validity of using qualitative methods for explanatory/causal purpose has been ongoing in sociological circles (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). With reference to this study that focuses on the caregiving phenomenon, this study aimed to establish the meaning that caregivers assign to their caregiving role. What is their “external human behaviour” an “obscure indicator of”?

Another school of thought within the interpretive paradigm is the exploratory approach. An exploratory approach is particularly useful for underpinning studies that aim to investigate a phenomenon that is not clearly defined. In some instances, studies might make use of mixed research methods that make use of both quantitative and qualitative multi-stage research designs to gain better insight into a research problem (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; John Creswell & Vicki Plano Clark, 2011).

Some argue that some of the subjective elements of human behaviour may not be adequately captured through the use of quantitative research methods that are commonly

associated with positivist inquiry (Henning et al., 2004; Neuman, 2011). It is also possible that in some cases quantification may obscure the nature of social reality (Reinharz, 1992; Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). In this instance, interpretivism is particularly strong in arguing that people are agentic beings who find their own meaning within a social system(Jaber F. Gubrium & James A. Holstein, 1997). Symbolic interactionism offers possibilities for identifying and explaining the nature of interaction that men and women enter into asthey give and receive care within families as explained next.

3.3.7 How symbolic interaction guides this study

The most appropriate interpretive perspective to best address this study's research question was the symbolic interactionist perspective that believes in the possibility of multiple realities as opposed to one single truth that should be "discovered". Although sociologists trace the early development of symbolic interactionism to Weber (1905) who was influenced by his colleague Charles Horton Cooley's (1902) work, "the looking-glass self", Mead (1934, 1967), Erwing Goffman 1958, 1959; Sheldon Stryker (1959, 2000), Manford Kuhn (1964) and David Snow (2001) have since extended symbolic interactionism, with Blumer (1937) being credited for coining the term "symbolic interaction". Gary A. Fine (1993) provides insight into the development of the symbolic interaction framework over the years.

3.3.7.1 Tenets of symbolic interactionism

Four core tenets of symbolic interactionism suggest that (i) individual actions are dependent on the meanings that individuals ascribe to symbols; (ii) such meaning may change, based on the nature of interaction with others in various life situations; (iii) individuals reflect on how they might appear to others; (iv) after such reflection, individuals may act/react according to how they interpret a "situation," what symbolic interactionists refer to as "definition of the situation. (Mead, 1934, 1967; Erwing Goffman 1958, 1959). A "situation" may be a party, a supermarket or a funeral in which people expect certain behaviour that is deemed as appropriate in a specific context. The definition of a situation is closely associated with role formation as will be explained next.

Unlike other scholars who focus on biological determination (Sigmund Freud, 1925), Mead suggests that the "self" is a process that develops over time through interacting with others. As such, symbolic interactionism is believed to be an appropriate frameworkfor exploring various aspects of family interaction including the formation of family roles

(Jessica L. Collett and Ellen Childs, 2009). Building on the symbolic interaction theory, this study explores ways in which participants create the meaning of “care” through “symbols” and personal choice (agency). Symbols refer to language, spoken words, written words, cultural codes, gestures and signs that contribute towards shared meaning between individuals in a specific setting. It is believed that symbols are arbitrary or abstract and only become significant when they arouse the same meaning/response between the communicator and the receiver. Such analysis of micro-level interaction highlights ways in which everyday activities are reinforced and perhaps discarded to achieve individual and group caring goals. This is because as autonomous beings, individuals do not simply conform uncritically to standards and expectations of society. People may adapt their actions to “fit in” or “reject” communal beliefs that are observed by groups that they associate with, suggesting human agency.

In this study, Goffman’s dramaturgy theory (1959, 1958, 1967, 1963, 1997) in particular is most appropriate for mapping out the who, what, when, why and how of the caregiving activities in which men and women engage in their context. This is because caregiving is a response to human need, and thus caregiving implies being in relationship with others. Thus symbolic interaction facilitates in the analysis of such caregiving relationships. Goffman’s dramaturgy framework is also strong in offering the possibilities and limitations of symbolism. In addition, Goffman’s concepts such as ritualization, front stage and backstage, and locales serve as guidelines for interpreting the meaning that participants attribute to aspects of everyday interaction. Such everyday interaction contributes towards the maintenance of social order through reproducing social norms and through self-evaluation. Those who do not follow society’s script are deemed as deviant. Thus, the synergy of symbolic interactionism and feminist frameworks contributetowards mapping out the construction of femininities and masculinities in the sphere of caregiving. As explained shortly on page 75, feminism offers concepts from which to interpret the nature of gender relations in providing elder care within a family system.

Whilst interpretivists agree that people might adopt various agentic strategies, it is necessary to understand the nature of power relations that propel such social systems. It is at this point that feminists’ interpretive paradigms are particularly useful in identifying the possible power dynamics in various contexts. Of relevance to this study are feminists’ assumptions that social categories such as “retirement”, “age” and “gender” are sites of power that need to be accounted for in various forms of inquiry (Calasanti & Bonanno, 1986; Calasanti, 1993, 1996; Linda M. Burton,1996). Accordingly, this study’s research design deploys a feminist lens that focuses on taken for granted social practice such as “ageing” (Calasanti, 1993) “doing gender” (West & Zimmerman, 1987) and “doing family”

(Margaret K. Nelson, 2006) as discussed next. Although in general, feminist epistemologies foreground women's experience based on the belief that women have traditionally either been excluded or lumped together with men in traditional gender-blind knowledge building endeavours (Rebecca Campbell and Sharon Wasco, 2000), this study's research question benefits from input from both men and women.

3.3.7.2 Limitation of symbolic interactionism

The symbolic interactionist "Thomas theorem" in sociology declares that "[if] men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (William I. Thomas and Dorothy Swaine Thomas, 1928:572). As such symbolic interaction has been critiqued for being too subjective and for suggesting that society lives in the minds of people. It is for this reason that some argue that symbolic interaction is not as effective nor appropriate for studying social structures (Alex Dennis and Peter J. Martin, 2007). One might note that symbolic interactionism may possibly place emphases on human agency at the expense of exposing the underlying power dynamics that may be associated with expressions of agency. Feminist theoretical frameworks are particularly strong in conceptualizing issues of power dynamics in social interaction (bell hooks, 1984). Thus, the section that follows discusses ways in which feminist theories apply to this study.

3.3.8 How feminist epistemologies frame the research design

Feminist scholars such as Harriet Martineau (1802-1876) and Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797) are amongst some of the early scholars who advocated for scholarship that pays attention to the social implications of gender in society (Laurie Parsons, 2020). Elizabeth Anderson (1995:49) has stated that:

> [feminist] epistemology is better understood as the branch of naturalized, social epistemology that studies the various influences of norms and conceptions of gender and gendered interests and experiences on the production of knowledge. This understanding avoids dubious claims about feminine cognitive differences and enables feminist research in various disciplines to pose deep internal critiques of mainstream research. (Anderson, 1995:49).

Anderson's (1995) statement above concurs with Butler's (1990) and Beasley's (1999; 2008) arguments that gender is a social system that makes use of biological aspects to confer social expectations on individuals. In recent years, various feminist epistemologies that are guided by discipline-specific paradigmatic assumptions have been established (Campbell & Wasco, 2000). Reinharz (1992) clarifies that feminism is not a method but a perspective. She adds that feminist scholars consider feminism as:

> [a perspective] on an existing method in a given field of inquiry or a perspective that can be used to develop an innovative method. The fact that there are multiple definitions of feminism means that there are multiple feminist perspectives on social research methods. (Reinharz, 1992:241)

In most instances, feminist praxis and feminist scholarly endeavours are imbued with contextually relevant transformative and consciousness raising aspirations (Campbell & Wasco, 2000; Sandra Harding and Kathryn Norberg (eds.) 2005; bell hooks,1984; Angela Y. Davis, 1983, 2019b). To date, feminist scholars from various disciplines have highlighted possible bias that is inherent in canonical knowledge production systemsthat do not acknowledge the nature of the connections and interaction of ethnicity/race, class and gender relations in various contexts (Angela Y. Davis, 1983; Yuval-Davis, 2015; Crenshaw, 1991; Hill Collins, 2000; Connell, 2005). The scholars argue that such oversight stemming from androcentric[31] research processes may perpetuate the production and reproduction of precarious social hierarchies of privilege and marginalisation (Mary O'Brien (1981). In most societies, it is women who are disproportionately represented in marginalised social locations (Ferrant & Thim, 2019; Ferrant et al., 2014). Such a state of affairs suggests that social citizenship is gendered (Selma Sevenhuijsen, 2003a, 2003b, 2004; Amanda Gouws, 2005; Akintola, 2008). Such marginalised social locations also suggest gender subordination (Joan Acker, 1988). As such, feminist scholars have raised awareness of the possibility of an “epistemology of ignorance” (Shannon Sullivan and Nancy Tuana, 2007; Linda Martín Alcoff, 2007) when gender neutral studies fail to take into consideration the implications of taken for granted social practices. There is merit in deploying gender-sensitive research strategies, particularly in instances where social, economic, health and educational disparities are evident (Raewyn W. Connell & James W. Messerschmit, 2005). With reference to this study, elder women are reported as amongst the populations that are most vulnerable to poverty and disease (Zimbabwe Census Report, 2012). In the same breath, women are also reported as the primary caregivers. This study notes that research designs that are framed by a feminist ideology (Jayaratne & Stewart 1991) offer opportunities for unpacking the contextual social construction of gender.

[31]Psychology scholars, April H. Bailey, Marianne LaFrance, John F. Dovidio (2020) report that the implicit association test (IAT) suggests that “People associate humanity with men more than with women in the IAT.

In this study, interpretive feminist empirical scholars contribute knowledge on the social construction of family, caring, and ageing. For example Nelson (2006) adapts the neology "doing family" from West and Zimmerman's (1987) neology of "doing gender" to discuss ways in which single mothers "do" family. In addition, Gilligan's (1982) ethic of care theory is credited for highlighting why the act of caring deserves empirical investigation as a moral responsibility to society. The implications of a feminist perspective to research design suggest that researchers should be mindful of possible research limitations when gender essentialist[32] notions are taken as the norm (Reinharz & Lynn Davidman, 1992). It is for this reason that an intersectional way of thinking throughout the research process reminds researchers, including this study, to consider four core issues, namely, (i) the identification of underlying grids of power in various situations; (ii) identification of issues of privilege and subjection (iii) the exploration of the possibility of the multi-dimensional nature of a phenomenon and (iv) human agency. An intersectional approach to the research design also reminds scholars to be mindful of knowledge production endeavours that take cognizance of possible contextual factors such as historical context, dis/ability, race relations, gender relations and human agency, amongst other factors that individuals are exposed to in their context (W.E.B. Du Bois, 1899; bell hooks, 1984; Audre Lorde, 1983; Crenshaw, 1991; Hill Collins, 2000; McCall, 2005; Yuval-Davis, 2015). The possibility of multiple ways of knowing, directs this study's research design to make use of appropriate multiple sampling methods. The sampling methods used in this study are explained on page 110. It also means mapping out empirical patterns of interaction that participants associate with caregiving and receiving whilst paying attention to the significance of gender within the caring sphere.

3.3.9 Limitations of feminist theories

The intersectional feminist approach has been critiqued as a theory of identity that concentrates on sites of oppression at the exclusion of sites of privilege. In this study, to compensate for this weakness, the constant comparative inductive data analysis strategy contributes towards identifying sites of privilege and sites of marginalisation. The variety of feminisms have also been critiqued for being too fragmented to formulate a solid coherent theoretical framework of social justice. In contrast, some view the pluralityof feminisms as an advantage particularly during this period when scholars are seeing value in understanding social issues that have been taken for granted (Mohanty, 2003a;2003b).

[32]The belief that males and females are born with distinctively different natures, determined biologically rather than culturally (Oxford Reference) https://www.oxfordreference.com

3.3.10 Conclusion of research paradigm

The above discussion clarified the interpretive research paradigm that influenced the development of the research study in an effort of addressing the study's aims and objectives. Although this section has mentioned three epistemological stances available to qualitative researchers, namely social constructivism, hermeneutics and interpretivism, Denzin and Lincoln (2000:11) explain that qualitative researchers do not necessarily share the same epistemological assumptions. They suggest that qualitative researchers fall into different camps such as post-modernism, constructivism and post-positivism that may influence the choice of research topic and how the research may be executed. In addition, the choice of research design should be in line with the purpose of a research question in terms of whether a study aims to predict, describe, explain or to understand a phenomenon (Allen Rubin & Earl R. Babbie, 2009). As this study is influenced by a feminist perspective, the above discussion also clarified ways in which some of the feminist epistemological principles underpin this study's research design. Feminist epistemological assumptions encourage scholars to be mindful of the historical and social standpoint of a study, and to adhere to ethical practice and to be sensitive to possible forms of social disparities and asymmetrical power relations (Judith Cook and Mary Margaret Fonow, 1991). The overall epistemological concern of the majority of the different feminist camps is that there are multiple ways of knowing, some being privileged over others (O'Brien, 1981; Kathryn Sielbeck-Bowen, & Sharon Brisolara, & Denise Seigart, & Camille Tischler, & Elizabeth Whitmore (2002). Those who find themselves in marginalised social locations might offer a different way of understanding phenomena (Beasley, 1999; Crenshaw, 1989; Hill Collins, 2000). Some might suggest that a mixed methods research design that combines qualitative and quantitative multi-level modes of inquiry may be one of many options of enriching the analysis of a study (Michael Patton, 1990, 2001; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). This study believes that a qualitative case study research design is particularly useful for obtaining rich data from purposely selected individuals within their natural environment (Robert Stake, 1995, 2006; Alexander L. George, 1979; Alexander L. George and Andrew O. Bennett, 2005), a strategy necessary in addressing this study's research question. As explained next, the case study approach has come to be known as a versatile research design that may be tailored to accommodate various ontological, epistemological and methodological approaches (Matthew B. Miles, A. Michael Huberman & Johnny Saldaña, 2014; Bent Flyvbjerg, 2006; 2011).

3.4 Case study research design

There is no universal definition for a case study research design. However, a definition that is in line with this study is offered by Yin (2009:18), who defines a case study as follows:

> A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. (Yin, 2009:18)

The case study research design was most appropriate for addressing this study'sresearch question because case studies are, "[Particularly] well-suited to new research areas or research areas for which existing theory seems inadequate" Kathleen Eisenhardt (1989:548-9). Eisenhardt's (1989) and Yin's (2009) clarifications are of relevance to this qualitative study that explores an area that is under-studied in Zimbabwe. Henninget al. (2004) add that case studies are relevant for "[discovery] rather than confirmation" (Henning et al., 2004:41). This suggests that case studies are particularly useful for addressing "how" and "why" types of questions. With reference to this study, the lack of adequate theories that explain the link between gender, caregiving and quality of life in old age in an urban setting, calls for further investigation on the phenomenon of ageing and care provision in contemporary urban areas of Harare. However, some have expressed empirical concern regarding the deployment of case studies for theory building (Creswell, 2014), whilst others see value in using the case study research design for studies that may benefit from mixed research methods (Stake, 1995, 2006; George & Bennett, 2005). Accordingly, some of the known limitations and possibilities of qualitative case studies such as this study are discussed in this section. Based on Yin's (2009) clarifications above, it is evident that a case study approach requires the setting of clear boundaries of what will be included or not included in the case study as explained next.

3.4.1 Setting boundaries for the case study

Qualitative case studies may serve either intrinsic or instrumental purposes. (Stake, 2006). An intrinsic case study aims to investigate and describe an unusual case because of its uniqueness (Stake, 1995, 2006; Creswell, 2007). This renders the intrinsic case study design approach unsuitable for addressing this study's research question. As such,

this case study is of an instrumental nature as the study aims to find possible explanations of how and why care is distributed amongst some urban dwellers as they age. However, because elder care provision is a broad area of study, it is necessary to set parameters of what will be included in or excluded from the case study (Creswell, 2007). However, consensus in scholarship on what constitutes a "case" or a "bounded system" is contested (Babbie, 2001:285). In this regard, based on the purpose of a study, boundaries (parameters) may be based on, for example, a location or setting, an event, social phenomena, time, social process or specific people. Such boundaries will specify who or what is being studied (Henning et al., 2004; Babbie, 2014). With reference to this study, the case study boundaries were based on Mouton & Marais's (1990: 38-40) explanation that the unit of analysis may be an "object of research" and the "product of human behaviour". In this study the unit of analysis was a cohort of men and women pensioners aged 60+ years (object of research) and providing elder care is the "product of human behaviour" that is under study (Mouton & Marais, 1990:38-40). The process of providing unpaid care in the family is conceptualised by this study as a product of human behaviour (Mouton & Marais, 1990).

Bounding for this case study is based on three factors which are: (1) time and place - as the study is interested in the life course (time) experience of participants who are aged 60+ and who live in a metropolis setting (Creswell, 2007); (2) the activity (Stake, 2006) that is being examined is the process of providing unpaid care for a family elder and (3) purposefully selected men and women pensioners are people from whom the study may learn (Stake, 2006). Those who are younger or those who live in a rural setting might not contribute to this specific study that is based in an urban area, thus a different study is called for. This study is mindful of Stake's (2006) suggestion that it is imperative to select cases that provide the most likely opportunity to learn from to address the research question. For this reason it is important to clarify the case study's inclusion and exclusion criteria as explained on page 113 in the Methodology section. In this study, themetropolis of Harare was chosen as the case study setting because the study was interested in gaining insight into the experience of ageing and elderly people care in an urban area in contemporary Zimbabwe. The participants aged +60 have breadth and depth of experience. They have also been exposed to historical transitions that possibly influence

ways in which care is distributed in their context. Although the participants mayhave been exposed to various social structures and events, their interpretation and life outcomes associated with such exposure varies. As such, an intersectional approachto research design enabled this study to deploy a strategy that paid particular attention toways in which social categories such as “age” and “gender” may either serve to reinforceor reconfigure some of the structural dimensions of power that manifest in the lives of some members of society in their context (Yuval-Davis, 2015; McCall, 2005; Crenshaw, 1989; Hill Collins, 2000).

3.4.2 Single, embedded, instrumental nature of this case study

Case studies may further be categorised as either “embedded” or “holistic” (Yin, 2009). The embedded case study option provided an opportunity for this study to focus on individual participants, and to compare similarities and differences between participants (sub-units). On the other hand, a holistic case study may have a single unit of analysis or may also have embedded multiple logical sub-units that may be analysed individually whilst the holistic/overall case remains a priority (Stake, 2000, 2003, 2006; Yin, 2009).

After all the above options were taken into consideration, this case study was single-embedded and instrumental as per the case study protocol (Table 1 on page 83). The case study protocol was adapted from the work of Eisenhardt (1989), Stake (1995) and Yin (2009, 2011, 2014). Although these scholars’ suggestions for case study protocols stem from slightly different philosophical assumptions within the interpretivist framework - Yin (2009, 2011, 2014) leans towards a post-positivist stance whilst Eisenhardt (1989) and Stake (2003) from an interpretivist perspective - their views share the same axiom; thus it was possible to use suggestions from all three scholars to effectively address the research question.

3.4.3 Limitations of case study design approach

The case study design is useful for exploring under-researched areas. One of the limitations is that this case study may not generalise findings to a larger population (Peter Swanborn, 2010; Creswell & Poth, 2018). Instead, this study is anchored in the life experiences of a few typical cases of participants who are experiencing the phenomenon of caring whilst ageing in an urban area. However, the case study research design approach is particularly strong in focusing on the experiences of a few typical individuals who may best shed light on their own experiences of giving and receiving care. As explained by Flyvbjerg (2011), the criticisms/misunderstandings of case studies are mainly directed at issues of theory, reliability, and validity. Stake (2003) adds that some of the pitfalls include inappropriate selection of cases that might not sufficiently address the aims and objectives of a study; collecting large volumes of data, or insufficient data, that might not be the focus of the research question; lack of rigour, and failing to adhere to ethical guidelines that might result in participants being easily identified. This study took cognisance of some of these concerns by developing a case study protocol that guides the research process from inception to completion as presented in Table 1, the case study protocol on page 83. This study's methodology is explained after the presentation of the case study protocol.

Table 1: Case study protocol

Qualitative case study research design Overview of this study	
Type of study	Qualitative
Context	Naturalistic Inquiry
Paradigm	Symbolic interactionism, feminist perspective
Research design	Case study, holistic, single embedded, instrumental
Methodology	Constructivist grounded theory methodology (Charmaz, 2006) that is framed by a feminist perspective to methodology (Crenshaw, 1989, Hill Collins, 2000)
Unit of analysis	~ Individual men and women pensioners (object of research) ~ Phenomenon of caregiving (product of human behaviour) (as per Mouton & Marais, 1990: 38-40)
Methods of data collection	・Life course interviews ・Participant observation
Sampling	・Initially - intrinsic, non-probability, purposive followed by ・ Theoretical sampling as data analysis progresses for the purpose of evaluating emerging theory from data on hand.
Data analysis	Data analysis – analytic induction using constant comparison method and intersectionality analysis
Reporting structure	Descriptions leading to explanations. “erklärendes verstehen” i.e. “explanatory understanding” (Max Weber, 1922 reprinted 1978: 8-9)
Quality criteria	Fairness, authenticity, meaning and co-construction (Susan Morrow, 2005) discussed on page 138.
Ethical considerations	IRB approval, informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality, researcher’s role in the study, researcher’s reflexivity.

Table 1 is a tabulated format of this case study’s research design that was discussed in this segment of the research design chapter. The philosophical and paradigmatic assumptions that underpin this study were explained. What follows is the third section of this four part research design section which describes the research methodology.

3.5 Methodology

3.5.1 Introduction

The previous section discussed the interpretive research paradigm particularly symbolic interactionism that underpins this study. In addition, the philosophical assumptions that underpin the design of this case study were also explained. Explanations were provided on why the instrumental, single-embedded case study research design approach was most appropriate for addressing this study's research question. It was also explained that, by applying a feminist intersectional lens to the research design, opportunities could open for examining the costs and benefits of belonging to a specific group such as a family, a work place and being female or male in the sphere of elder care. In this section, the research methodology for this study will be clarified. Research methodology refers to the practical approach for carrying out a research project (Babbie & Mouton, 2007). However, as this study is underpinned by a feminist perspective, some argue that there is no "feminist methodology" as such (Marjorie L. DeVault, 1991; Reinharz & Davidman, 1992; Reinharz, 1997). What differentiates the feminist approach from conventional methodology, is the feminists' epistemological assumptions that may, in addition take on a discipline-specific methodological stance (Fonow & Cook, 2005: 2213). This is because one of the core tenets of the feminist conceptual scheme is to engage in research that advances awareness raising (consciousness raising) on issues that may seem like private matters yet such issues might be matters that are of public concern as advocated by the feminist neology "personal is political" that is credited to Hanisch (1969). As such, this section explains the rationale for choosing the constructivist grounded theory methodology instead of other methodologies that may have helped to address the research question. In this section, reasons will be provided as to why the life course narrative research method and the participant observation research method were used. This section also explains some of the feminist concerns with traditional knowledge production processes. In addition, the ethical considerations and the quality control strategies that were taken into consideration will also be explained (Harding, 1987; Mouton, 2002, Babbie & Mouton, 2007).

3.5.2 Rationale for methodological choice

3.5.2.1 Feminist ideology underpinning the methodology

Although this study made use of the most appropriate methodology to address the research question, the study took cognizance of various feminist methodological ideologies (Jayaratne & Stewart, 1991; Campbell & Wasco, 2000; Reinharz & Davidman, 1992; Fonow & Judith Cook, 1991, 2005; and Cook & Fonow (1991). Such feminist influences on methodology reminded this study to pay attention to social relations that are possibly taken for granted. Such social issues include;- exploring identity systems such as gender, class, age, amongst other marginalising forms of social relations (Acker, 1988); being sensitive towards representing the worldview of others (Spivak, 1983); establishing whose voices have not been heard (Crenshaw, 1988, 1989, 1991); reflecting on aspects of research that are mutually beneficial; and a methodological approachthat is sensitive to ways in which participants' lives are depicted (Fonow & Cook, 2005; Melinda McCormick, 2012; Harding, 1991; Hill Collins, 2000; Yuval-Davis, 2015; Peace Kiguwa, 2019). In addition, an intersectional way of thinking reminded the researcher to avoid a methodological approach that could potentially treat the cohort in this study as homogenous. Catharine A. MacKinnon (2012) credits Crenshaw (1989:140) and (Dorothy Smith, 1991) to clarify that "[intersectionality] both notices and contends with the realities of multiple inequalities as it thinks about "the interaction of" those inequalities in a way that captures the distinctive dynamics at their multidimensional interface" (MacKinnon, 2012:1019). Instead of using a deductive approach to methodology that aims to test a hypothesis, Charmaz's (2006, 2012) inductive approach to methodology was the most appropriate strategy of generating theoretical concepts and explanations as explained next.

3.5.3 An inductive approach to methodology

An inductive approach to methodology involves constructing general theoretical explanations from empirical data. In other words, induction involves moving from general observations to a specific theoretical or conceptual outcome. Such a process involves the researcher entering the field with an open mind and undertaking repetitive data analysis and re-analysis until a point is reached when theoretical concepts are identified from the data on hand. Znaniecki (1934, 1952) of the life course theory fame, is recognised as one

of the pioneers of analytic induction (Jacques Tacq, 2007). In contrast, deductive methodologies make use of what is already theoretically known to test a specific theory. In most cases the idea is to prove or disprove existing theory. As such, the process of deduction involves moving from a specific theory to a general application of the theory (A.S. De Vos, H. Strydom, C.B. Fouché, & C.S.L. Delport, 2013:319).

Grounded theory methodology that is discussed in this section is an inductive approach that is particularly useful for exploring areas that are under-studied and for studiesthat solicit micro-level data (Glaser, 2004; Charmaz, 2006, 2008, 2012). As explained earlier on page 79, case study research designs may work well with grounded theory methodology that aims to develop theory from a bounded area of inquiry (Flyvbjerg, 2011). Glaser (1978) explains that the aim of grounded theory is to "[generate] a theory that accounts for a pattern of behaviour which is relevant and significant for those involved" (Glaser, 1978:93). With reference to this study, constructive grounded theory is a useful methodological strategy for describing and explaining patterns of behaviour, activities and processes that are involved in the negotiation of elder care. Afterconsidering the nature of the research question, this study took note of Charmaz's (2012)explanation that "what" and "how" questions are best addressed by qualitative studies. Qualitative studies may facilitate in identifying participants' thoughts actions and feelingson a specific topic. Charmaz (2012:4) adds that "By interrogating our data - and emergingideas - with analytic questions throughout the research, we can raise the level of conceptualisation of these data and increase the theoretical reach of our analyses" (Charmaz, 2012:4). For this reason, grounded theory facilitates an interpretive study suchas this study to address "why" questions. Such "why" questions may be addressed by weaving theoretical sampling with the constant comparative data analysis method that allows a researcher to continue to interrogate emerging ideas to a level of conceptualisation (Charmaz, 2012; Kathy Charmaz and Richard G. Mitchell, 2001).

By addressing the "why" question, this study does not infer causal explanations as in quantitative cause-and-effect statistical inferences, but uses Max Weber's (1922, reprinted 1978) *erklärendes verstehen* qualitative approach that translates to "explanatory understanding". Borrowing from Weber's original idea, other qualitative studies have promoted the idea of "causal assertions" that suggest describing the

"understanding" (*verstehen*) instead of simply explaining social action (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:270; Henning et al., 2004:3). Thus, this study is cognizant of the debate on the validity of using qualitative methods for explanatory/causal purposes.

Charmaz (2012) clarifies that when using grounded theory, the initial research question should remain open and flexible. This is because the initial research question could change as directed by the emerging theoretical concepts and theoretical sampling and abductive analytical reasoning as the research progresses. Strauss and Corbin (1990; 1998) add that grounded theory research questions should ideally refrain from making assumptions about the topic of interest. Neither should concepts from existing theories form part of the research question (Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Charmaz, 2012). The methodological deviation that is noted in the variety of approaches to grounded theory methodology necessitates a brief explanation of the development of grounded theory to place it into perspective as to why Charmaz's (2006) constructivist grounded theory is the most appropriate grounded methodology for this study.

3.5.4 Brief history of grounded theory

Grounded theory methodology has its roots in the pragmatic and interpretive paradigms. Glaser & Strauss (1967) who developed the methodology, sought to break away from what was at that time a dominating force of positivist ontology, including the Parsonian structural-functionalist approach to social inquiry. During that period, Glaser & Strauss's (1967) innovative grounded theory methodology offered an alternative empirical knowledge-building approach that enabled researchers to generate theory fromdata as opposed to a deductive reasoning strategy. After Glaser and Strauss went theirseparate ways, Glaser (1978; 2002) continued on the path of the original (classic) grounded theory that foregrounded inductive data analysis to a point of conceptual abstraction, whilst Strauss's (1987) methodological position shifted to a data analysis strategy that encompasses both deductive and inductive strategies that also made provision for participants' evaluation of the researcher's interpretation; hence the terms "Glaserian" and "Straussian" grounded methodology theory. Various modifications of thegrounded theory methodology have since evolved (Henning, Van Rensburg & Smit, 2004:17, Charmaz, 2012:3). Four dominant versions are (1) the original version by Glaser and

Strauss (1967); (2) a more structured version that was later developed by Strauss and his student Juliet Corbin (1990); their version of grounded theory methodology evolved over time to a point at which Corbin & Strauss's (2008) version is considered as being aligned with contemporary social constructivism that makes use of abductive reasoning; (3) Charmaz's (1990, 2006) constructivist version and (4) more recent postmodernist version known as "situational analysis grounded theory" wasdeveloped by Clarke (2005), also a former student of Strauss. Her version builds on Strauss' approach to grounded theory by adding situational mapping strategies as an integral part of discourse analysis of various multi-media data such as visual and historicalmaterials and narratives (Clarke, 2005). Clarke (2003) suggests that "[situational]maps are useful for coherently elucidating and analyzing some of the complexities and instabilities of social life" (Clarke, 2003:553). Clarke's situational maps challenge the ideaof an orderly life by re-configuring the material and non-material aspects that influence a specific context. The idea is to capture the "messiness" of any given situation.Differences between these four versions of grounded theory may be observed in the scholars' epistemological obligations and procedural directions, such as their approach to induction methods, data analysis strategy of "constructing" theory (Charmaz, 2006) versus "discovery" of theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Variation may also be notedin the area of focus, such as, for example, by focusing on individual experience (Charmaz, 2006) as opposed to focusing mainly on social structures and processes (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) or by deconstructing contextual processes (Clarke, 2005). Another feature that made Charmaz's (2006) constructivist approach most suitable for this study, is the emphasis on researcher reflexivity that is expanded upon on page 107. The emphasis on reflexivity as an inherent aspect of the research process is missing from Glaser & Strauss's (1967) classic grounded theory (Ian Dey, 1999). At a later stage Corbin & Strauss (2008) also expressed the importance of reflexivity and the responsibility of ethical interpretation that falls upon a researcher.

As grounded theory methodology is not tied down to a specific philosophical paradigm, some of the key differences amongst grounded methodology theorists lie in researchers' differences in ontological and epistemological standpoints (Henning et al., 2004:4). Charmaz's (2006) constructivist grounded theory methodology was most appropriate for this study because the methodological procedures of constructivist grounded theory pay

attention to “[how] people’s actions affect their local and larger social worlds” (Charmaz 2006:132). Grounded theory enables a researcher to simultaneously focus on the research question, the data, and the theoretically selected participants throughoutthe research process. The iterative process ensures that the resulting substantive theory (Charmaz, 2006) or formal theory (Glaser, 2000) are inductively derived from empirical data on hand and not from any external source. Another key element of Charmaz’s approach is the emphasis that she places on understanding social context and situatedness. Her argument is that one way of understanding what seems to be happening in a situation is by tracing links between perceptions and actions in a particular situation (Charmaz, 2006:106).

The original version of grounded theory focused on the social processes that were implicated in the management of terminal illness by patients, hospital personnel and their families. Such an approach is clarified by Charmaz (1996) as focusing on outside processes to speculate on consequences of such processes on individuals, what she calls “from the outside in” (Charmaz, 1996:30-31). Instead, she advocates focusing on the individual experience and choices, to extrapolate how the individual either responds to, makes sense of or perhaps contributes to such social processes that she refers to as “from the inside out” (Charmaz, 1996:30-31). She concludes that during data analysis a combination of both “inside out” and “from the outside in” strategies of focusing onthe data might produce a more textured understanding of a phenomenon. Charmaz’s comments suggest the importance of exploring issues of agency and personal choice that perhaps contribute to how individuals construct their worldviews. This viewpoint is important considering that one of the tenets of grounded theory is to develop theory inductively. In this study, it was thus important to identify possible variation of opinion amongst participants instead of lumping all people together. Charmaz’s (2006, 2008) constructivist grounded theory methodology was most suitable for addressing this study’s research question as described next.

3.5.5 Charmaz’s approach to constructionist grounded theory methodology

Charmaz’s (2008) constructivist grounded theory methodology is influenced by Mead’s (1934, 1967) approach to symbolic interactionism. Charmaz’s (2008) constructivist philosophical approach aims to examine ways in which research participants construct their worlds within their context. Such focus on process suggests that Charmaz’s methodology leans towards social constructivism. There are two main forms of

constructivism. The first one is “constructivism” that focuses on the cognitive elements of an individual (Jean Piaget, 1954; 1978) and the second variant is “social constructivism” that places emphasis on knowledge creation through social interaction (Lev S. Vygotsky, 1978; Mead, 1934, 1967). The premise of social constructivism is thatpeople develop meaning through socialising and interacting with others (Vygotsky, 1978;Mead, 1934, 1967). As such, it is important to take into consideration the context in whichinteraction is taking place as knowledge is constructed communally. Constructivism on the other hand argues that individuals develop knowledge by discovering, creating and testing one’s own theories inside one’s own mind (Piaget, 1954; 1978). As such, constructivism is concerned with an individual’s cognitive processes. Although both formsof constructivism acknowledge that knowledge is subjective, social constructivists focus on knowledge construction through social interaction (Mead, 1934, 1967) whilst constructivists focus on knowledge construction as an individual biological processes (Piaget, 1954; 1978). Such understanding is made possible by identifying social processes and situated interpretations of participants’ experiences as opposed to establishing facts or truths. Empirical interpretation is facilitated by the use of some techniques that are available to constructivist grounded theorists as described next.

3.5.5.1 Grounded theory methodology tool box

Social constructivist grounded theory methodology is characterised by five interwoven techniques and procedures. These core grounded theory techniques are what others refer to as a “grounded theory tool box”. These are:- (1) theoretical sensitivity; (2) theoretical sampling; (3) coding/labelling of actions; (4) constant comparison of codes and categories that lead to higher levels of abstraction until theoretical sufficiency of categories is reached and (5) construction of middle-range theory or substantive theory (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin 1990) or formal theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Although the above discussion briefly mentioned the various approaches to grounded theory methodology, this methodology is flexible enough to be used across various disciplines to address specific research questions.

Charmaz’s (2006) methodology also takes cognizance of the researcher’s role as an interpreter of data. The role of the researcher in her methodological framework dovetails with Weber’s (1922) concept of *erklärendes verstehen* that translates to “explanatory understanding” that this study worked towards. In addition, the deployment of various analytic strategies opens up the possibility of viewing data from different angles. For the

purpose of remaining open to possibilities that are unknown to a researcher, Charmaz encourages the use of an initial broad concept (research question) that can then be narrowed down as the research progresses. Charmaz's version of grounded theory gives "[priority] to showing patterns and connections rather than linear reasoning" (Charmaz, 2006:126). This level of micro-level understanding of social processes is made possible through reflexivity and plurality of data gathering methods. Thus, Charmaz's (2006,2011) methodology promotes simultaneous theoretical sampling, data gathering and data analysis. The idea behind an iterative data collection and gathering process is to follow any leads that emerge during data analysis. In some instances, Charmaz recommends that it might be necessary to rewrite a proposal after identifying emerging ideas that were not previously known. Ambiguity in some instances is expected, as ambiguity could perhaps indicate areas where further exploration is required. Ambiguity may be addressed by using "abductive reasoning" strategies, which is one of Charmaz's (2006:103) constructivist grounded theory methodological approaches as explained next.

3.5.6 Inductive, deductive and abduction reasoning strategies

As explained earlier, inductive inquiry develops theory or concepts from empirical data on hand. Deductive reasoning, however, tests data against existing theoretical models or pre-determined hypotheses. Although grounded theory is commonly referred to as an inductive approach, Charmaz's (2006) constructivist grounded theory takes a step further by highlighting the advantages that abductive reasoning brings to the analysis process. Abduction refers to a point when inductive data is confusing. Under such circumstances a researcher might have to think of alternative theoretical explanations to explain the puzzling case. Gary Shank (2008) clarifies that:

> Even though abductive inferences are weaker, they can be extremely useful. When we reason to meaning, we are expanding the realm of plausible explanations. We are giving ourselves a chance to see things that we might otherwise miss by staying with tried-and-true explanations. This is what Russell Hanson called the "logic of discovery. (Shank, 2008:1).

Some argue that abductive inference may involve following one's hunches, clues, metaphors, and patterns that are identified (Shank, 2008). Charmaz (2006:103 & 104) credits Deely (1990), Fann (1970) and Rosenthal (2004) to explain that abduction

inference works by developing different hypotheses of various possible explanations of the ambiguous cases. The hypotheses are then evaluated against data. Thereafter, the most plausible hypothesis that has the widest range of interpretation is selected whilst the rest of the hypotheses may be ruled out. In this study, the unpacking of ambiguous concepts also involved the conceptualisation of concepts that is described next.

3.5.7 Conceptualisation of concepts

Concepts are the building blocks of theories and, as such, researchers have to clarify what the concepts in their studies mean. Based on the nature of a research question, qualitative and quantitative research differ in their approaches to concepts and variables. Qualitative researchers such as this one believe that meanings of concepts are not cast in stone and are open to change. Although qualitative researchers may begin the research process with their own working definitions of concepts (sensitising concepts), qualitative researchers aim to establish participants' subjective and shared meanings of everyday concepts in a particular setting (Charmaz, 2006). In qualitative studies, conceptualisation of concepts is an inductive continuous process that leads to theory development or hypothesis statements. On the other hand, quantitative studies may make use of various conceptualisation and operationalisation strategies for measurement, classification or hypothesis-testing purposes. As such, quantitative researchers identify variables and list the dimensions or attributes of each variablebefore data collection. They may then make use of precise variables for developing response categories perhaps in surveys, randomised control trials or appropriate hypothesis-testing strategies. In quantitative studies, operationalisation is the process of converting concepts into measurable or quantifiable factors/variables or categories for hypothesis testing. Thus some of the variables may lend themselves to measurement atvarious levels such as nominal, interval, ratio or ordinal levels. The quantitative logic of hypothesis-testing operational concepts is in stark contrast to the hypothesis-generatingqualitative approach that rarely makes use of operationalisation (Babbie & Mouton, 2001,2007). This means that this study had to establish what participants meant when they used certain words, instead of assuming that the researcher's understanding is the sameas the participants' understanding of the same word. For example, the concept of "caregiving" means different things to different people. As such, the dimensions of caregiving were clearly

established and articulated, based on participants' input. Conceptualisation of participants' interpretation of "care" was an on-going process. Duringthe data analysis phase, it was necessary to deploy a substantive/systematic/theoretical literature review as opposed to a scoping literature review to facilitate in the conceptualisation of concepts as explained next (Hofstee, 2006, 2010; Mays et al., 2001).

3.5.8 When to consult literature

Unlike other grounded theory methodologies that promote theoretical agnosticism including the suspension of a literature review during the early stages of research, Charmaz's (2006) constructivist methodology argues that researchers do indeed possess a prior world view when they enter into a research process. Instead of embracing a theoretical agnostic stance, the researcher should instead acknowledge and account for the values and assumptions that they bring into the research setting. Charmaz (2006) clarifies that the literature review that is required for academic proposals or a funding agency is different from a more focused literature review that should be conducted after the formulation of data categories or at the beginning of writing a chapter. This study reviewed literature in preparation for the Institutional Review Board (IRB) research proposal application before the study began, and during data analysis. The scopingof the body of literature also contributed towards the evaluation of research methodologies that were deployed by similar studies. As such, the research methods that were most appropriate for addressing this study's research question are described next.

3.6 Research methods

3.6.1 Introduction

The qualitative research tradition is generally associated with data collection methods that fall into three broad catalogues. These catalogues are: interviews, participant observation and personal documents (Mouton & Marais, 1990). Each of these data collection catalogues offers various research methods that may be used in accordance with a study's aims and objectives. With reference to this study, two data-gathering methods were used. These were (1) life-course narrative interviews (Leslie Baxter and Earl Babbie, 2004) and (2) participant observation (de Vos and Strydom (2011:482). Each data collection method served a specific purpose and compensated for the limitations of another as will be explained in this section. In addition, detailed field notes placed into perspective what was being narrated and what the researcher was actually observing. With the permission of participants, two digital recorders (in case one malfunctioned) were used to record the interviews.

3.6.2 Gaining entry

As explained by Denzin and Lincoln (1994); de Vos et al. (2011b) and Roestenburget al. (2021), part of meeting the aims and objectives of a study rests on how easy or how challenging it is for one to access and gain entry into a study site. In this study, one-on-one interviews were held in the private homes of the participants. The study was cognisant of the invasion of privacy in participants' lives and expressed gratitude to participants who had agreed to contribute to the study. As this study was held during the outbreak of the Covid pandemic, the researcher and participants had to follow the stipulated safety protocols.

3.6.3 Building rapport

Qualitative research designs accept that a researcher is instrumental in eliciting appropriate data that contributes to meeting the aims and objectives of a study. Thus, itis the researcher's responsibility to establish a conducive communication space that

encourages participants to contribute their knowledge on the research topic without hindrance. When such data collection involves interviews, one of the key strategies for possibly getting as close as possible to a participant's worldview is to establish a cordial relationship (rapport) with prospective participants and actual participants. In the absence of a universal definition of "rapport", some of the attributes that are associated with the concept of "rapport" include "breaking the ice", comfortable interaction in which participants feel at ease, and a general sense of the interviewer and interviewee being "in tune" and openly sharing a conversation (Oakley, 1981, 2015; Reinharz, 1992).

Although there is debate on the issue of building rapport amongst feminist scholars, this study agrees with Reinharz (1992:267) that feminist researchers:

> [can] develop non exploitative relations with the people involved in our research projects, without attempting to achieve ''rapport' ' or ''intimacy'' with them. Relations of respect, shared information, openness, and clarity of communication seem like reasonable substitute goals. (Reinharz, 1992:67).

This suggestion by Reinharz (1992) is poignant considering that, at times, researchers do not necessarily share the same views as participants. Instead of "staging" rapport, it is perhaps ethical to rather adopt a respectful attitude towards all participants. The fact that participants would have agreed to participate under the conditions that were negotiated during the informed consent process suggests participants' openness to the research process at that specific time. Those who did not wish to participate would havedeclined.

Whilst it is ideal to establish mutual connection with participants, the dynamics of "rapport" building when dealing with those who are considered as vulnerable requires great sensitivity to avoid exploiting participants of a study. Thus, depending on the aims and objectives of a study, the duration of establishing rapport may take time, perhaps weeks or months, and might continue after the dissemination of the study results. One will deduce that such patience is required to avoid superficial interaction that compromises the authenticity of a study (Oakley, 1981).

Although feminist scholars have established rapport tenets that include but are not limited to: mutual trust and minimising any possible power imbalance and genuine non-exploitative sharing, Oakley (1981, 2015) raises some of the ethical and emotional

aspects to consider when building rapport and establishing research relationships. She is credited as one of the early feminist scholars who raised concern with traditional methods of building rapport that are associated with orthodox positivist researchers' model of establishing rapport. Positivist rapport is based on a model of objectivity, detachment and a value free approach. For example, one will note that first generation anthropologists such as Bronislaw Malinowski (1915, 1922) set out to "learn about" "native tribes". In contrast, Reinharz (1992) provides an example of feminist scholar Audrey Bronstein whose study cultivates rapport that is based on an ideology of "learning from" participants as opposed to "learning about" participants. Thus, for the purpose of levelling the field, some factions of feminist researchers deem it appropriate to express their own emotions or to empathise with participants as they work interactively with participants as co-researchers. They might deploy the "participatory action research" methodology that aims to bring about social change. This rapport building approach is referred to by Finlay (2002) as "confessional tales" (Finlay, 2002:210). Some critique this kind of "confessional" approach to establishing rapport, as introducing the possibility of either response bias or the researcher projecting her own assumptions (Reinharz, 1992). For example, Paul Ryan and Tony Dundon (2008:444) describe what they term "[over- rapport]… that may run the risk of consensus and the creation of a situation where the interviewee seeks to provide information that is thought to be expected or wanted by theresearcher" (Ryan & Dundon, 2008:444). Some of the rapport building challenges that have been discussed above suggest the importance of deploying contextually appropriate reflexive rapport techniques that contribute towards fulfilling one of the interpretivist quality assurance criteria of "fairness" presented in Table 3 on page 138.

One will note that dimensions of rapport are not only discipline-specific but are also context-specific. The nature of rapport is also aligned to the aims and objectives of a study (Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Reinharz, 1997). For example, in the context of forensic investigative interviewing, criminology scholars Kimberly Collins and Nikki Carthy (2018) discuss the "Tickle-Degnen and Rosenthal" (1990) rapport model that may be used by

investigative officers to identify nonverbal correlates that are associated with rapport. In contrast, Dave Walsh and Ray Bull (2012) suggest that maintaining rapport throughout the entire interview process produces better interview outcomes compared to deploying rapport only at the initial phase of an interview.

Some scholars question the notion of “rapport”. They argue that rapport is a concept that cannot be easily operationalised nor measured empirically. Such arguments centre on the empirical implications of researcher attributes such as gender, race, language, tone of voice amongst other inherent researcher personal qualities (researcher effects) when building and sustaining rapport. Depending on the nature of a study, scholars have attempted to quantify rapport in an effort to enhance rigour. Some scholars, particularly from the discipline of psychology and criminology, have developed rapport scales (Misty Duke, James Wood, Brock Bollin, Matthew Scullin, Julia LaBianca, 2018) whilst others have deployed conversational analysis strategies to gauge indicators of rapport during an interview (Matthew Prior, 2017). This type of interview analysis of rapport may include marking the point at which the researcher smiles, nods or mirrors and matches participant body stances as an attempt to be “on the same wave length” with participants. In addition, possible socio-political-cultural contextual factors unique to the research setting during the time of interviews have to be taken into consideration. For example, in this study that was conducted during the Corona virus outbreak, social distancing protocols had to be observed. As such, this study noted that small talk about the Corona pandemic enhanced rapport. In addition, this study also deployed the rapport building strategies that are commonly accepted and practiced in Zimbabwe as described next.

3.6.4 Rapport in the Shona culture

In the Shona culture it is not uncommon for the elders to initially inquire of one’s totem and ask one of their clan name. Such cultural literacy and possible approach to rapport building were taken into consideration by the researcher to avoid potential cultural imperialism (Spivak, 1983, 1991). In the Shona culture, it is common for elders to initially find common ground (build rapport) by asking one whom they are interacting with, their familial kinship amongst other questions related to family and clan ties. This way, common ground is usually established before entering into “serious” conversation.

3.6.5 Dimensions of rapport and insufficient rapport

Linguist scholar, Matthew Prior (2017:20), poignantly explains that “Simply glossing the outcome of the interactional process as “rapport” ignores the highly coordinated work (and patience) interactants require of each other”. If rapport building involves “coordinated work and patience” to use Prior’s (2017:20) words, it is necessary to consider the implications of the absence of rapport or “insufficient rapport”. This means that a study should clearly articulate some of the rapport building actions undertaken in the study. Depending on the nature of a study, one could perhaps consider operationalising the concept of rapport. The process of operationalisation of concepts is explained by Babbie (2014:27). One would have to make an exhaustive list of observed actions, experiences, feelings and gestures amongst other attributes that are commonly understood as indicators of “rapport”. This type of operationalisation makes use of “face validity” (also referred to as “logical validity”) strategies. Face validity is considered a subjective form of validity. Its subjective nature possibly makes it the weakest form of validity compared to other forms of qualitative validity, namely construct validity, content validity and criterion validity. For example, some of the dimensions of “rapport” include initial small talk, trust, being a good listener, mirroring accordingly, cooperation, showing interest in the topic under review, not overstaying one’s welcome, honest communication and respectful conversation that leads to clear understanding of the topic under review. Depending on the nature and aims of a study, others might make use of, for example, a Likert scale or some form of rating scale to gauge the degree of a qualitative construct that is being measured (Babbie, 2014). In the case of this study, it was not necessary to deploy, for example, a Likert scale to gauge the degree of rapport in an attempt to enhance rigour as advocated by positivists. Instead, this study was sensitive to some feminist methodological and ethical concerns of treading the thin line between cultivating rapport and the use of rapport as the means to an end. For example, Jean Duncombe & Julie Jessop (2012) coined the term “doing rapport” (Duncombe & Jessop, 2012:118) as they raised the possibility that rapport might imply manipulating the research process by possibly “faking of friendship” (Duncombe & Jessop, 2012:118). Duncombe & Jessop (2012) further discuss the dilemmas they faced on the issue of some participants’ assumption of maintaining “friendship” outside of the study boundaries. In some

instances, these scholars had shared some of their personal lives with participants, whilst attempting to establish rapport.

One will note that some of these quandaries are perhaps addressed by Holstein & Gubruim (1995) who caution against a study approach that views participants as passive containers of information, emotion and experience that the researcher may extract. This observation suggests that the researcher is a human being first before being a researcher; thus, the onus is on the researcher to be cognizant of the privilege and trust bestowed on them to carry out research. This privilege comes with a lot of responsibility, professionalism, accountability and discretion expected of the researcher. In an ideal situation, if genuine rapport is possible to cultivate, the interviewee should contribute their knowledge on the topic under review, openly and sincerely. As explained by Linda Tickle-Degnen and Robert Rosenthal (1990), rapport should be mutual and not one-sided. As such, the researcher should use strategies (perhaps facial expressions, or probing questions) that indicate to the participant that they are listening and understanding their story. In addition, some suggest that by establishing rapport at the start of interviews, it does not necessarily mean that rapport is sustained throughout the interaction. One will note that this is one of the reasons that the informed consent should explain and negotiate with prospective participants, the terms, conditions and process of a study. This way, a participant who no longer wants to participate should feel free to withdraw without repercussion. Such freedom of choice possibly suggests that “sufficient” rapport has been cultivated to the extent that a participant feels safe enough to express their genuine desire to withdraw, instead of continuing when they do not genuinely want to – perhaps out of fear or not wanting to upset the researcher.

3.6.6 Conclusion on establishing rapport

When one considers some of the possible dimensions and contested empirical implications of rapport (such as deploying a confessional approach versus a realist approach), one will realise that it is necessary for qualitative scholars to outline the rapport building process in their particular study. This study agrees with Reinharz (1992) on the possibility that objective and subjective rapport building strategies complement each other and are not “warring with each other” (Reinharz, 1992:263) to use her words. Reinharz

(1992:267) suggests that “[feminists] who do research with people should consider rapport to be a fortunate outcome of some projects rather than a precondition of all research relationships. In general, rapport between any two people develops only with time and a sense of shared interests. To try to "achieve" rapport without these prerequisites is an arduous endeavour prone to failure” (Reinharz, 1992:267). Reinharz’s (1992) suggestion is particularly congruent with the logic of this study’s interpretive research design. To recap, the symbolic interaction paradigm embraces the subjective nature of what is considered as reality. As such, the research design of this study propelled the researcher to frame a type of rapport in which the researcher not only reflected on what she brought to the research process (self-awareness) but also explored alternative ethical ways of facilitating the kind of conversation that suited each participant’s communication preference. Such flexibility of allowing participants to contribute in their own terms is a strategy aimed at accommodating possible pluralistic forms of input that participants might wish to contribute as opposed to following a rigid standardised interview protocol that has the potential of suppressing/overshadowing what participants really want to share. As such, the next section discusses the life-course narrative data gathering method that was used in this study.

3.7 Life-course narratives

According to Swanborn (2010) the “[label] ‘narrative’ refers to the science of history: it pays close attention to stories, accounts and context as it traces the behaviour of particular actors, clarifies sequences, describes structures and explores patterns of interaction” (Swanborn, 2010: 86). Life course narratives are in the same genre as autobiography, life story, personal history, auto-ethnography and autobiography. Narratives are not limited to oral communication but may include the visual: letters, personal testaments, life documents and field notes, as explained by Ken Plummer (1983, 2001) who is regarded as one of the influential contemporary life history scholars. There are various approaches to narratives. Examples include “experience-centred”, “socio-cultural” narratives, the Foucauldian approach to narratives, and the “rhizomatic perspective”, to name a few (Andrews et al., eds. 2013). Herbert Rubin and Irene Rubin (2005) explain that life history interviews may fall into the “cultural interview” category.

The cultural interview strategy is concerned with norms, values, and other rules of behaviour. Although this study allowed participants to drive the interviews based on what was of relevance to them, the study paid attention to participants' responses to some of the socio-cultural-economic dynamics and norms and rules of behaviour that they were exposed to. In contrast, topical interviews such as "topical oral histories", are concerned with delving deep into a specific event for the purpose of establishing what, when, and why a topical event occurred. With reference to this study, the participants narrated topical events that seemed poignant in their lives during the colonial and the post-colonial era.

3.7.1 Deciding what should constitute the life-course narratives

There is variation in the approach to personal narrative. Such variation may also be based on disciplinary influence and the aims and objectives of a study (Riessman, 2002).For example, in her study on divorce, Riessman (2002:697) articulates that the:

> Study of personal narrative is a form of case-centered research (Mishler, 1999a). Building on the tradition of sociology articulated most vividly by C.W. Mills (1959), the approach illuminates the intersection of biography, history, and society. The "personal troubles" that participants represent in their narratives of divorce, for example, tell us a great deal about social and historical processes—contemporary beliefs about gender relations and pressures on marriage at a juncture in American history… Riessman (2002:697)

With reference to this study, Riessman's (2002) definition suggests that various concepts that are offered by the life course theoretical framework may be used to guide the development of life course narrative data gathering instruments. Life course theoretical concepts include historical time lines, age cohort, timing and the generation cohort concept, to name a few concepts of life course theory that are extensively described by Plummer (2001) and explained in this study's conceptual framework section (page 33). In this study, these concepts enhanced reflection on participants' lives by weaving personal trajectories and family cycles with social and historical events. Life course interviews provided insight into participants' personal and cultural values and topical histories as participants reflected on past events that shaped their understanding of elder care. As explained earlier, it was necessary to maintain rapport whilst participants told their stories during the interview process that is described next.

3.7.2 The interview process in this study

With the prior consent of participants, two tape recorders were used for audio recording purposes. At the beginning of each interview, whilst the tape recorder was recording, the researcher asked participants to verbally verify and reconfirm the informed consent that they had agreed to when they signed up to participate in the study. Although this study developed specific grand tour questions (addendum 1 on page 251) to contribute towards meeting the study's aims and objectives, the study was also aware that pre-conceived questions that are based on the researcher's etic knowledge would limit the scope of the study. For this reason unstructured participant-led in-depth interviews (Babbie & Mouton, 2012) provided insight into what is of significance to participants in the sphere of gender, caregiving and ageing. In addition, symbolic interactionist scholars remind us that the world is not a rigid structure, thus, in some instances, it might be appropriate to use a "non-direct" style of interviewing. In this study, non-direct style of interviewing involved letting participants talk in any direction without constraining them. This non-direct interview approach provided an opportunity for participants to contribute views that were not constrained by the researcher's questions. Non-direct interviews also minimised the possibility of participants saying what they believed the interviewer wanted to hear (Riessman, 1993).

This study also took cognizance of the understanding that, depending on the objective of a study, the interview experience is a social interaction of mutual respect and genuine interest. For this reason, feminists such as Oakley (1981:262) caution against what she terms "mechanical" structured interview techniques where one person (the researcher) asks questions and another responds almost in a depersonalised manner to the extent that both interviewee and interviewer become a "data-producing machine", to use her phrase (Oakley, 1981:262). Not only does Oakley (1981) encourage researchers to be sensitive to the implied power dynamics between interviewer and interviewee, but she also cautions against interviewers taking up the role of psychoanalyst instead of allowing interviewees to express their own truth in a non-exploitative ethical manner. Oakley (1981) suggests that non-hierarchical interview styles are also useful for researching intense topics that delve into people's attitudes, perceptions, emotions and motivations. Such unstructured interviews allow for greater flexibility as opposed to structured

interviews.

In this study, grand tour questions (addendum 1, page 251) as suggested by Glaser (1998) and Antony Bryant & Kathy Charmaz (eds.) (2019) were used to encourage participants to lead the way. This approach is intentionally broad to initially facilitate the researcher to gain insight into phenomena as grounded in participants' experience and world views. To accommodate the interviewee's story telling style, the narratives proceeded in different sequences and themes (Riessman, 1993:17-18; 2002). Such sequences allowed participants to narrate what was of importance to them within the sphere of the topic under review. Attention was paid on issues that were raised without prompting by the researcher as being of significance to participants. The issues contributed towards conceptual development as explained in the Findings Section on page 144. Although this participant-led interview method was time consuming, it was useful for gathering data that were previously unknown to the researcher. Participant-led interviews were particularly useful in identifying ways in which participants viewed themselves in relation to other people whom they mentioned at various points in their lives (Riessman, 2002). Subsequent questions were analytical for the purpose of clarifying the nature of variance within and between emerging concepts. This means thatparticipants spoke in any direction they wished without the researcher constraining them(Riessman, 1993). Methodologically, this meant that the participants narrated theircaregiving and receiving trajectories in their own words with minimal disruption (Charmaz, 2006). Subsequent probing interview questions facilitated the refinement of emerging categories. Subsequent questions also contributed towards filling conceptual gaps that were identified during data analysis, thus elevating the level of abstraction to a point where all categories fitted into a core category (Barney Glaser & Judith Holton, 2004). Although it was time consuming, each participant narrated their own experience of giving and receiving care. They also related what their own parents or elder members of their families taught them about providing care in the home.

3.7.3 Conclusion of life course interviews

In-depth participant-led life-course narrative interviews were most suitable for this study as they illuminated the "how and why" and the possible effects of past and present practices of caregiving in one's life course. Ann-Dorte Christensen and Sune Qvotrup Jensen (2012:114) emphasise that "[life-stories] are important for grasping the complex processes of identification and positioning" (Christensen & Qvotrup Jensen, 2012:114). This study noted that the synergy between life-course narratives; the case-study research design; feminist perspective; and symbolic interactionism is particularly strong in supporting a study of this nature that is interested in "how" and "why" type of questions. Probing questions were posed to clarify participants' input including what the researcher had observed. Follow-up questions also contributed towards filling the gaps that were identified during data analysis. As explained in the methodology section above, grounded theory methodology aims to generate theoretical concepts or substantive theory from uncoerced empirical data (Charmaz, 2006; Bryant & Charmaz, eds. 2019). Of the various data collection methods that could have been used in this study, the participant-led life course narrative method was most suitable for generating new knowledge based on the lived experience of participants. Whilst life course narratives were time-consuming, they were instrumental in bringing up a range of topics from which one could establish participants' belief systems and what is of value to participants. Whilst participant-led life course interviews were helpful for gaining insight into participants' interpretation of some of the social processes that influence how care is received and given in their context, it was also necessary to observe what was going on in their context. In this instance, participant observation was helpful in explaining what participants were saying and what the researcher was observing, as explained next.

3.8 Participant observation

Observation within the grounded theory methodology is twofold. First the researcher has to make a conscious decision as to what will be observed based on the gaps that have been identified during the interviews and/or data analysis cycle (Rebecca Wickes and Michael Emmison, 2007). Second, the researcher has to record what they see and what they think is going on (Charmaz, 2008). According to Mead (1934, 1967) deep insight into a phenomenon is better achieved through observation compared to survey researchor behavioural experiments that lack the advantage of being close to the real "thing" in its context. Observation also provides an opportunity for the researcher to observe events first hand, including the possible impact/outcomes of such events (de Vos & Strydom, 2011). Thus, there are various strategies of naturalistic observation from which a study may choose the most suitable observation method that advances a study's aims and objectives. Observation strategies may also be direct observation or indirect observation; disguised or undisguised observation; human versus non-human observation; participant or non-participant observation; and structured or unstructured observation (Wim J. H. Roestenburg, Hermanus Strydom, Christa B. Fouch, and A. S. de Vos (eds.). 2021; de Vos et al. 2011a; de Vos et al. 2011b; Babbie & Mouton, 2007). Covert participant observation involves the researcher participating in an activity without participants knowing that they are being observed. In the case of "observer as participant" the researcher declares his role to the study participants and is present in a neutral position without actively participating in the activities of those being observed. "Participant as observer" requires the researcher to declare his presence and intention before fully engaging with participants' routine activities to observe them in their natural context. Non-participant observation simply requires the observer to observe without taking part. It is imperative to highlight that neither overt nor covert observation may fully explain the reasons behind specific action by those being observed. For this reason, it isimportant to ask participants to explain in their own terms the reason for such action (Charmaz, 2006). To recap, interpretivists find meaning behind action - what Max Weber(1864-1920) terms *verstehen*. This translates to "social action with a purpose" as cited inNeuman (1997:68). Neuman (1997:69) adds that, "External human behavior [sic] is an indirect and often obscure indicator of true social meaning." This study was interested in interpreting

"external human behaviour" as "obscure indicators" (Neuman, 1997:69) ofaspects related to care in an urban setting. Thus, this interpretive study was interested in observing the "everyday" within the family setting (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Charmaz, 2006).

The study was also aware that people construct their own reality, thus a researcher should not assume, impose on or take for granted the life world of participants. This means that in some instances the researcher had to ask probing questions to get as close as possible to the participant's life world. Participant observation facilitated in understanding how and why certain care roles are established. The idea of observation is to make explicit the meaning and significance that participants attribute to mundane activities (Charmaz, 2006). What participants perceive as caregiving behaviour that is either suitable for men (masculinity) or for women (femininity) was of interest to this study (Butler, 1990; Connell, 2005). It was equally important to identify some of the events thatare associated with the phenomenon of caring and establishing some of the outcomes that could be associated with such a phenomenon. Michael A. Huberman & Mathew B. Miles (2002:54) and Creswell (2003:8) explain that the purpose of observation is to provide an account of the research setting from which data are obtained. What was observed in this study is described in the Findings Section (page 144). Observation was enhanced by field notes as described next.

3.8.1 Field notes

Field notes, what Miles and Huberman (1984:69) refer to as "memoing", are detailed descriptions of the context and environment in which a study is taking place. Such descriptions should be dated chronologically and may include descriptive notes and reflexive notes. Field notes are not limited to text but could include maps, perhaps family/kinship structures and other thoughts and feelings that the researcher experiences during field work. The idea is to use the detailed descriptions from field notes in collaboration with the data analysis to provide a thick description of a study context (Miles and Huberman, 1984, 2002). In this study, field notes included researcher's thoughts and feelings, what the researcher observed, how people behaved, their body language and mannerisms and the period in which the study was conducted, amongst other details. The researcher explained to the participants that she would be taking notes discreetly to avoid

disrupting their natural flow of speaking during interviewsand asking probing questions at appropriate intervals. The researcher also made notes on her impressions of each interview as soon as she got home from each interview. It was also necessary for the researcher to avoid premature judgment of whatwas being observed. As such, issues of bias and reflexivity are discussed next.

3.8.2 Researcher bias/preconceptions/ bridling and reflexivity

The symbolic interaction epistemology that guides this study acknowledges the possibility of value-laden nature of research, thus the need to minimise various types of bias that might compromise the integrity of a study. Conscious and unconscious bias may include, research design bias, sample selection bias, data collection instrument bias, observation bias, data analysis and publication bias (Sherianne Kramer, Angelo Fynn and Sumaya Laher, 2019; Babbie & Mouton, 2011). Part of the nature of grounded methodology rests on the researcher's reflexive engagement in the planning and executing a study (Wanda Pillow, 2003; Linda Finlay & Brendan Gough (eds.), 2008). Thus, memoing[33] is one method of enhancing reflexivity by recording what a researcher thinks is going on during data analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Charmaz, 2006). Researchers may adopt their own context-specific and discipline-specific approach to reflexivity (Pillow, 2003). Regardless of a study's methodology, the common goal of various reflexivity strategies is to enhance transparency and trustworthiness. A reflective strategy that is used in this study is the "bridling" method as advanced by Karin Dahlberg, Helena Dahlberg and Maria Nyström (2008). Bridling is a term borrowed from phenomenology. Bridling[34] scaffolds scientific inquiry by encouraging researchers to refrain from making quick judgments on all aspects of the research process. On the other hand, bracketing seems to suggest that preconceptions should ideally be avoided. Bridling encourages researchers to adopt a skeptical attitude regarding the interpretation of data and instead, explore alternative interpretations in an effort of avoiding "confirmation bias" (Charmaz, 2006). This study also adopts what Pillow (2003) refers to as "reflexivity of discomfort" that compels a researcher to critique her own assumptions and contradictions. Reflexivityof discomfort nudges one to interrogate what one thinks they know whilst working patiently and

[33] This study's example of a reflexive memo is Figure 18 on page 247

[34] Phenomenologists borrow the concept of "bridling" from equestrian/horse riding practice for guiding horses

systematically to allow the dimensions of a phenomenon to reveal slowly. Reflexivity also includes a researcher thinking of how their findings might be received and/or peer reviewed by others (Giddens, 1993). The researcher of this study maintaineda bridling diary in which she documented her dilemmas, insight, assumptions andthoughts; as they developed, transformed and influenced the research process. Others argue that accounting for a researcher's subjectivities does not necessarily mean that bias and researcher blind spots are adequately addressed. On the contrary, the reflective researcher might become pre-occupied with reflecting on positionality and reactivity of "self" within the research process. As such, invoking "reflexivity" might not necessarily translate to good quality research - its absence in qualitative research is not ideal either (Pillow, 2003).

3.8.3 Conclusion of participant observation

During the home visits, the researcher made specific efforts to note who was performing the various instrumental activities of daily living (IADLs), such as cooking and laundry (Peggie Smith, 1987). However, some feminist care theorists conceptualise care as more than an instrumental activity. They argue that care is a matter of interpretation (Bowers, 1987) and a way of connecting and relating with others (Gilligan, 1982). For example, Bowers (1987) explains that food preparation may signify many different messages. What may be considered a simple act of food preparation might in fact be "[a] gesture of caring, a technical task or both at once" (Bowers, 1987:24). Of interest to this study, are the reasons and meaning behind actions and the nature of participants' agency/choice in performing such tasks. The idea is that interpretive observation should be supported by commentary, and "interpretations of interpretations." Clifford Geertz's (1973:6) strategy of "thick description" (for which he credits Gilbert Ryle, 1949) is one such strategy. Thick descriptions illuminate various expressions of a phenomenon in a specific context and might include what, where, whenand how certain action occurs. However, grounded theory transcends thick description by aiming to achieve a level of abstraction (essence) of observations. Although the researcher entered the field with a checklist of what the researcher hoped to observe (structured observation), such as the type of housing, the living arrangements, family photos, and the family environment's set-up, the researcher maintained an open mind. Observation facilitated the researcher to see, hear and smell

some of what participants are exposed to duration the period that the study was conducted (Nieuwenhuis, 2010; Eduardo de la Fuente, Michael James Walsh, 2021). As explained in the above section, detailed field notes were taken with participants' permission whilst taking care not to disrupt the natural flow of participants' activities.

3.8.4 Conclusion of research methods

The above section discussed the data gathering methods that were used in this study. The discussion explained gaining entry into the field as well as establishing and sustaining rapport throughout the duration of the study. The discussion on rapport building and rapport maintenance was followed by an explanation of the interview process. Some of the dimensions, possibilities and limitations of life course narratives were discussed as they pertain to this study. The grounded theory methodology that is underpinned by a feminist perspective encourages one to pay attention to the tentative nature of situated knowledges (Yuval-Davis, 2015). Some of the possibilities and limitations of participant observation and life course narrative data gathering methods were discussed in this section. Issues of bias, the bridling reflexivity strategy and "reflexivity of discomfort" that supported this study, were clarified. The next section explains the sampling and recruitment process that was used in this study.

3.9 Sampling strategy

3.9.1 Introduction

One of the key areas where grounded theory methodology differs from other qualitative methodological frameworks is on what is considered an appropriate sample size. Grounded theory methodology expects a slightly larger sample size compared to phenomenology, where a minimum of ten participants is acceptable. This is the because grounded theory methodology makes use of theoretical samples to verify emerging theory to a point of theoretical saturation, that is, to a point when "[the] data no longer brings [sic] additional insights to the research question" (Nieuwenhuis, 2010:79). Some studies that aim to generalise findings commonly use a statistically derived sample for inference purposes. However, not all studies aim to generalise findings. Instead, such studies might seek in-depth information-rich data from a single person. A researcher might have many interviews or prolonged interaction with that one participant to obtain rich data from which to describe, interpret or explain the unit of analysis. As explained by De Vos et al., (2011a), Neuman (1997, 2011) and Rubin & Babbie (2009) amongst other scholars, a study's sample design is dependent on a variety of factors that are influenced by epistemological and methodological considerations amongst other practical issues that are related to the research question. It is imperative to use a sampling strategy that is most compatible with the aims and objectives of a study (Strydom, 2011). As explained next, the most appropriate sampling procedure to addressthis study's research question was the purposeful sampling method.

3.9.2 Purposeful sampling

This case study made use of purposeful sampling, also known as selective, subjective or judgmental non-probability sampling (Strydom, 2005). Purposive sampling techniques include typical case sampling, expert sampling, maximum variation sampling, convenience sampling, snowball sampling, theoretical sampling and homogeneous sampling amongst others (Henning et al., 2004:71; Patton, 1990; Babbie, 2014:199). Patton (1990:169 & 2002:230) clarifies that:

> The purpose of purposeful sampling is to select information-rich cases whose study

> will illuminate the questions under study (Patton, 1990: 169)… studying information-rich cases yields insights and in-depth understanding rather than empirical generalizations. (Patton, 2002:230).

Miles and Huberman (1994) suggested that sampling for qualitative studies tends to be purposive instead of random, especially when small numbers of cases are required. As this case study aimed to learn from participants whose narratives could contribute rich data, one will note that two specific purposeful sampling strategies are commonly used in such instances. These purposive case study sampling methods are the intensity sampling method and the critical-case sampling method (Patton, 1990) that are described next.

3.9.3 Intensity sampling method versus critical case sampling method

Patton (1990) explains that by using "[the] logic of intensity sampling, one seeks excellent or rich examples of the phenomenon of interest, but not unusual cases" (Patton, 1990:171). On the other hand, critical-case sampling requires researchers to identify key dimensions that make a critical-case critical. The rationale behind critical-case sampling is that, if evidence from a few in-depth cases is true, then it is most likely to be true in other cases. Such logic behind critical-case sampling makes it an ideal generalisation sampling method for multi-sites (Patton, 2001). Concerning this instrumental case study, the intensity sampling method was most suitable as it allowed the researcher to purposively select a small number of cases that were excellent examples of the phenomenon under review. Care was taken to ensure that cases were not extreme or deviant cases (such as those in intrinsic case-study designs). Such deviant cases could unintentionally "[distort] the manifestation of the phenomenon of interest" (Patton, 2001:171). Intensity sampling was particularly relevant to this study considering that participants who were "typical" men and women aged 60 and above, could most likely have experience in giving and receiving care in an urban setting.

3.9.4 Sample frame

This study was mindful of Miles & Huberman's (1994) suggestion that generally, two actions are necessary when sampling for qualitative case selection. First, boundaries that define aspects of cases that need to be investigated have to be set to address the aims and objectives of a case study. The availability of resources, including budget and time

frame, should be considered. Second, a sampling frame is needed to evaluate the basic constructs of a study. The selected individuals should ideally be considered knowledgeable about a topic; or should have some experience that might contribute to knowledge about a topic; or should have some experience that might contribute to understanding a phenomenon under study (Neuman, 2011).

A WhatsApp group of some Harare pensioners served as the initial sample frame of "typical" urban pensioners. The WhatsApp group was used as an efficient and cost-effective sample frame from which to recruit the first set of possible participants who fit the inclusion and exclusion sample criteria. This WhatsApp group was made up of mainly (but not limited to) pensioners who are former civil service employees who have lived and worked in Harare. This sample frame was appropriate for this study as it "[consists] of information-rich cases that manifest the phenomenon of interest intensely (but not extremely)" to use Patton's (1990:171) words. The intensity sampling method was used to purposefully select the first four men and two women pensioners. Thereafter, six participants were recruited through snowball sampling, also known as "chain reference sampling" (de Vos, 2001). Non-metropolitan/rural residents do not represent the urban living experience that this study was focusing on, thus the need for a separate study that explores the experiences of rural populations. The sample frame consisted of a cohort that has experienced various socio-economic-cultural transitions in the history of Harare. It was hoped that this age group would shed light on ways in which the dyad of caregiving and receiving has possibly evolved over time. The initial purposively selected sample did not only contribute to the initial insight into what it means to be an ageing person in an urban city, but also shed light on how and why care is distributed in participants' context. Participants' input contributed situated knowledges (Yuval-Davis, 2015) and not population representativeness.

Prospective participants who showed interest in participating in the study were given further details on the study and an informed consent document (addendum 3 on pages 253-256) to read in their own time. They were asked to contact the researcher to obtain further information should they decide to participate. The first two men and two women who agreed to participant in the study provided the initial data to scaffold the dataanalysis phase. After the initial data analysis, the participants were asked to introduce further

prospective participants. There might be an element of sampling bias in this initial purposefully selected sample. However, as the study progressed, an additional theoretical sample was recruited by asking the participants to recommend possible pensioners who fit the initial sample criteria (snowball sampling). Ongoing theoretical sampling promoted sample diversity until the point of data saturation and theoretical sufficiency was reached (Charmaz, 2006). Below are the inclusion and exclusion criteria for the purposefully selected sample:

3.9.5 Sample inclusion criteria

1. Participants should be 60 years old and above and live in Harare,
2. Were previously employed,
3. Married or had been married. The marital status of participants would hopefully provide deeper understanding of gender dynamics within families in the context of giving and receiving care, and
4. Participants should have experience in caregiving and receiving for the elderly.

3.9.6 Sample exclusion criteria

1. Less than 60 years old,
2. Never been employed, and
3. Prospective participants who need to have either a family member, friend or neighbour present during interviews were excluded as confidentiality could be compromised.

3.9.7 Profile of participants in this study

The following table presents a profile of the people who participated in this study. Pseudonyms were used to disguise the identity of the participants. The average age of the 10 participants was 71.1 years old. The oldest person was 82 years old. The youngest was 60 years old.

Table 2: Profile of participants

	Year of Birth	Age at time of study
Ms Munyu	1939	82
Ms Ziva	1940	81
Mr Loyi	1945	76
Mr Reggie	1948	72
Ms Rose	1949	72
Ms Murimi	1950	71
Mr Tino	1951	70
Ms Diya	1955	66
Mr Samanyika	1960	61
Mr Gidi	1961	60

3.9.8 Theoretical sampling interwoven with data collection and data analysis

The purpose of integrating data collection, data analysis and theoretical sampling is to advance a study from a descriptive phase of analysis to an analytic phase. In this study, after the first interviews and each interview thereafter, the constant-comparative data analysis method was used to identify patterns of similarities and variation of contributions by participants. The theoretical sample served the purpose of elaborating on the properties of the tentative categories (Charmaz, 2012). Thus, sample selection during the latter stages of data analysis was based on theoretical relevance. It is pertinent to note that in recent years Catherine Conlon, Virpi Timonen, Catherine Elliott-O'Dare, Sorcha O'Keeffe, and Geraldine Foley (2020:949) clarify some of the uses of theoretical sampling in grounded theory methodology. These scholars explain that:

> First, theoretical sampling can involve sampling for additional participants with a particular set of theoretical considerations in mind. Second, theoretical sampling can be progressed through a variety of means and techniques in the actual data collection process. Most commonly, this happens through interviewing, for instance, steering questions in the direction of emergent theorizing. We show how the focus of data collection, including the questions asked, can change in the theoretical sampling process. Third, theoretical sampling can sometimes be done within the data in isolation from the process of data collection, that is, when the dataset is approached as secondary data (as illustrated in the last exemplar). (Conlon et al., 2020:949)

Conlon et al. (2020) suggest that theoretical sampling need not always involve recruiting new participants. Instead, it may involve retroduction inference that involves going back to the same empirical data to refine emerging theoretical concepts. This study revisited the empirical data to refine some of the concepts that had been identified. Some of the strengths and limitations of this sampling method are explained next.

3.9.9 Strengths and limitations of the sampling procedure of this study

As the scope of the caregiving phenomenon is broad, Strauss and Corbin (1998) recommend that, when dealing with a broad explorative study, it is acceptable to initially interview a few participants for the purpose of identifying issues that seem to be of relevance. The researcher may then narrow down the scope of the study, focus on the issues that seem to be of relevance and perhaps follow up on other areas in a separate study. This strategy of initially selecting a few typical cases is one of the strengths of the intensity sampling method. This sampling method dovetails with the grounded theory methodology that is particularly relevant for exploring areas that are under-studied such as this study; or for investigating phenomena in which the boundaries of a phenomenon are not yet clearly defined. For this reason, grounded theorists make a distinction between the initial sampling and the theoretical sample as mentioned earlier. In this study, input from the theoretical sample contributed towards comparing and refining emerging concepts, patterns, and categories (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Charmaz, 2006). The cyclical process of theoretical sampling, data analysis and data collection enhanced the researcher's theoretical sensitivity (explained on page 133) (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Charmaz, 2006, Henning et al., 2004).

It is important to highlight that although the above discussion described the practical deployment of the methodology, the study was mindful of some of the ethical debates and dilemmas in sampling for applied empirical studies. These dilemmas are extensively discussed by Rubin and Babbie (2009). The ethical considerations that underpinned this study are explained below.

3.10 Ethical considerations

Ethical approval was obtained from the University of the Free State (UFS)[35] and from the Medical Research Council of Zimbabwe (MRCZ)[36]. Protocol guidelines from the UFS and from the MRCZ were followed to ensure that participants and the researcher would not be exposed to any type of harm as a result of the study. Prospective participants were informed of the purpose and procedure of the study, and the potential benefits and risks of participating in the study. The study considered that regardless of the sample size, the selection of human subjects for a study rests on principles of justice amongst other ethical, moral, validity, safety, sampling and utility considerations. Ideally, the social value of a study should be mutually beneficial (Rubin &Babbie, 2009; Ezekiel J. Emanuel, David Wendler and Christine Grady, 2008). As this study made use of life course interviews, James Spradley (1979) from the discipline of ethnography suggests that the consideration of prospective participants should include participants' willingness and availability to participate, and their ability to articulate their thoughts and experiences. The study was mindful that special care should be taken when prospective participants are at risk of various forms of vulnerability or social marginalisation (Emanuel, et al., 2008; Rachel Jewkes, Charlotte Watts, Naeemah Abrahams, Loveday Penn-Kekana, Claudia Garcia-Moreno, 2000; Melinda MCormick, 2012). The actual execution of ethical consideration is elaborated upon in the research design and methodology section. This includes for example, sincerely immersing oneself in the study; making use of reflexivity and data analysis strategies that do not quote participants out of context; establishing respectful rapport throughout the study; using pseudonyms to ensure anonymity; maintaining confidentiality; amongst other ethical practicalities and moral responsibilities that underpin this study and are explained throughout the research design and methodology sections (Jacobus Gideon 'Kobus' Maree & Carol Noêla van der Westhuizen 2009).

[35] University of the Free State ethical clearance: UFS-HSD2018/0591.
[36] Medical Research Council of Zimbabwe (MRCZ) ethical clearance: MRCZA2677

3.11 Limitations of methodology

With reference to the sampling procedure, the initial sample might be biased. This is because purposive sampling methods (also known as judgmental or selective sampling) are inherently biased. Some might view the lack of sample representativeness as a weakness. However, prospective participants are specifically identified because they most likely fit the criteria of individuals who could best contribute towards addressing a research question. Researchers are expected to account for this selection bias and rationale behind the sampling strategy (Charmaz, 2006; Patton, 2001, 2002). The chosen participants in this study were identified as men and women who have lived long enough to contribute their knowledge and could articulate their experience. As explained earlier, on-going grounded theoretical sampling, as suggested by the emerging theoretical concepts, enhanced sample diversity and reduced the initial sample bias. A weakness of the purposive (judgmental/selective) sampling method is that, if a researcher makes a poor judgment call (researcher bias/experimenter bias), the worthiness of the study is precarious. Also, findings from the purposeful sample may not be used for empirical generalisations to the rest of the population.

In terms of the data collection methods used, some of the challenges of participant-led life-course interviews include the possibility that narratives might be too subjective. For this reason, Denzin (1992) cautions against presenting a "narrative heroic fiction … a sociological version of a screen hero…" (Denzin, 1992:41) when a study overstates the role of individuals and their part in shaping events. In this regard Goffman's (1958, 1959) concept of teams and audience was particularly useful in establishing the nature of interaction that participants contributed. Another limitation of a qualitative case study is that the quality of its findings is dependent on the strength of the researcher's observation and interviewing skills, and depth of interpretation and ability to abstract relationships between concepts during data analysis. The researcher's ability to advancedata analysis from description to conceptual abstraction is known to be a challenging exercise to some (Glaser, 2002). When factoring in the process of building rapport and trust, participant-led interviews may be time-consuming both in data collection and data-analysis. Also, participant observation might possibly introduce Hawthorne effects (Neuman, 1997). As such, it was necessary for this study to reflect on ways to best approach each research

setting with minimal disruption to the natural flow. Grounded theory is known to be cumbersome and time consuming (Charmaz, 2006). However, thisstudy notes that, with patience, it is possible that the benefits outweigh the challenges. The next section which is the fourth segment of this four part research design chapter, describes ways in which data were analysed.

3.12 Data Analysis

3.12.1 Introduction

The previous section described the research design and methodology of this study. The research design section explained why an embedded instrumental qualitative case study design approach was the most appropriate research design for addressing this study's research question. The previous section also clarified ways in which the constructivist grounded theory methodology dovetails with the case study research design to address the aims and objectives on this study. The section also explained ways in which the purposeful sampling method, also known as selective, subjective or judgmental non-probability sampling, was most suitable for this study. The deliberations that were made regarding the sample frame and inclusion and exclusion criteria, and sample bias were discussed. In the section that follows, the data analysis methods will be explained. The constant comparative data analysis method that is supported by memo-writing (memoing) will be described. This section also explains ways in which an intercategorical intersectionality analytic strategy (McCall, 2005: 1773) facilitates in understanding the convergence of retirement, ageing, gender and unpaid caregiving based on participants' narratives. In addition, situated intersectionality as described by Yuval-Davis (2015) facilitates the identification of situated knowledges. Thereafter, the crystallisation process that is embedded in this study will be explained. The section that follows describes the data analysis process that this study followed. Some of the strengths and limitations of this study's data analysis process are discussed in the Discussion Section.

3.12.2 Transcribing of data

Data were downloaded into QDA Miner Lite data analysis software. For confidentiality and anonymity purposes, pseudonyms were used to disguise participants' identification and location, and those who are mentioned by participants (Babbie &Mouton, 2001; Strydom, 2011). Data were transcribed verbatim. Data were cleaned andnumbered line by line.

3.12.3 Coding method

As mentioned earlier, Charmaz's (2006) constant comparative coding method was deployed. This coding method is made up of iterative phases namely, (1) initial coding, (2) focused coding and (3) theoretical coding. Each coding phase leads to a higher analytic process of conceptual abstraction as described shortly. After the initial data analysis, the coding sequence involves moving back and forth as the researcher attempts to make sense of the data. This coding process differs from the Glaser & Strauss (1967) process and that of Strauss & Corbin (1990) who refer to the "emergence of categories" and "discovery of theory" from data. Constructivists such as Charmaz (1990,2006) argue that such views stem from a positivistic epistemological tendency of"discovering truth" out there, yet there, is neither absolute truth to be discovered nor cancategories "emerge" by themselves from data. Instead, it is the researcher who works on the data to construct their own interpretation of the data. As such, the researcher is a pivotal catalyst in grounded practice, whose world view and co-construction and analysisof data should be accounted for during the research process. Figure 19 on page 247 is an example of one of the word clouds that the researcher generated at various stages asshe tried to make sense of the data. Figure 20 on page 248 is an excerpt of this study's code book. The coding phases are discussed next.

3.12.4 Phase 1 - Initial coding - micro-level coding for actions and meaning

The coding phase that Charmaz (2008, 2012) refers to as the "initial coding phase" is what classic grounded theorists Glaser & Strauss (1967) refer to as "open coding"[37]. Whilst other studies code for topics and themes, Charmaz's (2006) method codes for actions and meanings. During this initial coding phase, Charmaz (2006: 20) explains that, as suggested by Glaser (1978), she asks the question "what is happening here?" or"what is going on?" for each participant in a study (Charmaz, 2006:20). Line-by-line, word-by-word, incident-by-incident coding will then proceed. This type of intensive coding that examines all data nudges researchers to immerse themselves in the data. Immersion involves reading and re-reading of data and dated field notes. The initial line-by-line

[37] This study's example of open line by line coding is Table 4 on page 244. Figure 14 on page 244 is an example ofan analytic memo that supported the line by line coding in this study.

coding ensures that important details are not overlooked compared to paragraph-by-paragraph coding or theme-by-theme coding. This micro-level coding is particularly useful for intensive interviews such as life course narratives. It is a type of hermeneutic approach that pays attention to the language that people use in their day-to-day routines and the outcomes of such actions. Such an approach dovetails with the symbolic interaction perspective that underpins this study, particularly Goffman's (1956) propositions that pay attention to individual actions in relation to groups in particular situations. As such, Charmaz (2006) suggests that initial coding should:

> Attempt to code with words that reflect action. At first, invoking a language of action rather than of topics may feel strange. Look closely at actions and, to the degree possible, code data as actions. This method of coding curbs our tendencies to make conceptual leaps and to adopt extant theories before we have done the necessary analytic work. (Charmaz, 2006:47 & 48).

Charmaz's statement suggests the necessity of micro-level analysis of day-to-day actions as opposed to concentrating on major life-turning events or prematurely forcing participant experiences into themes. During this initial coding phase, Charmaz suggests that data analysts should concentrate on identifying gerunds. Gerunds are verbs that appear as nouns. The Oxford Dictionary defines the word "gerund" as, "A verb form which functions as a noun, in Latin ending in -ndum (declinable), in English ending in -ing (e.g. asking - in do you mind my asking you?)" (Oxford Dictionary). The use of gerunds suggests that initial codes should include action words that portray what participants are actually doing, making or seeing. This is because symbolic interactionist and social constructivists argue that social structures tend to be reified yet social structures are socially constructed through actions and social interaction. Based on participants' narratives, this study paid attention to ways in which care roles are produced and maintained. Line-by-line coding and incident-by-incident coding contributed towards the identification of patterns of similarities and differences in participants' perceptions of their actions.

3.12.5 Phase 2 - Focused coding

The line-by-line, word-by-word, incident-by-incident codes from the initial open coding phase that was explained earlier were assigned descriptive codes/labels that are located at a primary level of abstraction (Charmaz, 2006). Strauss and Corbin (1990) refer to this phase as "axial coding" whereas Charmaz (2006) refers to this phase as "focused coding"[38]. This second phase of coding calls for theoretical sensitivity that helps to scaffold data analysis from a descriptive level of analysis to a more analytic level of abstraction and interpretation. One way of achieving theoretical sensitivity is by following clues, intuition or following up on clues and metaphors (Shank, 2008) to uncover possible relationships between categories. For example, one participant expressed that she felt frustrated by the difficulty that she is experiencing in accessing her late husband's pension fund from the National Social Security Authority (NSSA). When applying Charmaz's (2006) abductive reasoning strategy, this study's researcher unpacked the practical actions and meanings that are associated with the category that was labelled as "accessibility of pension". It also meant identifying some of the assumptions that are associated with what is considered as the "normal/common" processes of assessing a late spouse's pension fund. Data analysis involved breaking up the initial codes into sub-categories where necessary. The initial codes were integrated into "coding families" (Glaser, 1978, 1992) to develop units that are meaningful. Coding families help to identify and trace possible relationships between categories and to foster theoretical sensitivity (Glaser, 1978, 1992). For example, Glaser (1978, 1992) suggests the "six Cs", namely Causes, Contexts, Consequences, Conditions, Covariances and Contingencies as concepts that may be used as dimensions for compiling clusters of related concepts. The dimensions may include, for example, causes of a phenomenon, the conditions under which the phenomenon occurs, the consequences and degreeof variance of intervening factors that may formulate coding families. In some instances,participants' stories were analysed against the backdrop of social and historical events. This strategy facilitated the researcher to locate narratives within a specific era and social context whilst remaining

[38] This study's example of incident by incident focused coding is Figures 15 on page 245. Figure 16 on page 245 in the accompanying analytic memo for incident by incident coding.

focused on participants' actions and behaviours within that specific era. The life course theoretical framework offered theoretical insight into life transitions and family trajectories (Plummer, 2001).

The strategy of focusing on social and historical issues versus individual experience is a strategy that characterises the original version of grounded theory that was developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Glaser and Strauss' analytical approach in their study focused on the social processes that are implicated in the management of terminal illness by patients, hospital personnel and their families. Charmaz (1996) views such an approach as speculating on consequences of outside processes on individuals, "from the outside in" to paraphrase Charmaz (1996: 30-31). Instead, she advocates focusing on an individual's experience and choices to extrapolate ways in which individuals either respond to, make sense of, or perhaps contribute to such social structures. Such strategy focuses on the "inside out" (Charmaz, 1996:30-31). Charmaz concludes that a combination of both "inside out" and "outside in" strategies of data analysis might produce a more textured understanding of a phenomenon. Charmaz's (1996) "inside out" and "outside in" strategies are particularly useful for exploring issues of agency and personal choice against the backdrop of an historical, socio-economic-environmental context. To recap, the concept of human agency that is explained on page 55 clarifies that one of feminists' theoretical tenets is that the concept of agency should be understood against the backdrop of contextual socio-economic-political factors that either constrain or privilege members of society.

Concepts of the intersectionality framework contributed towards mapping out ways in which some of the life trajectories, epiphanies and day-to-day interactions converge, resulting in various social outcomes. The mapping of such social processes was achieved by paying attention to the language that participants used to construct their worldviews (Charmaz, 2006). Language use contributes to an understanding of participants' tacit and implicit meanings. This means asking what participants are implying when they say something. According to Charmaz (2006), actions are structured by language and, as such, the implications of statements made by participants should be followed through. Following through was achieved by fragmenting the descriptive codes and categories to understand what lies behind such codes. Follow up involved comparing what a

participant said in one interview, with what the same participant narrated at different stages of the same interview and at a follow up interview. During the second phase of data analysis, theoretical sensitivity was maintained through the constant comparison analysis of incident-to-incident, incident-to-concept and concept-to-concept, throughout the research process. The constant comparative method involved the evaluation of incoming data against categories that had been constructed. In some instances new categories were constructed (Charmaz, 2006).

3.12.6 Phase 3 - Theoretical coding

Other scholars have suggested that inductive analysis makes it possible to move beyond description to a level of making "causal assertions". Causal assertions involve describing the understanding (*verstehen*) instead of simply explaining social action (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:270; Henning et al., 2004:3). At this stage of theory building, this study drew all the concepts together and established ways in which concepts were related by using abstract descriptions of relationships between categories (Glaser, 2009; Charmaz, 2008). This phase involved comparing categories with categories and concepts with concepts[39]. It was during this phase of data analysis, that the researcher consulted established theories and literature to make sense of the interpretations that the researcher had inductively constructed from empirical data on hand. As discussed in the Literature Review chapter (page 16), grounded theorists suspend an in-depth literature review to the final stages of data analysis to avoid forcing data to fit into theoretical preconceptions (Charmaz, 2008, 2012). If necessary, a researcher may continue with the theoretical sampling to evaluate the tentative interpretation of findings. Abductive reasoning strategies are useful for moving beyond description to abstraction of emerging concepts as explained next (Charmaz, 2006, 2014).

3.12.7 Inductive and abduction reasoning strategies

To recap, the data analysis for this case study has two distinctive purposes which are (1) interpretive and (2) explanatory. Explanatory reasoning is what Weber refers to as e*xplanadum* and *explanans*. *Explanandum* is a Latin word that refers to a sentence that

[39] This study's example of theoretical coding is Figure 17 on page 246

describes a phenomenon whilst *explanans* are supporting "actions/hypotheses or evidence" to justify such an explanation (*explanandum*). Although two phenomena may be associated, they are not necessarily correlated. Thus, the onus is on the researcher to take measures to rule out competing concepts when making inferences. As such, others have suggested ways of ensuring the adequacy of an explanation. These include evaluative criteria such as logical strength, completeness, and informativeness of explanations (Catherine Marshall and Gretchen Rossman, 2011; Riessman 2003, Denzin, 1989). Although classic grounded theory commonly makes use of inductive reasoning, Charmaz's (2006) constructivist grounded theory goes a step further by using abductive reasoning strategies. Abductive reasoning (also referred to as abductive inference, abduction, or retroduction) refers to a point during data analysis when making sense of data becomes confusing, thus necessitating a researcher to think of alternative theoretical explanations for a puzzling case or the most likely explanation (Charmaz, 2006). The most likely explanation remains open for further verification and is not treated as absolute truth. Charmaz (2006:103 & 104) credits Deely (1990), Fann (1970) and Rosenthal (2004) to explain that abduction inference works by developing various hypotheses of possible explanations of the puzzling case. The hypotheses are then checked against data. After considering the various conflicting, divergent or contrasting viewpoints of participants, the most plausible hypothesis that has the widest range of interpretation is selected whilst the rest of the hypotheses may be ruled out. On the other hand, Babbie (2011) explains that inductive reasoning moves "[from] a set of specific observations to the discovery of a pattern that represents some degree of order among all the given events…. your discovery doesn't necessarily tell you why the pattern exists—just that it does" Babbie (2011:23). In this study, the analyses of patterns was enhanced through the use of an intersectionality lens that reminded the researcher to be mindful of exploring the possible outcomes when various social systems converge in the sphere of ageing and caregiving. For example, in this study it became apparent that the intersection of family birth order and possession of financial resources had stronger ties in the family decision-making process than family birth order and gender.

Considering that knowledge is socially and subjectively constructed (Mead, 1934; Goffman, 1959; Yuval-Davis, 2015), it was important for this study to ensure that the data that were coded were based on a balanced distribution of input from each participant, hence the reason for a carefully selected sample whose experience could contribute to this study. Failure to consider the purpose of selecting that particular sample in the first place could have distorted findings and suggest sample selection error (Anthony J. Onwuegbuzie & Nancy L. Leech, 2007). Although abductive reasoning facilitated the abstraction process by elevating codes from descriptive labels to abstract concepts, the process of crystallisation that is described next allowed the researcher to take a step back to reflect on the data.

3.12.8 From triangulation to crystallisation

Depending on the nature of a study, it is necessary to develop a research design framework that encompasses the most appropriate data collection and data analysis methods to enhance the trustworthiness and credibility of the entire research process from inception to the dissemination of findings. Triangulation of various aspects of the research process is one of the early methods that is/has been used to enhance methodological rigour and validity. Triangulation is traditionally associated with positivist deductive reasoning that is concerned with objective discovery of “truth”. The concept of triangulation is borrowed from the disciplines of land survey and navigation to refer to the convergence of two points to locate a single point. For example, the modern day GPS navigational system that is found in most modern cars and cell phones allows drivers to enter specific geographic latitude and longitude lines into their GPS gadget to identify any location on the earth’s surface. The coordinates will lead the driver to their desired geographic location (point). Triangulation has in most instances been used in mixed method research designs in which a qualitative research design serves the purpose of validating quantitative findings or a quantitative approach is used to enhance the credibility of qualitative findings. Thus, triangulation is used to widen the scope of sources of evidence (Babbie & Mouton, 2007).

In the social sciences and humanities, stemming from the positivist and post-positivist worldviews, five triangulation methods are proposed by Denzin (1970; 2009) that may be used to triangulate various aspects of the research process following the aims and objectives of a study and the ontological and epistemic assumptions that underpin the study. These triangulation methods are (1) methodological triangulation, which involves the use of more than one data gathering method, for example, the use of interviews and participant observation in the same study; (2) data analysis triangulation that makes use of more than one data analysis method to analyse the same dataset; (3) theoretical triangulation, in which literature and different theoretical frameworks or models are used to compare, evaluate or reinforce what has been reported on the phenomenon under review; (4) researcher triangulation, that includes more than one researcher working on the same dataset and comparing theirinterpretations and outcomes; and (5) environmental triangulation in which data arecollected from different locations, different times or different seasons (Denzin, 1970; 2009). After triangulating some of these methodological aspects, consistency of researchfindings may contribute towards reinforcing the validity of findings. Should results be inconsistent, for example when findings from different research instruments differ, or when interpretations of the same dataset by multi-researchers do not converge, the researcher may then wish to establish the reason for such variance, the degree of variance and the significance of variance, depending on the nature of a study. In general, positivist and post-positivist-inspired studies might want to make use of triangulation for authentication purposes, establishing rigour, and accounting for bias and validatingconclusions.

However, since the 1970s and 1980s, ongoing debate on the possibilities, limitations and appropriateness of triangulation within the qualitative paradigm continues. Denzin (2012) tracks the methodological developments of triangulation in the social sciences over a 50 year period. He highlights ways in which the interpretive turn at the end of the 1960s brought about a different understanding of triangulation compared to the traditional positivist approach to triangulation. Such differences stem from the different underlying ontological, epistemological, methodological assumptions between quantitative and qualitative paradigms. To recap, the underlying positivist assumption is that there is an objective reality that exists outside of the human perception. Thus a detached, value-free

objective researcher may identify and measure patterns of social interaction. As such, surveys and other highly structured data collection tools are used to collect data from a large representative sample. Such data may be analysed statistically and generalisations of findings may be made. In contrast, the qualitative paradigm suggests that there are multiple worldviews that are constantly changing, thus reality is socially constructed and intersubjective (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). For this reason, it is necessary to establish the meaning that people attach to their social interaction, including their choice/human agency that they contribute to such interaction. As such, the qualitative researcher might make use of, for example, focus groups, observation or in-depth interviews with a much smaller purposefully selected sample who might shed light on the phenomenon under study. Instead of stopping at identifying patterns of behaviour, one might wish to understand the reasons for such behaviour and establish possible consequences of such action. Depending on the nature of study, some might wish to make use of mixedmethods (qualitative and quantitative) for crystallisation purposes. What follows is an explanation of why and how crystallisation is the most appropriate method of enhancing this study's credibility.

3.12.9 Crystallisation and immersion

Definitions of crystallisation and immersion that are in line with this study's deployment of crystallisation and immersion are offered by Deborah J. Cohen & Benjamin F. Crabtree (2006). The scholars clarify that immersion is "a process whereby researchers immerse themselves in the data they've collected by reading or examining some portion of the data in detail" (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006: on line resource with no page numbers). Crystallization on the other hand, "is the process of temporarily suspending the process of examining or reading the data (immersion) to reflect on the analysis experienceand attempt to identify and articulate patterns or themes noticed during the immersion process" (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006: on line resource with no page numbers).

These dual processes continue until all the data have been examined. Possible patterns and claims identified in the data should be well articulated and substantiated. Crystallisation and immersion work together almost in the same manner as a hand and glove. Crystallisation was popularised by interpretive scholars as a way of nudging

investigators to approach their study with an open mind, for the purpose of establishing as many dimensions of a phenomenon as possible. In this study, crystallisation is based on the belief that the researcher is a research instrument through which data are collected, interpreted and analysed (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). The "value laden" researcher is expected to take a step back and reflect on the research process. Thus reflexivity (as described on page 107) contributes to the crystallisation process compared to a detached value free positivist researcher. What makes crystallisation different from triangulation is that triangulation aims to make truth claims. As such, reliability and validity of findings are evaluated according to the degree to which the findings point to the same "truthful" proposition. However, proponents of crystallisation question the idea of "truth claims". They concede that knowledge is situated, contingent and partial (Maree & van der Westhuizen, 2009; Nieuwenhuis, 2010). In the same way that a crystal is formed over time, prolonged field engagement and immersion in data over a lengthy period may contribute towards crystallisation (Henning et al., 2004; Cohen & Crabtree (2006). Such immersion allows a researcher time to develop sensitivity to possible contextual nuances, conflicting and converging ideas as they relate to the research question, thus enhancing reflexive validity. Crystallisation, a metaphor fromcrystals, is believed to establish deeper insight into a phenomenonthan triangulation (Charmaz, 2006). Crystallisation involves looking at the same data set through multiple lenses. In the same way that crystals grow and alter in shape, crystallisation allows for examining a phenomenon from different angles compared to a triangle shape that is synonymous with triangulation. The different colours, shapes and amorphous composition of crystals are synonymous with the possibility of multiple realities as advocated by symbolic interactionists. Denzin and Lincoln (2000:5) use the term "refracted realities" (many points of light) to refer to the many facets of interpretation that may be brought to light from the same dataset. This study dovetails life course interviews and participant observation to evaluate what is being said against what is being observed. The use of more than one data analysis method makes provision for deeper understanding of the phenomenon (Nieuwenhuis, 2010). As mentioned earlier, the study also utilises two data analysis methods, namely, the constant comparison coding method and the feminist intersectionality analysis framework in an effort to examine ways in which the intersection of gender and ageing play out in the everyday practice of caregiving. As per the grounded theory methodology, reflexivity and

memo- writing may enhance the possibility of reaching *verstehen* based on the unique reality and identity of participants.

At the time of this study, the concept of crystallisation continues to evolve. In recent years, Laura Ellingson (2009) has metamorphosed the concept of crystallisation within the qualitative paradigm by developing what others have identified as probably the first methodological framework of crystallisation in the social sciences (Ronald Cugno & Kathy Thomas (2009). Ellington's (2009) book entitled "Engaging crystallisation in qualitative research" offers researchers steps for planning, designing and executing her approach to crystallisation. Ellingson's (2009) framework is based on the principals of social constructivism, interpretivism and post-modernism whilst being underscored by feminist ideology. Whilst Ellingson does not discard traditional scholastic report writing and dissemination of findings, she identifies two crystallisation variants that she refers to as "integrative" and "dendritic" crystallisation. Integrative crystallisation involves the researcher piecing together different elements of data into one coherent form, for example a book or a work of art. Dendritic crystallisation refers to the on-going interpretation and validation of data by using multiple ways of knowing/epistemologies. Thus Jimmie Manning (2010) describes Ellingson's methodology as "[crystallised] vision and analysis that combines science with art" (Manning, 2010:456). Manning (2010:456) notes similarities between Ellingson's crystallisation framework with Daly's (2007) approach to crystallisation when he cites Daly (2007:1) who states that:

> "Although we uphold a tradition of keeping art and science separate, art and science are inseparable when we do qualitative research. . . It is as important to be creative as it is to be analytical, to be passionate as well as reasoned, to feel as well as to think, and to arouse while offering explanation" (Daly, 2007:1) cited in (Manning, 2010:456).

One will note that Ellingson'sintegrative and dendritic crystallisation concepts have long been described and advocated by feminist scholars although not labelled as such. Some of these feminist approaches to crystallisation are described by Cook & Fonow (1990). However, these various feminist approaches have not been consolidated into a methodological framework for the social sciences and humanities, as has been done by Ellingson (2009). Cugno &Thomas (2009), who also peer reviewed Ellingson's (2009) book, conclude that "Not everyone is fluent in multiple genres, it presently lacks peer

recognition as an acceptable methodological approach, and the community must be open minded and willing to appreciate a wide-range [sic] of representations" (Cugno & Thomas, 2009:114). Ellingson notes that her crystallisation framework that offers a radical departure from traditional crystallisation has limitations. Such limitations include the possibility that crystallisation that is guided by multiple/overlapping frameworks from the arts and social sciences mightnot be easily understood by everyone and there is the possibility that depth and breadth of representation might be lost in interpretation. In addition, she believes that herframework should be understood with an open mind. Appeal for "open mindedness" might suggest that whilst her crystallisation framework might appear simple to execute, itmight require prior preparation as one straddles across paradigmatic boundaries. In this study, the crystallisation process included stepping away from the study for a couple of days and returning to the data analysis using a fresh eye. Reflexivity that was enhancedby memo writing is explained next (Cook & Fonow, 1986, 1990; Fonow & Cook, 1991b; Charmaz, 2006).

3.12.10 Memo-writing during data analysis

Memo-writing for this study included journaling both analytical and methodological thoughts and decisions that were made during the entire research process. Although Charmaz (2006:80) recommends memo-writing throughout the research process, she makes a distinction between two types of memoranda. She refers to as ''early memos" (Charmaz, 2006:80) to record what seems to be happening in the data. These early memoranda contribute to the construction of codes and help to direct the next cycle of data collection. The second type of memoranda that Charmaz (2006:81) refers to as ''advanced memos'' (Charmaz, 2006:81) serves the purpose of describing ways in which categories emerge and recording comparisons between the categories. Memo writing at this stage also helps to define emerging patterns (Alison Tweed and Kathy Charmaz, 2011). Other scholars including Babbie & Mouton (2001), Lora Bex Lempert (2007) and Corbin & Strauss (2008) have elaborated on additional types of memoranda that a researcher could use to record thoughts and epiphanies throughout the various stages of the research process. The spectrum of memoranda include: observational memoranda for recording field observations; textual memoranda, for describing what a researcher thinks is going on and why they choose a specific labelfor codes; conceptual memoranda

for recording thoughts on categories and possible relationship between categories as they emerge and operational memoranda for recording follow up questions that may be posed to a theoretical sample whilst saturatingcategories during data analysis. In this study, “QDA Miner” Lite data analysis software that was used for data analysis has a facility to record the development of codes and categories. The researcher reflected on the emerging conceptual propositions andcompared what was emerging during data analysis with literature reports (advanced memoranda). In addition, reflections on the strengths and weaknesses of lifecourse interviews and participant observation methods as they pertain to the studywere recorded. Memo-writing has typically been used as a chain of evidence/audit trail, in an effort of enhancing trustworthiness and credibility. Such logical record of detours that are encountered during the research process contribute towards deeper understanding of the research context. In the case of this study, findings were constructed through engaging in intersectional analysis of data and the constant comparison data analysis method to a point of theoretical sufficiency as described next.

3.12.11 Theoretical saturation/theoretical sufficiency

Glaser & Strauss (1967) stress that grounded theory outcomes are provisional and open to further analysis and interpretation. As data analysis and theoretical sampling continues and tentative theoretical concepts remain intact without needing further refinement, theoretical sufficiency of categories would have been reached albeit provisionally (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Theoretical saturation is one key area where grounded theory methodology differs from conventional qualitative methodologies. Traditional theoretical saturation occurs when a researcher interviews many participants until new participants no longer introduce new insights and concepts. At that point, the researcher may stop collecting further data. Charmaz (2012) comments that when the same questions continue to be asked, a researcher might believe that they have reached theoretical saturation. However, in grounded theory, saturation is referred to as theoretical sufficiency (Marshall & Rossman, 2011:220). Theoretical sufficiency is reached only after a researcher has evaluated emerging theoretical concepts against theoretical sample and literature input. Should the emerging theoretical concepts no longer need further alteration after input from the theoretical sample or after a relook at existing data, then saturation of concepts may have been reached (Charmaz, 2006, 2012). Others have

critiqued grounded theory's theoretical sufficiency method as being too subjective. Dey (1999), cited by Charmaz (2006:114), questions whether the concept of sufficiency is simply not a way that grounded theorists manage data collection. Theoretical sufficiency is made possible through reflexivity and active reasoning strategies such as abductive reasoning (Charmaz, 2006) that was described earlier. In this study, such theoretical sufficiency was enhanced by theoretical sensitivity as explained next.

3.12.12 Theoretical sensitivity

Corbin & Strauss (2015:78) define the concept of "theoretical sensitivity" as "[having] insights and being tuned into and being able to pick up on relevant issues, events,and happenings during collection and analysis of the data" (Corbin & Strauss, 2015:78). One will note that various scholars offer different strategies for cultivating theoretical sensitivity depending on the nature of a study and the epistemological assumptionsof a study. Some of the strategies for cultivating theoretical sensitivity may include a researcher drawing on her/his past experience or professional experience with the phenomenon, a researcher's level of curiosity and intuition, questioning, reviewing literature for sensitising purposes, memo writing, and crystallisation to enhance theoretical sensitivity (Charmaz, 2006). Theoretical sensitivity may also be enhanced by identifying relationships between categories (Glaser, 1978). In this studyglobal and regional literature contributed towards enhancing theoretical sensitivity. To avoid imposing the researcher's preconceptions during the early stages of the study, the researcher was careful not to immerse herself in studies based specifically in Zimbabwe. Instead, empirical studies from Zimbabwe were consulted in depth at a later stage during the data analysis phase.

3.12.13 Limitations of data analysis in this study

Data analysis for life-course narratives is time-consuming. Interpretation of transcripts is challenging as interpretation is open to different perspectives. Some make use of respondent validation but Glaser (2005a, 2005b) cautions that respondent validation may also be challenging considering that the process of abstraction may result in a substantive theory that participants might not easily understand (Glaser, 2005a, 2005b). Glaser (2002:25) clarifies that "[GT] is generated from much data, of which many participants may be empirically unaware… GT is not their voice: it is a generated abstraction from their doings and their meanings that are taken as data for the conceptual generation" (Glaser, 2002:25). Reflexivity is important as the researcher has to remain cognitive of her (the researcher's) own assumptions and account for such through a research journal. Some of these pitfalls may be minimised through the use of thick description of the research setting (Geertz, 1973). The above data analysis discussion also highlighted some of the possibilities and limitations of crystallisation including recent developments that aim to extend the traditional understanding of crystallisation in qualitative studies. Symbolic interactionism that guides this study suggests that knowledge is socially constructed, partial and always open to different interpretation. As such, in this section, the process of abduction that facilitates making sense of confusing concepts was described. In this study, the researcher made use of observational memoranda and conceptual memoranda to enhance reflexivity. Reflexivity is one of the many aspectsthat contribute towards enhancing the research integrity and overall quality of theresearch process. All components of the research process contribute towards enhancingthe quality of the case study as explained next.

3.13. Research quality/trustworthiness/authenticity

All studies, whether quantitative or qualitative, use various quality evaluation strategies to ensure credibility of the research process. This includes paying attention to the research question and carefully considering the potential implications of a study. The logicbehind evaluating for credibility between qualitative and quantitative researchers differs. Quantitative scholars are concerned about the precision of their inquiry to ensure that they measure or test precisely what is intended, including the certainty of their research

findings for possible replication depending on the nature of the study. Some scholars commonly use various quantification models to verify the reliability, objectivity, internal and external validity as well as the generalisability of their study. The positivist researcher is expected to maintain a “distance” to avoid influencing the research “subjects” and research findings. On the other hand, post-positivist qualitative scholars speak of “trustworthiness” (rigour) and “authenticity” (external validity) of qualitative and naturalistic inquiry. Thus, some scholars including Henning et al. (2004:146) and Creswell (2014:201-204) suggest that it is apt for a researcher to highlight some of the research elements that contribute towards the evaluation of a study including the acceptability of findings. To address the issue of authenticity and trustworthiness, Lincoln& Guba (1989) suggest five categories of authenticity criteria, namely fairness authenticity, educational authenticity, ontological authenticity, catalytic authenticity and tactical authenticity, each criterion serving a specific purpose as explained in Table 3 on page 138. The quality criteria that was used by Glaser and Strauss (1967), the originatorsof grounded theory, are “fitness, workability, relevance and modifiability”. Charmaz(2006:182) on the other hand suggests that criteria for various grounded studies may differ based on various factors that include disciplinary standards, faculty requirements, the nature of a study, the intended audience, the usefulness of a study, the research process and outcome amongst other criteria. She provides three examples of criteria, namely credibility, originality, and resonance and usefulness to account for an “[empirical] study and development of the theory” (Charmaz, 2006:183). However, she clarifies that other quality evaluation considerations might include how well a research narrative is written and how compelling a researcher’s interpretation is conveyed amongst other scientific rationale that portray what is meaningful and valuable about that substance areaof study.

When one considers the diverse nature of the qualitative paradigm, for example, ethnography, phenomenology, symbolic interactionism, amongst others, it becomes imperative to make use of the most appropriate trustworthiness criteria that are congruent with a research question. In spite of the variety of trustworthiness criteria which have been used by various studies, Guba (1981) explains that the overall purpose of “trustworthiness” is to address “applicability concerns”, “truth value concerns”, “integrity concerns” and “consistency concerns”. The dimensions of trustworthiness that are presented by Guba & Lincoln (1989) are: (1) credibility (in place of internal validity); (2)

transferability (in place of external validity); (3) dependability (in place of reliability) and (4) conformability (in place of objectivity). For example, depending on the nature of a research question, a phenomenologist who adopts Edmund Husserl's (1913 reprinted 1931) descriptive phenomenology, aims to describe and present the state of "real life situations as is" – suggesting that quality criteria should be contextually situated. As such, they might develop a framework to assess trustworthiness that includes descriptive validity, descriptive adequacy, pragmatic validity and neutrality (bracketing) of the researcher's assumptions to mention a few quality evaluation strategies. Their findings are commonly reported as rich descriptions (not interpretations) of the lived experiences of participants. In comparison, Martin Heidegger's (1927 reprinted 2011) interpretive phenomenology takes a step further by not only describing, but also by explaining what could be happening in that particular context, based on participants' interpretation of what it means to be in that context. As such, interpretive researchers might incorporate quality criteria such as reciprocity validity, empathetic validity, reflexive validity, communicative validity and confirmability to name a few disciplinary informed indicators. The dimensions/markers of each criterion will be clearly laid out. Instead of bracketing as advocated by Husserl's approach (Fidéla Fouché, 1993), interpretive phenomenologists might account for researcher subjectivity. Indicators of trustworthiness might include, for example, how well researcher subjectivity is revealed, accounted for and incorporated into argument formation, as opposed to how well researcher subjectivity is controlled as per the positivists' approach. Figure 7 illustrates a few common expressions of rigour across three research orientations, namely, positivism, post-positivism and interpretivism.

Positivism	Post-positivism	Interpretivism
Internal validity	Credibility	Fairness
External validity	Transferability	Authenticity
Reliability	Dependability	Meaning
Objectivity	Confirmability	Co-construction

Figure 7: Comparison of alternative criteria for trustworthiness

Adapted from: Susan L. Morrow (2005)

Table 3 on page 138 highlights the key quality dimensions and practical steps thatthis study took to fulfil the various quality assurance criteria. As this qualitative study is guided by the symbolic interaction worldview, Susan Morrow's (2005) interpretivist quality assurance criteria are most appropriate for addressing this study's research question. Morrow's (2005) criteria include "fairness", "authenticity", "meaning" and "co-construction". It is important to note that, although decisions are made to enhance the quality of a research process, it does not necessarily mean that the decisions are the best decisions. Thus the importance of a research journal to record and explain the rationale behind each decision. Table 3 tabulates the dimensions of this study's authenticity strategies and the practical steps that were taken to buttress this study's trustworthiness and authenticity.

Table 3: Framework for quality evaluation criteria of this study

Criterion	Purpose of criterion	Practical steps to fulfil criteria
Fairness	Based on the interpretivist worldview that guides this study, the fairness criterion demands that all possible viewpoints, conflicts, values and issues of representation should be acknowledged and accounted for without prejudice. This includes addressing issues of inclusiveness and other procedural fairness, integrity and ethical issues. It is important to reflect on ways in which the socio-cultural-economic-political environment in participants' context might affect their participation. The researcher took stock of her personal characteristics that she brought to the research setting by considering ways in which her demenour, gender or dress code could influence the nature of interaction between herself and participants and their community. One may note that the "fairness" criteria is also closely linked to feminists' ethics of reciprocity. Reciprocity was advanced by Oakley (1981) as one of feminists' tenets of a give-and-take research process that benefits both the researcher and the participants.	- Justification of inclusion & exclusion sample criteria - A pilot study to help assess the fairness of research instruments & methods that will be used. - Thick description of research setting to illuminate contextual issues that could possibly hamper fair participation. - Prolonged engagement in the field and bridling reflexive strategy to refrain from making pre-mature unfair interpretations. - Respondent validation - at the beginning and end of each interview, participants were asked to verify the essence of that day's interview. - Researcher should make explicit, her own interpretation of the emerging social patterns. - The researcher should be mindful of potential ethical dilemmas that may be inherent in reciprocal relationships (Fonow & Cook, 2005; MCormick, 2012).
Authenticity	Findings should be grounded in empirical data on hand. Guba & Lincoln (1989) five categories of authenticity criteria should be used. These are the:- • Ontological authenticity criteria that is concerned with establishing from participants and the researcher, whether the study deepened their insight or added value to their understanding of the phenomenon under study. • Tactical authenticity asks whether others trust the study enough to act on the findings (for example, contribute towards social policy drafting). • The educative authenticity opens up new kinds of dialogue and raises new questions based on participants' sharing their experiences. This strategy is almost similar to Paulo Freire's (1973) "conscientisation" concept that encourages learning about ourselves and others for the purpose of raising questions about taken for granted social arrangements. • Catalytic authenticity refers to the praxis dimensions of authenticity. It addresses issues of resonance after others read the findings.	- Building trust & rapport with participants possibly discourages superficial interaction. - Exploring as many facets as possible of the phenomenon and comparing discrepant caseswith confirming cases. - A research diary to record the research process, from inception to completion. - Providing a thick description of research setting. - Recording why specific methods were chosen over others and providing a logical record of any changes in the direction of the research. Strengths and weaknesses of research design will be explained. - Chain of evidence/traceability will be supported by two audit trail diagrams of (i) the chronological research steps and (ii) the relationships between emerging categories. - Response from participants about their experience during and after the study will contribute towards ontological and tactical educative authenticity. - Catalytic authenticity will be addressed through the disseminating of findings to appropriate academic fora and promoting discussion of the topic ofinquiry through journal articles and participants of the study.

Criterion	Purpose of criterion	Practical steps to fulfil criteria
Meaning	In this study the quality criterion of "meaning" is concerned with the subjective meaning thatpeople place on behaviours, events, objects/artifacts amongst other social constructs, based on what each individual believes is true. Therefore, the idea is to ensure adequacy of possible explanations. With reference to this study, the criterion of "meaning" is guided by Max Weber's erklärendes verstehen that translates to "explanatory understanding". Thus meaning will be sought by describing the "understanding" (verstehen) instead of simply describing social action (Neuman, 1997). It is important to capture the subjective meaning that participants assign to their actions. The researcher's interpretation will be open to further interpretation.	- Sensitising concepts scaffold this study. As the study progressed, meaning of concepts wassought from participants. - Respondent validation immediately after each interview and at the beginning of subsequent interviews. - Recursive data collection / data analysis/ recruitment of theoretical sample enhanced clarity of meaning. - Reflexivity, journal that explains why and how decisions were made. - Abductive reasoning strategy directed researcher to the most plausible explanations as the researcher worked towards theoretical sufficiency. - Triangulating of data collection method. - Triangulating of data analysis methods.
Co-construction	Co-construction manifests in various forms such as "participatory action research", "co-design", "activism"; to name a few community-engaged research strategies. Participants are in some cases referred to as research informants, co-seekers, co-researchers; depending on a study, as participants might collaborate with researchers at various levels. Regardless of the extent of collaboration between researcher and participants, the objective of co-construction is its transformative potential when scholarship/theory and praxis are combined for social change.	- Respondent validation sought immediately after each interview and at the beginning of subsequent interview. - However, Glaser (2002: 25) clarifies that, "[GT] is generated from much data, of which many participants may be empirically unaware… GT is not their voice: it is a generated abstraction from their doings and their meanings that are taken as data for the conceptual generation". - With Glaser's explanation in mind, the substantive theory that emerges from the data is the researcher's construction/interpretation of the participants' agency, actions, response and contributions.

3.14 Pilot study

Although debate on the need for pilot studies in qualitative research is ongoing, Jamie Harding (2013) suggests that pilot studies are useful for novice researchers. Some do not see value in pilot studies for qualitative studies as they argue that, as studies progress, researchers may refine their research approach (Immy Holloway, 1997). Pilot studies may serve various purposes. In this study, a pilot study served the purpose of refining the research instrument and building researcher confidence (Yin, 2014). A pilot study with one male and one female helped this study to identify any possible pitfalls and ambiguity that could be embedded in the research design. A pilot study also served as a means of mitigation risk as explained next.

3.14.1 Risk mitigation strategy

Other scholars have suggested that some older people who are not used to being interviewed might experience anxiety about giving the correct answers. The researcher explained to participants that there were no wrong or right answers. Had the researcher sensed that participants were uncomfortable with sharing some aspects of their lives, the researcher would have abandoned that line of questioning. If it was appropriate, the research would have established the reason for the discomfort or selected other willing participants. It has been reported that women and girls are the primary caregivers amongst Zimbabwean society. If indeed this is the case, perhaps the experience of being assigned caregiving responsibility could have conjured unpleasant recollections among participants who might have felt that they never had a choice in taking up care work. The researcher of this study was sensitive towards the possibility of exposing participants to possible secondary victimisation. If the issue of caregiving had caused discomfort or embarrassment to the detriment of participants, without causing further discomfort, the researcher would have established possible reasons for the discomfort and either revised the study or would have recruited other participants who were not adversely affected by discussing their personal experiences of ageing and caregiving. Arrangements were in place to refer participants (with their permission) who could have expressed distress, to the Christian Counselling Centre in Harare (addendum 5 on page261). The counsellors at The Christian Counselling Centre offer psychological support to anyone regardless of religious affiliation. The researcher is aware of possible secondary/vicarious trauma that is known to afflict some people who have listened to other people's painful stories. Although the researcher was mentally prepared, the researcher would have consulted counsellors at the Christian Counselling Centre had she felt the need to do so.

3.15 Confidentiality and anonymity

Whilst the concepts of confidentiality and anonymity work hand in hand, there is a clear distinction between the two concepts. The concept of confidentiality refers to the absolute assurance that participants' contributions and any other personal information will remain strictly private between the researcher/research team and the participant to protect the participant (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). The information that is contributed by the

participants should only be used for the study purposes stipulated in the informed concept document without divulging the source. As such, this study did not include participants who needed to have either a family member, friend, neighbour or associate present during interviews. Third parties might have breached confidentiality. Anonymity refers to ensuring that participants' input may not be traced to the participants. For the purpose of maintaining anonymity, participants' identification, location and those people who are mentioned by participants were disguised by using pseudonyms (Strydom, 2011). The digital voice recorders and computer used in this study was password encrypted. Data were kept by the researcher of this study in a safe under lockand key. The transcribed data with pseudonyms were stored in a password protected database that is only accessed by the researcher and supervisors.

3.16 Time frame of this study

The researcher met with each participants for one hour interviews. The spacing of interviews helped to reduce participant attrition. After the initial data analysis, subsequent interviews were sought to clarify and refine emerging categories or tentative interpretations, thus questions differed. Also, it was important to ensure that participants had a fair chance of narrating their stories. The researcher allocated three months for data collection and data analysis that was interspaced with theoretical sampling as directed by emerging categories. As explained earlier, a further theoretical sample was recruited until the point of theoretical sufficiency.

3.17 Limitation of this research design

As this qualitative case study makes use of life course narratives, findings may not be generalised to the rest of the Zimbabwean population but may offer insight into the nature of giving and receiving care as experienced by participants. Another limitation is that this qualitative study believes that it is necessary to empirically examine the nexusof gender and caregiving in managing population aging. However, as explained by Denzin(1992), it is very challenging to prove correlations in qualitative studies compared with validity that is "proved" via the use of appropriate statistical analysis. Thus, this study contributes towards situated knowledges that offer alternative understanding of what ageing and caregiving means to some Harare pensioners in light of the reported population ageing.

3.18 Dissemination of information

With reference to presenting the findings to the participants, Charmaz (2014) explains that emerging theory "[depends] on the researcher's view; it does not and cannot stand outside of it…" (Charmaz, 2014:239). Charmaz's suggestion is echoed by Glaser (2002: 25) who argues that:

> Inviting participants to review the theory for whether or not it is their voice is wrong as a "check" or "test" on validity. They may or may not understand the theory, or even like the theory if they do understand it. Many do not understand the summary benefit of concepts that go beyond description to a transcending bigger picture. GT is generated from much data, of which many participants may be empirically unaware. GT is applicable to the participants as an explanation of the preponderance of their ongoing behaviour which is how they are resolving their main concern, which they may not be aware of conceptually, if at all. It is just what they do! GT is not their voice: it is a generated abstraction from their doings and their meanings that are taken as data for the conceptual generation. (Glaser, 2002: 25)

With Glaser's (2002) assertion in mind, the researcher sat down with each participant during the initial informed consent phase to explain the study process and interpretation of data. At the end of the study, the researcher verbally discussed her findings with participants. The researcher reminded participants of the anonymity and confidential nature of their contribution. The dissertation will be available in the university library for academic purposes. The study might also possibly be presented in an academic journal or at academic conferences.

3.19 Conclusion of research design

This section, Chapter 3 clarified this case study's research design. The design scheme is underpinned by the symbolic interaction worldview that is influenced by a feminist ideology. Feminist's influences pay attention to the possible implications of gender in any situation (Oakley, 1981; Linda Thompson, 1992). This chapter also presented the theoretical, ideological, and paradigmatic details that underpin this study in to address the research question. Such details were collated into a case study protocol illustrated in Table 1 on page 83. The protocol specifies the case study's boundaries. Itwas also explained that the constructivist grounded theory methodological approach was most appropriate for executing this study. Thus methodological tools and strategies suchas the

sampling methods, research methods and the research instruments were clarified. Justification for the purposive sampling method was provided including some ofthe known limitations of such strategy. In addition, the data analysis process that makes use of the constant comparison data analysis method was described. The intersectional analytic lens that is described in this section is useful for data crystallisation purposes. Issues of reflexivity, bias, research quality, risk mitigation, amongst other ethical considerations were discussed for the purpose of illustrating the pathway that contributed to the interpretations of findings that are presented next.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

To recap, Chapter 1 provided the contextual background in which this study is based. In that chapter it was explained that the reported population ageing necessitates an investigation of how care is distributed in some urban areas in Zimbabwe. Chapter 2 was a scoping literature review and conceptual framework. The literature review and conceptual framework contributed towards identifying appropriate conceptual tools and methodologies to address the research question. The literature suggests that in Zimbabwe, the assumption is that families are expected to take care of their ageing family members. First, this study notes that literature on the ageing experience and providing elderly care in an urban setting in contemporary Zimbabwe is limited. Yet, there has been a steady migration from rural areas to the cities. If people are reported tobe living longer, what are some of the care arrangements that are in place for those whohave lived and worked in Harare? Second, it is well reported that women are the primarycaregivers of the young and the old. In the same breath, women are also reported as the most vulnerable to poverty and disease in old age (Zimbabwe Census Report, 2012). In this regard, Chapter 3 presented the case study's research design and methodology. The case study protocol guided this qualitative study to set boundaries in exploring the possible interconnections between caregiving, ageing and gender by drawing from the life course narratives of men and women who have lived long enough to reflect on their life experience. In depth life course interviews were conductedwith ten purposefully selected participants aged 60 and above who have experience in giving and receiving care. The deployment of Kathy Charmaz's (2006) constructivist grounded theory methodology that is underpinned by symbolic interactionism facilitated simultaneous data collection, constant comparative data analysis, and theoretical sampling to a point of theoretical sufficiency. Propositions from various feminists' care conceptual frameworks (Gilligan, 1982, 1989; England, 2005; Calasanti & Bonanno, 1986; Calasanti, 1996; Robinson, 2011; Selma Sevenhuijsen, Vivienne Bozalek, AmandaGouws, Marie Minnaar-McDonald, 2003) and feminist gender theoretical frameworks (Raewyn Connell, 1982; 1995; 2001; Butler, 1990; 2004; Crenshaw, 1993; Hill Collins, 2000, 2019; Yuval-Davis, 2006a, 2006b,

2015; McCall, 2005, 2009) facilitated the conceptualisation of ways in which gender manifests at various points in one's life course in the context of care. Whilst the life course theoretical framework offeredtools for conceptualising life transitions and care trajectories, the theoretical framework did not offer adequate conceptual tools for framing the cosmic and spiritual worldviews that some participants associate with caring for the living, the dead and those yet to be born. As such, the study consulted scholarship from indigenous knowledge systems (John S. Mbiti, 1990; Nwafor, 2017), particularly systems that offer insight into some of the various ethnicities that are grouped under the umbrella label of "Shona people" (Pascah Mungwini, 2017). This chapter, Chapter 4 presents the findings of the study. Two key findings seem to operate in tandem in influencing the construction of eldercare in the context of participants in this study. These two key findings are:-

First, there is no single caregiver. Elder care is a shared family responsibility. "Class struggle" and not "gender struggle" is the most appropriate way of describing the social relations that underpin the family care network in this study. Factors that have bearing on who has more influence in decision-making are (a) family birth order; (b) the economic standing of individual family members and (c) gender of caregivers and care recipient.

The second key finding is that some of the actions and behaviours that are associated with elder care are based on cultural belief systems which should not be overlooked. This study identified dimensions of "caring masculinities" and "caring femininities" that the researcher refers to as "uber-caring senior femininities" (UCSF) and "uber-caring senior masculinities" (UCSM). The study notes that the trajectory of ageing and retirement is intrinsically linked to prevailing economic systems of production that are associated with urban living.

From a methodological point of insight, this study recognises the possibility of plural epistemologies and cosmovisions (Sousa Santos, 2018) that require one to identify localised and particular ways of knowing (Reinharz, 1992; Fonow & Cook, 1991a; 1991b; 2005; Yuval-Davis, 2015). Failing to present the phenomenon of elder care from the epistemological perspective of participants is tantamount to "epistemicide", a concept that is credited to sociologist Sousa Santos (2018:8) or "epistemic violence" that refers to the process of othering (Spivak, 1988). Sousa Santos (2018:8) defines "epistemicide" as "[the

destruction] of an immense variety of ways of knowing…" (Sousa Santos, 2018:8). As such, scholarship from cultural heritage studies and indigenous knowledge studies offered conceptual handles that facilitated the framing of some of the worldviews that some participants associate with family, ageing and providing care. Symbolic interactionism suggests that experiences are created in situ. As such the findings include some of the situational factors that participants interact with as they give and receive care.

4.1.1 How the findings are presented in this chapter

Creswell (2003) explains that one of the purposes of framing a study within a specific research paradigm is to shed light on the rhetorical assumptions of a specific research design. Rhetorical assumption refers to how specific research designs that are informed by specific research paradigms approach their report writing style and dissemination of findings. As such, the presentation of "Findings" in this chapter is interspersed with aspects from extant literature to either highlight contradictions or to corroborate this study's emerging theoretical concepts as per Charmaz's (2006:166) constructivist grounded theory methodology. What follows is an explanation of findings. Each finding is made up of interrelated sub-themes. An explanation will be provided on how each finding contributes towards addressing the aims and objectives of this study. The findings are divided into the following segments:

- Participants' conceptualising of care
- Defining the family
- Finding one – family care network
- Finding two - cultural dimensions in caregiving sphere
- Finding three - retirement as a foreign concept
- Conclusion
- Essence of study

The initial explanation of the conceptualisation of "care" and the conceptualisation of "family" helps to place into perspective, the reason behind some of activities and attitudes that participants associate with care. Such findings contribute towards meeting this study's aims & objectives (a) and (b) that intend to identify and describe the nature of elder care that is being provided within families. For this reason, it is necessary to understand

participants' emic views[40] on the concepts of "care" and "family" instead of the researcher imposing her own views or to impose etic views[41] from literature. For ease of reference, the study's objectives are listed below:-

Aims and objectives

(a) To identify the nature of elderly care that is being provided within families in Harare.
(b) To describe the nature of elderly care that is being provided within families in Harare.
(c) To establish any possible benefits, burdens and inequalities between men and women that might possibly exist in the context of caregiving.
(d) To interpret the social relations that are implicated at the intersection of gender, caregiving, and indicators of quality of life based on participants' life course narratives.
(e) To propose new ways of thinking about social citizenship from the perspective of participants of this study

4.2 Participants' conceptualising of care

4.2.1 Participants' definition of the concept of care

The overall definition of elder care may be defined as reciprocating through various ways, the love that family members (young, old and departed family members) share as they journey through life. Drawing on participants' narratives, the word "reciprocal" and "innate" were mentioned the most after participants were asked how they would define elder care. Caring for elders is viewed as a natural part of life. Caring is also associated with continuity of life, thus participants view it as an innate human quality. The constant comparative data analysis method was used to identify variation of care dimensions from the interview excerpts. The study noted that the multifaceted concepts of care that were identified might appear as isolated concepts but these concepts are interconnected. The concepts gave insight into *who* receives care in a family setting; *who* provides care (care roles); *how* the care is distributed (process); *what* care consists of (the structure) and *why* the care is approached as done in each family unit. These dimensions of care contributed to the overall meaning of care, based on participants' narratives. The variations of care

[40] "[an emic] perspective attempts to capture participants' indigenous meanings of real-world events" (Yin, 2010:11).
[41] "etic viewpoint studies behavior as from outside of a particular system" (Kenneth Pike, 1967:37).

were grouped to reflect commonalities and differences in family care provision. The major commonalities that define the concept of family care, based on participants' narratives, are (1) the caregiver role; (2) the needs of the care recipient; (3)relationships between family members; (4) the resources available and (5) the cosmic and spiritual worldview that binds family relationships. Two participants mentioned that their church does not allow them to observe indigenous belief systems that are associatedwith ancestral connections. The dimensions of these interrelated care concepts are explained next.

4.2.2 Variety of caregiver roles

Four interdependent types of caregiver roles were identified. These four types serve various instrumental, economic, emotional, physical and spiritual purposes that contribute towards the distribution of elder care. It appears that these caregiving roles are not cast in stone but serve specific pragmatic purposes. Family members may occupy any of these roles at any given time.

The first family caregiver role that this study will refer to as the "hands-on" caregiver role involves hands-on practical care activities such as cooking, laundry and assisting a family elder with companionship amongst other instrumental daily living activities. The nature of assistance that is offered is dependent on the personal needs and the physical state of the care recipient. Figure 8 on page 149 illustrates the care roles that were identified in this study. Although the care role assigned to the "living dead" is depicted in Figure 8, two participants report that their church does not allow them to identify with indigenous spiritual belief systems associated with ancestral connections.

Overall, the value system that participants observe expects a person who is younger, regardless of gender, to perform mundane household tasks such as cleaning, sweeping or gardening instead of assigning those duties to the family elder. A brief newspaper article by Kim Chakanetsa (2017) titled "Growing up in Zimbabwe - Dos and Don'ts", [online - BBC Focus on Africa] describes the reverence for elders that is ingrained in the social etiquette that is observed by most of the ethnicities in Zimbabwe.

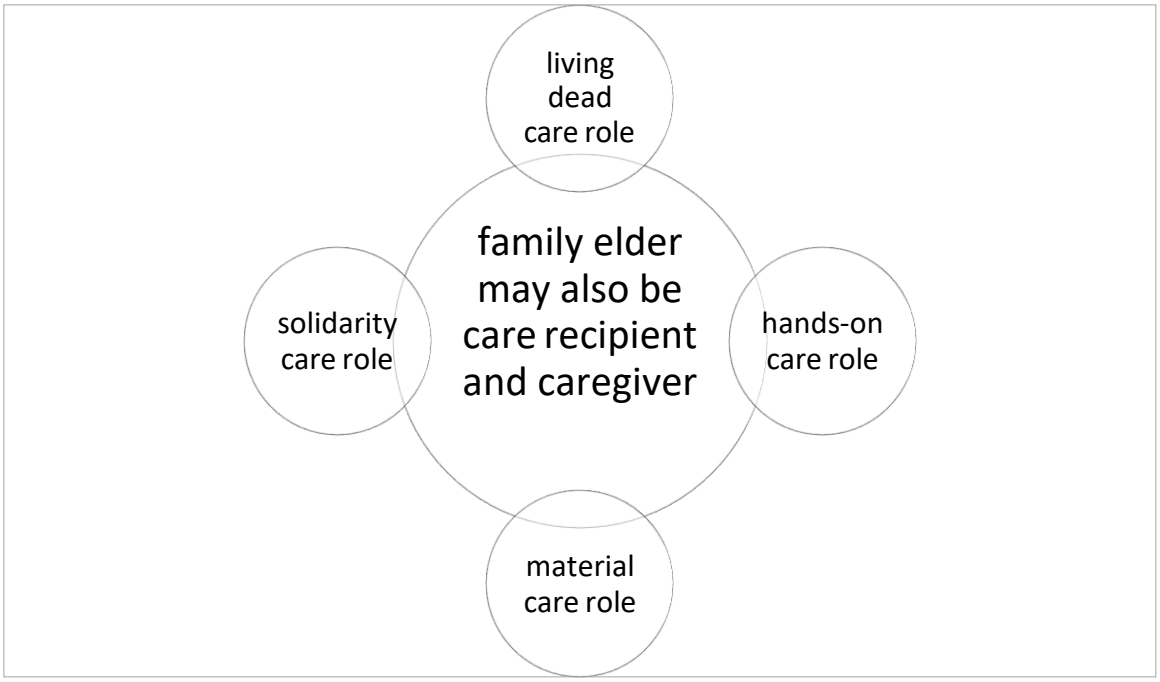


Figure 8: Caregiver roles identified in this study

The second family caregiver role that this study will refer to as the "material caregiver" role is associated with care that is expressed in the form of material resources such as money, food parcels and, in some cases, hiring of paid caregivers to assist with the instrumental daily activities such as cleaning, cooking and gardening for the care recipient. Drawing from participants' narratives, it seems that before Zimbabwe experienced an economic downturn, the role of material caregiver correlated closely with the level of educational attainment of family members. When the economy was thriving, a professional or technical skills qualification seemed to correlate with employment opportunity and income. The income enabled the material caregivers in this study to extend their material support to their parents, uncles and in some instances grandparents. All the participants in this study occupied the material caregiver role at various points in their lives. In recent years, the material caregiver role seems to be associated with any family member who has some form of income, regardless of educational attainment or professional qualification. Participants lamented that some of their adult children have various educational and technical qualifications under their belt yet they could not secure employment in Zimbabwe because of the stagnant economy. This study realised that participants' lament on the lack of employment opportunities tie in with reports on

Zimbabwe's 85% unemployment status (Silas L. Rusvingo, 2014). In 1981, Zimbabwe only had one institution of higher learning, the University of Zimbabwe. The irony is that, after Zimbabwe gained its independence from British rule, 13 additional state universities, 13 technical colleges (polytechnics) including additional vocational training centres have been established (Sifelani Tsiko, 2018) but the economy has not grown at the same pace. Educational attainment has outpaced economic and industrial growth. The lack of opportunities for citizens to earn a living from what one participant, Ms Munyu referred to as "zvipo zvavo" (God given talents), are the "signs of our times" as lamented by the rest of the participants. The sense of despair that was expressed by all the participants was almost tangible, yet at the same time they all exuded a sense of resilience and compassionate endurance. Upon reflection, the researcher realised that their despair directs one's attention to the relationship between care, human dignity and economic injustice (class struggle) as will be explained in the Discussion Section. Their despair also points to what this cohort values the most – their families. Some of the propositions from the feminist ethics of care theory (Gilligan, 1982; 1989; Robinson, 2011; Gouws, 2016) offer insight into the moral and political value of care within the civil society framework. Thus, Sevenhuijsen et al. (2003:299) propose that "[care] should be positioned in notions of citizenship rather than family or community. In this way, the responsibility for care would be deprivatised and made a common concern, centrally placed in human life." Whilst Sevenhuijsen et al.'s (2003:299) propositions offer suggestions that encourage legislators to view care as a social citizenship moral responsibility, participants in this study already have their own indigenous ethical value systems that seem to have been overshadowed in the shift towards urbanisation, industrial capitalism and neo liberalism. For example, Mr Samanyika explained that part of the traditional care ethos and food security system in the indigenous rural set-up involves the ethical/moral practice known as *zunde ramambo* (king/chief's granary). This practice involves community members who fall under the jurisdiction of a specific chief to agree upon a specific day of the week to work on communal land as a community. The harvest from that communal land is recorded by community members who are elected by the community and handed over to the chief. The chief then stores the harvest and distributes the harvest to those who have fallen on hard times. This communal food storage would also be distributed amongst the elderly in the community and the general community during periods of famine. Such practicein the

indigenous rural setting suggests “de-privatisation” of care. The practice is also suggestive of a communal sense of responsibility that is expressed through communal food security initiatives. Although the *zunde ramambo* is still practised at Mr Samanyika’s rural home, this study notes that John Ringson (2017) reports that participants in his study in Gutu, Zimbabwe, reported that, for various political reasons, the practice of *zunde ramambo* is no longer practised in that area. Ringson (2017) discusses how the *zunde ramambo* care system has either been eroded or reconfigured through various “development” or political interventions that have submerged traditional practices.

Some of the indigenous social practices and value systems that were mentioned by Mr Samanyika are similar to some of the tenets that are offered by the feminists’ ethics of care framework as advanced by Sevenhuijsen et al. (2003) and Sevenhuijsen (1998). Had the feminist ethics of care framework tenets or the indigenous harvest distribution propositions been incorporated into the national social welfare system, some of the care responsibilities that befall families would possibly be minimised. At the time of this study, the “material care role” seems precariously linked to the volatility of global economies and the demands of living in an urban area. Some of the demands that were mentioned by participants include municipality rates payment, purchase of electricity, purchase of water, and the need for money to buy food and medication. In this regard, the “material care role” directs one’s attention to the broader structural factors within which care takesplace and how families cope.

The third type of caregiver role that this study will refer to as “solidarity caregiver” involves care that may be described as “accompaniment”. This study borrows the concept of “accompaniment” from the discipline of liberation theology (Paul Farmer, 2011). Accompaniment in this study refers to the caregiver who offers to “walk alongside” a care recipient as an expression of solidarity along life’s journey. In the discipline of social work, Meredith T. Wilkinson and Karen A. D’Angelo (2019) also borrow the concept of “accompaniment” when they express that “Accompaniment, or the intentional practice of presence, emphasizes processes and relationships over outcomes…” In this study, the life course theory concept of “life support” was particularly useful in conceptualising the care role of “accompaniment”. Alwin (2012:27) credits Webster (1996) when explaining that the concept of “life support” refers to “[anything] that fosters or sustains life, success

or continued existence" (Alwin, 2012:27). In this study, the "solidarity caregiver" might neither participate in hands-on caring activities nor contribute any material resources. Instead, this caregiver is "simply present" and shows concern for the care recipient. Although this study was homing in on participants' experience of care within the family unit, the concept of "accompaniment" seemed evident amongst neighbours who had a keen awareness of and concern for older people within their vicinity. They expressed concern for the elders by extending morning or afternoon greetings from across the fence or from across the road. In another instance, a neighbour sent their child over to deliver a plate of delicacies of fried mopane worms for Ms Ziva, one of the participants. A relative of the neighbour was visiting from the rural homestead and had brought some mopane worms for the host. Some participants expressed that their neighbours always look out for them. Another participant, Mr Tino, expressed that he would feel bad if he found out that his neighbour had gone to bed on an empty stomach when he could have offered them whatever he had in his home.

The fourth type of caregiver role mentioned by eight out of ten participants is the "ancestral care role". Family ancestors are believed to be the overall caretakers of the entire family. Matthew Ikechukwu Nwafor (2017:37) explains that ancestors, "[are] called the living-dead, a concept coined by Mbiti (1985) to describe their presence with the living, and their state of personal immortality in the spirit world". One will note that the ancestral care role is closely linked to not only the welfare of the family, but also to the ancestral land. The sense of custodianship of the land of the ancestors suggests some of the participants' belief in continuity of care between those who have passed on and those who remain. For example, Frances C. L. Rakotsoane (2005) provides an example of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project (LHDA) that intended to compensate the local people for the land that was ear-marked for the water project. However, the project's negotiation strategy had overlooked the spiritual aspect that the locals associate with the land of their forebearers. Rakotsoane (2005) explains that:

> It is precisely this dimension of the spiritual (i.e. invisible world) that the LHDA failedto take into consideration in its Compensation Plan. The plan speaks of the materialthings (i.e. visible world) that people will be compensated for if they are affected bythe project, but it remains silent regarding the spiritual ties which are disturbed as the people are forced to leave behind their pools and the graves of their ancestors.(Rakotsoane, 2005:13)

Whilst other people might see land, trees, rivers as “things” to be exploited, excavated and manipulated for various purposes that ensure the smooth running of capitalist industries and economies, all the participants in this study saw otherwise. Sousa Santos (2017) explains that “[the] indigenous conception of nature is not Eurocentric. For the indigenous peoples, Mother Earth is a living entity that does not belong to us; rather, we belong to it” (Sousa Santos, 2017:257. Sousa Santos (2017: 257) provides an example of *Pacha Mama* (Mother Earth) that is laid down in the Ecuadorian Constitution. *Pacha Mama* stipulates the rights of nature. According to Sousa Santos’ (2017), a conference delegate asked if it is possible to accord rights to nature. Sousa Santos’ (2017) response was, “We cannot imagine nature having rights, because in our culture we are not Spinozians, we are Cartesians” (Sousa Santos, 2017:257). One will note that, although Rakotsoane’s (2005) study was based on the Lesotho Highlands Water Project, one can draw parallels with the spiritual aspects that tie some of the communities, including eight out of ten participants in this study, to those who came before them. The sense of connection with forebearers is observed in this study on elder caregiving. What others might view as a simple act of cooking and cleaning for an elder person, might in fact have deeper meaning than what meets the eye. For example, one participant, Ms Murimi, explained that the family matriarch occupies a pivotal role in the family. She explained that most Shona clans, including her own clan, reserve the back part of a chicken for the family matriarch when serving dinner. Chicken is considered a delicacy. The chicken back symbolises an acknowledgement of the pain that the family matriarch went through whilst carrying the family descents in her womb. It also bestows well wishes for her back to continue to strengthen after it took a toll from childbirth. Such symbolism is a form of care for the “being” that is the family’s matriarch. In the absence of the family matriarch, an elder woman representative from the matriarch’s lineage may receive the chicken meal on behalf of the family matriarch.

4.2.3 Summary of the four care roles identified in this study

The above section has described the four types of care roles that were identified in this study. Although the study identified an “ancestral care role”, two participants expressed that they do not observe the ancestral value system as their church does not allow such belief systems. These dimensions of family caregiving roles suggest that providing care in participants’ urban homes is an inherently relational activity within the family unit.Using the symbolic interaction’s concept of “definition of the situation” (Thomas, 1923; Mead, 1934; Goffman, 1959) one will note that the formation of care roles that were identified in this study are an outcome of mutual understanding and are mediated by interpretation of the dynamic situations that families find themselves in. Whilst some studies suggest that patriarchal social relations influence the gendered division of care labour with negative consequences for women (Calasanti, 2006), it appears that in this study the rationale behind gender division of care labour differs as will be explained next.Instead, family birth order and the material care role are of significance in decidingwho gets to direct prodiving care within families.

4.2.3.1 How the findings on care roles contribute towards meeting the aims and objectives of this study

The above findings address part of research aims and objectives (a) and (b). These are:

a. *To identify the nature of elderly care that is being provided within families in Harare.*
b. *To describe the nature of elderly care that is being provided within families in Harare.*

By asking participants to explain how they conceptualise “elder care” it was evident that participants and their families approach providing elder care as a collective responsibility as described above and not as one person’s responsibility. Their explanations suggest that whilst each family member is expected to be responsible for the care needs of their immediate families, young and old, the participants in this study are keenly aware of the indigenous ethic of care practice of which one is the “zunde ramambo.” The concept of zunde ramambo which is not being practiced in participants’ urban areas extends the expressions of care to community members including the elderly who might have fallen on hard times. In addition, the nature of care that is practiced in the home is not one

dimensional. It includes a conscious attempt of maintaining continuityof appreciation of those who have passed on and those who are present. .

The next part will describe participants' conceptualisation of the construct of "family". The explanation will be followed by aspects such as how one enters into a specific care role; the motivation for entering into such a role; the duration in such care roles; and the influence of a cosmic understanding of the family care system that is explained next.

4.3 Defining the family

Instead of assuming a universal understanding of the term "family", the researcher asked participants their understanding of "family" (Gubrium & Holstein, 1990, 1993). The researcher also took the opportunity to ask participants to discuss some of the family photos that were hang on the walls. Such discussion contributed towards stablishing participants' understanding of family. All participants explained that their understanding of family had been passed down from their own parents and other older family elders. Although this study is based in an urban setting and could have been framed within the sub-discipline of "sociology of urbanisation" (Weber, 1921, reprinted 1958; Robert E. Park, 1925; W.E.B. Du Bois, 1903 reprinted 1995), the study realised that participants trace some of their behaviours that they associate with caring for family members to intergenerational practices of care. Such behaviour is conceptualised by the life course theory of "linked lives" that helps to explain the interdependence of lives (Glen Elder Jr. 1985, 1994). The traditional practices that were narrated by nine out of ten participants may be traced to pre-colonial rural family homesteads that observed a collective value system as opposed to an individualistic value system. Participants explained that their forebearers' family living spaces were made up of nuclear families that were surrounded by extended families within a family homestead. The close proximity of each of the nuclear family units ensured that extended family members were within easy reach to attend to the needs of elderly family members and children. Although some participants described the actual layout of the homestead, others went further to explain the significance and meaning of the spatial arrangements of the social spaces. It is through their narratives that the spatial symbolism of the homestead became clear. This study traced the relationships between the rationale behind homestead spatial arrangements and

providing urban elder care.

One participant, Mr Samanyika, explained that the family kitchen served as what could be described as the family sitting room. The seating arrangement within this kitchen/living room was (still is) arranged according to family order of seniority, gender, age and space for accommodating visitors. The right hand side of the kitchen/living room was/is reserved for men. The left hand side was/is reserved for women. The back of the hut wasallocated to the young. The right hand side of the kitchen had a built-in bench that was mounted against the wall. The extreme end of the bench that is next to the entrance wasaccorded high status and was reserved for the eldest male family member. The remainingspace on the right side of the bench could be occupied by the rest of the less senior men.These spatial arrangements that were described by Mr Samanyika are similar to the spatial arrangements described by Patrick McAllister (2004). McAlister's (2004) study isbased in the Willowvale district of Shixini administrative area, in the Eastern Cape of South Africa. McAllister describes ways in which the traditional Xhosa homestead domestic space is used to negotiate and foster family relationships through the ritual of beer drinking. Figure 9 on page 158 is an illustration of the Xhosa homestead that is observed by McAllister (2004:123). Although McAllister's study is amongst people of theXhosa ethnic group, the underlying rationale that influences the design of the living space resonates with the rationale of living spaces that were explained by Mr Samanyika in thisstudy. The seating arrangements that are based on order of seniority and gender draw attention to the intersectional cultural contours that resonate with the care arrangementsthat are identified in this study. In this study's urban setting, the research identified a hierarchical order that manifests in dimensions of "gerontocracy". Such hierarchical orderis based on family birth order in all the families in this study. To recap, the term "gerontology" stems from the Greek root *geronto* meaning "the old man" and *ology* meaning "the study of" (Harod Cox & Richard Newtson, 1993). Gerontocracy is a socialhierarchical arrangement within which power is accorded to the oldest members within agroup. However, it is important to clarify that gerontocracy may have multi-dimensional interpretations based on each society. It appears that in this study dimensions ofgerontocracy are associated with wisdom and care, unlike others who associate gerontocracy with autocratic political leadership styles. For example, some of the activities, behaviours and attitudes that were narrated by

participants were compared withthe indigenous way of life that was described by some of the participants. In keeping withthe interpretivist ontology that underpins this study, the researcher found the indigenous homestead significant in tracing some of the intergenerational patterns of family care. The spatial arrangement of the family kitchen that also serves as the family living room seems to be the heartbeat of the homestead from which stories were narrated after a day of working in the fields.

The participants who described the indigenous kitchen/living room set up were not sure why the space closest to the door was/is reserved for the family patriarch. The researcher in this study believes that perhaps a plausible interpretation of this seating arrangement could be that, by sitting closest to the entrance, the family patriarch serves as the first line of defense should the family be attacked. In other words, the patriarch is saying, "You will have to go past me first before you can get to the rest of my family." The bench thatis on the right hand side behind the door is probably not a random act. It is to ensure that the rest of the men who are sitting next to the family patriarch can easily observe the patriarch and take cues on what it means to be a family man. The children's place that is reserved at the back of the hut is also probably a form of protection from animal predators. The left-hand side reserved for the women is probably to place the women in a strategic position from where to observe what is going on outside. Although none of the participants could provide an explanation as to why the bench was originallyreserved for men and not women, one participant, Ms Munyu, suggested that perhaps the reason was to ensure that women and children could sit in the area that was closest to the fire place to ensure that they were warm. This gesture is similar to male chivalry of "honouring ladies" when men open doors for women. Another interpretation is offered by Wits University archaeologist Thomas N. Huffman (1984:602) who expresses that "Male and female statuses among Shona and Venda are also expressed through height; for example, women sit on the ground while men sit on stools, and in many Shona huts men sit on a bench on the right-hand side while women sit opposite them on the floor" (Huffman, 1984:602). Huffman's study focuses on the interpretation of the use of space inside the Great Zimbabwe Monument[42], the oldest royal palace in sub-Saharan Africa. It is believed to have been built between the 11th and 14.5th centuries AD (UNESCO, 2016). Huffman

[42] The Great Zimbabwe Monument. UNESCO website https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/364/

(1984) does suggest, however, that further interpretations of space in the Zimbabwean culture are called for. In this study, the seating arrangement in the family kitchen/living room suggests that every family member has been taken into consideration. As such there is a place for each family member, the young, the old, men and women, and even visitors have a special place on the bench. Thus two participants jokingly referred to the bench as *chigaravakwati* – meaning; a place where visitors who are scrounging for food may eat conspicuously. Drawing from participants' narratives, eldercare in their context in urban Harare is a family team effort. This study believes that theexploration of the nature of the family team relationships in the sphere of care could perhaps be explored further as a multi-disciplinary study. The Social Exchange theory (George Homans & Robert Merton, 1961) may also offer appropriate conceptual handles for exploring the motives and extent of such family team efforts in the sphere of elder careprovision.

Typical layout of a family homestead

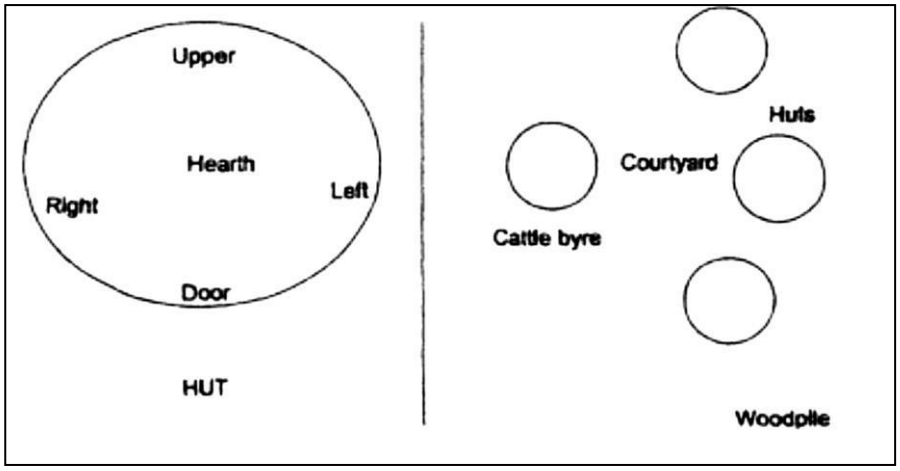


Figure 9: McAllister's (2004) "Spatial Dimensions of a Xhosa homestead"

Source: McAllister's (2004:123)

Whilst narrating their stories, most participants mentioned the birth order of either themselves or their brothers and sisters. In some instances they would mention the birth order of either their mother or father whose story they would be relating. During data analysis, it became clear that, in most cases, the coordination of care activities is linked to stories in which older family members gave direction on the way forward. Uncles and

aunts (the brothers and sisters or uncles) of the family elder who needs care, play a significant consultative role in various aspects of care. However, the study also noted that under precarious economic conditions it is the broader socio-economic climate and not family birth order that influences the family care trajectory. In other words, as explained next, the availability of resources, in particular financial resources, and who has such resources (material care role) regardless of gender is a major factor of consideration on the course of action to take.

4.3.1 Living arrangements in the context of an urban setting

Nine out of ten participants in this study live in multigenerational family households. Some of the adult children (of participants) had never left their parental homes whilst others left and returned. Thus the nuclear family in these urban areas comprises of father, mother, their adult children and children's children. Participants clarified that in some cases within their household some family members might include extended family members whom the English family lineage system might refer to as first or second cousins. However, in the Shona language there is no direct translation for the word "cousin". One's patrilineal cousins are referred to as one's brother or sister whilst matrilineal cousins are referred to as uncle (*sekuru*) or aunt (*mainini*) (mother's brother's descendants). One will note patterns of the original extended family homestead set-up spilling over into the urban areas for various reasons. For example, when asked why some of their nieces and nephews were living in participants' homes, the reasons that were given included: they had come into the city to look for work; the nieces and nephews had moved in to offer assistance to participants in this study; some were orphaned; and some had visited for a brief period but had ended up staying for a much longer period. The observation of multigenerational living arrangements is consistent with reports on multigenerational living arrangements that are reported by Kimuna (2005) in Zimbabwe and Makiwane (2011) and Hoffman (2014) in South Africa amongst other scholars. In a study on the living arrangements of older people in Zimbabwe, Kimuna (2005:159) notes that:

> [a number] of studies indicate that the majority of older people in Africa live with their children, but very little is known about the reasons behind the decisions of older people and their children to live together. Cultural norms such as filial piety offer part of the explanation, but closely interwoven with these cultural preferences are the economic realities. (Kimuna, 2005:159)

A rhetorical question posed by one of the participants, Ms Ziva, probably addresses Kimuna's (2005) comment above. Ms Ziva's rhetorical question was, "[in this] day and age, which parent does not want to see their adult children, nephews and nieces leaving the family nest to set up their own life elsewhere?" Participants in this study indicated that, whilst it is heart-warming to live under the same roof with adult children, such living arrangements are not out of choice. Unlike the rural homestead that was described earlier, whose spatial spaces were deliberately designed with extended kin in mind, the participants in this study expressed that their urban multi-generational family set-up is not ideal but is a "sign of the times". When asked who would assist them if their adult children were not living within close proximity, the response that captures the essence of most of the participants' views on this matter was captured by Ms Ziva's response. Ms Ziva expressed that one does not bring a child into this world as a form of insurance in old age. Overall, whilst all the participants in this study expressed appreciation for family support, their preference was for each family member to have their own home where family members may visit periodically.

What is interesting is that at the time of this study all the participants in this study had some of their adult children and their children's children living with them. This is of significance because a study conducted by Nyanguru et al. (1994) that was published before the economic decline in Zimbabwe (Nyanguru et al., 1994:23 & 24) reported that:

> The majority of the children neither lived with their parents nor visited them regularly. The elderly parents received few remittances from their children, even those who were employed (22). Sixty-nine per cent of the eldest children and the same percentage of the second-eldest children did not live with their parents. Thirteen comma six per cent of the parents lived alone. The study also found that few grandchildren were living with their grandparents for extended periods of time.
>
> Previously, grandchildren were responsible for helping with daily chores, such as fetching water and firewood, cooking, herding cattle, cleaning the house and washing clothes. Mass education and other factors have resulted in the demise of this practice. In a survey Hampson (1990) found that in only 13% of cases were granddaughters available to cook for their grandparents. (Nyanguru et al., 1994: 23 & 24)

One can see a possible association between economic climate and living arrangements in an urban area. Perhaps the participants' explanation is plausible that their current multi-

generational living arrangements is a “sign of our times”, to use the phrase used by some of the participants. One can deduce that during the period that Nyangura et al. (1994) conducted their study, 69% of the adult children in their study did not live with their parents, suggesting that under healthy economic conditions in an urban area, adult children would prefer to set up their own nuclear families elsewhere if given the choice. Ms Ziva’s rhetorical question - “[in this] day and age, which parent does not want to see their adult children, nephews and nieces leaving the family nest and setting up their own life elsewhere?” - does indeed suggest the level of choice that is at the disposal of participants in this study.

Although some scholars suggest that urbanisation has eroded the traditional family structures (Nana Apt, 2002), participants in this study seem to suggest that under these contemporary circumstances, it is beneficial for their family members to emigrate to other places far or near in search of a decent quality of life. Ms Ziva expressed that when she was growing up she was taught that *mhunu anodya pfumwe rake*. This idiom suggests that “the amount of sweat that one exerts is what lands on one’s plate”, in other words, “you reap what you sow.” However, Ms Ziva was lost for words in trying to express that in spite of exerting a lot of sweat throughout her life, the results of the sweat simply evaporated – her plate is empty. In summary, participants believe that under the economic circumstances, it is beneficial to be scattered in various geographic locations in search of reasonable quality of life instead of living under one roof for the sake of maintaining traditional family structures. Multigenerational living arrangements at the timeof this study were used to shield some family members from the harsh economic climatewith limited employment opportunities. In this instance, the life course concept of “trigger effects” does not appropriately capture the essence of participants’ experience. Neither does the feminist framework. Instead, an appropriate conceptual handle to capture participants’ expression, is borrowed from the area of Historical Trauma and its Transgenerational Transmission as championed by Stellenbosch University, South Africa. Perhaps the depth of the sense of the economic injustice that participants describeis best captured by the concept of “moral injury” that is used by Wilhelm J. Verwoerd (2020) in the area of “historical trauma and transformation”. Verwoerd (2020:5) uses theconcept of moral injury to “[capture] an inner wounding, a soul-scarring that goes deeperthan psychological

damage". With reference to this study, the devaluation of participants'nest egg and the general economic hardships have negatively impacted on participants'preferred living arrangements.

One participant, Mr. Samanyika, provided a different take on urban living arrangements when one does not own one's own home. Mr. Samanyika once worked as an artisan and now works part time as a general hand even though he is meant to have retired. He has always rented a room in the township whilst his wife and children live in a rural area. Mr. Samanyika is caring for his own parents from a distance (material care role). His wife, in turn, provides the day-to-day care needs for Mr. Samanyika's parents on the family homestead (hands-on care role). Mr. Samanyika explained that he has advised his recently married son, who works in Masvingo, to start building his own home on the family rural homestead in Nyanga. This is because Mr. Samanyika considers Nyanga his real home and not the urban area. When he can no longer work as a general hand, he will move back to his rural home in Nyanga. Mr. Samanyika explained that eventhough he lives in the city, the family homestead has spiritual value that he associates with his ancestors' burial sites that are on the family homestead. Mr. Samanyika's belief system regarding ancestral land resonates with studies such as Rakotsoane's (2005) work on the Lesotho water project that was mentioned earlier (pages 152 and 153). Mr. Samanyika's viewpoint is that his generation and the future generations in his family network are custodians of their forebearers' homestead. As such, the concept of "care" incorporates those who paved the way for his family and not just the living family members. In Mr. Samanyika's case, care also translates into tending the land that was passed down from his forebearers to ensure that family descendants will inherit fertile land on the family homestead. Mr. Samanyika's views may perhaps be conceptualised by symbolic interactions, described by Berger & Luckmann's (1966) concept of "habitualization". Habitualization suggests that society is constructed by individuals and those before them (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). In spite of living and working in an urban area, Mr. Samanyika is passing on to his son, the social value, emotions and significance of their rural homestead. This gesture also suggests possible ways in which his present aspirations are influenced by his understanding of the past and hopes for the future, as discussed by life course scholars (Rubby Dhunpath & Michael Samuel, 2009). Whether

or not the son accepts and maintains these expectations is a different area that can be explored in a different study. When asked about his daughters, Mr. Samanyika explained that they should teach their own children the ways of the familyinto which his daughters marry, suggesting a patrilineal family system.

4.3.2 Breadwinning, township home design and providing care

One will note that, unlike the rural homestead that was described earlier, the township homes were originally designed with the “male breadwinner family model” in mind. There is debate on the precise historical development of the concept of the “male breadwinner model” as societies experienced different regional and historical transitions. Thus dimensions of breadwinning vary (Jane Lewis, 2001; Marjan Nadim, 2016). In Zimbabwe, the male breadwinner family model in urban areas was characterised by state paternalism that forged a division between the public and private sphere (Teresa Barnes, 1992). The public sphere was associated with politics whilst the domestic activities in the private sphere potentially exposed women to politically irrelevant social locations (Barnes, 1992) and precarious social citizenship experience (Yuval-Davis, 1981, 1997). The male breadwinner model possibly exposed the family to precarious social locations should the breadwinner lose employment. The transition to urban townships played a hand in reconfiguring indigenous gender relations as various legal permits were required to travel or to work in specific areas (Barnes, 1992). The concept of shifting gender relations is explained by Noelle Chesley (2011: 644) in her work on stay-at-home fathers and breadwinning mothers and the doing and undoing of gender. Chesley cites Legerskiand Cornwall (2010) to suggest that significant economic shifts, events and social movements may disrupt some people’s ability to enact what is considered as appropriate displays of gender. Such structural shifts may either weaken or strengthen gender differentiated access to resources and power. Chesley’s (2011: 644) suggestionspossibly offer insight into issues related to breadwinning and doing or undoing gender toparaphrase (Chesley, 2011: 644) in the sphere of family care.

This study notes that instead of the British breadwinner model that was configured with a stay at home housewife in mind, the stories that participants narrated suggest that their own mothers, amongst other women relatives who had moved to Harare, alwaystook up one type of income generating activity or another. The work of Teresa A. Barnes(1992)

entitled, “The fight for control of African women’s mobility in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1900 – 1939)” provides a genealogy of some of the restrictions that were imposed on black women in the then Southern Rhodesia. Some of the participants in this study narrated stories that were told to them by their mothers or grandmothers that tally with Barnes’s (1992:605) observation:

> “In 1936 the state, trying to come to grips with the complexities of urban gender relations, compromised on a pass and registration law for Africans that sought to legislate only a diluted "purity" in the towns. Married women, who were assumed to be under the full control of their husbands and therefore did not require any further restriction, were allowed to stay in urban areas without any sort of pass. The act did try to restrict some women, however: single women, like unemployed men, needed a "town pass" to enter a town. Section 8 of the legislation was clearly aimed at them… Barnes” (1992: 604-605).

Barnes’s (1992:604-605) comment above highlights the nature of hegemonic institutionalised mechanisms that played a hand in controlling the nature of not only the gender relations, but also the marital status and employment status of those who were moving into the city. Families’ quest for survival possibly contributed/reinforced an urban form of egalitarian gender regime[43]. As explained by Francine M. Deutsch (2007) it is important to identify whether gender always underpins inequality and whether gender can in some cases be irrelevant based on the nature of interaction. Barbara Risman (2009) adds that as society undergoes transformation it is also important to identify and document any changes that may be observed in doing or undoing gender. Some of these observations are similar to the observation made by Rebecca Helman & Kopano Ratele (2016) on the possible fluidity in constructions of gender. Helman & Ratele (2016) report that “various social, cultural, and economic factors such as racialised poverty and neighbourhood structures shape practices of violence and sexual risk in very particular and unequal ways within the South African context” (Helman & Ratele, 2016:2). These observations suggest that gender is always in a state of flux in relation to personal and external factors. This is echoed by Elizabeth S. Parks and Kristen Barta (2018) who state that a “[social] construction of gender similarly allows for culturally variegated understandings of gender identity and performance, and for the mutability of gender identity and expression over time” (Elizabeth S. Parks and Kristen Barta, 2018:31).

[43] Patterns in gender arrangements (Connell, 2011)

At the time of this study, participants' living arrangements may be described as "multi breadwinner families". Under such circumstances, the gender of a family provider seems to be inconsequential as families eke out a living in the city. In this study, the implications of the "bread winner" model are threefold. On one hand, it appears that bread winning in an urban setting is associated with providing care for an entire household and not just the family elders. On the flip side, when opportunities for gainful employment (breadwinning) are limited, how do those who are expected to be bread winners care for their families? Third, drawing from participants' narratives, gender is not a primary determinantof who the breadwinner is in providing care. All the stories narrated by all participants in this study suggest that men and women see themselves as breadwinners, suggesting that "doing gender" is an ongoing reflective activity between self and others (West & Zimmerman, 1987, 2009). Participants' attitude is that of doing whatever it legally takes to survive in an urban area. The researcher got the impressionthat the construct of gender is the least of their concerns when there are issues of survivalat stake. This observation is similar to observations by Helman & Ratele (2016) who express that,

> [we] have argued that while in some instances poverty appears to produce problematic constructions of gender, … in other cases it appears to produce egalitarian constructions of gender… These findings suggest that gender equality is possible in a variety of different contexts, a finding that has important implications for the promotion of gender equality in South Africa and possibly beyond. (Helman & Ratele, 2016:11).

This finding of family members working together to ensure the family's survival regardless of the gender of the primary breadwinner is contrary to reports by Liz Walker (2005) in South Africa and Diana Koester (2015:3) who cites P. Nordlund (2014), S. Vaughanand K. Tronvoll (2003), C. Orjuela and D. Lewis and A. Hossain (2008) to report that:

> In Sri Lanka and Bangladesh, power analyses showed how wider economic trends have increased female employment and access to resources. This has often challenged power relations between men and women in households, leading to conflicts in families and, paradoxically, a wider resurgence of social control over women. (Koester et al, 2015:3)

The finding in this study suggests that other pockets of society such as the men and women in this study do not use the construct of "gender" to sanction family members who are fortunate to find employment outside of the home. Whilst others might find it

problematic for female members to earn a living outside of the home, all the men in this study narrated stories in which either their mothers, wives, daughters or sisters were in various periods, throughout their lives, the primary breadwinners whose income sustained the extended family. All the men in this study expressed gratitude and not condemnation that the female members of their families were in a position to assist family members.

One may note that it is most likely that urban migration destabilised traditional family care arrangements. Such destabilisation may be noted in the design of houses that municipalities built for black people in the metropolis. Some participants added that hostels for men were also built to accommodate male workers whose wives remained in the rural areas. For example, Ms Ziva explained that when they moved to one of the townships, their son who was 18 could not be registered as their dependent. During that time, all occupants of a home were supposed to be registered on a municipality supplied card. Instead, their son was offered accommodation in the men's hostels. Although Ms Ziva expressed that she was happy that their son was offered accommodation in the hostels, that living arrangement is not something that she and her husband had envisaged when they relocated. When the researcher visited the hostels, she noted that the living conditions of the men's hostels were similar to the hostels for the migrant miners in South African mines[44]. The online South African History On-line (SOHO) (2019) clarifies that compounds and hostel systems ensured "institutionalised forms of labour control" (sahistory.org.za). The colonial project was interested in cheap male labourers who could be accommodated in the hostels for single men. However, at the time of this study, what was meant to be hostels for men are now occupied by families and are overcrowded. In the case of Ms Ziva's son, it is the municipality authorities who exposed him to a new form of masculinity by insisting that he should go to live in the hostels. One wonders what effect living in a men's hostel from an early age had on the life trajectory of Ms Ziva's son.

4.3.3 Summary of conceptualisation of family and urban living arrangements

The above discussion provided an overview of the findings related to how participants define the concept of family in the context of care provision. Based on participants' narratives, the concept of "family" is strongly associated with shelter (housing) and breadwinning, thus the above discussion provided an overview of the living arrangements in which care is taking place. It was explained that the Harare townships seem to have

[44] Sahistory.org.za - Control over black workers, closed compounds and migrant

been originally designed with the British breadwinner model in mind. However, the study believes that this housing design that resembles the British council housing model was meant to support the Rhodesian colonial project. It appears that the model did not quite fit into the worldview of the indigenous people who were supposed to inhabit the township homes. Instead, people were expected to change their ways to fit into the new housing structures. In this study, the value system that underpinned the spatial living arrangements of indigenous rural homesteads seems to be the same value system in which this study maps out the construction of elder care in an urban setting.

With reference to the care provision for family elders, in rural homesteads men and women worked towards a common goal, suggesting a possible gender complementarity system. Gaidzanwa (2003:2) cites Boserup (1970) to clarify that "African women were, at that time, involved in agriculture, trade and other types of work outside the home in their peasant and pastoralist societies. Domestic labour, shared with children, was not women's sole or primary focus in most parts of Africa that are dominated by female farming systems" (Boserup 1970, in Gaidzanwa, 2003:2). One will note that such a complementary domestic work-load gender system did not, however, extend to land ownership until fairly recently as explained by Mushunje (2001). Although some have argued that the division of labour was organised along a patriarchal gender order system, the participants in this study do not believe that their experience in their context, including what they know of their own parents' lives, can be accurately interpreted as such. It seems that part of dividing labour along gender lines was for practical purposes. Zimbabwe has traditionally relied on oral history, thus there is the possibility of different interpretations of events and social practices. The contributions made by some of the participants in this study describing their mothers or grandmothers participating in various income-yielding activities is, perhaps, similar to what is reported by Temilola Alanamu (2018) in her work on women's labour in some parts of Nigeria in the 19th century. Alanamu (2018:295) cites Ìwé Ìròhìn (1864) an archival source[45] in which one of the entries made by one of the early missionaries in Nigeria commented that "[young] married women should be keepers at home and guide the house. In this country, women are consistently in the market, or carrying loads, or doing some work" (Alanamu, 2018:295). Alanamu (2018) then cites Peel (2003:10) to explain that in those days missionaries, such as those affiliated with the Anglican Missionary Society, were expected to journal their observations and dispatch

[45] University of Ìbàdàn, Department of History, Kenneth Dike Library, Ìwé Ìròhìn 1859–1867, (cited hereafter as ÌwéÌròhìn), January 1864

reports on their mission to the Anglican Church Missionary Society in London. Alanamu (2018:295) comments that “Despite the observer's Western prejudices concerning the ‘proper’ duties of wives, his observation that Yorùbá women worked outside the home is accurate and other nineteenth-century observers and Yorùbá oral traditions corroborate this claim […] working was a compulsory duty for every wife and integral to indigenous ideals of femininity” (Alanamu, 2018:295).

The implications of participants’ narratives in this study and Alanamu’s (2018) work amongst other scholars suggest that further studies are called for to continuously interpret the nature of gender relations that propel African societies in various time periods. For example, whilst the western second wave suffrage movement that was led by middle class women was advocating for economic freedom, women in some parts of Africa (Alananu, 2018; Oyèwùmí, 1997), and the women of the Five Nations in America, also known as the Iroquois Confederacy (Wagner (ed.), 2001, 2020) were exposed to a different experience. Alanamu (2018:291) comments that “Western feminists soon discovered, however, that in non-European societies, gender and patriarchy functioned in distinctive and often dissimilar ways. In certain areas, such as Yorùbáland, women were largely economically and financially independent of their husbands” (Alanamu, 2018:291). Such variation of interpretation of experience suggests the importance of gaining insight from the lived experiences of ground roots people in different societies. The discussion that follows will present the second finding that contributes towards answering one of this study’s questions on how men and women aged 60 and above experience the issue of elder care. As will be explained in that section, instead of assuming a single caregiver, the study identified an elderly care approach that this study identifies as a “family care network” system.

4.3.3.1 How the above findings on family and living arrangements contribute towards meeting the aims and objectives of the study

Of significance to the study are participants’ comparisons of the indigenous living space and present day family living space in which care is received and given. The narratives provided the researcher with rich data from which to trace family patterns of care that are based on birth order and in some instances gender order. Such insight led to the finding on the decision-making process in the sphere of elder care. The findings above also provide insight into the nature of family structures and the type of housing from where participants give and receive care. Based on the symbolic interaction’s tenant of linked

lives, the study realised that to understand the present day set up of the living spaces from where care is distributed, one has to understand the socio-political genealogy of the socio-economic-historical influences that contribute to the present day set up. Such knowledge paints a picture of the "backstage" (Goffman, 1959) that we maynot see but is of relevance in the understanding of the context in which the front stage plays out. Goffman's concepts of "region" "front stage" and "backstage" (1959) suggest the importance of trying as much as possible, to understand the reasons behind actions. Participants' narratives provided an awareness of how historical and present day socio-political events have possibly impacted the division of labour at various historical periods in the provision of family care.

4.4 Finding one – family care network

To recap, this study identified different caregiver roles within the same family. The study labelled these care roles as (1) hands-on care role, (2) material care role, (3) solidarity care role and (4) ancestor care role. This study notes that the hands-on caregiver role is the common care role that most scholarship reports on. The study also notes that the common understanding of a caregiver is that of the person who provides hands-on practical activities yet participants' narratives suggest that there is more to elder care than meets the eye. This study notes that an intricate care network exists in participants' families as will be discussed shortly. The hands-on care role receives support from other family members who occupy different care roles. It is important to note that, although some acknowledge the presence of ancestral guidance, all participants also acknowledge God's hand in all their endeavours. As such, the cultural and spiritual dimensions that are associated with care will be expanded upon on page 200.

After examining some of the behaviours, activities, norms, values and livingarrangements that are associated with providing care, the researcher identified what this study refers to as a "family care network" system of care. The family care network is a team effort whose goal is to offer support to an elder family member. The nature of the support varies according to factors such as the preference that is expressed by the care recipient and the care recipients' mobility, cognitive and functional status. Such consideration of establishing the preference of the care recipient suggestsa family behavioural system that is "person-centred". The person-centred approach to care is credited to clinical

psychologist Carl Rogers (1986) and is advanced by the discipline of social work. This approach is based on the tenet of paid or unpaid caregiversrespecting the care recipient's preference on how they wish to receive care.

Participants in this study are aged 60 and above and have experience in giving as well as well as receiving care. The activities and concern for their adult children and their grandchildren suggest a reciprocal family support network. The family support network seems to be propelled by those who occupy the four care roles that were described earlier. Unlike common stereotypes of gendered power relations within the family setting, the social relations that underpin the family care network that is identified in this study seem to be based on (a) family birth order, (b) the economic standing of individual family members and (c) the gender of the care recipient, as will be explained shortly. Participants suggest that their families act in certain ways not only to respect the wishes of the elder family member, but also concerning the resources that are available to meet such need. These considerations suggest multiple dimensions of care that need further exploration.

4.4.1 Family birth order

To recap, as this study is underpinned by symbolic interactionism, Goffman's (1959:22) concept of "performing team" helps to establish how some members in a group end up as the performing teams whilst others are the audience. In this regard, Ms Munyu mentioned aspects such as "I am the eldest female in our family; therefore my siblings look up to me for guidance on how to proceed with care for family elders." Another participant, Mr. Gidi, explained that, although he has an older brother, his older brother has a drinking problem. Mr. Gidi then confided that his father and mother asked Mr. Gidi to take a lead in family matters after they realised that their oldest son, Mr. Gidi's older brother, was vulnerable to alcohol addiction. In the same breath, the family leadership structure might not have the financial means or resources to execute some of the decisions. It is at this point that this study realised that family members who have the financial means and access to resources play a significant role in the family decision-making structure. The gender, age or family birth order of the material caregiver seems to be insignificant when the goal justifies the means.

Participants' narratives seem to suggest that younger family members look up to the eldest family members regarding decisions on caring for a family's matriarch or patriarch. Although the eldest family member might, in consultation with the care recipient, give directions on how to manage the care that is needed, ultimately it seems that most of the decisions are affected by the nature of resources that are available. Although the illustration of the care genealogy (Figure 10 on page 172) places the younger brother and sisters hierarchically below the oldest brothers and sisters, it appears that money is a factor that influences the decision-making hierarchy. For example, nearly all the participants in the study mentioned that they either have a brother, sister or child who emigrated to other parts of the world. It is well reported that those in the diaspora play a pivotal role of remitting financial assistance to their families in Zimbabwe (Christopher J. Chetsanga, 2008). A recent newspaper article by Mutongi Gava (2021) of *ZimLive.com* reports on ways in which the country is being steam-rolled by remittances from Zimbabweans in the diaspora. In this study, it appears that those in the diaspora, regardless of their birth position in the family hierarchy, influence the direction of some of the elder care activities. Some in the diaspora give an indication of when next they would be able to remit financial resources, thus some of the family decisions such as medical attention are based on what has been remitted by family members. Some participants narrated that, although they appreciate the remittance from their family members in the diaspora, they do not believe that this set-up is ideal. All of the participants expressed that life is also difficult for those in the diaspora. This finding ties in with a study by Hungwe (2017) whose empirical study explored the motivations and patterns of remittance to Zimbabwe amongst Zimbabwean economic migrants in the Johannesburg area. Hungwe (2017:47) notes that "[economic] circumstances definitely affect how frequent and how much one remits to their family ... Migration is a family survival strategy and the migrant remains indebted to the family 'back home'" (Hungwe, 2017:47 & 48).

One might ask how some end up taking up the instrumental day-to-day hands-on care activities whilst others direct the care activities and others are simply present. Based on the narratives of participants, it appears that adult children who live with the elderly parent or who live closest to the elderly parent are the ones who most likely occupy the hands-on care roles based on the needs of the family elder. When one applies Goffman's (1959)

dramaturgy theory of “front stage” it becomes evident that perhaps the issue of the availability of resources plays a bigger role in allocating the pivotal positions in the family care network than is apparent. It appears that those family members who have the economic resources are not always the hands-on caregivers who provide the everyday assisted daily living activities. In addition, the extended family, such as the brothers and sisters of the elderly person including other senior members of the family lineage, also play an advisory role in the family care network system (Figure 10). According to the participants in this study, these uncles and aunties are not expected to provide day-to-day hands-on care. These uncles and aunties are extended family elders to whom adult children may go should they need any advice relating to their elderly parent. Below is Figure 10, an illustration of a typical family care network.

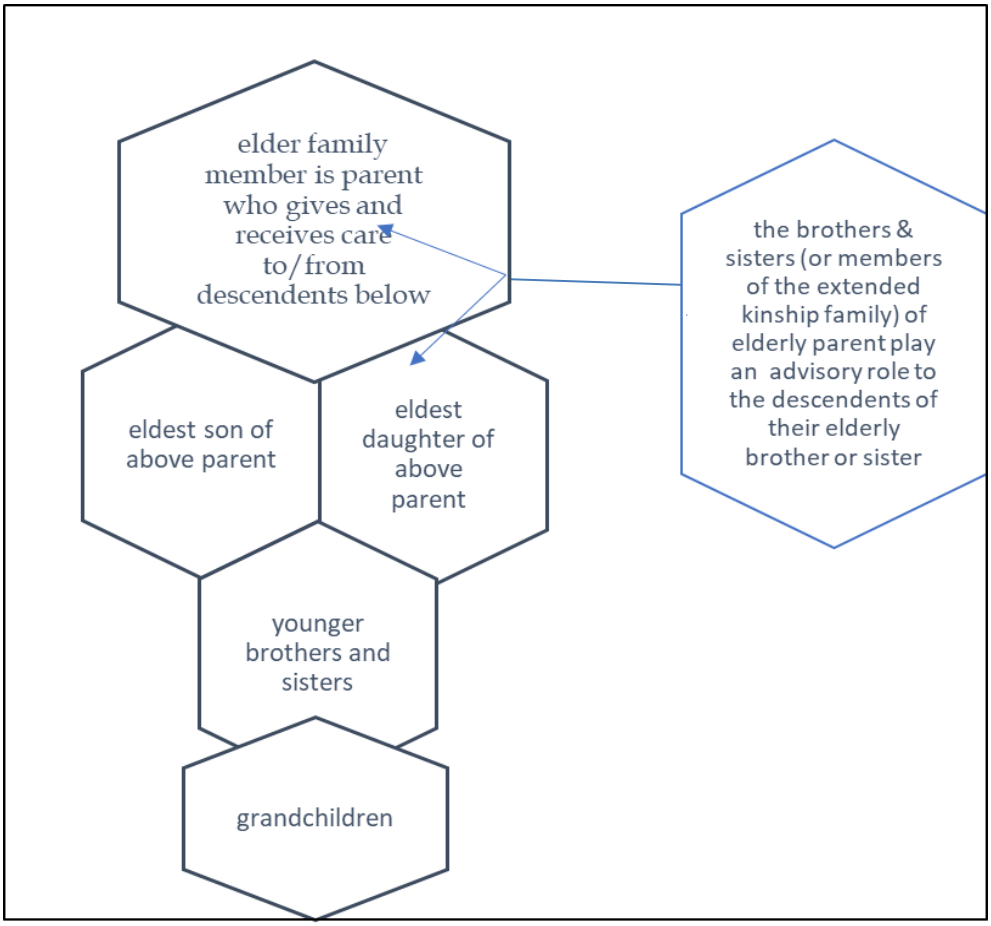


Figure 10: family birth order hierarchy of decision-making

Although in this study the hands-on care role is mainly performed by women, the participants' believe that the care roles should not automatically be construed as evidence of the subjugation of women. This study notes that some of the feminist care conceptual frameworks are developed from environments where some, especially men, might enjoy "privileged irresponsibility" (Tronto, 1993, 2013) whilst others, especially women, might perform "double or triple shifts" as they provide care in addition to other duties (Arlie Hochschild and Anne Machung, 1989, 2003; 2012) or the "third shift" which refers to the emotional and affective aspects of family life (Bolton, 2000). None of the participants in this study expressed resentment for taking up hands-on care roles at various points in their lives. Instead, it appears that the participants draw from a deep reservoir of various intergenerational ethics of care systems that have been observed in their families. The value systems that are observed by their various families are passed down from generation to generation. Such value systems intend to promote mutual cooperation between men and women but not everyone observes such value systems. Accordingly, various strategies that aim to promote compliance with respect of women in particular are in place as explained next.

Mr Loyi explained that one of the moral value systems that is observed by most of the Shona ethnicities manifests in the practice of *kutanda botso* where a person who has slighted their mother is expected to apologise. Such apology is followed by the *kutanda botso* ritual in which the wrong doer is cleansed of any transgressions. The concept of *kutanda botso* reminds adult children (who are expected to know better) to honour their mothers. Should one neglect, disrespect or physically/emotionally harm their mother, one might experience *ngozi* (misfortune). It is believed that such misfortune may be experienced by future generations amongst other intergenerational misfortune. Thus *kutanda botso* serves the purpose of encouraging transgenerational respect for mothers. As clarified by Norman Chivasa (2020) in his study on domestic violence:

> [this] ritual has deep institutional roots, many of which stem directly from pre-colonial customs that demonstrate the Shona peoples' allegiance to the sacredness of motherhood. It is these merits that warrant the systematic review of kutanda botso to assess its efficacy in curbing violence perpetrated by adult children against their biological mothers. (Chivasa, 2020:176)

Takawira Kazembe (2010:59) adds that "[*ngozi]*[46] from the father's side is not as devastating as that from the mother's side" (Kazembe, 2010:59). This is because most Zimbabwean ethnicities generally observe patrilineal family systems.

Although such cultural value systems are supposed to serve as a moral compass, some individuals might decide to either uphold or disregard such value systems. One participant, Ms Ziva, mentioned that she did not have a good relationship with her mother from as far back as she can remember as her mother gave birth to her very late in life. Regardless, Ms Ziva said that she still took care of her mother. The study notes that throughout the self-directed life course interviews, issues regarding possible unpleasant personalities or unpleasant temperaments of some care recipients were never brought up by any of the participants with the exception of Ms Ziva. Everyone narrated that the family elders whom they took care of were/are very loving. Other studies suggest that the temperament and/or personality traits of the care recipient possibly influence how others respond to the recipient's need for care (Silke F. Metzelthin, Ellen Verbakel, Marja Y. Veenstra, Job van Exel, Antonius W. Ambergen, Gertrudis I. J. M. Kempen, 2017). Ifthe participants in this study report that a special place of honour is reserved for mothersin the family, where do men fit into the caregiving dynamics of families? This leads to the finding that highlights some of the possible social processes that contribute towards the understanding of the construction of gender in the context of elder care.

4.4.2 The construction of masculinities and femininities

Although some suggest that various primary socialisation strategies nudge females and males into essentialist gender locations (Mead, 1934; Chodorow, 1978), this study notes that, whilst women and men in this study agree that this might be the case, they clarify that the division and allocation of care labour in their context are flexible. For example, the gender of the care recipient is taken into consideration when assisting the elder family member. When the nature of care involves intimate grooming, elder men are usually assisted by male family members whilst elder females are usually assisted by female family members. It is imperative to explain that in this study the construct of "gender" had to be explored in relation to other factors such as family birth order and economic standing

[46] Ngozi" means misfortune

of caregivers that seemed significant in shaping the various care roles as well as how care is distributed. The study concurs with Øystein Gullvåg Holter's (1996:340) peer review of Connell's (1995) hegemonic masculinities theory. Holter (1996:340) argues that:

> True, 'masculinity' is often connected with power, but so is much else, and a concept that ties the male power and masculine lifestyles aspects into one huge knot may easily become projective rather than helpful. (Holter, 1996:340)

In this study Holter's (1996) comment above suggests that, whilst it is important to understand the workings of hegemonic social systems, it is equally important not to lose sight of other forms of masculinities. This study believes that insight into other forms of masculinities may contribute towards harnessing social aspects that may contribute towards supporting families to distribute care in the absence of a non-contributory state pension scheme. Whilst women usually take up most of the household chores, men in this study report on taking up activities that they believe are aspects of elder care. Mr Reggie narrated that he used to carry his mother when she became frail. Other men mentioned duties such as gardening and doing odd jobs to maintain the family homes. Older women do not necessarily perform the domestic duties themselves but play the role of allocating chores to younger family members. The women in particular substantiated this point of view through the idiom *musha mukadzi*. The idiom suggests that it is through women's leadership that a house is transformed into a home. The idiom *musha mukadzi* valorises the "being" that is female in the home by giving credit to women for being the glue that binds the family. Another participant, Mr. Tino, summarised his efforts of multi-tasking to keep the family afloat with the idiom *nzou hayi remerwe ne nyanga yayo*. This means the elephant's tusks are never too heavy for the elephant.

It appears that scholarship has paid scant attention to the "being" that is masculine in the caregiving sphere in Zimbabwe, yet men may be part of the solution in addressing some of the social challenges. This possibility is also noted in scholarship on gender based violence and HIV when Ezra Chitando and Sophie Chirongoma (eds.) (2012:2) express that "Discourses on empowerment have focused on the vulnerability of women and children, an approach that must be appreciated as these groups have been more vulnerable to the epidemic. However, this has had the undesired effect of leaving men (totally) out of the picture" (Chitando & Chirongoma, 2012:2). Similar observations are noted by Sharma et al., (2016) in their work on caring for people with mental illness.

Sharma et al. (2016:7) observe that, “With changing demographics and social norms men are increasingly assuming roles as caregivers. However, the experience of men while providing care has not been explored adequately” (Sharma et al., 2016:7). It was necessary for this study to trace some of the social processes that contribute to the construction of masculinities and femininities in the sphere of the social relations that are associated with care. One such process that seemed significant to participants, is gendered preparations for transitioning into marriage as described next.

4.4.3 Roora/lobola and construction of gender

Most of the participants narrated stories that included their transitioning into married life. The study identified the process of *roora/lobola* as one of the significant social practices that contribute to the construction of masculinities and femininities. Although some translate the process of *roora/lobola* to “bribe price,” participants in this study suggested that the original purpose of *roora/lobola* should not be reduced to an event in which money is exchanged for a bride. Their narratives suggest that a lot of preparation from both families goes into the *roora* process. Some of the activities are symbolic whilst some serve practical purposes. Such purposes include establishing if the groom-to-be is well prepared to provide for his future wife and vice versa. This is part of the reason that the wife’s family asks for symbolic materials such as money, cows and groceries. Some of the money, cows and goats may serve as food stock for the wedding reception. In contemporary times, some report on exorbitant amounts being asked of the groom-to-be yet the original intention was a symbolic gesture. The actual *roora* negotiations also serve to draw the two families closer through banter as they go back and forth until the *roora* proceedings are finalised. This study notes that whilst a lot of “proof of commitment” to his future wife is required of the groom, what is overlooked is that the bride-to-be is also expected to offer gifts to her new family with special gifts for the family matriarch. Incidentally, one of the pensioners, Ms Murimi, crafts customary clay pots that some brides are meant to present to their future mother-in-laws. She explained that other types of clay pots are presented to the bride by the bride’s aunt (father’s sister or female cousin) to symbolise fertility. Once again, one can trace a social process that aims to cultivate a sense of honour and commitment to both men and women. Both the groom-to-be and the wife-to-be are expected to demonstrate their commitment to their future in-laws by

performing various tasks.

To illustrate how he understands his role in the family care network, Mr Reggie made use of the Shona idiom *mukwasha muonde haaperi kudyiwa*. This idiom means “the son-in-law is a *muonde* tree (indigenous fig tree) that produces a constant supply of fruit.” This idiom reminds future sons-in-law that they are expected to be industrious and that their locus of responsibility should extend to include the welfare of their in-laws. This idiom valorises the “being” that is masculine that is marrying into another family. Although there might be slight variation in the *roora* proceedings that are observed by the various ethnicities that make up the Shona group of people, it is common cultural practice that a prospective son-in-law should not pay the full *roora* amount or cattle that he has been asked by his future in-laws. Paying in full is considered rude in other ethnicities. This is to ensure that the son-in-law is indebted to his in-laws throughout his lifetime. Thus the *roora* debt is supposed to remind the son-in-law that he is the family’s “fig tree”. This study believes that this idiom is pivotal in the construction of masculinities particularly at a stage when young adults prepare for marriage. To illustrate this point, Mr Reggie addedthat he would feel embarrassed if he failed to step up his efforts to assist his ageing elderlyparents-in-law. As a son-in-law, he feels that he should express gratitude to the people who raised his wife, in the same manner that he witnessed his father taking care of his in-laws. It is through the *roora* negotiations that the future son-in-law is reminded by his own family that he should be prepared to take up duties expected of a son-in-law.

This study notes that the process and proceeding of *roora* result in one being acknowledged as an official daughter-in-law or son-in-law. Parallels may be drawn between the process of *roora* (customary marriage) and the concept of “gender performativity” that is credited to Butler (1990) and “doing gender” that is advanced by West and Zimmerman (1987). For example, when a future bride is officially given the title of *muroora* (daughter-in-law), “gender performativity” would have occurred. The process of performativity[47] bestows certain expectations on the daughter-in-law or son-in-law. Some of the performative activities that were described by participants in this study include presenting the new daughter-in-law with a goat’s liver to symbolise that she may

[47] Performativity is a form of speech in which utterances are reified

cook for her new in-laws - an act that is meant to be a privilege and bestow honour. Such privilege is not presented to an unmarried fiancé or girlfriend. The researcher in this study realised that she missed an opportunity of gaining insight into participants' understanding of those who choose not to marry. Another example that pertains to men is the act referred to as *mukwasha apinda mumusha* (acceptance of new groom into wife's family). *Mukuwasha apinda mumusha* marks the acceptance of the new groom into his wife's family after certain *roora* procedures have been finalised.

The life course theory provided propositions for understanding life transitions at various stages of people's lives. In this instance, the crossroads between entry into marriage and cultural constructions of masculinity and femininity position both young adults at a social location that indicates what is expected of them in terms of caring for their future mothers and fathers-in-law. None of the participants in this study reported that they were advised to dominate their wives-to-be nor their husbands-to-be. Instead, participants reported that they were advised to forge a marriage union that is propelled by ongoing negotiation between wife and husband and the families they marry into. It appears that they believe that their biological differences are not intended to position men as dominant and women as subordinate. One participant, Mr Gidi, narrated that his family told him to take care of his future wife and not to bring disgrace to his family. Ms Daisy also narrated how the elder female members of her own family also reminded her to love and respect the family she was marrying into and not bring shame to her family of origin. It appears that whether or not a person follows such guidance, the process of the construction of masculinity and femininity in the context of family care is marked by elderfamily members stepping in at pivotal points in one's life course to provide direction on what is expected of men and women as they transition into various life stages. It is at thispoint that some scholars may offer varying interpretation of the role of gender within the Zimbabwean society. For example, Angela P. Cheater & Rudo B. Gaidzanwa (1996:191)express that:

> Historically, prior to the introduction of various 'pass laws', black men were freely mobile in Southern Africa, and even after such legislation continued to move more than did black women. In the precolonial period men were heavily involved in the various wars which created female hostages, refugees and asylum-seekers. Women were, of course, also deployed by their male patrikin in the marriage alliances which restored peace by linking clans and lineages to one another and to higher political authorities, including the region's monarchies.[4] But men moved not as marriage pawns and the flotsam of war: they were the warriors, hunters, traders.

> Later, during the colonial period, they moved as labour migrants in search of work, and as students seeking secondary and tertiary education. (Cheater & Gaidzanwa, 1996:191)

Cheater and Gaidzanwa's (1996) comment above suggests the necessity of understanding gender within a specific historical context. For example, Hungwe (2006) discusses some of hegemonic social norms that legitimise women's behaviour as "respectable" or "unrespectable" within the Zimbabwean society. She notes that such benchmarks of "respectability" or "unrespectability" are initiated to advance the interests of hegemonic ideology at various time periods. Whilst Hungwe's (2006) insight contributes towards raising the consciousness of some of the taken for granted social practices that may serve to perpetuate hegemonic forms of cultural organisation, inductive empirical studies help to gauge some of the viewpoints of women and men who are on the ground. Various social practices might be interpreted differently by various people. Although participants in this study view the customary marriage process (*roora*) as one of the key life transitions in adulthood, some may argue that such deliberations serve to reinforce heteronormative aspirations through marriage. Whilst the women in this study approach the act of caring as a moral responsibility, it is equality important to understand men's views on elder care. This leads to the next question regarding the nature of men's involvement in elder care.

4.4.4 Genealogy of caring masculinities

To clarify this study's findings it is necessary to recap the concept of "hegemonic masculinities". The concept of hegemonic power is traced to the work of Robert/Raewyn W. Connell, Dean J. Ashenden, Sandra Kessler, Gary Dowsett (1982) as well as Sandra Kessler, Dean J. Ashenden, Robert/Raewyn W. Connell, and Gary W. Dowsett (1985) whose study on gender, class and social relations in Australian high schools drew from the work of Antonio Gramsci (1971). Raewyn Connell (1987) expanded on the concept by providing an analytic framework from which to conceptualise the socially constructed conceptions of gender and gendered relations of power. The framework suggeststhat prevailing gender relations within a specific society conceptualise an "ideal" masculine social status that everyone else aspires to. This` "ideal type" is meant to definewhat power and success looks like in a local, regional and global setting (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Thus dimensions of the power may be configured through gender,race, class,

(dis)ability and sexual orientation amongst other variables that are relative to specific societies. Such configurations result in specific social locations that may be classified as either complicit masculinity, marginalised masculinity, subordinated masculinities or subordinated femininities with hegemonic masculinity at the top of the gender hierarchy. However, masculinities on the lower end of the spectrum still benefit from what Connell (2009:142) refers to as "patriarchal dividend" by virtue of being male. Women are seen as occupying subordinate social locations within such a hierarchy, with only a few women such as the Margaret Thatcher, the "Iron Lady", and the British Queen possibly filling all the ticks of hegemonic masculinity status in their context. Other scholarshave advanced Connell's (1987) hegemonic masculinities framework by reporting on various forms of masculinities within their context (Robert Morrell, 1994, 1998; Beasley, 2012; Robert Morrell, Rachel Jewkes & Graham Lindeggar, 2012). This study agrees with Aykut Siğin and Ayşe Canatan (2018:163) who state that "[hegemonic] masculinity became the most widely-studied masculinity type in masculinity studies… ironically making other masculinities "invisible" in academia" (Siğin & Canatan, 2018:163). The discussion that follows will explain the dimensions of "caring masculinities" that this studyidentified in the sphere of elder care.

4.4.5 From metro masculinity to uber masculinity

Metro masculinity is one of the contemporary forms of masculinities that has been identified in urban settings. Metro masculinity is derived from "metrosexuality". The online Macmillan[48] dictionary defines "metrosexual" as "a heterosexual male with a stronginterest in fashion, appearance and other lifestyle characteristics traditionally associated with women". Dimensions of "metro masculinities" include but are not limited to heterosexual men who do not self-identify as gay, who spend as much time as women supposedly spend on grooming. The metro men also invest in clothes, accessories, hairdressing and having the right home address as external props that signify their take on life in the city. Such metro masculinities might also ensure that they are seen socialising with the right crowd to match this urban metro status. The Macmillan dictionary provides an example of an icon who represents the "metrosexual" as footballer David Beckham. Beckham is "the face of" various male fragrance, clothing lines and designer car models. Some explain

[48] Macmillan dictionary- metrosexual; https://www.macmillandictionary.com/buzzword/entries/metrosexual

that the concept of “metrosexual” is a result of marketing strategies that were utilised in popular culture. The term “metrosexual” is credited to British journalist Mark Simpson (1994). In summary, scholars Erynn Masi deCasanova, Emily E. Wetzel and Travis D. Speice (2016:69) explain that “[appearance], fashion and grooming” are some of the dimensions of metrosexual masculinity.

Over the years, further studies have reported on an emerging type of urban masculinity that Marian Salzman, Ira Matathia and Ann O'Reilly (2005) identified as “ubersexual” masculinity. These authors identified this type of masculinity after interviewing 2000 men in America in preparation for their book entitled “The Future of Men: The rise of the ubersexual and what he means for marketing today”. Their aim was to establish men’s responses to 40 years of increased rights of women in America. The online Collins[49] dictionary states that “Uber combines with nouns and adjectives to form nouns and adjectives that refer to a great or extreme example of something”. In addition, the online Macmillan[50] dictionary defines ubersexual as “a heterosexual male who is both confident and compassionate and has a strong interest in good causes and principles”. The Macmillan dictionary goes on to explain that:

> The term ubersexual was coined by Marian Salzman, a US trendspotter and executive at the advertising agency J. Walter Thompson. The term features in Salzman’s new book, The Future of Men (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), which praises a new brand of male who mixes strength and confidence with a willingness to communicate and cooperate. This, Salzman claims, lies in stark contrast to the metrosexual, whose preoccupation with appearance, while at first appealing to women, turned out to be “thinly veiled narcissism (= a selfish interest in your own life and problems).

Dimensions of uber-masculinities include but are not limited to heterosexual expressions of confident masculinities whilst also exhibiting expressions of care for the environment and humanity. Global icons who represent uber-masculinity are musicians Bob Geldof and Bono. These two icons are the “face of” a variety of caring ideologies that call for the end of poverty and care for the environment. They also champion campaigns that promote world peace and care for humanity. In South Africa, Archbishop Desmond Tutu is possibly

[49] Collins dictionary – uber; https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/uber
[50] Macmillan dictionary- ubersexual https://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/ubersexual

an example of uber-masculinity. For example, during the Truth and Reconciliation tribunal and many other occasions, Archbishop Tutu was reduced to tears because of his caring nature. Other leaders preferred to project an objective an unemotional front in the face of social injustice. Overall, uber-caring masculinities are configurations of masculinities that embrace what others might consider as feminine values such as attempts to forge good relationships with others instead of dominating others. This study believes that uber-caring masculinities may concurrently be associatedwith any one of the spectrum of hegemonic masculinity locations.

This study identified caring masculinities whose dimensions deviate from the dimensions of violent masculinities (Liz Walker, 2005; Morrell et al., 2012) or hypermasculinities (Andrew Gibbs, Yandisa Sikweyiya, and Rachel Jewkes, 2014; Rachel Jewkes, Robert Morrell, Jeff Hearn, Emma Lundqvist, David Blackbeard, Graham Lindegger, Michael Quayle, Yandisa Sikweyiya, and Lucus Gottzén, 2015). The dimensions also deviate from the dimensions of "protest" or "complicit masculinities" as described by Connell (1987; 1995). Protest masculinities (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) refer to the opposition of dominant masculinities and associated relations of production. An exampleof protest masculinities might be trade unions who might go on strike because of dissatisfaction with their working conditions. Complicit masculinities refers to men who simply benefit from being men. An example of complicit masculinity could possibly be theman who stopped to watch George Floyd being lynched in public in Minnesota. That male passer-by could be heard shouting to the policeman "Hey, he's gonna die; he's gonna die." However, the man just continued to walk past, probably relieved that it was not him who was being lynched. Under these circumstances he exhibited dimensions of"complicit masculinities" as the racial hierarchy in that context placed him in a better sociallocation than George Floyd's "marginalised masculinities" position on the hegemonic masculinities continuum. As such the passer-by possibly felt comfortable that the policeman would not turn on him even though he knew that the policeman's brute force was inappropriate.

Although this study was on caregiving, almost all male participants' self-directed narratives expressed concern for the environment, healthy eating habits, and their wish to live in clean surroundings without prompting from the researcher. They all expressed concern for their adult children and grand-children's prospects in a neo-liberal

environment. Perhaps limited empirical studies on men as caregivers has resulted in a knowledge deficit on men and their approach to care. The concept of caring masculinities is also reported by Karla Elliott (2016:240) who proposes that "[caring] masculinities are masculine identities that reject domination and its associated traits and embrace values of care such as positive emotion, interdependence, and relationality" (Elliott, 2016:240).

The dimensions of caring masculinities that this study identifies from participants' narratives are referred to by the researcher as "uber-caring senior masculinities" (UCSM). The dimensions include but are not limited to valuing the welfare of families and communities; acknowledging the reciprocal value of feminine and masculine worth; concern with how their actions may impact the well-being of generations yet to be born; and concern with intergenerational transfer of knowledge and resources. The UCSM in this study remains on the social location of "marginalised" masculinities on Connells' (1995) hegemonic masculinity gender hierarchy.

4.4.6 Uber-caring masculinities and protest masculinities: two sides of the same coin?

What is of significance is that, although at the time of this study when all participants were aged 60 and above, dimensions of uber-caring senior masculinities expressed by male participants were in sharp contrast to what the same male participants considered as dimensions of care during their youth and periods of early adulthood. This cohort experienced their youth during the colonial era. Some of what they narrate as their care strategies could be described as forms of "protest masculinities" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005:849). The activities that participants were involved in during their youth are consistent with empirical studies that report on protest masculinities, particularly amongst the working class who feel disenfranchised by hegemonic social structures and associated relations of production (Jane Parpart, 2015). Dimensions of protest masculinities should be understood in context. Such dimensions include but are not limited to resistance against marginalisation. Protest masculinities direct one's attention to the nature of class systems, relations of production as well as gender and racial systems (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

More men than women participants in this study brought up the issue of ways in which their educational and employment trajectories were negatively influenced by colonialism.

Some of the stories that were narrated by men are parallel to feminists' conceptualisation of "victim-offender". For example, in recent years Angela Y. Davis' (1999) work on what she terms "prison industrial complex" maps out connections betweenslavery, strategies of upholding capitalism and hegemonic mechanisms of silencing dissent. Davis (1999) credits W.E.B. Du Bois for his scholarly work that highlighted the impact of institutionalised racism that caused disenfranchisement amongst the marginalised. Another possibility of conceptualising the violent actions that were described by participants in this study is the concept of "acculturation". The Oxford Dictionary defines acculturation as "assimilation to a different culture, typically the dominant one". The participants were exposed to militarised forms of masculinities (Parpart, 2015) that deployed violent strategies with the intention of instilling fear and submissiveness. Acculturation could have occurred when some participants fought back.In addition, one will also note that the gender order that participants observe in the familynetwork of elder care takes on a different gender order when the variable of "violence" isintroduced. Mr Gidi's case illustrates this point as described next.

At the beginning of the interview Mr Gidi narrated the story of his childhood in which he and his cousins used to sleep on the floor on a straw mat with their grandmother in one of Harare's townships. He explained that their grandmother assigned all her grandchildren (boys and girls) similar household duties. Mr Gidi explained that when he was much older and his grandmother needed care, performing household chores for his grandmother was "very natural" to him. As the interview progressed, the researcher was surprised that this same gentleman who helped his grandmother with household chores narrated a story of how he as a then young man had taken part in guerrilla raids that made headlines at the time. The researcher clearly remembers one of the bombings that rocked the then Salisbury when the researcher was young.

Mr Gidi explained that after that particular incident he went back to his parents' home and pretended that he had been on night duty at work. He mentioned that to this day his wife and family do not know of his involvement in some of the guerrilla raids. One will identify Mr Gidi's silence on the matter as a form of agency that is described in Parpart's (2020) work that argues for the benefits of paying attention to "silence". In Mr Gidi's case the consequences could have been dire. Mr Gidi's silence may also have served various

purposes such as protecting his family from the truth, perhaps for military intelligence purposes or for other reasons best known to himself. Many years later, at the time of this study, Mr Gidi has reconfigured the nature of his masculinity to what this study describes as “uber-caring senior masculinities”. He is one of his community’s elders who lost his pension although he now works part-time. One could also describe the masculinity that he enacts in his old age as similar to the “softer” versions of Nelson Mandela’s masculinities that Raymond Suttner (2014:342) observes of the latter years of Nelson Mandela. At the time of this study, Mr Gidi continues to raise consciousness on issues of public concern.

In this instance, the deployment of an intersectional analysis brings to the forefront some of the multi-layers of identities, nuances and social processes that remain invisible yet contribute to the construction of contextual forms of masculinities. Such nuances include aspects of care that are linked to social activism and social reform as intended by Mr Gidi. His spirituality is rooted in the black struggle yet others might only see elements of a troublesome *mujiba* which refers to young men who were political informers during the Rhodesian war. Situated intersectionality (Yuval-Davis, 2015) facilitated in identifying what lies at the intersection of age, ethnicity and gender in response to external factors that influence the distribution of care in the family. Such exploration of the intersectional configurations of masculinities, age, ethnicity and class contribute to different understanding of ways in which gender is constructed and enacted as one interacts with others (West & Zimmerman, 1987) in a specific defined situation (Thomas, 1923; Mead, 1934; Goffman, 1959). In addition, the life course theory (W.E.B. Du Bois, 1899, reprinted 1996; Rowntree, 1901; Thomas & Znaniecki, 1918; Elder Jr., 1974, 1985, 1994; 1998) contributed towards the identification of ways in which dimensions of care provision fluctuate according to historical, social as well as personal factors that frame one’s life and one’s family at various periods.

Mr Gidi’s story provides insight into aspects of self-reflection between “I” and “me” (Mead, 1934) at specific junctures, times and places (Connell, 2001). Mr Gidi’s life trajectory is characterised by exposure to a caring household, to extreme militarised violent masculinities, then to post-independence protest masculinity and finally at the time of this study to uber-caring senior masculinity (UCSM). Such expressions of masculinities that

are observed in one person suggest that gender is always in a state of flux as suggested by Connell (2005). It also concurs with symbolic interaction scholar Richard A. Settersten, Jr. (2015) who articulates that "Life's strongest storylines are punctuated by and enmeshed with other people. The principle of "linked lives"—that the lives of individuals affect and are affected by the lives of others—is repeated as a mantra in life course literature. And yet this stands in direct contrast to the state of research, which largely treats individuals as if they exist in isolation of others" (Settersten, Jr. 2015:217). Drawing from participants' narratives, constructions of gender are subject to change as exemplified by Mr Gidi. As a child Mr Gidi associated care with sharing the straw mat with his grandmother and cousins as well as doing household chores that were assigned to him. According to him, his grandmother did not differentiate between girls and boys when she assigned duties. Thus Mr Gidi indicated that later in life one of his chores was to iron his father's police uniform and to polish his father's shoes. During his youth, Mr Gidi became aware of his social location in life after he was exposed to political unrest at his boarding school in Chimanimani. The fights between the Rhodesian army and the guerrillas led to the closure of his secondary school. It is during this period that he was conscientised on what can be described as "protest masculinities" and possible "local hegemonic masculinities" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) in an attempt to protect himself and his community. He subsequently engaged in violent underground activities as an informant as mentioned earlier. After independence, Mr Gidi associated care withworking to feed his family (breadwinning). However, he was disappointed when he realised that he had lost his pension after the local currency was devalued. Of significanceis the role that Mr Gidi's grandmother played in shaping his sense of family responsibilityand the virtue of sharing household chores.

It was necessary to explain the various dimensions of hegemonic and dominant masculinities in the above discussion to place into context, the caring masculinities identified in this study. As the study is based in an urban setting, the discussion included an explanation of urban forms of masculinities, namely metro and uber masculinities. This leads to a discussion on caring femininities that were identified in this study.

4.4.7 Uber-caring senior femininities

The dimensions of "caring femininities" that were identified in this study deviate from the

dimensions of “feminized care” frameworks that are reported by other studies. This study identified a form of caring femininities that are referred to as “uber-caring senior femininities” (UCSM). Dimensions of caring femininities that were identified from participants’ narratives seem similar to the dimensions that are encompassed in the *Ma’at* framework of care that may be traced to the north and west of Africa. Scholars Rhonda Wells-Wilbon and Gaynell Marie Simpson (2009) explain that:

> Ma’at validates a family-centered model, placing caregiving as a central theme in African-centered thought and practice (94.)… The Western ideology of separate spheres and the gendered division of labor is not culturally relevant to African American families, but it is being used to inform the perceptions of what is expected of normative gender roles. (Wells-Wilbon & Simpson, 2009: 100)

Whilst the female participants in this study seem to be involved in managing the day to day care activities in the home, it seems that the women do not place emphasis on the gendered division of care labour. They seem to view care and associated care-related duties as part of what it means to be human; thus they assign a social as well as cultural value to unpaid care work. Women participants’ outlook is different from those who experience the “problem that has no name" in Betty Friedan’s (1963) “Feminist mystique”. Friedan’s (1963) work describes women who feel “trapped” by their maternal roles in spite of their comfortable life styles. Although the women in this study suggested that they sometimes have to multi-task to keep their families afloat, the concept of “doubleor triple shifts” (Hochschild and Machung, 2003; Jean Duncombe and Dennis Marsden, 1995) does not quite frame their context. The women explained that they assign duties to other family members. In previous years, some of them could afford to hire someone to help them with household chores. Whilst they all express that in recent years it has been difficult to make ends meet, participants did not express frustration or describe caring for elder family members or caring for their grandchildren as a burden. They only expressed their frustration from being exposed to various stifling structural constraints that they cannot control. For example, they expressed frustration at the erratic manner in which their pension is disbursed, the lack of clean running water, the lack of opportunities for their adult children, the lack of a reliable health service and the cost of living that makes caring for family members challenging.

This study notes similarities between women participants' perceptions that men are part of their network of support and should not be excluded from community building initiatives. Similar views are expressed by bell hooks's (1984) argument that, whilst black women might experience specific challenges pertinent to black women, their brothers and fathers are part of the struggle against social issues that marginalise their communities. Men are, what hooks terms "comrades in struggle" (bell hooks, 1984: 67- 69). Participants in this study felt that they had more serious problems than gender disparities. The attitude towards chores that are associated with the provision of care in the family necessitated digging deeper to establish the significance of performing such tasks. When one of the participants, Mrs Murimi, was asked for her views on why women seem to be disproportionately involved in domestic duties including caring for family elders, Ms Murimi explained:

> Women are not forced. Girls are taught from an early age. It's true. Yes she is taught the ropes of life but we never give her a big pot of water to carry on her head. We do things in love so she does not feel overwhelmed. Boys are more difficult to teach. When they are older they start saying - I am not a girl.

Ms Murimi explained that in her family of origin, from an early age, boys and girls were assigned similar duties. She adopted this style of parenting when she herself bore children. However, she notes that in spite of exposing boys and girls to similar domestic chores, during adolescents boys become reluctant to be seen by their peers doing household chores amongst other duties that are considered by others as "women's work". Ms Murimi's observation may be explained by Mead's (1934) proposition of the various stages of primary socialisation and the development of "I", "me," "play-game and generalised other" stages. Chodorow (1978) develops Mead's propositions by suggesting that during adolescence boys actively resolve their oedipal complex by distancing themselves from their mothers and what is considered as feminine traits. Instead, they tend to align themselves with their father or other boys and participate in what is considered as masculine activities.

Participants in this study explained that married women in particular usually adopt the caring practice of the families that they marry into. For example, Ms Munyu explained that she is of the Manyika ethnic group but had married into a Karanga ethnic family. Assuch,

she adopted the practices of the Karanga ethnic group after she married into their family. Her late husband too was expected to observe the practices expected of *mukuwasha* (son-in-law) when they took care of Ms Munyu's ageing parents whobelonged to the Manyika ethnic group. This study notes that it might also be challengingto really delineate who does what behind closed doors in the privacy of people's home. For example, Ms Murimi narrated that she worked very hard for her family and was better at money management than her husband. She described her ex-husband through a proverb that translates to "some men are like chickens that scratch for food". She also mentioned that he was like a cow that goes to graze but still finds its way back home. This is because, besides his poor money management skills (that resemble a scratchingchicken), he was also a womaniser (a cow that goes out to graze but finds its way home).In a low tone, Ms Murimi said, "*Musha mukadzi*, it's me the woman who runs the family".As explained earlier, the idiom *musha mukadzi* valorises the "being" that is female in thehome by giving credit to women for being the glue that binds the family. She went on to explain her situation using yet another idiom *chakafukidza imba matenga*. The proverb translates to, "the roof conceals what is happening inside the home". This proverb suggests that one will never know what lies behind closed doors. She confided that their current family home and the first family home were bought from the proceeds of her small business ventures yet she never broadcasts these facts. She explains that her ex-husband was not interested in her small business ventures yet she never corrected anyone who remarked on "his" van that was bought for the business. She said that peopledid not realise that he squandered all his salary on extra marital affairs and "living it up". Incidentally, Ms Murimi's grandchildren live in Ms Murimi's first home. This means that Ms Murimi is responsible for providing her adult grandchildren with housing.

4.4.8 What is hidden behind closed doors?

Giving credit to husbands seems to be another pattern that was noticed not only from Ms Murimi's story but amongst other women participants in this study. When Ms Murimi was asked why she gave credit for her ideas to her husband, she responded that women achieve more when they work quietly behind the scenes than going head-to-head with their husbands. She responded that, "in fact, we women know that we are the real leaders of our families and communities. Men help too but they need our gentle guidance." Such

incidence of *chakafukidza dzimba matenga* (what is hidden behind closed doors) resonates with Goffman's (1959) propositions of front stage and backstage and impression management. Mead's (1934) concept of "I" and "me" also offers conceptual tools for understanding the phenomenon of self-reflection. One could interpret the "me" that Ms Mirimi presents to the public as a "front" yet behind closed doors her "I" is in touch with her achievements that she credits to her husband. Another way of looking at itcould be to apply Goffman's (1967) concept of "saving face". To recap, Goffman's (1967) analytical framework of everyday interaction (ritualisation) suggests that generally human beings avoid embarrassing others by looking away when someone does not get something right. On the other hand, feminist scholars might interpret the same situation as an example of black women unconditionally displaying allegiance to black males especially under conditions when men and women are marginalised by common hegemonic structures (Hill Collins, 2001; bell hooks, 1984). This possibility leads one to pose the question "What are the consequences of giving one's credit to one's husband?" One cannot really know what is going on based on what one sees on the surface. Women participants drew attention to some of the hidden nuances that contribute towards the construction of urban masculinities and femininities in the context of elder care.

4.4.9 Family care network versus state support

It is interesting to note that none of the participants ever brought up the preference of receiving state support as a first option. They defaulted to care provision being the responsibility of the family. However, they did express that, under the current circumstances of economic uncertainty, it would be appreciated to receive some form of reliable state assistance for all elderly people, particularly during these challenging economic times. Instead of receiving help from adult children who also have their own family responsibilities, the participants in this study expressed that their preference would be to have reliable access to their own pension. Such stability would give them financial independence including the choice to hire household help if needed. In general, whilst participants make the most of what they have, their interdependent family support structure in an urban setting is out of necessity. Participants stated that they did not want to be a burden to their own children. Participants also wished for an economic environment that enables everyone to make a decent living from using their talents and

skills. Scholars Michael Fine and Caroline Glendinning (2005) also question a care system that valorises family support. The scholars argue that instead of "interdependence" it is poignant to use "dependence" because the notion of "interdependence" may absolve the state from the equation of care responsibility (Fine & Glendinning, 2005). Whilst Fine and Glendinning (2005) make valid points, it is possible that indigenous families intended to be self-reliant. It seems that one might not have foreseen the consequences of neo-liberal economies on individuals in urban areas. As such, Sevenhuijsen et al.'s (2003) ethic of care framework conceptualises care as an individual's right to social citizenship. Some of the participants' preference for independence and financial freedom raised the question of whether participants ever sat down with their family members to discuss the provision of elder care. Their responses are explained next.

4.4.10 Trepidation on ageing

When asked if participants in this study ever called for a family meeting to discuss the care provision of either themselves or their family elders, all participants except for one responded that they never sat down as a family and that the caregiving process was an organic process. The responsibility for hands-on care fell on whoever was living in the same house as the elder. If the elder was living elsewhere, and it became apparent that the family elder could no longer cope on their own, some of the participants reported that they would invite the elder to live with them or ask someone to go to live with the elder. Whilst ageing is an inevitable part of life, it seems as if the topic itself is a difficult topic to discuss amongst family members. One participant, Mr Tino, expressed that he does not feel the need to discuss issues that are in the far future when he has other pressing issues such as where his next loaf of bread is coming from. Perhaps another reason that families might approach the living arrangements in old age as an organic process is thatZimbabwe has a culture of ageing in place as explained next. .

4.4.11 Ageing in place and level of care required

Ageing in place (AIP) is a concept that has been advanced by the discipline of social work to offer various strategies that encourage people to remain in their homes or community as they age. For example, in the American context Amanda Lehning, Emily Joy Nicklett, Joan Davitt, and Hilary Wiseman (2017:235) explain that:

> Aging in place (AIP), defined as the ability of older adults to "live in their homes or communities as long as possible" (Yen & Anderson, 2012, p. 951). In addition, federal and state governments have implemented promising programmes and interventions, such as Money Follows the Person and the State Balancing Incentive Program (both expanded through the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act) to help older adults who need assistance to remain in or return to their community (Kane, 2012). (Lehning et al., 2017:235)

Lehning et al.'s (2018) explanation above suggests the response to ageing in their particular country in which old age homes and assisted living communities have been the norm. One will note that in Africa, Zimbabwe included, the practice amongst the indigenous people has always been to age in place. In Zimbabwe, the doors of the first old age home[51] in Highfields, Harare were opened by Lady Diana, Princess of Wales in 1993. Although the concept of "caregiving" is used broadly in this study, it is important to take into consideration the level of self-sufficiency of the elder. This is because the level of assistance seems to affect the nature of personal and material exchange between the caregiver and care recipient. Although some caregivers might explain that they are "taking care" of an elder person, what might not be apparent is that those who are "taking care" of the elder might also be benefiting from the elder's resources. Considering the explanation of ageing in place was offered by Lehning et al. (2017) earlier, one will note that in that context, the ageing process is factored into the state social security system to offer some assistance to those who need help instead of placing the responsibility of care in the hands of the individual and their adult children who might not have adequate resources.

One case that was narrated by Ms Rose involves elderly parents who offered what one might describe as "restorative justice" to their daughter whom they felt had sacrificed a lot in taking care of them. Ms Rose narrated her experience as occupying what this study describes as "material care role". Ms Rose explained that she cared for her parents who lived in Harare until her parents decided to move to their rural homestead. Ms Rose's sister, who was divorced, offered to provide hands-on care for their parents in the rural area. Each month without fail Ms Rose asked bus drivers from her rural area to deliver

[51] Opening of old age home https://www.ctvnews.ca/princess-di-s-zimbabwe-old-age-home-goes-broke-1.808502

food parcels and money to her sister who was taking care of their parents. However, when one of the parents eventually passed away, she could only get time off the following day as her supervisor was away and unable to grant her time off work. When Ms Rose arrived at her parents' rural home she was dismayed to find her relatives including her brothers gathered at the family home supposedly waiting for Ms Rose's arrival. What the relatives were waiting for was for Ms Rose to provide the finances for the coffin and other funeral expenses. Ms Rose realised that her family had become used to her occupying what this study refers to as the "material caregiver" role over the years. She expressed frustration that her brothers had failed to construct what she referred to as "even a basic coffin made of pine". However, Ms Rose's parents bequeathed their urban home to Ms Rose. Ms Rose's sister who was the hands-on caregiver inherited their parents' rural home.

Ms Rose's experience suggests that the notion of care should be understood as an outcome of a relationship between people. In other words, care is a process that is actually constructed by two or more people (Fine & Glendinning, 2005). In Ms Rose's case, what were/are some of the reasons that her brothers could not start some of the essential funeral preparations without Ms Rose? Whilst it is possible that they might not have had the resources, it is also possible that the care roles in their family were so firmly established that thinking otherwise was not immediately obvious. For this reason, it is imperative to understand the context in which care is taking place. Ironically it is Ms Rose's sisters-in-law (brothers' wives) who felt slighted that the parents had bequeathed their home to Ms Rose. This study recognises that behaviours that participants associate with care may be qualitative or quantitative or both. Factors that could be quantified include time, money, home visits and medical costs. However, such quantification simply describes the frequency and duration of visits, for example, but may not reveal the qualitative aspects of such relations of care. The study noted that qualitative aspects of care are subjective. Methodologically, this duality of care behaviours means exploring the nature of interaction between qualitative aspects and quantitative aspects of care. Experiences such as Ms Rose's suggest variation of experience in the provision of care. For example, what are the circumstances that led Ms Rose to the helm of "material caregiver?" What was the attitude of Ms Rose's brothers towards their late parents? Did they have a good relationship?

4.4.12 Attitude versus behaviour

Although the behavioural caregiving patterns that were observed suggest “typical” gendered division of household labour, the attitude towards the act of care is that of appreciation not devaluation. Although both women and men report that the caregiving experience is challenging under the present economic climate, they felt that members within their nuclear families all contributed in cash or in kind towards providing care.One gets a sense of joint ownership of care provision. None of the men or women self-reported as being negatively affected by caring for elderly members of their family.

What remains unclear at this stage are the factors that contribute towards women being reported as those most negatively affected by poverty and disease in old age. It is not clear why elderly women are also reported as most affected by poverty and disease (Zimbabwe Census Report, 2012). It is reported that globally, women live longer than men. Figure 1 on page 6 in the Background section illustrates Zimbabwe’s population distribution by gender. As such, it could be that women might continue to take up various family caregiving activities way after the male members of their family have passed on. For example, the husbands of all the female participants in this study have all passed on. The study was interested in establishing participant’s estimation of time that they had invested in caring for elder family members.

4.4.13 The duration and phases of care

In this study the duration of caring for a family elder was unclear. This study realised that a different study for this is needed. The duration of care seems to be related to the nature of the physical and psychological condition that necessitates an older person to require assistance. For example, some of the participants provided care to family elders who experienced sudden health issues such as a stroke. Under such conditions, entry into the caregiving role was unexpected and immediate. Others related that their elders experienced illness as a result of uncontrolled high blood pressure. In such cases, participants experienced longer care trajectories from the time that complications from high blood pressure became apparent to the point of senescence. The caregiving roles seem to expand in relation to increased impairment or frailty. Frail elders require more attention than those who are not frail. In other cases the elderly family member experiences sporadic bouts of ill health that do not require long term care. This is one of

the reasons that participants were unable to pin point when they entered in and out of the elder caregiving role. Sporadic periods of ill health might have been accompanied by very long periods of good health. However, some narrate that the short sporadic periodsof ill health called for intensive round the clock care. For example, Mr Reggie describedhow, together with his wife, they bought a bell for his ailing mother to summon for help atany time. Participants' narratives suggest the need for further investigation into the different phases of care that older people might experience. It seems that the intensity and duration of care that is called for is closely associated with the actual cause ofthe need for care. In some cases, the care that is needed is brief and intense whereas inothers the care that is needed is for a longer period and perhaps not as intense.

4.4.14 End of life care

The end of life care seems to be associated with a particularly challenging transition for the caregivers. The study notes that some of the participants reported increased tension between family members who might disagree on how to manage the end of life stage of a family elder. This study notes that the end of life stage tends to be influenced by matters of religion and spirituality. The stories that participants shared are stories from which the issue of Christianity, new age religion and Shona spirituality come to the forefront. For example, Ms Rose narrated her experience of caring for her husband who had fallen ill. Ms Rose's husband was then admitted into hospital. Without her knowledge, Ms Rose's in-laws discharged Ms Rose's husband from the hospital and drove him to another town to consult a traditional healer. Ms Rose had no idea where her in-laws had taken her ill husband. She only found out after the traditional healer had summoned her. Some of these family patterns of behaviour suggest further exploration on how family members deal with disagreement on the issue of elder care. Ms Rose's response to this situation is of significance to this study that is interested in some of the agentic strategies used by caregivers. Ms Rose's story is revisited in the following section that explains the various agentic strategies that were identified in this study.

4.4.15 Agentic strategies identified in this study

Ms Rose's story of her late husband continued after Ms Rose's husband passed away. Ms Rose narrated that after the period of mourning she was invited to a family meeting

where she was surprised that the purpose of the meeting was to offer her a new husband from amongst her late husband's brothers and first cousins, most of whom were already married. Ms Rose, relates that she was taken aback as she did not believe in *kugara nhaka*, the Shona term for "levirate" marriage. The term "levirate" is derived from the Latin word *levir* that means "husband's brother." Her late husband's family tried to explain to her that wife inheritance would ensure that she and her children would continue to receive care from within the family circle. The late husband's family explained that they did not believe in their kin being raised outside of the clan. Ms Rose demonstrated unshakable resolve when she did not accept their offer in spite of the husband's family summoning her relatives from her own family line to ask them to persuade her to accept their offer. Instead, she made plans to return to her parents' home.

Another story is narrated by Ms Diya who explained that each December her church organises a retreat in another town. Ms Diya's son who is in Canada occupies the role that this study identifies as "material care" provider. He called her to advise her not to attend the church retreat that year as he was concerned about her health and the costs that would be involved should she fall ill in another town. He suggested that she should rather rest. Other family members sided with Ms Diya's son. Ms Diya then decided to pay for the church trip using the proceeds from the *stokvel* that she is part of.As she knew that there would be resistance, Ms Diya secretly packed her suitcase and sneaked out whilst everyone was still sleeping. When her daughter-in-law called her, Ms Diya informed her that she was on a bus that was en route to the destination of the churchretreat. Ms Diya added that she took photos (selfies) of herself and sent them to her children. She explained that she did not like to be dictated to.

With reference to this study, the researcher got the sense that if the women participants did not want to provide care for anyone, they would find ways to avoid such responsibility. This possibility revisits the question of the reported patriarchal gender order that nudges some women into subjugated social locations. In this study, an intersectional approach facilitated the exploration of some of the strategies that women use as they negotiate and engage in various social relations within their families. In the same breath, participants' stories suggest a concerted effort of maintaining cultural insularity from colonial influence. For example, Mr Reggie explained that he looks much younger than one of the British

Royal family members who was born in the same year as him. He attributes his youthful looks to his commitment to eating healthy indigenous food and “not this processed western food”. Another participant, Mr Loyi, tends to their garden to ensure that his yard is meticulous. He explained that his late parents, who were the previous owners of the house he currently lives in, always made sure that the garden was beautiful to “spite” the military who would patrol the township to enforce curfew. He maintains his grooming habit for self-preservation purposes to avoid sinking deeper into what he called “nothingness” when limited resources trickle down to grassroots people. Mr Loyi also highlighted the cultural expressions of music and ways in which music keeps one grounded during this stage of his life. As a jazz connoisseur, he spent some time expressing ways in which jazz and blues music are rooted in black struggle and should always be the “go to” when one needs solace. The participants had a lot to share on topics of music, eating healthily, and taking care of oneself as ways of holding on to their culture and dignity - issues that are/were of interest to them.

This study notes that all the participants brought up the issue of the importance of eating indigenous food and encouraging youth to appreciate indigenous food instead of processed food. This study realised that some of the participants in this cohort witnessed the gradual change in the culinary offerings in Zimbabwe. Participants made the connections between food consumption, family cohesion and national identity. In other words, through food they aim to hold on to our identity. The researcher realised that participants’ understanding of food within their family and community setting goes beyond the act of eating to stay healthy. The study identified recent work by scholars Atsuko Ichijo and Ronald Ranta (2016) on the political nature associated with food in the private as well as national sphere. This study realised that culinary matters seem to be of importance to participants in this study. This area is beyond the scope of this study and further studies are called for. John C. Super (2002:165) explains the possible significance of food when he expressed that:

> Historians of food usually find it necessary to explain the significance of their subject. Lest the uninitiated think that food is simply planted, cessed, transported, sold, and consumed, readers are alerted to complex roles that food plays in human society. For the most enthusiastic, food is the ideal cultural symbol that allows the historian to uncover hidden levels of meaning in social relationships and arrive at new understandings of the human experience. (Super, 2002:165)

4.4.16 Conclusion on family care network identified in this study

The above findings explain some of the social processes that are involved in the provision of elder care. Caring is not always hands-on face-to-face care but care may be expressed from a distance and in different ways. As discussed earlier, there are different care roles that anyone in the family may occupy. Care relations seem to be based on moral and ethical values. Participants expressed that they did not see the need to sit down and discuss elder care as each family member is expected to be decent in responding to the care needs of the family elders. Another felt that there was no need to plan ahead when one did not know where their next loaf of bread would come from. Despite experiencing difficulties in making ends meet, this study identified what this study refers to as uber-caring senior masculinities and uber-caring senior femininities. Uber-caring senior masculinities refers to dimensions of care that were common amongst male participants. These men are aware of their circumstances and they see value in concerning themselves with issues of environmental degradation, healthy eating habits as well as voicing their concerns in spite of some of them getting into trouble. Uber-caring senior femininities refers to dimensions of care that were common across female participants. The women seem to know their worth but they do not need external validation to feel whole. They do not mind performing what others believe to be menial work as they express that there are bigger issues to worry about. Their position as family matriarchs is pivotal in ensuring that each family member has a place in the family care network.

Perhaps the care that is expressed by men and women in this study stems from the understanding that there is more to an individual than just a body and the gender that is assigned to individuals. Mungwini (2017:95) explains that according to the Shona culture as in most African cultures, “The human being is made up of the physical body (muviri), soul/spirit (mweya), and blood (ropa) which gives one their rudzi (lineage or identity).” One will note that Mugwini’s (2017) clarification resonates with Oyèrónkẹ́ Oyèwùmí (1997:9) whose case study was based on the Yorùbá people. Oyèwùmí’s (1997) argument is that in the Yorùbá context, whilst there are anatomical differences between men and women, particularly on the ability of women to give birth, such differences are “mere anatomical fact” (Oyèwùmí, 1997:18) and should not be used as signifiers for arbitrary social classifications from which to draw theory. She suggests that the construct

of gender as a primary organising principle is based on a western inspired "biological determinism" world view (Oyèwùmí 1997: xiii) as gender has not always been used as a social ordering framework in her case study in Ọ̀yọ́-Yorùbá (Oyèwùmí, 1997:29). Oyèwùmí's (1997) theory has been contested by some such as Bibi Bakare-Yusuf (2003) on theoretical grounds and by Amina Mama (2001:69) who problemises, "[inventing] an imaginary precolonial community in which gender did not exist (Mama, 2001:69) by citing Oyèwùmí (1999). Such variation of expression suggests that a lot more empirical studies are called for that explore possible variation in manifestations of gender as experienced by the diverse communities. In addition, using gender as a single axes of analysis does not tell us much about the meaning and purpose of various social positions. Gender should be understood in relation to other appropriate social factors in that particular context and era amongst other social variables (Crenshaw, 1989; Hill Collins, 2000). For example, considering that people are living longer, what is the significance of gender amongst those who live in urban areas and are classified as old? There is merit in continuing to build onto scholarship that explores the possible fluidity of gender as reported by various scholars.

4.4.17 How finding on family care network contributes towards this study's aims and objectives

The above discussion addresses overlapping aspects of the aims and objectives of this study. The discussion particularly address aims and objectives (c) and (d) below.

c. *To establish any possible benefits, burdens and inequalities between men and women that might possibly exist in the context of caregiving.*

d. *To interpret the social relations that are implicated at the intersection of gender, caregiving, and indicators of quality of life based on participants' life course narratives.*

One of the aims of the study was to establish the possible benefits, burdens and inequalities between men and women that might possibly exist in the context of caregiving. The stories that were narrated by participants provided a rich platform from which one could identify some of the nuances that are associated with what is constructed as behaviour suitable for women and behaviour suitable for men. Although all 10 out of

10 participants expressed that the issue of possible gender differences in the sphere of care is not a determining factor of who the caregiver is, the narratives suggest that the practical hands-on caring duties are performed by females. At the time of this study the men and women are actively participating in their family wellbeing in view of the tough economic climate. Both men and women seem to be occupying the same social location. As such the study identified caring forms of masculinities and femininities as participants reciprocate the distribution of care that they share with their descendants. The participants do not believe that they have been disadvantaged by taking up care roles at various points over their life course. An overlapping aim and objective is point (d) above that aims to interpret the social relations that are implicated at the intersection of gender, caregiving and indicators of quality of life. As this study was interested in identifying some of the behaviours, attitudes and perceptions that possibly contribute towards positioning men and women in different social locations, the study noted that some of the ritualised social processes serve to reinforce what is considered as feminine behaviour or masculine behaviour. The quality of life that they are experiencing is not what they had envisaged. For example, all of them narrated some of the challenges that they experience when they need medical attention. What follows are some of the care belief systems that were expressed by participants in this study.

4.5 Finding two - cultural dimensions in caregiving sphere

“Culture” seems to be another mediating factor that influences the construction of the family care network for some of the participants. This study adopted the definition of “culture” that is explained by Nwafor (2017). Nwafor (2017:36) cites various scholars to explain that:

> The etymological derivation of the term culture from Latin cultura, which means cultivation of the soil is very important in our understanding of this concept in the present time. Amaegwu (2013) extended the meaning of this derivative to the “cultivation of the mind and spirit.” The significant word in this derivation is cultivation which implies a dependency of culture on man. Culture is a product ofa rational being like man. Man is therefore the maker or creator of culture. It is those “patterns of behavior and thinking that people living in social groups learn, create, and share” (Bodley 2009). It is that which helps us to distinguish one groupof human

> beings from others; and distinguishes humans from animals. “A people’sculture includes their beliefs, rules of behavior, language, rituals, art, technology, styles of dress, ways of producing and cooking food, religion, and political and economic systems (Bodley, 2009). (Nwafor, 2017:36)

Family elders are believed to play the role of strengthening inter-generational relationships. Elders are expected to play a role in maintaining the continuum of kinship ties between the living, the dead and beyond. The living elders are understood as occupying what may be described as a pivotal heirophone position that is closest to the family’s *mudzimu* (ancestors). *Mudzimu* are family elders who have passed on and are believed to have joined the ancestor-hood to whom present and future generations owe their being. It seems that the belief system of some of the participants might be closely associated with Bert Hellinger’s (1999; 2006) fairly recent family constellation theory that is advanced by family therapy scholars. Unlike the classic life course theory that is credited to W.E.B. Du Bois (1899) on studies based in America, Rowntree (1901) on studies based in England, and Thomas & Znaniecki (1918) on studies based on the Polish immigrants who had settled in Chicago, the gist of Hellinger’s (1999; 2006) work centres on family hierarchies and intergenerational connection between surviving and deceased family members. Hellinger’s (1999; 2006) family constellation theory is a result of his phenomenological work in South Africa. His work is perhaps best articulated by Elena-Claudia Rusu (2014) in an article entitled “On men and women in the family constellation method”. Rusu (2014) explains that in “[direct] contact with the culture of the Zulu tribes in South Africa, he began outlining some ideas regarding the family as a system and the importance of respecting the hierarchy of a system, the rules of men and women within families and society, the cause of health issues and the way we can deeply heal ourselves, our soul” (Rusu, 2014:1141). One will note that there are parallels between Hellinger’s (1999, 2006) family constellation work and the cultural belief system of most participants in this study except for two. As such, the feminist “ethic of care theory” that was developed by Gilligan (1982) and the classic life course theory study of W.E.B.Du Bois (1899), Rowntree (1901) and Thomas and Znaniecki (1918) might not adequately account for some of the cosmic aspects that are associated with the family care system that is observed in this study. In this regard, this study draws from Mungwini’s (2017) work on African cosmology that pays attention to the Shona worldview. Mungwini (2017:82) explains that:

> For the Shona, like most Africans, the spirits are a reality that must be reckoned with whether they make sense or not from the positivist outlook. Like most Africans, the Shona view their society as a trilogy of beings comprising the living, the living dead and the yet to be born. Ramose (1999:62) refers to this structure as the onto-triadic conception of being. However, since the other two levels of being in the trilogy pertain to beings that are either unknown or unseen, this structure can also be referred to as the 'ontology of invisible beings'. (Mungwini, 2017:82)

Mungwini's (2017) explanation above dovetails with Sousa Santos' (2017:238) observation that "[our] theories are sometimes part of an epistemology of blindness, in that they allow us to see certain things but blind us from seeing other things. The unseen things could be valuable but we do not have the adequate lenses to see them" (Sousa Santos, 2017:238). Perhaps Sousa Santos's (2017:238) comments direct one to establish if people from the same family share the same views. It is possible that the views of participants in this study may not be views that others share in spite of being part of the same family.

Family conflict amongst family members was noted in instances when some family members did not agree on how to meet the needs of the family elder. One such incidence was the disagreement that occurred when some family members thought it best to consult with indigenous herbalists after an elder family member fell ill. The rationale for consulting traditional healers was an effort of "healing the soul", an approach that is similar to the Christian concept of *cura animarum* (soul care) as advanced by Louw (2012, 2016). It is pertinent to note that the same participants who expressed religious and spiritual dimensions of elder care also acknowledge the relevance of consulting with allopathic medical practitioners, including pharmacists, physiotherapists - what some participants referred to as *zvechirungu* (Western practice). Such approach to primary health care suggests the possibility of either cultural acculturation or possible contestation between indigenous knowledge systems and western knowledge systems in the provision of care. It may also suggest the perceived benefits of integrating indigenous and allopathic medical practice. The late former Minister of Health, Dr Herbert Ushewekunze, was a well-known proponent of traditional African medicine (Patricia Sibanda, *News Day,*13 November 2020).

When this study consulted empirical studies on indigenous knowledge systems, it seems that some of the views that are expressed by participants are also clarified by Mungwini (2017:95) who states that, according to the Shona culture as in most African cultures:

> The human being is made up of the physical body (muviri), soul/spirit (mweya), and blood (ropa) which gives one their rudzi (lineage or identity). It seems parallels can be drawn between the Shona conception and similar ideas about the person from other parts of Africa. What is of significance is not the disparate names they give to the various components or constituent parts but the overall picture which emerges where the person comprises of a combination of the material and the immaterial substances. (Mungwini, 2017:95).

Ms Diya's case is a classic case that highlights some of the outcomes associated with the intersection of culture and gender relations that Ms Diya has been exposed to over her life course. In her case, one can see the personification of contextual construction of masculinities at play. Ms Diya's parents were originally from Malawi. Her father felt that it was his duty as the father of the family to arrange a safe marriage for his daughter. Ms Diya's case is particularly interesting because the man whom her father picked for her was Mozambican. He was much older and "very gentle" to use her own words. She said that he was a good provider although he had a drinking problem. She mentioned that his demeanor was very different from her father's. When asked to explain the various ways that he was different from her father, Ms Diya responded that Malawian men are taught that they are in charge of their female children. Mozambican men on the other hand are persuasive and prefer to negotiate and thus are not as forceful as her Malawian father. She mentioned that she was very happy that her Zimbabwean sons did not inherit the drinking habit of their father (Ms. Diya's husband) and grandfather (Ms. Diya's father). Ms Diya was eager to mention that "It is good to follow God to see the light instead of following "zvinhu zvenzinza" (intergenerational practice). All my children married in church and never set foot in a beer hall."

This study notes that the integration of an intersectional lens and the life course theory, contributed towards identifying variation of experience amongst a small slice of the Harare population. One will note that although Ms Diya is Zimbabwean, a life course approach to analysis suggests that her father who had emigrated from Malawi maintained his cultural affinity. In the same manner that Znaniecki and Thomas (1918)

report on the Polish settlers in Chicago who later self-identified as “Polish Americans”, Ms Diya’s also spoke of how his Malawian father would sit and drink together with his Malawian companions. In addition, her own Mozambican husband would also maintained close relationships with his Mozambican counterparts with whom he would also sit and drink. One will note that the women whom Ms Diya described as her father’s “cousins” by virtue of belonging to the same ethnic clan in Malawi served to advance the wishes of the men within their midst by encouraging her to marry the man whom her father had handpicked for her and proceed to perform a virginity test. bell hooks (2000) reminds us that both men and women may serve as conduits of patriarchal values that manifest in various systems of domination. bell hooks (2000) suggests that “[everyone] is guilty of perpetuating sexism… female and male, have been socialized from birth on to accept sexist thought and action” (hooks 2000, viii-ix).

Ms Diya mentioned that she decided not to follow any cultural ways of doing things especially on issues of ancestral practice. She believes that it is better to hold onto God and not delve into the ancestral realm as some of the ancestors whom she knows also had drinking problems. Ms Diya’s concerns are related to the biological term described as “atavism”[52]. The Oxford Dictionary defines “atavism” as “recurrence of traits of an ancestor in a subsequent generation”. The on-line biology dictionary explains that “An atavism is the phenomenon in which a phenotypic trait reappears in an organism after a period of absence”. Ms Diya explained that she did not want anyof her children to inherit the alcoholic tendencies that she had observed in her husband and her own father. She herself stopped her drinking habit and committed herself to a life in the church. She is very grateful that to date none of her children have displayed any symptoms of alcohol dependency. Although Ms Diya is Zimbabwean, unlike other women and men in this study, she had to deal with intersecting cultural practice as observed by her Malawian parents, the Mozambican practice that she married into, as well as the Zimbabwean cultural practice that she was born into.

The above discussion explores some of the cultural, spiritual and cosmic aspects that explain the background in which care is taking place. The study notes that the

[52] Atavism – online biology dictionary https://biologydictionary.net/atavism/

intersectionality lens facilitated a research design that does not view participants as neither monolithic nor ahistorical. Variation of participants' worldviews contributes towards the understanding of ways in which gender is implicated in the provision of care. However, in some cases, the interpretation of some aspects of culture may lead to conflict as in Ms Munyu's case that is discussed next.

4.5.1 Conflicting interests in the process of elder care

One participant, Ms Munyu, contributed an incident that highlights possible intergenerational interpretation of gendered cultural practices of intergenerational provision of wealth. Ms Munyu explained that when her younger sister married, Ms Munyu's mother received from her future son-in-law the customary gift of *mombe yeumai* (the mother-in-law's heifer). Ms Munyu's mother lives in the rural areas and Ms Munyu who lives in Harare is her material caregiver. Ms Munyu narrated that each month she sends money to the rural homestead to enable her mother to hire a herd boy to herd the cattle. Ms Munyu also sends money for animal husbandry purposes. However, when the mother's heifer produced its first calves, Ms Munyu was dismayed to discover that her mother had given the calves to her two sons (Ms Munyu's brothers). Ms Munyu was taken aback as she felt that she should have been the firstone to be bestowed with one of the calves that the heifer had produced. However, MsMunyu's mother felt that the calves should go to her sons to enable her sons to use those calves to present to their own mothers-in-law as *mombe yeumai* that were still outstanding from their own *roora* proceedings. Nevertheless, Ms Munyu made her opinion known to her mother. Ms Munyu thought that she would simply wait for the next generation of calves. To her surprise, Ms Munyu's mother decided to give the new additions to her own brothers (Ms Munyu's maternal uncles) as a gesture of sharing the proceeds of Ms Munyu's sister's marriage gifts from her son-in-law. Ms Munyu was upset because she felt that she had invested so much in taking care of hermother yet her mother did not seem to consider the importance and value of Ms Munyu's contributions to the family well-being. One can see conflict stemming from expectations between Ms Munyu and her mother. Ms Munyu's mother asked Ms Munyu why she would want a calf when she was a woman (Ms Munyu is widowed) who would marry and go off one day. Ms Munyu's mother demonstrated her allegianceto the traditional practice of

bestowing family inheritance to male members of the family. This practice privileges males and subjugates women. Although she was unsuccessful, Ms Munyu challenged her mother's perpetuation of problematic genderconstructions that privilege one over the other because of their gender. Ms Munyu's mother felt that her sons and her brothers from her family of origin deserved the calves, yet according to Ms Munyu, these sons neither contributed much towards the care of Ms Munyu's mother nor towards expenses related to animal husbandry. Although Ms Munyu lives in Harare, she explained that she would also like to own herown herd of cattle at the family homestead as she is a widowed mother. She believesthat the cattle that she can call her own could come in handy one day. Without undermining Ms Munyu's genuine feelings of being devalued in favour of her brothers,one may also consider the need to understand the motives for caring. Does a caregiverexpect anything in return?

4.5.2 Motivation for caring

The above explanation ties in with participants' reports that they would take up caregiving roles without question. All the participants also explained that they feel the need to reciprocate the love that family elders had bestowed upon them. However, variation was noted regarding the non-material aspects of care. Some expressed that they felt that they had a responsibility to attend to the "soul" needs of their elderly. Such understanding may perhaps be better explained by traditional indigenous knowledge systems scholars. Thus, Mungwini (2017:109) concludes that "Despite the cultural metamorphosis triggered by colonial conquest and the contemporary confluence of cultures in Africa, there are aspects of traditional Shona metaphysics that continue to define the life of most Shona peoples". Some of the family conflicts that were noted stem from different interpretation of some of the cultural practices by family members. Although participants explained what is going on in their home environment, at the centre of some of their challenges is the issue of broader economic woes that they are experiencing.

4.5.3 How finding on cultural dimensions in caregiving sphere contributes towards this study's aims and objectives

The above finding provides insight into some of the cultural belief systems that are embedded in the social interactions that are associated with the distribution of care. Such cultural considerations influence how care is distributed in some instances. All the

incidents that are discussed above shed light on the behaviours that provide insight into some of the attitudes and motivations to care. This study's aims and objectives (d) is addressed by the above findings that highlight that participants believe that being human entails caring for family members young and old. As such, participants were not forth right about what they believe they have been negatively impacted in providing care to others. Instead Mr Tino's statement of Mr Tino "*nzou hayi remerwe ne nyanga yayo*" which means the "elephant's tusks are never too heavy for the elephant" sums it all.

4.6 Finding three - retirement as a foreign concept

4.6.1 Collective consciousness and collective trauma

The third finding is related to the concept of retirement amongst participants in this study. This study noted that, as a cohort, participants experience various forms of disadvantage that are associated with their interaction with social structures such as the process of accessing pension funds, access to medical care and loss of/devaluation of their investments. As mentioned earlier, Mead (1934) suggests that social identities are created through reflection of self and through ongoing social interaction with otherpeople. This study notes that participants' sense of self is strongly tied to a wish for theirfamilies to thrive. The study noted that participants' concern for their descendants, amidst a stagnant economy, places a heavy burden on them. They observe their adult childrenand adult grand-children actively looking for work without much success. The cohort in this study, whose average age is 71, meet the criteria of what is considered as the "sandwich generation". The concept of "sandwich generation" is credited to Miller (1981) who describes middle age adult caregivers, typically aged between 40s and 50s, who attend to their older parents and to their own growing families. On the contrary, participants in this study continue to distribute care and other material resources across various generations although they are meant to have retired as they are past the "sandwich generation" age group. In comparison, the Northwest Primary Care Health Resources (2021) in America note that in their context, "The typical American Sandwich Generation caregiver is: female, in her mid-40s, married and employed" (Northwest Primary Care[53], on-line website).

[53] Sandwich generation – Northwest Primary Care- health care online resources available online https://www.nwpc.com/health-care-and-the-sandwich-generation-infographic/ [accessed 17 June 2021]

One will note that the common assumption is that the “sandwich generation” are middle aged people who are responsible for their parents in addition to caring for their own nuclear family. The sandwich generation is believed to be caught in the middle (three layer arrangement). In this study, the elderly who are above 60 may be considered as being caught up in a double patty arrangement (four layer arrangement). Some have to look after one generation older than them, and two generations younger than them or three generations younger (triple patty arrangement). What are the possible implications of such social arrangements on participants in this study?

The Sociologydictionary.org[54] quote (Durkheim [1893] 2004:24) to explain that the concept of “collective consciousness” occurs when the “[totality] of beliefs and sentiments common to average members of the same society forms a particular system with a life of its own life; one might call it the collective or common consciousness”. The narratives that participants shared on the quality of their lives after disengagement from formal employment formulate a “collective consciousness” that is based on exposure to similar historical discourse to the time of this study. The most appropriate way of capturing the essence of the retirement experience of participants in this study is best conceptualised by sociologist Jeffrey Alexander’s (2012) recent conceptual framework of “collective trauma". Alexander (2012) defines collective trauma as:

> Collective traumas are reflections of neither individual suffering nor of actual events, but symbolic renderings that reconstruct and imagine them. Rather than descriptions of what is, they are arguments about what must have been and what should be. From the perspective of cultural sociology, the contrast between factual and fictional statements is not an Archimedean point. The truth of a cultural script depends not on its empirical accuracy, but on its symbolic power and enactment. Yet, while trauma process is not rational, it is intentional. It is people who make traumatic meanings, in circumstances they have not themselves created and which they do not fully comprehend. (Alexander (2012: 4)

This study found that participants’ life work, dreams, hopes and aspirations are/were destabilised as they realise that the place they call home – the environment that is supposed to protect their right to decent social citizenship - is unable to effectively

[54] Collective consciousness – sociologydictionary.org - https://sociologydictionary.org/collective-consciousness/#definition_of_collective_consciousness

accommodate them in old age. This study argues that one cannot possibly do justice when one attempts to "quantify" one's sense of loss or sense of betrayal – aspects that are not evident at face value when the word "retirement" is casually mentioned. The participants' narratives draw our attention to the possibility that the ageing and retirement experience seem intrinsically linked to societal factors that persist over time against the backdrop of prevailing economic systems of production. As such, the concept of retirement should be understood in an historical and personal perspective in the context of a social environment that finds expression in mass unemployment and limited welfare provisions. Whilst aspects such as food, shelter and transport can easily be quantified, some of the affective dynamics that were narrated by participants suggest a sense of precarious social location. For example, in his review of Jeffrey Alexander's work (2012), Anthony Collins (2015) comments that the South Africa's truth and reconciliation committee (TRC) initiative "[foregrounded] physical acts of political violence such as murder and torture, to the exclusion of both the structural forms of suffering (poverty, powerlessness, vulnerability, humiliation" (Collins, 2015:108). These words are pertinent to this study's findings on old age and adequate provision for elder care. An online newspaper article by Shingayi Nyoka (12 August 2019) titled "Zimbabwe after Mugabe: The country where pensions have disappeared" *BBC Africa*, reports on issues that are similar to those that participants in this study have related. An unnamed staff reporter (6 August 2015) in the *Mail & Guardian* also reports on some of the issues related to the disbursement of pensions in Zimbabwe.

One will note that participants' understanding of the concept of "retirement" is not stable but seems to shift according to what is going on in society at different periods as well as how individuals view themselves. The study notes that those who previously held entry level non-skilled occupations that might be described as "blue collar type of work" report that they never made a conscious effort to plan for retirement. Their perception of working and ageing seems to be different from those participants who previously held what might be described as "white collar" positions. From the time they started working, blue collar workers seem to have banked on their own self-directed provisioning strategies. For example, Mr Samanyika mentioned that he never considered living in an urban area as "home". In the same manner, he has advised his recently married son to build himself a

home at his family homestead in the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe, a place he considers as his real home. Whilst he acknowledges that life is difficult in the urban areas, he feels that he still has a home to go to when he can no longer work. Although Mr Samanyika is meant to have retired from formal employment, he continues to work part-time as a general hand. Those who previously held white collar professional positions seem to have banked on their provident funds, investments and pension schemes to take them through their old age. Some participants report that they started feeling uneasy when they could no longer afford money for transport to take them to their places of employment. As the economy continued on a downward spiral, some were forced into early retirement, some were retrenched, whilst some had indeed reached the retirement age. At the time of this study, in spite of being labelled as "retired", participants find other means of earning a living. It was evident that some of the burdens that participants were carrying were related to issues concerning the welfare of some of their adult children and grand-children whom they believed life had thrown a bad card during this particular era. At the time of this study the Covid pandemic further destabilised their already precarious sense of stability. Ms Ziva, had recently lost her daughter to a Covid-related illness whilst she was visiting her sister who had just given birth in a neighbouring country. Ms Ziva has had to take her grand-children in. The irony is that it was this same daughter who held the "material care role" in the family, thus Ms Ziva was very concerned for the welfareof her grand-children. Other participants also expressed concern for their young adult grand-children who had completed university education or technical college but were neither unable to find work nor to make a decent living owing to the poor economy.

The "retirement" experience of men and women in this study does not seem to fit into the "sunset gazing" framework. Their active life style is best described by the concept of "productive ageing" (Robert Butler & H. P. Gleason 1985) and is contrary to Elaine Cumming and William Henry's (1961) disengagement theory. Apart from being disengaged from formal work or family activities, what is evident is that the combined pool of skills that this cohort possess is grossly underutilised. Such skills could be imparted to the youths who were observed playing cards on street corners.

The despair that was expressed by the cohort in this study could also suggest collective trauma. Jan K. Coetzee & Asta Rau (2017:12) explain that,

> Traumas become collective if and when they are conceived as wounds to the social identity. The important question is not *Who did this to me?,* but *What group did this to us?* The construction of shared cultural trauma does not happen automatically, it depends on collective processes of cultural interpretation. One of these processes (apart from rituals, commemorations, and meetings) is storytelling. (Coetzee & Rau (2017:12)

The stories that were shared by participants in this study provided a glimpse into participants' lives with reference to their experience of ageing, gender and quality of life in old age from the colonial era to the time of this study. Figure 11 on page 213 is a bird's eye view that captures the experience of participants during what is supposed to be a period of retirement.

One of the most compelling observation during the field visit was the lack of clean municipality supplied water throughout the city of Harare. Although the researcher had been informed that the municipality water supply had been erratic over the years, the researcher was not prepared for the extent of the scarcity of water that was evident. On one of the weekends when it was announced that the water supply in Highville (name changed) had resumed, the tap water had sludgy sediment and a foul smell. To avoid consuming the municipality supplied water some of the residents in the area had to join the very long queue at a nearby water borehole that was donated by an NGO. The study observed that the lack of water affects the caregiving experience in various ways. Compounding to the water woes was/is the Covid pandemic that requires optimum sanitation and hygiene. Whilst some might be used to lack of running water in the urban areas, when using the lens of 'moral injury' perhaps Isabel A. Phiri's (2018) Steve de Gruchy Memorial Lecture in Cape Town highlights the significance of water beyond face value. Phiri (2018) articulates that her late colleague, Professor Steve de Gruchy "[showed] that as humans developed cities and many people lived in close proximity, water, which is the source of life became the course of death. De Gruchy mapped out the links of cholera in London amongst other countries including Zimbabwe to show that as humans developed cities and many people lived in close proximity, water, which is the source of life became the course of death" (Phiri, 2018). Phiri's address articulates what

she refers to as “the wound of water justice.” The researcher did indeed observe what could be described as “wounds of water justice” throughout this entire study. The anxiety of sending their grandchildren to queue up for their next bucket of water was palpable amongst participants.

4.6.2 Interpreting the retirement experience using Goffman’s concept of frames

Figure 11 illustrates the collective retirement experience that was drawn from participants’ narratives. Using Goffman’s (1959, 1997) proposition of “performing teams and audiences”, this study argues that those who get to call the shots in the distribution of resources that are needed to support older citizens are the “authoritative teams” based on Giddens’ (1984) concept of “authoritative resources”. Authoritative resources include aspects such as status, education, and authority that enable some to control or coordinate the activities of others. Pensioners who are on the receiving end are the “audience”. Goffman’s (1974) concept of “frame” enables the audience to place into perspective the nature of interaction between themselves and the various social structures that they have to interact with to access what they require to meet their basic needs. “Frames” facilitate the audience to make sense of what is unfolding before them (Butler, 2016). Men and women observe the performing team and frame the message that is being conveyed by the performing team as either satire, comedy, teasing or tragedy to name a few communication frames as examples. It is important to establish how the messages are received and interpreted by various people based on their gender, age, education, dis/ability amongst other identity factors that contribute towards placing individuals in various social locations. Thus, on the right hand side of the Figure 11, are the social structures and authoritative teams that individuals have to interact with to access resources such as pension, water, electricity, employment and health care that they need to survive. This study notes that when participants experience difficulty in obtaining the resources that they need as a cohort, such collective experience may indeed be described as collective trauma. According to Alexander, 2012: 7), trauma “[is] not something naturally existing: it is something constructed by society” (Alexander, 2012:7). It is necessary to note that, although participants might overall experience similar patterns of life experience, there are slight variations of experience that should not be overlooked such as the age of the participant, gender, their physical functional needs and the nature

of the family network that participants are a part of. Thus in this study it has been necessary to identify the nature of the relationship between structures such as housing, medical care, access to water, unemployment and retirement to identify ways inwhich these social structures intersect and produce outcomes that either restrict or create opportunities for participants (Yuval-Davis, 2015). Drawing on participants' narratives on their retirement experience, one will note that questions need to be asked on how communities are being built in present-day Zimbabwe. Such questions nudge us to imagine a new future in which no individual's full potential is sacrificed (Butler, 2016).

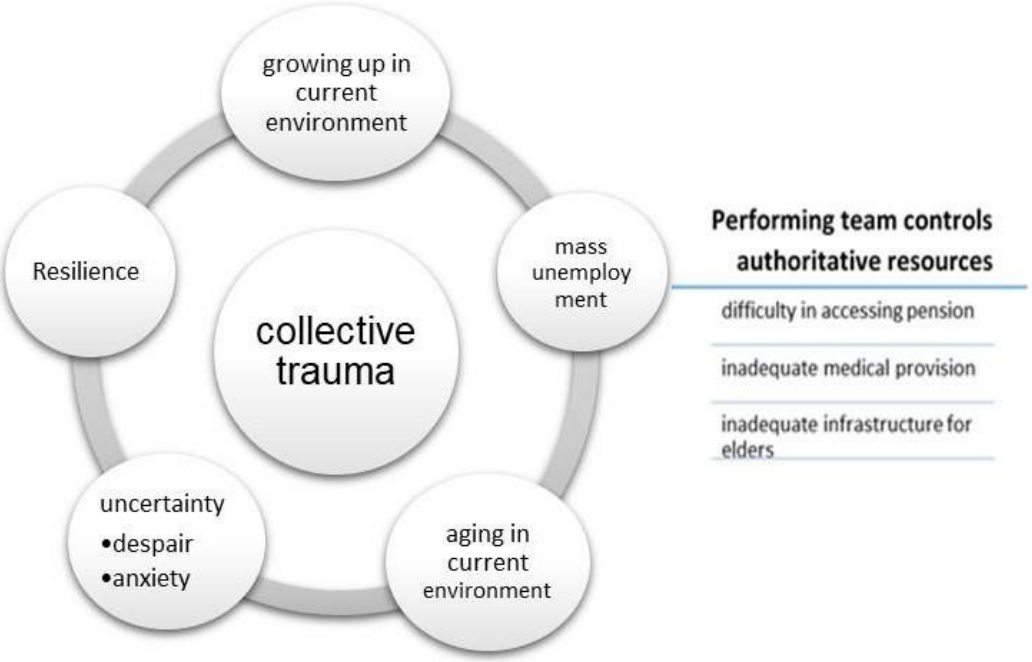


Figure 11: A bird eye view of the present day retirement experience

4.6.3 How finding on retirement experience addresses study's aims and objectives

The above discussion not only contributes a thick description of the context of the study but also addresses the aim and objective (e) that states: *(e) To propose new ways of thinking about social citizenship from the perspectiveof participants of this study*

This study believes that the participants in this study have lived long enough to share their wisdom on the way forward. This study believes that new ways of thinking about social citizenship should be a collective effort that is informed by the experiences of those who have lived long enough to know "what was, what is and what could be."

4.7 Conclusion

This section presented the findings of this study. The constructivist grounded theory methodology that made use of life course narratives and participant observation facilitated this study in identifying, describing and interpreting some of the key factors that have influenced how men and women in this study have given and received care throughout their lives. The symbolic interaction perspective facilitated the interpretation of factors that individuals consider as forming part of their care trajectories. In addition, whilst the feminist intersectional approach to research design, including data analysis, helped to map out the multiple overlapping social relations that participants associate with the provision of elder care in their context, the life course theory provided guidance in identifying factors such as the timing of life, family cycles and life transitions. Overall, the feminist tenet that is committed to empirical studies that pay attention to ways in which dimensions of gender manifest in various situations contributed towards the exploration of the nature of the gender relations as narrated by participants.

The study notes that most studies focus on hegemonic forms of masculinities and neglect other forms of masculinities such as the caring senior masculinities that were identified in this study. Considering that all humans need care at some point in their life, men and women who care shed light on how care is distributed in their context. The key findings suggest that care is distributed through a family network system. Four key caregiver roles were identified in this study. This is of significance as most studies based in Zimbabwe report on “families” providing care without delineating who in the family does what, how and why. Another key finding is the explanation of the significance of gender in the sphere of care. Most studies take a gender normative approach without explaining the significance of gender in caring relationships. The above findings make inroads into understanding how gender relations manifest in the provision of care. Symbiotic gender relations propel the caring relations that were identified in this study. It was also explained in this section that the decision-making process is based on family birth order. As such the overall essence of this study is discussed next.

4.8 Essence of the study

Whilst it is important to pay attention to the significance of gender in the sphere of elder care, this study has highlighted that gender is not the only form nor the central feature of social hierarchy that is associated with elder care. Instead, family birth order and financial considerations, take centre stage in the elder care decision-making process within the family setting. As people are reported to be living longer, the dimensions of caring senior masculinities and femininities allow us to imagine possibilities of a future that shifts attention from the hegemonic point of reference in drafting policy that is meant to benefit society. In this study, elder care is viewed as a collective family responsibility. Thus participants' narratives concur with Settersten, Jr.'s (2015:217) statement that our "[individual] life stories start with other people—we come from someone and somewhere. A story of "me" is actually a story of "we." Boldly, one could even argue that there is no such thing as an "individual" life". (Settersten, Jr., 2015:217). However, in view of the multigenerational family arrangements in which care is distributed, what remains unclear are the possible long term effects of such living arrangements on older family members who had not envisaged such living arrangements in their urban setting. A multi-disciplinary approach is called for to seek input from people on the ground for the purpose of developing contextually relevant interventions.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

To recap, Chapter 1 laid the scene for this case study by presenting the statement of the problem, the research question and the aims and objectives of the study. As this study is inspired by reports on population ageing[55] and care crises that are being experienced in some parts of the world, particularly in the global north, the rest of Chapter1 placed into context the population strata of Zimbabwe. Chapter 2 was a scoping literature review. In light of the reported population ageing and the reported disproportionate representation of women in the caregiving sphere, this study noted thatwhat was missing is a theoretical explanation of how and why elder care is practised in contemporary Zimbabwe with special focus on gender. The scoping literature review alsocontributed towards theoretical sensitivity. As such, this case study's conceptual framework is presented in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 presented the case study's research design. The research paradigm, ideology, and methodology that underpin the research design were explained. The case study protocol is also presented in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 presented the findings of this study. In that chapter, the attitudes, perceptionsand reasons behind some of the activities and behaviour that participants associate withcare practice in old age were explained. Chapter 4 also clarified the relevance of genderin the sphere of elder care as explained by participants. Chapter 5 will now synthesise the analysis of the findings. Clarity will be provided on how the study adds to the body ofknowledge that explain why and how elder care arrangements are managed in an urban setting in present day Zimbabwe. The section will also present a model that this study developed, which other studies may use to map out caring relationships. This case studyalso contributes two concepts termed "uber-caring senior masculinities" (UCSM) and "uber-caring senior femininities" (UCSF) as described in the Findings chapter. What will become clear in this chapter is how these new concepts extend knowledge on the significance of gender within the sphere of elder care provision in an urban setting. The case study had two main research questions and two secondary questions. In the discussion that follows, each of these research questions will be presented and immediately followed by comments on the findings that

[55] Population aging – "the process by which older individuals become a proportionally larger share of the total population" (UN report on World Population Aging: 1950-2050).

are related to that particular question. The findings will be compared and contrasted with theoretically sampledliterature to situate the study in the existing body of knowledge on gender, ageingand care provision in contemporary urban areas. The overall significance of the findings,including how the study fills the gaps that were identified in literature, will be pin pointed.This chapter will also discuss the strengths and limitations of the research design and methodology that underpinned this study. Thereafter recommendations for furtherempirical studies will be presented. For ease of reference, the study's aims and objectivesare listed below.

Aims and objectives

a. To identify the nature of elderly care that is being provided within families in Harare.
b. To describe the nature of elderly care that is being provided within families in Harare.
c. To establish any possible benefits, burdens and inequalities between men and women that might possibly exist in the context of caregiving.
d. To interpret the social relations that are implicated at the intersection of gender, caregiving, and indicators of quality of life based on participants' life course narratives.
e. To propose new ways of thinking about social citizenship from the perspective of participants of this study.

5.2 Discussion on research question 1:

What can the men and women in this case study tell us about how care for the elderly is received and distributed in their context in Harare?

Three aspects stand out in this regard. These three aspects are: - (1) Care is given and received via a family network system that was identified through an intersectional analysis of the family interactions that participants narrated. The analysis was framed by concepts from the symbolic interaction theory. This study identified four types of caregiver roles that operate in tandem. The identification of care roles was made possible through the application of Goffman's (1958; 1959) dramaturgy theoretical concepts of "performing teams", "audience", and "regions" as well as Thomas (1928) and Mead's (1934) theories of "definition of the situation". Embedded in this analysis strategy was an awareness of and commitment to identify ways in which "gender" was

implicated in the construction of the family care network. The finding on gender is expanded upon in sections 5.4 and 5.6.1. (2) Drawing from participants' narratives, the decision-making process regarding the distribution of elder care is based on familybirth order and not gender. (3) Although all the participants in this study had contributedto a pension fund amongst other investments to see them through the latter stages oftheir lives, the economic downturn negatively affected their investments. Although some pensioners receive financial and material support from some of their adult children (particularly those who are in the diaspora), the elders also contribute towardsthe running of the household. Nine out of ten participants have opened their homes totheir adult children and their descendants as a result of the prevailing tough economic climate. Such action by participants in this study may be explained by the life course perspective[56] concept of "linked lives" (Elder Jr., 1994). The concept of "linked lives" is articulated by Emily Greenfield and Nadine Marks (2006) as:

> One of the central propositions of the life course perspective is that of *linked lives* —that is, that people in salient relationships with each other, such as parents and children, occupy mutually influential interlocking developmental trajectories that extend throughout their lives (Elder, Johnson, & Crosnoe, 2003). This theorizing suggests that circumstances in adult children's lives would have implications for the lives of their parents… (Greenfield & Marks, 2006:442)

Whilst participants are grateful for the financial assistance that they receive from some of their adult children, they do not believe that such a strategy is desirable. They would instead have preferred to take care of their own material needs to allow their adult children to concentrate on their own children. This study notes that public narratives such as "elderly dependence" or "old age dependence[57]" imply a unidirectional support structure from children to elderly parents. However, the study noted that the elderly also contribute to their families in various ways. This finding is in line with recent reports by Busisiwe Makore and Sura Al-Maiyah (2021) in a study in which they examine policy documents to explore how urban elders in Zimbabwe are represented. Makore & Al-

[56] The life course theoretical framework is described in the conceptual framework on page 34

[57] Zimbabwe old-age dependency ratio (65+ per 20-64) – knoema.com/atlas/Zimbabwe

Maiyah note that there:

> [is] a dominance of a one-dimensional perspective across the majority of the publications, with older people constructed as “dependent”, “vulnerable” and “passive”... A realistic and more empowering representation of this social group, showing them as active caregivers rather than passive recipients is therefore a necessity if Zimbabwe is to fulfil its vision of inclusivity. (Makore & Al-Maiyah, 2021:1)

Makore & Al-Maiyah (2012) critique the common use of terms such as “dependent” and “vulnerable”. This study conducted a theoretical literature review on “old age dependence”. The study realised that the concept of “old age dependence” should be contextually defined. The term should not be used to define anyone over 65+ which is the United Nations official age of being classified as old. Elisabeth Schröder-Butterfill and Tengku Syawila Fithry (2014:4) credit Barker and Mitteness 1994:234; Luborsky 1994 to argue that “[Dependence] on care has been portrayed as particularly problematic in Western cultures due to characteristically Western conceptions of personhood… Historically, women, children and slaves were often denied recognition as a person, and personhood remains culturally specific” (Schröder-Butterfill & Fithry, 2014:4). One can see the necessity of empirical studies that explore the nature of care interaction between elders and their kin in various contexts. On the same note, Enid Schatz, Sangeetha Madhavan, Mark Collinson, Francesc Xavier Gómez-Olivé, and Margaret Ralston (2015) as well as Calasanti & Bonanno (1986) also question the appropriateness of using the age-dependency ratio (see page 7 in the Background Chapter) that does not factor in possible nuances of the context in which ageing takes place. This finding suggests that the nature and extent of support that family elders provide to their kin in present day urban settings has not received adequate empirical investigation. It is possible that some of the men and women in this study could have been included in the calculation of the national “dependency ratio” yet they are actively contributing to society in various ways.

This study notes that literature on elder care in Zimbabwe refers to “family” as providing family care. However, the term “family” gives the impression of a static loaf of bread.

This study believes that slicing the loaf of bread reveals finer details of the texture, form and function of the “family”. As asked by Norah Keating, Karen Kerr, Sharon Warren, Michael Grace (1994) “Who is the family?” Literature has not clearly spelt out who does what, under what circumstances, for what reasons, with what outcomes in the sphere of elder care in urban areas of Zimbabwe. The findings relating to research question 1 specifically contribute to the body of knowledge; four care roles that this study identified from the empirical data on hand. By isolating these care roles, the significance of gender in the family caregiving support network became clear.

To summarise question 1, the researcher who is a keen bee keeper sees similarities between the family care network identified in this study and a honey bee colony. The colony is propelled by drones, a queen bee and worker bees. Similar to the four care roles identified in this study, the various types of honey bees perform specific tasks that contribute to the colony's survival. The type of honey that is produced depends on the environment in which the honey bee colony is stationed. In an environment that has plenty of citrus fruit, the honey that is produced would be citrus flavoured. In lavender fields the honey is lavender flavoured. Question 1 has shown that the structure of the family care network is not static but is significantly influenced by the socio-economic-political environment in various ways that are discussed in the Findings chapter. Of interest is that honey bees are partly responsible for the survival of humanity through their pollination work in agriculture yet their work remains invisible to some. In the same manner, the care responsibility that participants in this study contribute to society remains buried in the privacy of their homes. This study contributes new knowledge by identifying four care roles instead of using the umbrella term of “family” that does not tell us much about how the caring is propelled.

5.3 Discussion on research question 2*:*

How has caregiving and receiving impacted the lives of the men and women throughout their life course?

The men and women report that they have never actively thought of ways in which they may possibly have been impacted by caring for elder family members. They all report that caring for those who need care, whether young or old, is expected of human beings. However, upon analysis, the study noted that, whilst participants have at some stage in their lives taken care of their own parents or elderly family members, at the timeof this study participants' narratives suggested feelings of despair that were related to worrying about the welfare of their adult children under the dire economic conditions in present day Zimbabwe. Such expression of despair that is related to the well-being of their descendants is guided by the symbolic interactionist concept of "life chance" (Weber,1978). "Life chance" refers to the chances that one has of gaining access to normative outcomes that are valued (Weber, 1978:302). One can see association between the concept of "life chance" and the concept of "social citizenship."

A key finding to research question 2 is that the value system that participants associate with care suggests dimensions of caring masculinities and caring femininities that this study labels as uber-caring senior masculinities (UCSM) and uber-caring senior femininities (UCSF). All participants report that they were taught from an early age to care for family elders. Some also observed how their own parents interacted with their own parents. This means that the caring behaviour did not start in old age but was nurtured from childhood. The UCSM dimensions differ from hegemonic masculinities. The concept of caring masculinities is also described by Karla Elliott (2016) from a European "critical studies on men and masculinities" (CSMM) perspective. However, Elliot's caring masculinities framework does not focus specifically on older people's masculinities.

In this study participants' narratives suggest that their sense of self is understood in relation to others as suggested by Mead (1934) and Goffman (1958, 1959). An intersectional approach to data analysis facilitated in mapping out the concept of uber-caring senior masculinities and femininities. This was achieved by teasing out what

symbolic interactionists refer to as the "everyday"[58] (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Patricia Adler, Peter Adler and Andrea Fontana, 1987). In addition, an intersectional analysis involved asking who is involved in a specific situation, for what purpose and with what consequences. In this instance, the concept of "symbols" facilitated mapping out the possible association between the gender of people involved in a "situation" and the type of activities, attitudes, and agency mentioned by participants. To recap, the concept of "symbols" refers to language, spoken words, written words, cultural codes, gestures and signs that contribute towards shared meaning between individuals in a specific setting. It is believed that symbols are arbitrary or abstract and only become significant when they arouse the same meaning/response between the communicator and the receiver. One of the core tenets of symbolic interactionism suggests thatindividual actions depend on the meanings individuals ascribe to symbols. Such meaning may change, based on the nature of interaction with others in various lifesituations (Mead, 1934).

With reference to question 2, a closer look at participants' narratives suggests that at the time of this study, the living arrangements of participants have been impacted by the caring gesture of opening their homes to their descendants. As such, the present quality of life is intrinsically linked with multi-generational family arrangements not by choice but by necessity. It is interesting to note that in 1994 Nyanguru et al. (1994) reported that 69% of adult children in their study did not live with their parents. In contrast, in this studythat was conducted 27 years after Nyangura et al.'s (1994) study, nine out of ten participants have at least one of their adult children and grandchildren living with them. None of the participants live alone except for one male participant[59] who lives alone in a rented room. Nyanguru et al.'s (1994) study was conducted before Zimbabwe's economic meltdown. Such changes in family patterns that this study noted are best conceptualised by the life course theoretical concept of "family life cycle" (Reuben Hill & Paul Mattessich, 1979). In the same manner that individuals transition from infanthood to adulthood in

[58] "The strength of everyday life sociology lies in generating sociological concepts or insights from seemingly trivial settings" (Adler et al., 1987:230)

[59] The participant rents a room in Harare. His family lives in the rural family home as he had retired to the rural areabut returned to work in the city after he realised that his pension could not sustain them.

developmental stages, typical nuclear families are also believed to transition through developmental phases. These phases include entering into marriage, parenting, empty nest, and retirement phases (Monica McGoldrick, Betty Carter, Nydia Garcia Preto, 2016). The economic meltdown has forced some of the participants' adult children to move back into the family home. Such movement suggests disruption to participants' family life cycle as well as disruption to their descendants' nuclear families' life cycle. One could suggest that the observed changes in patterns of family living arrangements reinforce that the nature of living arrangements in urban areas is intrinsically linked with the socio-economic-political conditions that prevail at various points (W.E.B. Du Bois, 1899). Such possibility also resonates with Rowntree's (1901) study in York that is discussed on page 37 of the conceptual framework. On the other hand, the participants' narratives of their adult children moving in with them possibly provide a glimpse of the possible need for expanding the constructs of the "family life cycle" life course theoretical concept, considering that it has been reported that people are now expected to live longer. For example, when applying the life course theoretical concept of "timing"[60] perhaps one may suggest that most of the participants in this study are experiencing an "off timing" phenomenon after they thought that they weaned off their children. Upon noticing that the multi-generational living arrangement was a recurring theme, the researcher referred to literature to establish some of the known limitations and possibilities of multi-generational living arrangements in urban areas that were originally designed for single families. Some of the implications are explained below in section 5.3. that discusses findings to research question 3 that explores issues of quality of life in old age. Findings to this question specifically contribute new knowledge to an understudied area namely that of caring senior masculinities that are under explored in Zimbabwe. In contrast, a lot of scholarly attention has been paid on hegemonic forms of masculinities yet there is much to benefit from harnessing our knowledge on caring masculinities.

[60] "the timing of life" identifies common entrance and exit points of specific life events (Glen H. Elder, 1998:3)

5.4.1 Discussion on research question 3 (secondary focus question):

Is there a link between caregiving responsibility and subsequent quality of life in old age?

This particular question raised many possibilities. Participants in this study have cared for elderly family members at different stages of their lives thus the possible effects of providing elder care varies. For example, one female had to leave school in the urban areas to care for her elderly grandmother who lived in the rural area. This participant reported that she did not see any links between the disruption of her educational trajectory and her subsequent quality of life. Other participants took up various care roles much later in life. The belief system of participants in this study uses qualitative dimensions of care instead of expressing their caring contributions quantitatively. The study realised that the outcomes of caring for a family elder when one is young are possibly different from participants who took care of their ageing parents much later in life.

An observation is that the relationship between caregiving and quality of life in old age is deeply rooted in the economic as well as historical socio-cultural factors that participants have had to interact with throughout their life course. Although participants thought that they had a secure nest egg to see them through the latter stages of their lives, the overall economic collapse in Zimbabwe has had a negative impact on their investments and, ultimately, their subsequent quality of life. Under such circumstances, the family members who occupy the "material caregiver" role step in to offer financial assistance to their elderly parents whenever they can. It is inevitable that the person who contributes resources will deplete their own nest egg. In South Africa, some refer to this type of family financial commitment as "black tax". In her Master of Business Administration mini dissertation findings, University of Pretoria, Nonhlahla Magubane states:

> [black] tax refers to both the social and economic support, such as money, shelter, food, and clothing, indicating that the middle class provides to their extended family (kinship network). The findings also suggest black tax is enabled by both external (high inequality and unemployment levels), and internal environments (broken family structure such as divorce or death of a parent)… The study demonstrated that at times black tax hinders individuals' personal development, savings, and investment. Magubane (2017:i)

The concept of family kinship support that Magubane refers to as “black tax” is similar to the dimensions of the “material caregiver” role that was identified in this study. In this regard, the men and women in this study whose average age is 71 are making significant contributions to society. Their collective care experience that is buried in the privacy of the home suggests that the socio-economic structural arrangements that contribute to the need for dependency should be acknowledged and accounted for in public support systems. In particular, this study believes that empirical studies that specifically address intergenerational transfer of wealth, life chances (Weber, 1978) and social mobility (Anselm L. Strauss and Joseph Gusfield, 1971) are called for. Life chance theory refers to the opportunities that one has of gaining access to valued outcomes (Weber, 1978:302). For example, in this study, five out of the ten participants are currently living in the homes that originally belonged to their own parents. This fact highlights the significance of intergenerational transfer of wealth or intergenerational transfer of “deficit”. If the economy does not change, what will become of the descendants who are living with their parents in the urban homes that originally belonged to their great grandparents? In the absence of a reliable non-contributory social security pension scheme for all citizens, such a state of affairs directs one to consider the long term life chances of future generations. This finding corroborates with Jacob S. Rugh, Len Albright and Douglas S. Massey’s (2015) study that made use of the intersectional theoretical framework to map out the lending patterns of Wells Fargo Bank. Unbeknown to consumers, Wells Fargo was imposing a higher interest rate to mortgage applicants of colour. Rugh et al.’s (2015) findings identify possible negative intergenerational consequences on people of colour when higher lending rates are imposed on them.

In response to research question 3, although participants expressed that they had not actively thought of the possible implications of caring for others, this study observed that there is a possible association between caring for others and economic, psychological and physiological quality of life outcomes. For example, participants all expressed despair at watching their descendants struggling to make a living. The psychological implications of the collapsed economy in Zimbabwe and the subsequent impact on family trajectories exert a heavy toll on the elderly and should not be

overlooked. This study notes that there are various assumptions that are taken for granted regarding care of the elderly in the family setting. These assumptions warrant interdisciplinary empirical investigation. For example, one might not think muchabout the socio-economic disruption that has necessitated multi-generational living arrangements discussed earlier, but this arrangement may have far outreaching unexpected effects on all individuals concerned, including family elders. Greenfield and Marks (2006) note that:

> Theoretical work and empirical studies on adult parent-child relationships, as well as on stressor events and social networks, implicate several ways through which adult children's problems might jeopardize multiple aspects of their parents' well-being. First, research on distressing circumstances in individuals' social networks suggests that adult children's problems might jeopardize their parents' well-being directly by heightening feelings of stigma, loss, fear, and worry (Maurin & Boyd, 1990), or indirectly by introducing care demands that can create psychological and relational distress (Jendrek, 1993). (Greenfield & Marks, 2006)

In contrast, other scholars see benefit in multi-generational living arrangements. From an environmental planning perspective, scholars Natascha Klocker, Christopher R. Gibson, and Erin Borger (2017) explore some of the benefits to the environment when families share utilities by living under one roof. They extend such benefit to include managing potential environmental calamities. This study believes that the perceived benefits of multi-generational living arrangements should be out of choice. The benefits of multi-generational living arrangements were perhaps identified by rural communities who have always lived in sync with the changing seasons. As discussed in the Findings section on pages 156 and 158, in the Zimbabwean context, the rural homestead is a typical environment that sees benefit in multi-generational livingarrangements.

This study agrees with Hooyman (1999:115) who cites Abel (1990) to state that “[many] studies conceptualize caregiver stress as a woman's private responsibility, resulting in policies such as support groups that promote personal adjustment rather than social reform” (Hooyman, 1999:115). One can see that what is required is an environment

that enables each individual to thrive and reach their fullest potential. This includes the option to choose how one wishes to give and receive care. Knowledge gained from empirical studies may contribute towards finding ways of strengthening families in which care of the elderly takes place. However, it is still necessary to examine the various social processes that contribute to dependence in old age (Calasanti & Bonanno, 1986).

Question 3 helps to fill two gaps in literature on elder care scholarship. The first gap that question 3 contributes is on methodological grounds. The study believes that an intersectional analysis produces a richer and deeper analysis that does not approach the social phenomenon of elder care as monolithic. An intersectional approach nudges one to identify the various social locations that are created in any situation. These social locations may be understood in relation to how they are positioned in relation to the centre of power, what bell hooks terms “margin to centre” (bell hooks, 1984). Question 3 highlights that what looks like a straight forward matter of “elder care” may indeed unveil multiple layers of social relations including gender relations that are embedded in what might appear as “elder care”. As such the second gap that this study fills in literature is the implied intergenerational consequences of elder care to the entire family structure. This study notes that the ripple effects of living arrangements that are associated with elder care are understudied in the context of Zimbabwe. For example, Rowntree’s (1901) study discussed on page 37 revealed some of the long term effects of the breadwinning patterns in York in the United Kingdom. The same study was repeated in Sweden and suggested similar patterns. The patterns in the Swedish study changed after Sweden introduced a social security system. What can empirical studies tell us about the nature of possible association between breadwinning, ageing and unpaid care trajectories in the context of urban areas in Zimbabwe? The discussion that follows clarifies some of the strategies that men and women in this study have had to adopt in their roles as caregiver and care recipient.

5.4.2 Discussion on research question 4 (secondary focus question)

What are some of the adaptive strategies that men and women of this study have had to adopt in their roles as caregivers and care recipients?

A key finding to question 4 suggests possible gender adaptation in response to prevailing tough economic times. Helman & Ratele (2016:2) have made similar findings in South Africa when they note that in some cases poverty possibly contributes towards constructions of gender that are problematic, whilst in some cases poverty possibly contributes towards egalitarian constructions of gender.

Regardless of gender, one of the adaptive strategies that was identified in this study is participants' involvement in small income-generating activities such as raising back yard chickens, while two participants work as part-time blue collar workers, one makes money from her hobby of making clay pots whilst two who were former captains of industry take up consulting assignments in industry whenever they are called upon. The participants in this study may best be described as exemplifying the concept of "productive engagement" as opposed to "dependent ageing". The concept of "productive engagement" is borrowed from the discipline of social work and is defined by Ernest Gonzales, Christina Matz & Nancy Morrow-Howell (2020) as "[any activity] by an older adult that produces goods and services for society, whether paid or not (Bass et al. 1993) with employment, civic engagement (formal and informal volunteering) and informal caregiving being the primary foci" (Gonzales et al., 2020:153). Although some might consider the efforts and sacrifices made by older men and women as noble and altruistic, others might see the situation as suggesting a form of structural violence (Johan Galtung, 1969). Structural violence involves turning a blind eye on genuine structural inequalities that are created by various social practices that leave some members of society vulnerable. Such understanding has bearing on issues of social citizenship and human security as discussed next.

In the absence of a non-contributory pension social security scheme the participants and their family members rely on each other to meet their basic survival needs. All the participants in this study actively contribute to the family resources in various ways. In this regard, the study realised that the care that is provided within the family unit is

reciprocal when applying the social exchange theory (Homans & Merton, 1961). The social exchange theory is defined by Homans & Merton (1961) as "[an] exchange of activity, tangible or intangible, and more or less rewarding or costly, between at least two persons" (Homans & Merton, 1961:13). However, Homan's theory does not factor in the significance of gender in such social exchange. Feminist gender theories help fill the gap in identifying possible manifestations of gender in such interactions. In addition, the feminists' ethic of care argument is that all humans need care at some stage of their lives. As such, the provision of care should be factored into national policy instead of burying care in the privacy of the home (Olena Hankivsky, 2005; Sevenhuijsen et al., 2003; Robinson, 2011; Gabrielle Betts, 2014; Gouws, 2016; UNWOMEN, 2016; Ringson 2017).

Drawing on participants' narratives, research question 4 fills the identified gap in literature by offering possible ways of thinking about gender, social citizenship and human security as expanded upon in section 5.5 that follows. This study notes that literature on elder care in Zimbabwe is mainly descriptive and focuses on the challenges that elders face. However, this study that has identified the contributions that the elderly are making to society, adds to the knowledge base that offer suggestions on the way forward. The adaptive strategies that were identified inquestion 4 suggest that the concepts of caring masculinities and femininities that wereidentified in this study may hold the key for paving the way forward.

5.5 *New ways of thinking about social citizenship and human security*

One of the aims and objectives of this study was to draw from participants' narratives the possibilities of thinking about alternative approaches to social citizenship and human security. This is because feminist care theorists conceptualise caring as a human security social issue as well as a social citizenship issue (Sevenhuijsen et al, 2003; Robinson, 2011). One can see that participants are hardworking members of society who under "normal" conditions prefer to be self-reliant whilst observing a collective sense of responsibility to others. For this reason, the participants had banked on their pension to take them through the latter stages of their lives. None of the participants reported that they had planned on their families to take care of their needs. However, comparative literature suggests that the social security system reserved for elders in Zimbabwe is

inadequate (Dhemba, 2012; Dhemba, 2013; Makore & Al-Maiyah, 2021).

The study notes that most participants took time to reflect on how things were done in the olden days. They narrated stories that had been related by their own parents and/or grandparents. Of significance to the issue of social citizenship, is the practice of *zunde ramambo* (chief's granary) described on pages 150 and 151 that is still observed by some rural families. The ethos of *zunde ramambo* seems similar to the ethos of *Ujamaa* that was introduced in Tanzania by the late president Julius Nyerere (1971). *Ujamaa* is loosely translated to self-reliance through reciprocal community trading. As the participants have shown that they prefer to be self-reliant, perhaps at this particular juncture in our lives we need to take stock of promoting new ways of belonging and not exclusion. Whilst it is important to address the reported looming "care crisis", it is equally important to revive the economy. As a stop gap measure, it is perhaps worthwhile to consider ways in which urban communities could revive the practice of *zunde ramambo and ujamaa* in their settings. The benefits of intra community skills transfer and intra community trading might make inroads into addressing some of the basic human security needs.

The prioritisation of the care needs of citizens reminds one of Butler's (2016) recent use of Goffman's concept of "framing" when she highlights ways in which societies, individuals and states frame various forms of vulnerability. Such framing is based on whose lives are considered worthy enough to warrant public grief. Butler's (2016) insight suggests that there are many ways in which people are "othered" especially through society's apathy. For example, whilst the trilogy of race, class and gender are the original forms of"othering" that were popularised by Crenshaw (1989) in the scholarly arena, this study agrees with W.E.B. Du Bois (1899), that poverty is a distinct form of "othering" that makesit difficult for some to belong and enjoy their full rights as citizens. This study notes that ageing does indeed compound the "othering" process especially when older citizens are unable to give and receive care in ways that they would prefer. The intersection of inadequate pension provision and ageing creates unique social locations that undermineefforts of attaining optimum quality of life. One will note that it is possible that society has become numb to the vulnerability that pensioners are exposed to because of ways in which ageing is framed as "dependence". This kind of framing makes the association ofold age and dependence seem normal yet the structural reasons that contribute to dependence are

not addressed. In addition, if the present day young adults are not working during what is meant to be the productive phase of their lives, from whom will taxes to improve infrastructures and social security be drawn? As such the overall contributions of this study are discussed next.

5.6 Contributions of this study

The two aspects that this study contributes are discussed in sections 5.6.1 and paragraph 5.6.2 below.

5.6.1 First contribution: overall insight on gender in the sphere of care

Empirical studies that explain how gender interplays with the ageing process and associated provision of care in an urban setting in Zimbabwe are limited. As such, a feminist worldview that is sensitive to the role of gender in society enabled this study to pay attention to the manifestations of gender in the process of providing elder care. It is generally understood that power relations are closely associated with gender relations. What is considered as masculine values is commonly associated with the centre of power. What is considered as feminine values is commonly associated with the margins or periphery (bell hooks, 1984). One key finding in this study is that participants' perceptions of masculinities and femininities resonate with Judith Lorber and Patricia Yancey Martin's (2013) observation that gender differences do not always result in hierarchies of status. On the contrary, literature suggests that patriarchal gender relations permeate most of the social relations including the experience of ageing and the distribution of care within a family setting. In this study, instead of a patriarchal decision-making hierarchy, this study identified a decision-making process that is propelled by family birth order. This finding resonates with a recent empirical study by Wilbert Z. Sadomba and Lizzy Zinyemba (2014) who also identify a decision-making process that is influenced by the seniority of those in the social network of participants in their study based in Zimbabwe. These scholars' study investigated some of the social aspects that influence the health seeking behaviours of parents with children who need medical attention. Their study focused on the natureof these parents' compliance and adherence to advice from health professionals. Sadomba and Zinyemba express that their "[study] revealed a more complex pattern with a

sophisticated cultural structure of caregivers who control and make decisions other than the person who visits the facility. Often this structure is unknown tomainstream health professionals with consequences on efficacy" (Sadomba & Zinyemba, 2014:169). In Nigeria, Oyèwùmí (1997; 2016) also reports that amongst the Yorùbá, the power shifts in relation to the seniority of who one is interacting with ata specific time. In some instances, one is older and in some instances one is younger.

Drawing from participants' narratives, this study identifies a symbiotic gender relations social order within the family setting as opposed to a dominant patriarchal gender relations. In her case study, Oyèwùmí (1997) also reports that amongst the early societies "[gender] has not always been used as a social ordering framework amongst the Ọ̀yọ́-Yorùbá" (Oyèwùmí, 1997:29). Some scholars have disputed her observations on theoretical grounds (Bakare-Yusuf, 2003) whilst Amina Mama (2001:69) makes comments on "[inventing] an imaginary precolonial community in which gender did not exist" (Mama, 2001:69) by citing Oyèwùmí (1999). Whilst this might be the case, in this study, women still gravitate towards the performance of domestic chores. Performing heteronormative activities that society associate with each gender may beviewed as "doing gender" (Butler, 1990). Could the gravitation towards care roles suggest possible manifestations of biological differences as suggested by maternal feminist scholars (Sara Ruddick, 1983; Virginia Held, 1983, 2006)? Could the gravitation towards care roles suggest manifestations of human evolution? For example, with emperor penguins, it is the female that goes out to hunt whilst the malestays at home cradling the egg on its feet to protect the egg from the frozen barren earth. Of course detractors may want to argue that cradling the egg may be the hardertask. That is not the point, the point is social evolution can go one way or the other. There is no ordained path.

The finding of a decision-making process that gives primacy to birth order and not gender order implies that there are many ways of looking at the world that remain underexplored. The possibility of symbiotic gender relations in some pockets of the Zimbabwean society suggests that there is no one size fits all. The prioritisation of birth order over gender in the decision-making process contradicts the universal assumed dominant narrative of a patriarchal gender order. Whilst the society may be propelled by patriarchal masculine hegemonic institutional structures at large, perhaps some families have chosen not to follow the same path. The implications of such findings are vast and further exploration would benefit from inter disciplinary scholarship. The implications include a suggestion that when policy makers interact with various communities, they should understand the social dynamics of each family with whom they are dealing. This way, appropriate consultations and interactions will include relevant representatives from family units.

By including men in this study, an unexpected finding of caring senior masculinities has opened up possibilities of different forms of senior masculinities that are under-reported compared with the wealth of literature on hegemonic forms of masculinities. By focusing on caring masculinities, new attitudes of caring and not dominance or self-centredness may be fostered as part of the preparations for managing the reported population ageing. This study's observation of possible symbiotic gender relations in the sphere of elder care, concurs with Parks & Barta's (2018) assertion that "[further] work is needed to not only dismantle binary understandings of gender in practice, but in doing so to bring to light individuals made invisible by such binaries and expand our cultural understandings of care and the expectations for where that care comes from" (Parks & Barta, 2018:32).

5.6.2 Second contribution: practical model of identifying caring relations

The second contribution is a practical model that may be used for mapping out care relations. This study noted that, if society is to be well prepared to manage the care crises, it is necessary to present some suggestions and guidelines for framing what is considered as caring relations. In this regard, the study suggests that a list of criteria on what is considered as dimensions of caring may not be applicable to all

communities. For example, Martha Nussbaum's (2000) version of the "capabilities approach framework" that is commonly used in the discipline of development studies, gives a list of ten criteria that should be met to define the well-being of individuals. Nussbaum's (2000) model may not be applicable to all societies because of differences in tradition, culture and personal choice. This study developed a practical model that the study named "care matters" for identifying caring relations. The advantage of this model is that it may be applied in any context. As evidenced in the Findings section and in literature, care may be enacted, expressed and interpreted in various ways in various situations. The possibility of different interpretation of care is informed by Mead's (1934) concepts of "symbols," "social acts" and "definition ofa situation". It is believed that symbols are arbitrary or abstract and only become significant when they arouse the same meaning/response between the communicator and the receiver. Considering that care is conceptualised multi-dimensionally, how would one identify what to consider as caring relations? For example, in a controlled environment such as a hospital setting, one such model of care for the nursing professions is the "structure of caring" model credited to Kristen Swanson (1993). Swanson's caring model constitutes five interconnected caring principles that aim to improve the patient-nurse relationship and improve the quality of patient outcomes. These principles are, "maintaining belief", "knowing", "being with", "doing for" and "enabling" with the intended outcome of the client's well-being.

Of significance to this study is Virginia Held's (2006) conceptualisation of care that she articulates as "[attending] to and meeting the needs of the particular others for whom we take responsibility" (Held, 2006). Without wanting to dictate a definition of care, Held (2006) explains that what is of value to a care recipient and care receiver is whatdefines a caring relationship. Instead of providing a list of virtues of care, Held (2006) suggests that, although care may include dimensions of feelings and virtue, care that is enacted in the form of an activity or as a type of work that is of value to the parties concerned, may be considered as a form of relational caring.

In this study, Held's (2006) conceptualisation of care relations was adapted to formulate part of the process that this study used to develop the "care matters" model

for identifying caring processes from empirical data. The researcher noticed similarities between Held (2006) and Charmaz (2006, 2014) in their approach of identifying forms of actions and activities that are associated with social phenomena. As explained in the data analysis section, Charmaz (2006) encourages researchers to make use of gerunds[61] when performing the initial round of data analysis. By so doing, one avoids prematurely jumping to developing themes. Examples of some of the gerunds that were identified in this study are: - *participating* in family meetings, *demonstrating* acts of discipline, *respecting* the value of education, *preparing* lunch and *wishing* for healthy communities. By using "participating in family meetings" as an example, the next step would be to unpack what "participating" entails, the advantages of participating, the disadvantages, and the outcomes of participating as well as the reasons for participating. It would also entail establishing the consequences of not participating as well as the responses of those involved in that particular interaction. The next step would be to associate actions with meaning. The outcomes of such interaction would be established. This study adds to the foundations offered by Held (2006) and Charmaz (2006, 2014) by emphasising that central to the analysis of care relations should be sensitivity to the construction of femininities and masculinities that may be embedded in care-related interactions. However, it should be emphasised that the "care matters" approach does not imply "adding women and stirring" to use Charlotte Bunch, (1990:497) neology that has been advanced by Harding (1995: 295). Neither does it imply "pouring new wine into new bottles". The approach involves an initial thorough analysis of perceptions of gender to establish the nature of prevailing gender order. As has been demonstrated in this study, gender is not synonymous with women either. It is for this reason that one should initially establish what gender means to the people who are participating in a study. If, for example, this study had not established from participants their understanding of gender, the study might have assumed a patriarchal gender order that is extensively reported in literature. Figure 12 on page 237 is an illustration of the "care matters" model that this study contributes to practical knowledge on mapping out caring relationships.

[61] Gerunds are verbs that appear as nouns

This study notes that in Zimbabwe there is a wealth of literature that describes the challenges that are faced by the elderly. Whilst such knowledge contributes towards painting a picture of what is happening on the ground, it is equally important to remember that, whilst the elderly might face many challenges, there is a lot more thatthe elderly can offer instead of focusing on socially constructed challenges that are beyond their control as exemplified in this study. This study extends prior studies by not only highlighting the vulnerabilities that elderly women and men are exposed to, but also by homing in on factors that harness the wealth of dignity and wisdom that theelderly may contribute towards establishing ways to manage social aspects associatedwith longevity. There is no doubt that when elder care is relegated to the privacy of thehome in the absence of a social security system, the demands that are associated withthe care provision may take a toll on caregivers. In this study, the men and women who are meant to have retired are stepping up to provide various forms of support for their descendants. They serve as practical examples of agentic strategies such as observed in “chariots of fire” that human beings may summon under trying times.

Whilst the study was on elder care, it became evident that in the context of the study the well-being of elders is intrinsically linked to that of their descendants. What becameevident is the need to revive the economy to allow the younger generations tobe gainfully employed. This way the care responsibility might be eased particularly in the absence of a non-contributory state social security scheme. Such finding suggests a holistic approach to family welfare. The senior forms of masculinities and femininities, UCSM and UCSF, which were identified in this study illustrate that participants are actively involved in reciprocal caring relations with their adult children within a family setting.

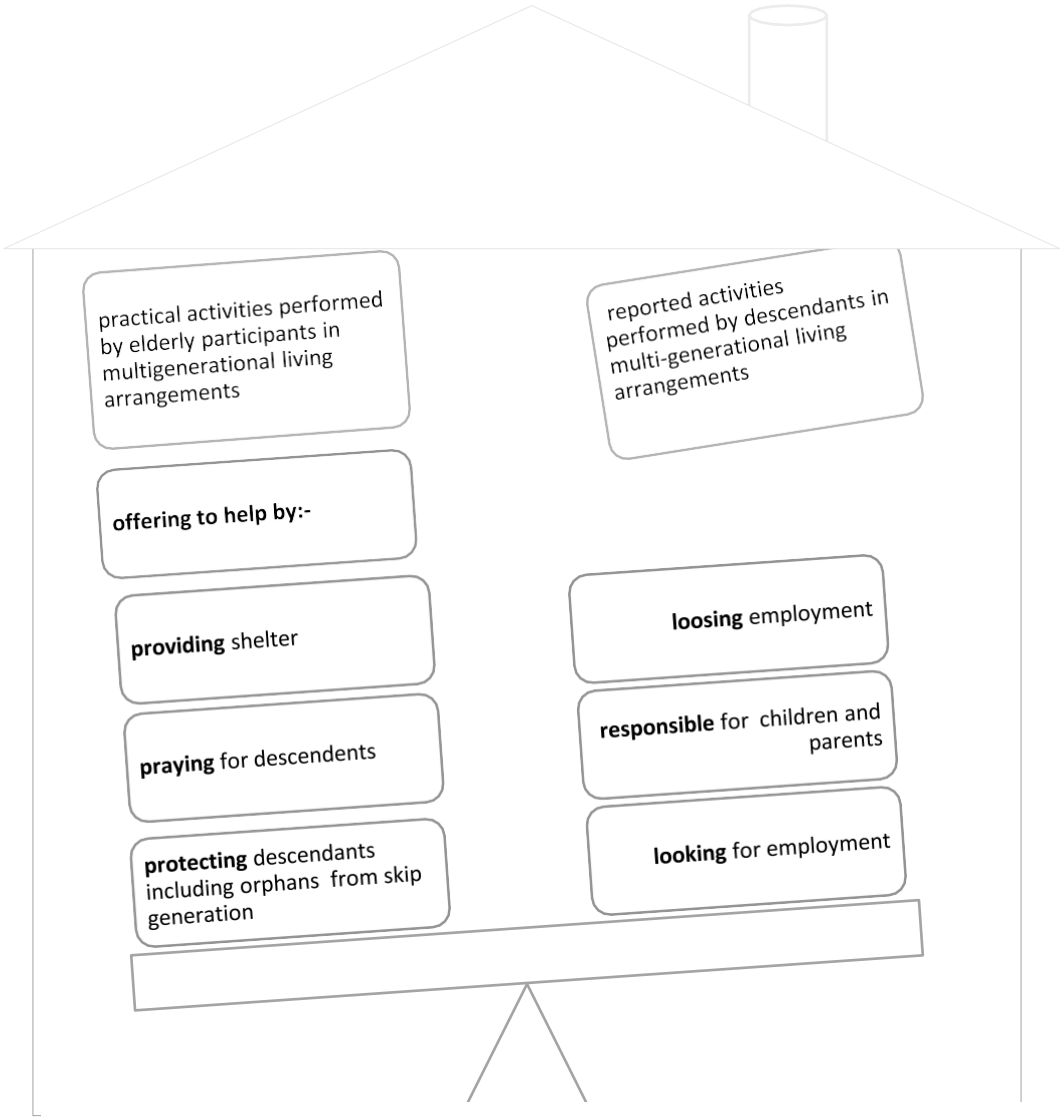


Figure 12: Illustration of how gerunds contributed towards mapping out caring relations

The feminist scholars suggest that by failing to pay attention to the interlocking effects of contextual sites of power, such as language, age, ethnicity and gender; human beings may knowingly or unknowingly serve as conduits for transmitting and reproducing prevailing hegemonic value systems that create marginalized social locations in society (Crenshaw, 1988, 1991; bell hooks, 1984; Hill Collins, 2000). In light of the reported ageing population, empirical studies are necessary to establish who takes care of who, under what circumstance and why. It is imperative to continue to explore some of the factors that contribute towards the phenomenon of unpaid care

that is not factored into the public social security system. The research design in this study was useful in facilitating in such exploration. As such this study's experience of the kinship between symbolic interactionism (SI), feminism and constructivist grounded theory is explained next.

5.7 Kinship between SI, feminism and constructivist grounded theory

This study effectively illustrates how the kinship between symbolic interaction, feminism and constructivist grounded theory enhanced the depth of exploration of what lies at the nexus of ageing and caring in an urban area in contemporary Zimbabwe. Figure 13 on page 239 is an illustration of how some of the concepts from these theoretical frameworks merged into a whole. The life course theoretical framework in particular, contributed towards the conceptualisation of some of the themes that were identified in the study. This study has adapted West & Zimmerman's (1987) neology of "doing gender" to add what this study refers to as "doing ageing" and "doing caring." Nelson, 2006 also draws a leaf from West & Zimmerman (1987) when she offers the concept of "doing family." The outer layer of the funnel represents symbolic interactionism paradigm that frames this study. The inner layer of the funnel represents the feminist gender framework and ideology. In particular, the feminist intersectionality framework ensures that everyone's experience is accounted for. The fluid inside the funnel is the alchemy of the life course theoretical framework that was used to interpret what "doing gender," "doing ageing," and "doing family" entails. The product of such alchemy are uber-caring senior masculinities and uber-care senior femininities.

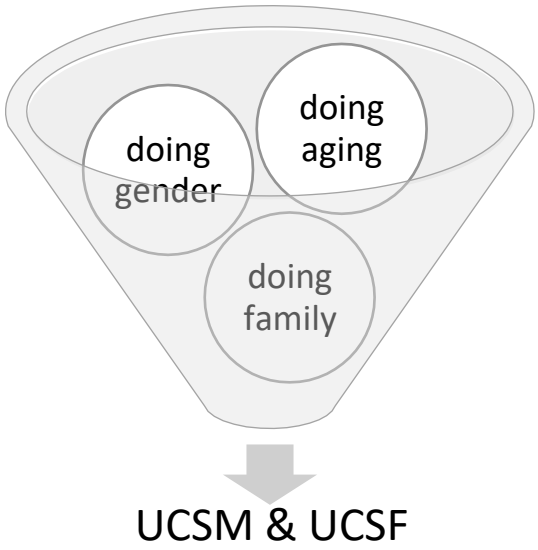


Figure 13: Kinship of symbolic interactionism, feminism & constructivist grounded theory

5.8 Methodological strengths and limitations identified in the study

The study highlights the benefits of micro-level research design for exploring social problems as opposed to macro-level research designs that may not adequately portray the various expressions of everyday experience of people on the ground. Whilst macro-level analysis provides a birds-eye view of a society's standing, an inductive empirical approach captures participants' lived experience of a specific phenomenon as done in this study. The inductive constructivist grounded theory methodology has proved to be particularly strong in accommodating research methods that allow participants to express what is of importance to them whilst at the same time helping to address the topic under review. In this study, the life course narrative data gathering method ensured that participants could narrate stories that they associate with care provision. Such narratives contributed towards the understanding of family discourse (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009: 654) in the sphere of caregiving. The data gathering instrument started off with grand tour questions as suggested by Glaser (1998). Although this data gathering method was time consuming, it produced rich data which was previously unknown to the researcher. An intersectional approach to research design was useful in capturing intergroup as well as intragroup similarities and difference of experience amongst the cohort (McCall, 2005).

The usefulness of an intersectional approach to exploring caring relations was also deployed by Neena L. Chappell, Carren Dujela, and Andre´ Smith (2015) in their study on the intersections of caregiver well-being and gender.

The research design in the form of a case study protocol facilitated this study to maintain methodological rigour. As such, the study sees value in the synergy between symbolic interaction, feminism and grounded theory methodology. The axiological kinship between these theoretical, paradigmatic and methodological approaches facilitated the teasing out of some of the actions, behaviours, and perceptions that might have been overlooked had a survey or structured interviews been used. Over time, such actions and behaviours formulate social processes. This study was interested in identifying and explaining some of the social processes that influence how elders give and receive care.In particular, the synergy between symbolic interactionism and constructivist grounded theory methodology ensured that the findings were grounded in empirical data. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) present a historical genealogy of qualitative approach to empirical studies. The study fits into the present day interpretive scheme that is "[socially] and culturally responsive, communitarian, justice-oriented" (Lincoln & Denzin, 2005:1123).

5.9 Limitations of the study

Some aspects of the study's research design limit the scope of generalising the findings in this study. As mentioned on page 111 in the section that describes the sampling procedure, recruiting participants through WhatsApp social media was a very effective and quick way of reaching out to the targeted sample. However, some might argue that those who are not on WhatsApp were not given an opportunity to participate. As such, the purposive sample may be considered as biased as it was based on researcher judgment in selecting potential participants from whom the study could most likely learn (Stake, 2006). Such a sampling method is prone to error should the researcher make a poor judgment call. A larger stratified sample from all residential areas in Harare could have extended the scope of the study by being more statistically representative. However, a large stratified sample was not feasible for this thesis because of the time limits of the academic programme. However, when using the case study research design and the life course narrative approach it is acceptable to use a sample that advances the aims and

objectives of a study and the sample may include only one person. Another limitationis that the study was conducted during the Covid pandemic. As such the depth and lengthof observation was restricted due to health and safety considerations. The study could have been enhanced by collaborating with a registered psychologist for the purpose of deploying appropriate instruments for gauging the extent of what this study identified as concern for their adult children and descendants. This way, reliable results that gauge the depth and breadth of such concern might have been established. Another limitation is that the study did not recruit people who have never married nor people who never hadchildren. Single people who have experience in caregiving and receiving might have contributed different dimensions to the study. Another limitation is that it is illegal for people to self-identify as alternative gender in Zimbabwe. As such, people who do not self-identity as heterosexual could possibly have contributed further insight into the phenomenon under study.

5.10 Recommendations for further studies

As argued by Baunach (2001), vulnerability does not start in old age. It is for this reason that longitudinal studies that focus on various aspects of the care trajectories are needed. Such understanding could contribute towards harnessing our knowledge on how social structures affect not only individuals as they age but also those within their closest network of support which is usually their immediate family. Although this study captures a bird's eye view of a slice of life amongst a specific cohort in urban Harare, a recurring theme is the issue of their living arrangements in old age. It is important to empirically explore the impact of urban multi-generational living arrangements in contemporary Zimbabwe. Whilst it is true that all families young and old need care at various stages (Robinson, 2011), what remains unclear in the context of Zimbabwe is the average number of years that individuals provide elder care. For example, in the context of America, Peggy R. Smith (2004) comments that "[women] can expect to spend 18 years caring for elderly relatives" (Smith, 2004:353). This study noted that in the absence of a state social security scheme, the participants in this study have taken care of not only their parents but other elderly relatives as well at some point in their lives. Deeper understanding of care trajectories (pattern of behaviour across time) help towards the development of social security resources that may support members of society without

placing the responsibility in the privacy of the home. For example, although this study wished to investigate the nature of care that the elderly receive, the study realised that the elderly themselves are the backbone of their family during these times of economic turmoil. Instead, the elderly self-report that they were very concerned about the quality of life that their adult children and adult grand-children are experiencing due to rampant unemployment in present day Zimbabwe. This is despite a lot of the children and grand-children having various academic and technical qualification under their belts. Such expression of their reality reminds one of W.E.B. Du Bois's (1899, reprinted 1996) suggestion to engage in scholarly work whose goal is to seek social transformation. Further longitudinal studies that investigate the nature of social mobility[62] (Anselm L. Strauss and Joseph Gusfield, 1971); life chances (Weber, 1978) and the association between "on time" and "off time" gaps between multi-generation families in relation to family care are called for (Burton, 1996:202). On the thread of scholarly endeavours that aim to bring about social transformation, and Goffman's (1958, 1959) dramaturgy theory that supported this study, organisational behaviour specialist Sydney Engelberg (2021:4) reminds us that "The competent theatre director yells "show time" only after each and every detail of the new performance has been worked through, and each and every cast member is thoroughly prepared, rehearsed, and in position for the curtain to go up" Engelberg (2021:4). When do we yell "show time" for the elder citizens who are backstage tending to issues related to economic and social marginalisation? Who amongst the spectators will respond to participants' descendants' desperate cry for economic reform? If gender is a construct that is lived, observed, learnt and practiced everyday (Butler, 1990; West and Zimmerman, 1987), then we should pay attention to the values and micro-actions that underpin the urban senior caring masculinities (UCSM) and the urban senior caring femininities (UCSF) that were identified in this study. There is value in deploying further empirical studies that explore the present-day expressions of gender in contemporary Zimbabwe. Demographers report that, generally,women live longer than men. It is possible that vulnerability "follows" some women throughout their lives. If women do indeed live longer, it is perhaps imperative for policy makers to make provision for such possibility. Such provision should start by identifying the social structures that contribute

[62] Social mobility, movement of individuals, families, or groups through a system of social hierarchy or stratification. Ifsuch mobility is a change in position, especially in occupation, but no change in social class, it is called "horizontal mobility." (https://www.britannica.com/topic/social-mobility) Britannica online dictionary

towards vulnerability in old age. Scholarly endeavours such as this study could serve as a springboard for such intervention. This study on elder care has revealed association between hegemonic social structures that prevail during various historical periods and individual life trajectories, family structures and family life cycles in an urban setting. There is benefit in linking theory and praxis to harness the contributions of caring masculinities and caring femininities in society.

Table 4: Line by line open coding example

Excerpt: Mr Samanyika	Line by line coding
I am trying to teach my son our ways of doing things even if we live in the city. They should know a cow not just meat. We should hold on to our ways of doing things. I will continue to work until I am no longer physically able and then move back to my village. One day you will be useless in the city that is why it is important to maintain your village. My father was ill. My wife took care of him. I would buy pills and send them to my wife in the village. They used to be for free then we were forced to buy the pills. I then brought his hospital cards to Harare and started buying the tablets here in Harare. I have a daughter in law who helps my wife to take care of my father who was ill. When it comes to taking care of elderly parents there is no job for men or job for women. I should also look after my in laws as they brought my wife into the world. We should be united. In my family everyone chips in. What's important is that my sister is married elsewhere and my brother has their own family so we need to provide the caregiver in the village the resources that she needs.	*teaching* sustainability to son *teaching* survival strategies Bringing awareness *Holding* on to indigenous knowledge *Continuing* to work *ageing* in city *being* useless in city *retiring* to village *responding* to father's illness *buying* medication *raising* cost of medication *delivering* medication wife *providing* care to father in law daughter in law *providing* care to great-grandfather in law *sharing* responsibility of caring *providing* resources needed *supporting* caregiver in village

Line by line analytic memo: Line by line coding, Mr Samanyika (material care role)

The interview with Mr Samanyika brought up issues of elder care as a shared family responsibility. He isthe breadwinner who is working in the city. His wife and his daughter in law take care of Mr Samanyika's father in the village. Mr Samanyika brings up issues relating to the cost of medication, intergenerational family care (Mr Samanyika's daughter in law helps to take care of Mr Samanyika's father. He is also considerate of his brother who has his own family. Mr Samanyika is eager to advisehis son to consider investing in a home in the rural area as he believes that the city is not their real home.

Figure 14: Line by line analytic memo example

Incident by incident focused coding example

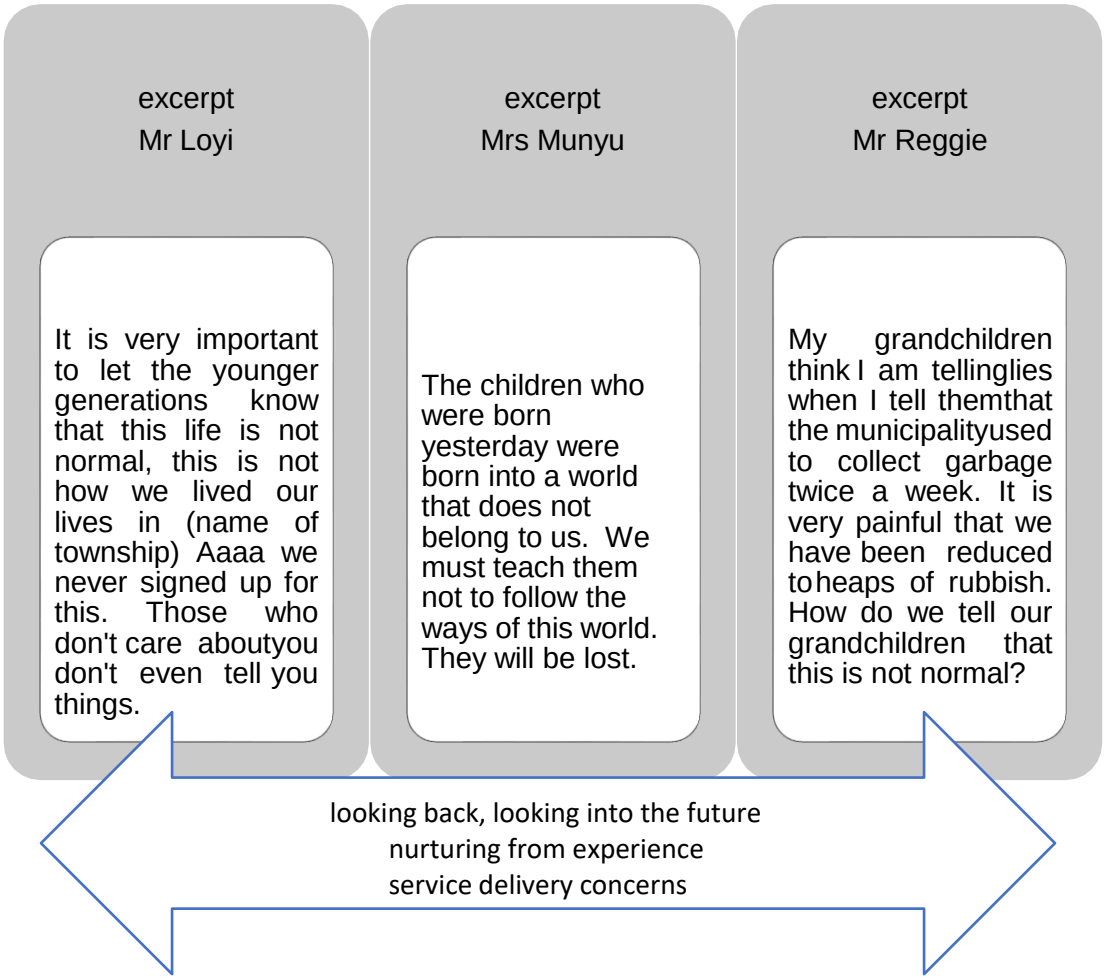


Figure 15: Incident by incident focused coding example

Incident by incident analytic memo: – attempts to articulate issues of social citizenship

So far Mr Loyi, Mrs Munyu and Mr Reggie have narrated the importance of ensuring that their younger family members "see" the type of life that they (the participants) were once exposed to. These three participants are drawing from past experience to raise issues related to concepts of service delivery (social structures) that are related to issues of social citizenship. They believe they have the responsibility of showing their descendants how things should be.

I am wondering how they filter the type of knowledge that they wish to share with their descendants. Throughout the interviews, they did not narrate any story that suggests aspects that they believe are negative aspects of taking up care responsibility.

Figure 16: Incident by incident analytic memo example

Table 5: Coding for diversity example

At approximately what age did you start participating in elder care?										
	Females					**Males**				
	Ms Munyu	Ms Ziva	Ms Rose	Ms Murimi	Ms Diya	Mr Reggie	Mr Tino	Mr Loyi	Mr Samanyika	Mr Gidi
Childhood (before 10 years old)										
adolescence/teen (10yrs-19yrs)				G	M, F					
Young (15yrs to 24yrs)			H			F		M		G
adulthood (25yrs to 59yrs)	H	M ,F	M, F		H	OB	F	F		F
old age (+60)	M	H				M		OB	M, F	

Legend:-

G	Grandmother	F	Father
GF	Grandfather	M	Mother
OB	Older brother	S	Sister

Theoretic analytic table: intersection of "doing age" "doing gender" and "doing care"

The theoretical coding has helped to highlight the life stages that participants report as actively occupying an active care role. This corroborates Meads' theory that age is symbolic. The meaning of what is considered as "age appropriate" care responsibility varies within families as in Mrs Diya and Mrs Murimi's cases. Morrell & Jewkes (2011) also report on the non-linear pathway to caring responsibility in their study. I should go back to the data and establish how participants describe their lives during the stages they report as entering into active caring roles. Who else is participating in the care of each care recipient? Who is providing the resources? How are decisions made? Who has the final say?

Figure 17: Theoretic memo - coding for diversity example

Date:

The stories are very interesting but I am once again reminded that I should stick to the aims and objectives of the study. I am a bit concerned that I might not do justice to the story lines of the participants. No wonder some have raised to issue of voice and representation of others…

I am torn between what to add and what to leave out but perhaps I should read my research question again. Perhaps I should not lose sight of the purpose of the project. As interesting as some of the stories and incidents are, I must cut out some portions that do not contribute towards answering the research question.

Figure 18: Reflexive memo example

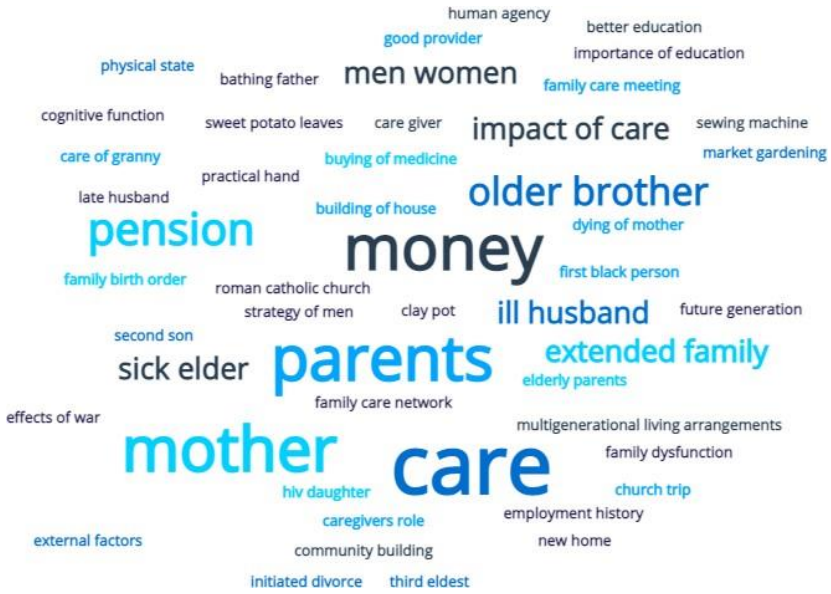
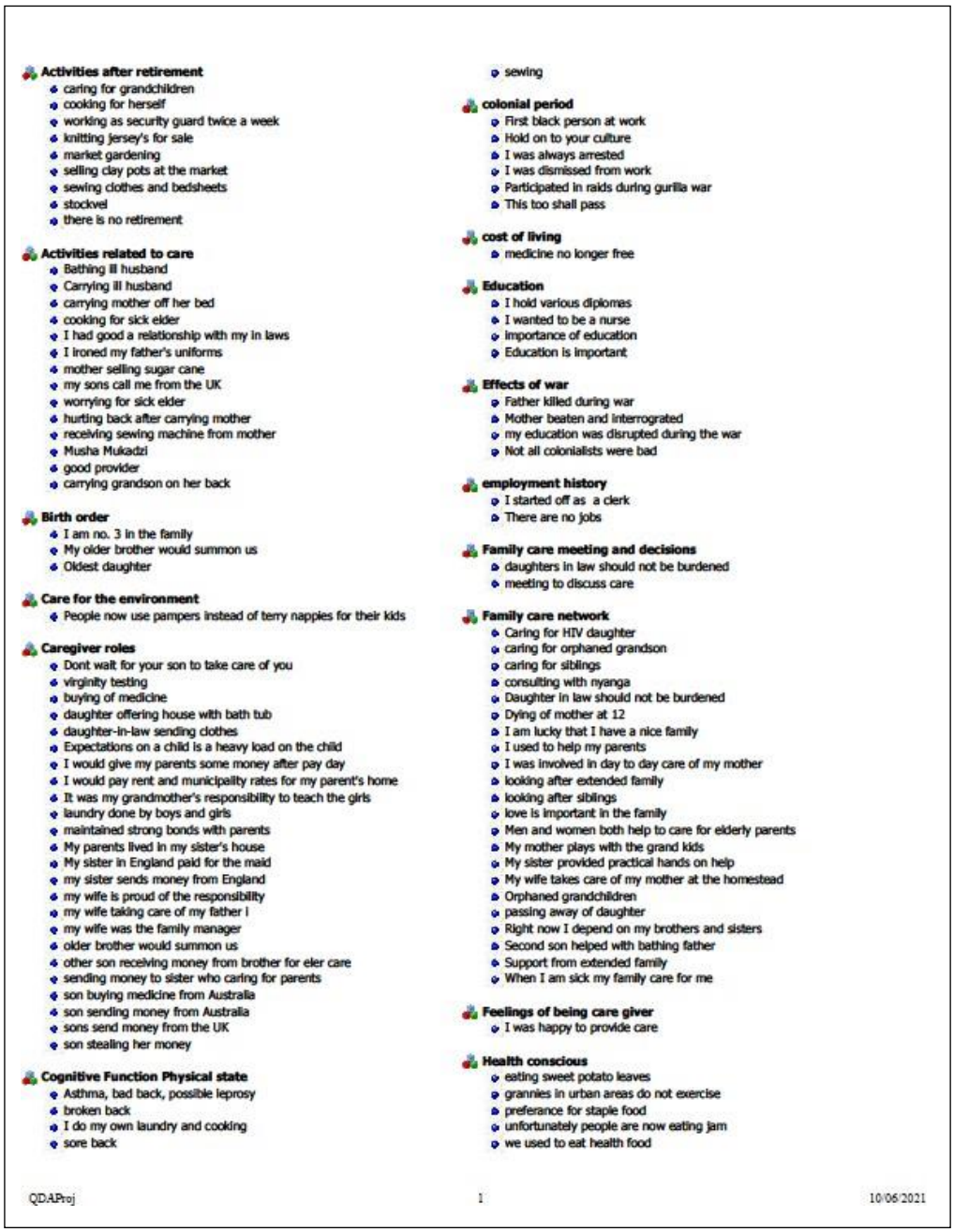


Figure 19: Example of word cloud generated from some of the codes



- **Activities after retirement**
  - caring for grandchildren
  - cooking for herself
  - working as security guard twice a week
  - knitting jersey's for sale
  - market gardening
  - selling clay pots at the market
  - sewing clothes and bedsheets
  - stockvel
  - there is no retirement
- **Activities related to care**
  - Bathing ill husband
  - Carrying ill husband
  - carrying mother off her bed
  - cooking for sick elder
  - I had good a relationship with my in laws
  - I ironed my father's uniforms
  - mother selling sugar cane
  - my sons call me from the UK
  - worrying for sick elder
  - hurting back after carrying mother
  - receiving sewing machine from mother
  - Musha Mukadzi
  - good provider
  - carrying grandson on her back
- **Birth order**
  - I am no. 3 in the family
  - My older brother would summon us
  - Oldest daughter
- **Care for the environment**
  - People now use pampers instead of terry nappies for their kids
- **Caregiver roles**
  - Dont wait for your son to take care of you
  - virginity testing
  - buying of medicine
  - daughter offering house with bath tub
  - daughter-in-law sending clothes
  - Expectations on a child is a heavy load on the child
  - I would give my parents some money after pay day
  - I would pay rent and municipality rates for my parent's home
  - It was my grandmother's responsibility to teach the girls
  - laundry done by boys and girls
  - maintained strong bonds with parents
  - My parents lived in my sister's house
  - My sister in England paid for the maid
  - my sister sends money from England
  - my wife is proud of the responsibility
  - my wife taking care of my father I
  - my wife was the family manager
  - older brother would summon us
  - other son receiving money from brother for eler care
  - sending money to sister who caring for parents
  - son buying medicine from Australia
  - son sending money from Australia
  - sons send money from the UK
  - son stealing her money
- **Cognitive Function Physical state**
  - Asthma, bad back, possible leprosy
  - broken back
  - I do my own laundry and cooking
  - sore back
  - sewing
- **colonial period**
  - First black person at work
  - Hold on to your culture
  - I was always arrested
  - I was dismissed from work
  - Participated in raids during gurilla war
  - This too shall pass
- **cost of living**
  - medicine no longer free
- **Education**
  - I hold various diplomas
  - I wanted to be a nurse
  - importance of education
  - Education is important
- **Effects of war**
  - Father killed during war
  - Mother beaten and interrogated
  - my education was disrupted during the war
  - Not all colonialists were bad
- **employment history**
  - I started off as a clerk
  - There are no jobs
- **Family care meeting and decisions**
  - daughters in law should not be burdened
  - meeting to discuss care
- **Family care network**
  - Caring for HIV daughter
  - caring for orphaned grandson
  - caring for siblings
  - consulting with nyanga
  - Daughter in law should not be burdened
  - Dying of mother at 12
  - I am lucky that I have a nice family
  - I used to help my parents
  - I was involved in day to day care of my mother
  - looking after extended family
  - looking after siblings
  - love is important in the family
  - Men and women both help to care for elderly parents
  - My mother plays with the grand kids
  - My sister provided practical hands on help
  - My wife takes care of my mother at the homestead
  - Orphaned grandchildren
  - passing away of daughter
  - Right now I depend on my brothers and sisters
  - Second son helped with bathing father
  - Support from extended family
  - When I am sick my family care for me
- **Feelings of being care giver**
  - I was happy to provide care
- **Health conscious**
  - eating sweet potato leaves
  - grannies in urban areas do not exercise
  - preferance for staple food
  - unfortunately people are now eating jam
  - we used to eat health food

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Figure 20 – Excerpt of code book

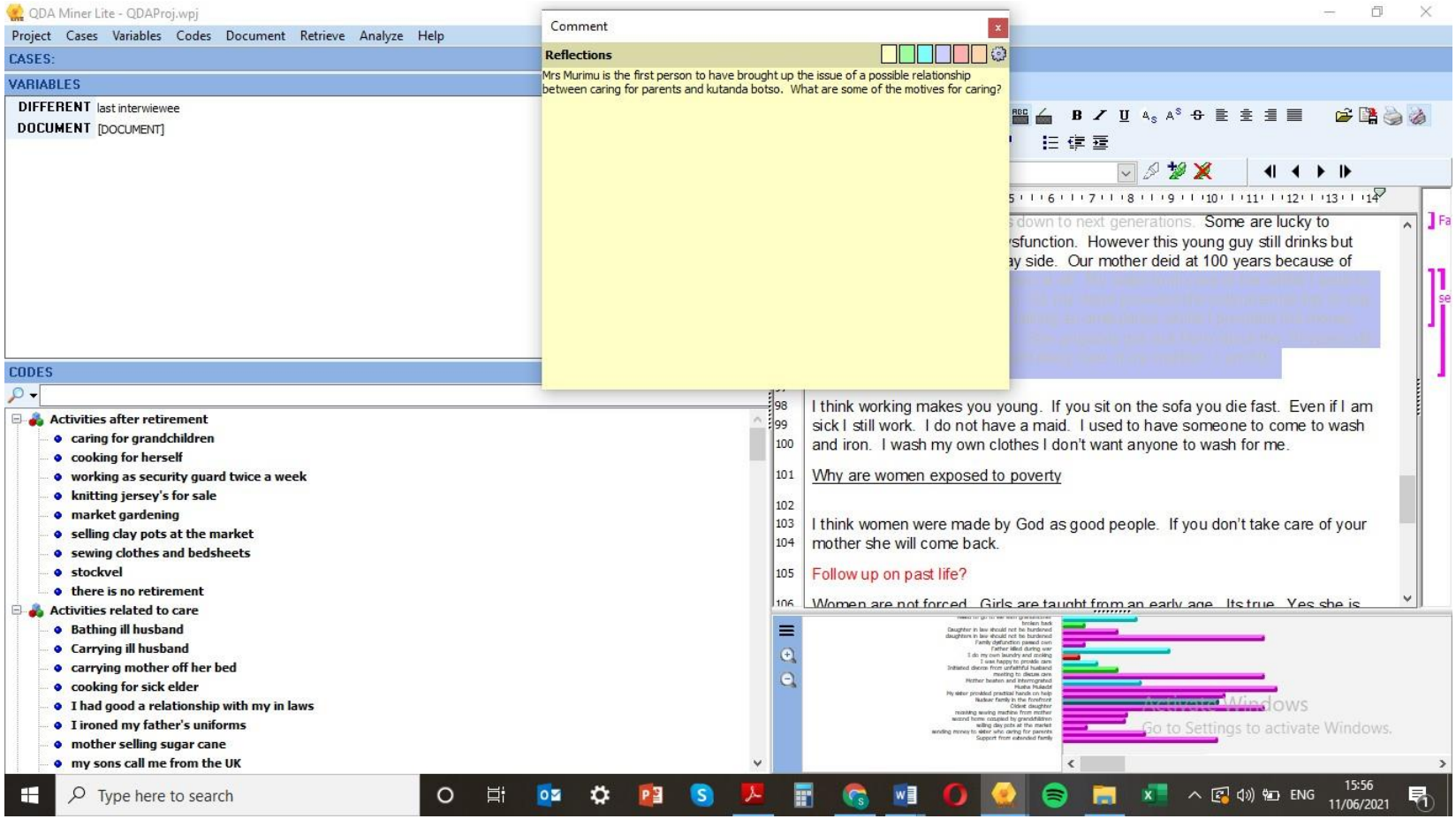

Figure 21: Screen capture of coding process

ADDENDA

MRCZ No. MRCZ/A/2677

English interview guide/research questions

Initial general questions based on the grounded theory methodological approach

Glaser (1998) advises researchers to start with a "grand tour question" that encourages participants to lead the way. The researcher will then pay attention to issues that emerge as being of significance to the participants – issues that will contribute towards theory or conceptual development. Methodologically, this means that the researcher will let participants express in their own words; their everyday reality (Charmaz, 2006; Merton, 1968). Subsequent questions will be analytical for the purpose of clarifying the nature of variance between and within emerging concepts. The following three broad questions will initiate the conversations. **I plan to look at all aspects involved in caregiving at various times in individuals' lives. I will use concepts from the life course theory to guide me in this regard. Although it will be time consuming, I am hoping that each participants will relate their caregiving experiences from an early age perhaps on how their own grandparents were taken care of, how their own parents were taken care of and then how they themselves provided care for their elderly as well as their current caregiving and care receipt experiences.**

INITIAL QUESTIONS

1. **Please tell me about yourself, where, when and where you were born?**

   This part will include probing questions regarding life course; family history, educational and employment trajectories of participants.

2. **I'd like to know more about your personal experience of caregiving and receiving. Could you take me through your own personal journey of how you witnessed caring for the elderly being provided from the time you were young to present?**

   This general question will slowly direct the line of questioning towards a more personal approach including establishing what caregiving means to participant.

3. **What has been your personal experience of providing and receiving care throughout your life to present?**

   Probing questions will be presented in response to the participants' narratives.

4. **What arrangements did you have in place in preparation for your own retirement and why?**

   Perhaps issues of pension fund, filial responsibility - expectations of adult children stepping in to assist might come up. Differences might be noted between men's and women's expectations. This part will also solicit what the concept of retirement means to participants of this study.

Addendum 1: Interview guide/research questions English version

MRCZ No. MRCZ/A/2677

Shona interview guide/research questions

Initial general questions based on the grounded theory methodological approach

Glaser (1998) advises researchers to start with a "grand tour question" that encourages participants to lead the way. The researcher will then pay attention to issues that emerge as being of significance to the participants – issues that will contribute towards theory or conceptual development. Methodologically, this means that the researcher will let participants express in their own words; their everyday reality (Charmaz, 2006; Merton, 1968). Subsequent questions will be analytical for the purpose of clarifying the nature of variance between and within emerging concepts. The following three broad questions will initiate the conversations. **I plan to look at all aspects involved in caregiving at various times in individuals' lives. I will use concepts from the life course theory to guide me in this regard. Although it will be time consuming, I am hoping that each participants will relate their caregiving experiences from an early age perhaps on how their own grandparents were taken care of, how their own parents were taken care of and then how they themselves provided care for their elderly as well as their current caregiving and care receipt experiences.**

INITIAL QUESTIONS

1. Ndinokumbirawo mundiudze mashoko pamusoro penyu, kuti makazvarirwa kupi, gore ripi?

   This part will include probing questions regarding life course; family history, educational and employment trajectories of participants.

2. Ndingadawo kuziva zvakawanda pamusoro peruzivo rwamuinarwo nezvekuchengeta vakwegura uye kuchengetwa semunhu akwegura. Munganditsanangurirawo here zvamaiona zvaiitwa pakuchengetwa kwevakwegura kubva pamaiva mudiki kusvika iye izvino?

   This general question will slowly direct the line of questioning towards a more personal approach including establishing what caregiving means to participant.

3. Zvii zvaiitika pakuchengeta kwamaiitawo vakwegura uye pakuchengetwa kwamuri kuitwawo iye zvino?

   Probing questions will be presented in response to the participants' narratives.

4. Zvii zvamakagara maita muchigadzirira nguva ino yekukwegura kwenyu uye nei makagara maita izvozvo?

   Perhaps issues of pension fund, filial responsibility - expectations of adult children stepping in to assist might come up. Differences might be noted between men's and women's expectations. This part will also solicit what the concept of retirement means to participants of this study.

Addendum 2: Interview guide/research questions Shona version

MRCZ No. MRCZ/A/2677

INFORMED CONSENT

PhD STUDY TITLE:-

Caregiving – a feminist perspective on the lived experiences of caregivers in Harare.

Principal Investigator - Sarudzai Mahomva

Phone number - [redacted]

'email – [redacted]

What you should know about this research study:

- I give you this consent so that you may read about the purpose, risks, and benefits of this research study.
- The main goal of this study is to gain knowledge that may benefit future generations.
- We cannot promise that this research will benefit you.
- You have the right to refuse to take part in the study.
- If you decide to take part in the study, you are free to change your mind later on at any stage of the study.
- Please review this consent form carefully. Ask any questions before you make a decision.
- Your participation is voluntary.

PURPOSE

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study entitled, "Caregiving – a feminist perspective on the lived experiences of caregivers in Harare". The study is a partial requirement for a PhD degree from the University of the Free State Gender and Africa Studies Centre. The study wishes to understand what caring for elderly family members means to you. The study believes that men and women who are aged 60 and above, have lived long enough to explain how elderly members of their families have been cared for throughout their lives. The study is interested to learn what aging means to you. Should you agree to participant in this study you should be aware of the following: -

PROCEDURE & DURATION

Interviews will be conducted privately between you and the researcher in your home at a time to be agreed upon. You will be asked to share your life experience of caring for the elderly. I would like to interview you two times in one month. Each interview will last one hour. Should I need more information from you, I will make arrangements with you for an additional interview. I am also interested in seeing some of the things that matter to you in your everyday caring activities that you are responsible for in your home. With your permission, I will write notes and use a tape recorder to have an accurate record of our conversation. After each interview, I will type the interviews. The audio recorder has a password and will be kept in a locked safe. To avoid possible identification, the typed interviews will not use your name, your location or the names of people whom you might mention.

Addendum 3: Informed consent English version (page 253 to page 256)

Risks and discomfort

You do not have to discuss any personal information that you do not feel comfortable discussing. Whilst some of the stories that you will share might be pleasant, you might also wish to share some unpleasant memories and experiences. Should unpleasant memories cause you distress, that you might want to discuss with an appropriate health professional. I will assist you in seeking counselling from the Christian Counselling Centre at 8 Coltman Road, Harare, telephone 24 2744580.

Benefits and Compensation

The study will have no direct benefit to you. However, the information that you provide might contribute towards an understanding of the experiences of some caregivers in present day Harare. The results of the study will be used for academic purposes and possibly be presented in an academic journal or at a conference. I will bring drinks that we may share during our conversations.

Confidentiality & anonymity

The information that you share with me will be treated in strict confidence. For this reason, I request that the interviews should be in private. Your real name will not be used to avoid any possibility of identification of either you, your location or the people who you might mention. I will use a tape recorder to record our conversation. The tape recorder has a password which is only known to me. I will type the interviews into a document that is password protected. The password protected document will be stored in a computer with a password that is only known to me. To avoid possible identification, the typed interviews will not use your name, your location or the names of people whom you might mention. My supervisors will have access to the information that does not have your identity.

Additional costs

There will be no costs to be borne by you.

Voluntary Participation

Participation in this study is voluntary. You may stop your participation and withdraw your consent at any time without penalty.

Offer to answer questions

Before you sign this form, please ask any questions on any aspect of this study that is unclear to you. You may take as much time as necessary to think it over.

MRCZ No. MRCZ/A/2677

AUTHORIZATION

You are making a decision whether or not to participate in this study. Your signature indicates that you have read and understood the information provided above, that all your questions were answered, and that you want to participate. By signing below,

I am agreeing that:

- I hereby give free and informed consent to participate in the abovementioned research study.
- I understand what the study is about, why I am participating and what the risks and benefits are.
- I give the researcher permission to make use of the data gathered from my participation for the purposes that are indicated above.
- I am taking part in this study voluntarily, without being forced to do so.

Study Title : Caregiving – a feminist perspective on the lived experiences of caregivers in Harare.

Researcher : Sarudzai Mahomva

Name of research respondent (please print)	Date
Signature of respondent	Time
Witness name & signature	Date

MRCZ No. MRCZ/A/2677

Audio Consent

Study Title : Caregiving – a feminist perspective on the lived experiences of caregivers in Harare.

Researcher : Sarudzai Mahomva

Statement of Consent to be audio recorded

I understand that my voice will be recorded during the study as explained in the Informed Consent Form that I have signed.

For each statement, please choose YES or NO by inserting your initials in the relevant box.

- I agree to **being audio recorded** **Yes** ☐ **No** ☐

Name of research respondent (please print) Date

Signature of respondent Time

YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS CONSENT FORM TO KEEP.

If you have any questions concerning this study or consent form beyond those answered by the investigator, including questions about the research, your rights as a research respondent or research-related injuries; or if you feel that you have been treated unfairly and would like to talk to someone other than a member of the research team, please feel free to contact the Medical Research Council of Zimbabwe on telephone 791792 or 791193 and cell phone lines 0784 956 128. The MRCZ Offices are located at the National Institute of Health Research premises at Corner Josiah Tongogara and Mazowe Avenue in Harare.

MRCZ No. MRCZ/A/2677

GWARO REKUNZWISISA UYE KUBVUMA ZVICHAITWA

MUSORO WEONGORORO YEPhD:-

Kuchengetwa kwevakwegura – maonero emunhu anosimudzira kodzero dzevakadzi pamusoro pezvinoitika pakuchengetwa kwevakwegura muHarare

Muongorori Mukuru - Sarudzai Mahomva
Nhamba dzenhare [redacted]
email – [redacted]

Zvamunofanira kuziva nezvetsvakurudzo ino:

- Tiri kukupai gwaro rino kuti muverenge nezvechinangwa chetsvakurudzo, zvingangoitika zvisingafadzi uye kubatsira kuchaita tsvakurudzo ino.
- Chinangwa chikuru chetsvakurudzo ino ndechekuwana ruzivo rwunogona kubatsira zvizvarwa zvemune ramangwana.
- Hatigoni kukuvimbisai kuti tsvakurudzo iyi ichabatsira imi pachenyu.
- Mune kodzero yekuramba kubatanidzwa mutsvakurudzo ino.
- Kana mukasarudza kubatanidzwa mutsvakurudzo ino, makasununguka kuzotaura kuti hamuchada chero panguva ipi zvayo inenge ichiitwa tsvakurudzo ino.
- Tapota nyatsoongororai qwaro rino rekubvuma zvichaitwa patsvakurudzo. Bvunzai chero mubvunzo wamuinawo musati maita chisarudzo.
- Kubatanidzwa kwamuchaitwa mutsvakurudzo ino kunobva pakuti mabvuma nekuzvidira imi pachenyu.

CHINANGWA

Ndinokukokai kuti mubatanidzwe mutsvakurudzo ine musoro unoti, "Kuchengetwa kwevakwegura – maonero emunhu anosimudzira kodzero dzevakadzi pamusoro pezvinoitika pakuchengetwa kwevakwegura muHarare". Tsvakurudzo iyi ndeimwe yezvinhu zvinodiwa pakuwana dhigirii repamusorosoro (PhD degree) kubva kuyunivesiti inonzi University of the Free State Gender and Africa Studies Centre. Tsvakurudzo iyi ndeyekuedza kunzwisisa kuti kuchengetwa kwevakwegura vemumhuri kunorevei kwamuri. Tine chivimbo chekuti varume nevakadzi vane makore 60 zvichikwira vararama kwenguva yakareba zvekuti vanokwanisa kutsanangura kuti pavaikura, vakwengura vemumhuri mavo vaichengetwa sei. Mutsvakurudzo iyi tinoda kudzidza kuti kukwegura kunorevei kwamuri. Kana muchibvuma kubatanidzwa mutsvakurudzo iyi, munofanira kuziva zvinotevera: -

MAITIRWO ETSVAKURUDZO UYE NGUVA YAICHATORA

Kana tsvakurudzo yava kuitwa, muchabvunzwa mibvunzo pamba penyu asi pasina vamwe vanhu vanenge vachinzwa zvamuchataura uye zvichaitwa pamusi nenguva yamuchabvumira. Muchakumbirwa kuti mutsanangure ruzivo rwamuinawo pamusoro pekuchengetwa kwevakwegura. Ndingazoda kukubvunzurudzai kaviri mumwedzi umwe chete. Bvunzurudzo imwe neimwe ichaitora awa imwe chete. Kana ndichizoda mamwe mashoko kubva kwamuri, ndichazoronga nemi imwe nguva yekuita imwe bvunzurudzo. Ndinodawo kuona zvimwe zvezvinhu zvamunokoshesa zvamunochengetedza zuva nezuva pamba penyu. Ndichakukumbirai mvumo yekuti ndinyore pasi zvatichakurukura uye kushandisa muchina wekurekodha kuti ndinyatsorekodha nemazvo zvese zvatichakurukura. Kana bvunzurudzo yapera, ndichazonyora zvese zvatinenge takurukura ndichishandisa kombiyuta. Muchina wekurekodha wacho une pasiwedhi uye uchangetwa musefa inogara

Addendum 4: Informed consent Shona version (page 257 to page 260)

yakakiyiwa. Kuitira kuti imi kana vanhu vamuchataura vasazozivikanwa, handisi kuzonyora zita renyu, kwamunogara kana mazita evanhu vamuchataura pane zvandichanyora.

ZVINGANGOITIKA ZVISINGAFADZI

Hamufaniri henyu kutaura zvinhu zvine chekuita nemi zvamusinganzwi makasununguka kutaura nezvazvo. Kunyange zvazvo dzimwe nyaya dzamuchatsanangura dzichange dzichinakidza, munogonawo kutsanangura zvimwe zvinhu pamusoro penyu zvamungasanzwa makasununguka kutsanangura. Kana muine ndangariro dzinosuwisa dzingaita kuti mushushikane, munogona kukurukura nachiremba akukubatsirei. Ndichakubatsirai kutsvaga chiremba anokurukura nemi (counselling) kuChristian Counselling Centre iri muna 8 Coltman Road, Harare, nhamba dzenhare 24 2744580.

ZVAMUCHAWANA UYE MUBHADHARO

Tsvakurudzo ino haisi kuzobatsira imi pachenyu. Asi zvamuchataura zvinogona kubatsira pakuedza kunzwisisa kuchengetwa kwevakwegura muHarare mazuva ano. Zvichabuda mutsvakurudzo iyi zvichashandiswa pakudzidza uye zvinogona kubudiswa mumagazini yezvedzidzo kana kutaurwa panenge pakaungana vanhu. Ndichauya nezvinwiwa kuti tizonwiranwira zvedu patinenge tichikurukura.

KUCHENGETEDZWA KWEMASHOKO AKAVANZIKA UYE KUSASHANDISWA KWEMAZITA

Mashoko amuchandiudza achachengetedzwa akavanzika. Nekudaro, ndinokumbira kuti tizoita bvunzurudzo pasina vamwe vanhu. Zita renyu chairo harisi kuzoshandiswa kuitira kuti imi, kwamunogara kana kuti vanhu vamungangotaura vasazivikanwa. Ndicharekodha zvatichakurukura ndichishandisa muchina wekurekodha. Muchina wacho une pasiwedhi uye ndini chete ndinoiziva. Ndichanyora pakombiyuta zvatinenge takurukura uye zvandichanyora zvichange zviine pasiwedhi. Zvandinenge ndanyora zvacho ndichazvichengetera mukombiyuta ine pasiwedhi inongozivikanwa neni chete. Kuitira kuti imi kana vanhu vamuchataura vasazozivikanwa, handisi kuzonyora zita renyu, kwamunogara kana mazita evanhu vamuchataura. Masupavhaiza angu achangowana mashoko asina zita renyu kana zvimwe zvinoita kuti muzivikanwe.

ZVIMWE ZVINGADA KUBHADHARWA

Hapana mari yamuchabhadhara.

KUBATANIDZWA NDEKWEKUZVIDIRA

Kubatanidzwa mutsvakurudzo ino ndekwekuzvidira. Munogona kuzomira kubatanidzwa uye kukanzura mvumo yenyu chero nguva uye hamuzopiwi chirango.

MIBVUNZO YENYU ICHAPINDURWA

Musati masaina gwaro rino, ndapota bvunzai chero mubvunzo nezvechero chinhu chipi zvacho chamusina kunzwisisa nezvetsvakurudzo ino. Munogona kutora chero nguva yamungada kunyatsofunga nezvetsvakurudzo iyi.

KUPA MVUMO

Muri kuita chisarudzo chekuti mobatanidzwa mutsvakurudzo ino here kana kuti kwete. Siginicha yenyu inoratidza kuti maverenga uye manzwisisa mashoko akanyorwa mugwaro rino, kuti mibvunzo yenyu yese yapindurwa uye kuti munoda kubatanidzwa. Kuisa siginicha kwandichaita pazasi apa, ndiri kubvuma kuti:

- **Ndiri kupa mvumo yangu pasina mubhadharo uye pashure pekunzwisisa nezvetsvakurudzo iyi kuti ndibatanidzwewo mutsvakurudzo iyi.**
- **Ndanzwisisa chinangwa chetsvakurudzo iyi, kuti nei ndiri kubatanidzwawo, zvingangoitika zvisingafadzi uye kubatsira kuchaita tsvakurudzo ino.**
- **Ndinopa muongorori mvumo yekushandisa mashoko aachawana kubva pakubatanidzwa kwangu kuti aashandise sezvataurwa pamusoro.**
- **Ndiri kubvuma kubatanidzwa mutsvakurudzo ino nekuzvidira, pasina andimanikidza kubvuma.**

Musoro Wetsvakurudzo : Kuchengetwa kwevakwegura – maonero emunhu anosimudzira kodzero dzevakadzi pamusoro pezvinoitika pakuchengetwa kwevakwegura muHarare.
Muongorori: Sarudzai Mahomva

_____	_____
Zita reari kubatanidzwa muongororo (nyorai zvinooneka)	Musi
_____	_____
Siginicha yeari kubatanidzwa	Nguva
_____	_____
Zita nesiginicha zveanopupurira (witness)	Musi

MRCZ No. MRCZ/A/2677

Kubvuma Kurekodhwa Inzwi

Musoro Wetsvakurudzo : Kuchengetwa kwevakwegura – maonero emunhu anosimudzira kodzero dzevakadzi pamusoro pezvinoitika pakuchengetwa kwevakwegura muHarare.
Muongorori: Sarudzai Mahomva

Mashoko Ekubvuma Kurekodhwa Inzwi

Ndinonzwisisa kuti inzwi rangu richarekodhwa pachange pachiitwa tsvakurudzo sezvatsanangurwa mune rino Gwaro Rekunzwisisa Uye Kubvuma Zvichaitwa randaisa siginicha.

Pamashoko anotevera, sarudzai HONGU kana KWETE monyora mabhii ekutanga ezita renyu (initials) mukabhoki kamunenge masarudza pasi apa.

- **Ndinobvuma kurekodhwa inzwi** **Hongu** ☐
  Kwete ☐

_____ _____
Zita reari kubatanidzwa muongororo (nyorai zvinooneka) Musi

_____ _____
Siginicha yeari kubatanidzwa Nguva

_____ _____
Zita nesiginicha zveanopupurira (witness) Musi

MUCHAPIWA KOPI YEGWARO RINO REKUPA MVUMO KUTI MUCHENGETEWO.
Kana muine chero mibvunzo nezveongororo ino kana nezvegwaro rekubvuma isina kupindurwa nemuongorori, kusanganisira mibvunzo pamusoro petsvakurudzo yacho, kodzero dzenyu semunhu ari kubatanidzwa mutsvakurudzo kana kukuvara kunokonzerwa netsvakurudzo; kana kuti muchinzwa kuti hamuna kubatwa zvakanaka uye munoda kutaura nemumwe munhu asiri muchikwata chekuongorora, tapota inzwai makasununguka kufonera veMedical Research Council of Zimbabwe panhamba dzenhare dzinoti 791792 or 791193 uye panharembozha inoti 0784 956 128. Mahofisi eMRCZ anowanikwa kuzvivakwa zveNational Institute of Health Research zviri panosangana Josiah Tongogara naMazowe Avenue muHarare.

Christian Counselling Centre
8 Coltman Road, P O Box MP 1129, Mount Pleasant, Harare
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E-mail Address: hccc@mweb.co.zw
www.christiancounsellingcentre.net

27th August 2019

Mrs Saru Mahomva
[redacted]

Dear Mrs Saru Mahomva

Re: Possible Counselling Appointments

This is to confirm that you can refer (with their consent) those participants you interview as part of your research to the Christian Counselling Centre, should the reliving of their experiences cause them stress and they need psychological support.

Yours sincerely,

I. Wilsher

Director CCC

Addendum 5: Letter from Christian Counselling Centre, Harare

UNIVERSITY OF THE FREE STATE
UNIVERSITEIT VAN DIE VRYSTAAT
YUNIVESITHI YA FREISTATA

UFS·UV
FK·S HUMANITIES
GEESTESWETENSKAPPE

Faculty of the Humanites

12-Nov-2018

Dear **Mrs Mahomva**

Ethics Clearance: **Caregiving – a feminist perspective on the lived experiences of caregivers in Harare.**

Principal Investigator: **Mrs Sarudzai Mahomva**

Department: **Centre for Africa Studies Department (Bloemfontein Campus)**

APPLICATION APPROVED

With reference to your application for ethical clearance with the Faculty of the Humanities. I am pleased to inform you on behalf of the Research Ethics Committee of the faculty that you have been granted ethical clearance for your research.

Your ethical clearance number, to be used in all correspondence is: **UFS-HSD2018/0591**

This ethical clearance number is valid for research conducted from 12-Nov-2018 to 12-Nov-2021. Should you require more time to complete this research, please apply for an extension.

We request that any changes that may take place during the course of your research project be submitted to the ethics office to ensure we are kept up to date with your progress and any ethical implications that may arise.

Thank you for submitting this proposal for ethical clearance and we wish you every success with your research.

Yours Sincerely

Dr. Asta Rau
Chair: Research Ethics Committee
Faculty of the Humanities

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Addendum 6: Ethical approval

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