

A Capability Approach Assessment of FBOs' Role and Strategies in Poverty Alleviation and Human Development in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

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Abstract

Post-apartheid governments in South Africa have, through many strategies, tried to curb poverty and underdevelopment in the country. Despite some success stories, certain areas of the country still experience serious cases of poverty and underdevelopment. In the KwaZulu-Natal Province, poverty, inequality, unemployment and decrepit social services system constitute the main challenges to be tackled by the government. When state agents fall short in delivering poverty alleviation and development measures, non-state actors like FBOs sometimes assume the position of providing the necessary public goods to society. Hence, the role that FBOs play in liberal democracies, and how they can possibly help in poverty alleviation and human development, have taken centre stage in scholarly discussions on the politics of the state. Against this backdrop, this study adopts qualitative empirical methods and Sen's Capability Approach as an evaluative framework to assess the role that two FBOs, one Muslim and one Christian, play and the strategies they use in poverty alleviation and human development in the KwaZulu-Natal Province. The study's analysis finds that these two FBOs do benefit aid recipients, but that they also (like other NGOs) practice varying forms of paternalism. Further research on these and other FBOs is necessary for a more sustained analysis of the whether and how the CA approach can provide a complete picture of aid recipients' well-being.

Keywords: Faith-based Organisations, Poverty Alleviation, Human Development, Capability Approach, Agency, Paternalism.

Introduction

Prior to democracy in 1994, South Africa was ruled under the apartheid political system based on the policy of the segregation of races through legislation (Deane 2005:7). Through the apartheid policies, the majority of African people were systematically denied social and economic opportunities on the grounds of race. The post-apartheid governments have in many ways tried to redress the apartheid injustices and their effects on the people. Different strategies have been employed to tackle the problems experienced by South Africans living in different areas, especially rural communities and townships of the former Homelands, including the KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) Province. Regarding this, the report by the KZN Provincial Planning Commission (KZN PPC 2011) notes that KZN has experienced some degree of success in its growth and development efforts. However, despite these successes, it is known that KZN still experiences serious cases of poverty and developmental challenges. In addition, inequality, unemployment, the prevalence of diseases (for example, HIV/AIDS) and a poor social services system remain issues to be tackled by the Provincial government (KZN PPC 2011; Onwuegbuchulam 2018).

Often, when state agents fall short of delivering social services to the people, non-state actors and civil society organisations (CSOs), including Faith-based Organisations (FBOs), have assumed the role of providing and delivering public goods to the people (Posner 2004). Hence, the role that FBOs play in liberal democracies, and how they can possibly help in alleviating poverty in the chosen context of this study, have taken centre stage in scholarly discussions on the politics of the state. According to Johnson (2008:21), 'proponents of faith-based initiatives feel strongly that faith-based programs are effective providers of many different kinds of social services'. Considering that faith-based actors have been active in delivering the goods needed by society, it is also important to assess the effectiveness of their agency in development. Against this backdrop, this study adopts qualitative empirical methods and Sen's Capability Approach (CA) as an evaluative framework to specifically assess the role that two purposefully selected FBOs play and the strategies they use in poverty alleviation and human development in KZN. The CA approach is adopted considering that it provides a credible framework that moves the development discourse beyond the utilitarian notion of 'economic progress' to one that prioritises aid recipients' well-being.

FBOs in Development and Poverty Alleviation

As used in this study, FBO refers to a,

formal organisation whose identity and mission are self-consciously derived from the teachings of one or more religious or spiritual traditions and which operates on a non-profit, independent, voluntary basis to promote and realize collectively articulated ideas about the public good and at the national and international level (Berger 2003: 16).

This study seeks to contribute to extant literature on the possible role that religion (its institutions and affiliates, especially FBOs) can play in development and poverty alleviation. The role that religion and indeed faith-based networks play in development has been neglected in modernisation theories which, following the thoughts of social thinkers like Comte, Durkheim, Weber, Freud, etc., conceptualised development and industry-alisation as going *in pari passu* with secularisation. It was thought that as societies develop, the role that religion plays in such societies diminishes. Hence, secularisation theories, which assume that religion would lose its meaning in the public sphere due to modernisation, became prevalent in modern social science discourse (Boender, Dwarswaard & Westendor 2011:8). Because of the view that religion and development are mutually exclusive, religion and the possible role it can play in modernised societies were thought to be irrelevant and ‘in some cases viewed as obstacles to economic growth’ (Landmark 2013:14). In justifying this view, Colombatto (2006) and Landmark (2013) base their arguments on the conceptualisation of development from a utilitarian point of view that understands development in terms of economic progress embedded in modernisation theories. Notably, in this understanding, religion and its networks become redundant and are not seen to be able to play a role, since the envisaged development is supposed to go together with secularisation.

However, the recent reality of the resurgence of religion has greatly discredited the prophecy of the death of religion and the increased realisation of the potential role that religion can play in development. In 1980, the World Development, in a special issue titled *Religion and Development* recognised the possible role religion can play in development and ‘called for a re-evaluation of the relationship between religion and development, questioning the validity of secularism for development’ (Landmark 2013:14). Since that

assertion, there has been an increase in literature on emerging alternative theories and trends on the topic of religion in development, including the role of faith in humanitarian efforts in needy communities (Ager & Ager 2015; Lynch & Schwarz 2016). One of the trends that has consequences for the new interest in religion within development academics is the increased recognition of the work of FBOs (Olarinmoye 2012; Landmark 2013; Lynch & Schwarz 2016).

Against this backdrop, scholars have looked at the increasing role that faith, faith-based networks and FBOs play in development and poverty alleviation. Marshall and Van Saanen (2007) looked at the issue of global poverty and observed that in the efforts so far aimed at ameliorating this situation, the possible contributions and impacts that faith actors could have made are not acknowledged (2007:xi). This is a problem for the authors who advocate greater partnerships between development and faith institutions. Brennan (2007:1) tries to understand whether faith is an obstacle or an element that helps to foster development. The author observes that, 'given the increasing reference to faith and God in politics it is clear that faith and spirituality are beginning to play a more prominent and public role in people lives'. Hence, he concludes that,

whether one calls for development to be secularised or says that no development can take place without taking into account people's spirituality, it would seem that either way faith is a significant player in the development context (2007:11).

Whetho and Uzodike (2009) affirm the significant role of faith-based networks in development in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The study was situated in the broader research on the role that religion and FBOs play in post-conflict states. Its conclusion suggests that the participation of faith-based networks as agents of development or as facilitators of peace building in post-conflict DRC is positive.

Additionally, there are other notable studies (Campbell 2011; Olarinmoye 2012; Reeves 2010; Ager & Ager 2015; Lynch & Schwarz 2016; Benthal 2016; Islam 2018) that have explored and in various ways affirmed the positive role that FBOs play in development and poverty alleviation. The current study builds on these studies and interrogates the issues further as they play out in the context of the study. As such, this study aims at contributing to

the advancement of the extant body of knowledge on the possible role that FBOs play in responding to the issues of poverty and underdevelopment among those living in townships and rural areas of KZN.

This study questions, the conception of development as used by modernist theorists who understand development as utilitarian by nature and measured in terms of economic progress. Arguably, it is this understanding that necessitated the exclusion of religion and faith-based networks in their theory-sation of development in modern liberal democracies. Contrarily, the current study in its analysis adopts a conception of development (based on the Capability Approach) that goes beyond the utilitarian measure of development. Taking this route will help lay the foundation for the analysis of the role of FBOs in human development and poverty alleviation in KZN as this study envisages.

Theoretical Perspective

This chapter adopts Amartyr Sen's Capability Approach (CA) specifically to assess the role played by two FBOs in addressing the issues of poverty and human development. Sen (1993:30) conceptualises the CA as concerned with evaluating an individual's quality of life 'in terms of his or her actual ability to achieve various valuable functioning as a part of living'. Important concepts clearly define the CA and include Functioning, Capability, Values and Agency. According to Robeyns (2011), functionings are 'beings and doings' – the various states and activities individuals can assume. 'Capability' is associated with functioning; it refers to an individual's real freedom/opportunity to achieve functionings. The concept of 'Value' is a condition linked to Capability and Functioning (Onwuegbuchulam 2018). In this, the CA 'is based on a view of living as a combination of various 'doings and beings', with the quality of life to be assessed in terms of the capability to achieve valuable functionings' (Sen 1993:31). 'Agency', as conceptualised by the CA, refers to 'someone who acts and brings about change, and whose achievements can be judged in terms of her own values ...' (Sen 1999:19).

Adopting the CA in this study offers leeway to assess the 'agency' role that FBOs play towards realising poverty alleviation and human development. In particular, the present author is more concerned with the aspect of agency related to the concept of 'paternalism.' According to Archard (1990:36) 'paternalism is essentially the usurpation of one person's choice of their own good by another person'. The appropriation of an individual's choice thereby

restricts it, which has obvious negative implications. It also goes against the CA view of the need to ensure individual freedom regarding the things valued by individuals (Sen 1999). On the other hand, paternalism can be positive as it focuses on the motive of the agent to realise the welfare of beneficiaries (and not that of the agent) without restricting their autonomy (Salvat 2014; Dworkin 2015). This study will interrogate the theme of paternalism to determine whether (or not) the paternalistic agency of FBOs can be regarded as positive. On this, this researcher is also interested specifically in whether or not the FBOs and the community can arrive together at shared values despite apparent paternalistic tendencies in FBO agency.

Adopting the CA is also relevant because, in the face of failures of state apparatuses to realise the Modernist theorists' conception of development (economic progress) in liberal democracies, there is need to adopt other paradigms that conceptualise development and poverty alleviation differently. For Sen (1993) development is not just about economic progress. Development should rather be seen as a process geared towards realising and extending people's freedoms. The CA understands poverty as 'the lack of basic capabilities needed to achieve a minimally tolerable life such as being well nourished, avoiding preventable morbidity' (Fukuda-Parr 2007:9-10). Correspondingly, poverty alleviation, according to the CA, is any effort aimed at helping people to realise those capabilities of which they have been deprived. This study agrees with these conceptualisations and hence adopts the CA to evaluate poverty alleviation strategies of agents (in this instance FBOs). The aim is to assess how the policies and strategies of the selected FBOs in the study, meet the different value functionings of people and their capabilities.

Methodology

The study adopted a qualitative research methodology used in 'the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns' (Hsieh & Shannon 2005:1278). Qualitative methodology is,

suited when what is being studied is complex, social and is not subject to a quantitative methodology (Liebscher 1998:669). The study is also case-study based, which is an approach used towards a holistic and in-depth investigation of a phenomenon within its real-life context (Rubin

& Babbie 1997; Feagin, Orum & Sjoberg 1991).

KZN is the geographical context of this study. The justification for selecting this area is the high incidence of poverty in the Province as established in the introduction.

Additionally, through a purposive sampling method, the researcher chose two FBOs out of others operating in the Province. The organisations are the Islamic, faith-based Gift of the Givers (GOG) and the Christian, faith-based Pietermaritzburg Agency for Community Social Action (PACSA). PACSA was founded by Peter Kerchhoff in 1979, primarily to ‘draw white Christians into the struggle against apartheid’ (Levine 2002:3). The organisation has worked for over 30 years in the areas of human rights, social justice, social development and poverty alleviation in uMgungundlovu District. Similarly, GOG has in many ways contributed to social development and humanitarian aid in KZN, the country and abroad. The organisation was founded in 1992 by Imtiaz Sooliman, a South African medical doctor, following a spiritual call to serve humanity (Desai 2010; Morton 2014). According to Schutt (2006:155), ‘in purposive sampling method, each sample element is selected for a purpose, usually because of the unique position of the sample elements’. Hence, the FBOs chosen for study are not arbitrary; the researcher chose them because of their prominence as FBOs and the perceived pervasiveness of their efforts in humanitarian aid and human social development (Simbi 2013; Morton 2014). The researcher also considered both an Islamic and a Christian organisation to get a balanced perception of how these two prominent religions within the context of the study participate in development and humanitarianism.

Data Collection and Analysis

The researcher utilised semi-structured interviews in the empirical primary data collection and this is because this method allows open-ended questions to be posed to the interviewees. The researcher conducted 27 semi-structured interviews with different participants; including five (5) key informers from GOG, nine (9) beneficiaries of the GOG site, five (5) key informers from PACSA, and eight (8) beneficiaries from the PACSA site. In order to abide by ethical demands of protection of participants, the researcher used pseudonyms to represent participants in the data report.

The researcher analysed semi-structured interview data using thematic

methods, suitable 'for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data' (Braun & Clarke 2006:6). The researcher systematically analysed interview data, identifying themes or patterns guided by the theoretical framework while paying attention to new themes and findings that emerged.

Gift of the Givers Poverty Alleviation and Human Development Strategies

In analysing the interviews of GOG respondents, this researcher first outlines two approaches the organisation uses to alleviate poverty. Then the researcher looks at members' own evaluations of their work, and compare them to evaluations by recipients in order to assess the degree and impact of the organisation's work.

General responses of both the key informers from GOG and the community participants reveal that, the FBO has strategies put in place to tackle poverty and underdevelopment. Two main approaches can be inferred from the different descriptions and narratives of the participants. The first main approach focuses on the management of disasters while the second approach is an integration of different strategies aimed at sustainable and capability building poverty alleviation and human development.

Disaster Management Projects

Consistent with views from extant literature (Maharaj et al. 2008; Desai 2010; Morton 2014) responses of key informers in GOG affirm that the primary strategy of this organisation that emanates from their vocation is disaster relief:

Firstly, we have disaster management projects that are established to help in issues of real disaster ... secondly we have other projects that are geared towards sustainable poverty alleviation and development in communities both in this Province and all of South Africa and internationally (Ladia from GOG).

Basically, we are primarily a disaster response organisation. We do provide bare necessities which can be instantaneous relief projects to help alleviate sufferings of people as much as possible especially those hit by different disasters ... (Aisha from GOG).

When it comes to the projects we run ... people may not be in a disaster but to that person poverty is a disaster to him, unemployment is a disaster to him. So, we got to find a way of helping this man survive ... (Pamir from GOG).

From the above responses, it is apparent that in the first strategy, disaster management, the organisation's aim is to respond to needs of people who are hit by disasters impacting negatively on livelihood, health, shelter and human development. The responses also indicate that the organisation has also developed ways of tackling poverty (also seen as a disaster) in communities. This point meaningfully indicates that GOG is open to broader definitions of 'disaster relief' based on participants' experiences.

Sustainable Poverty Alleviation Projects (Operation Dignity)

Secondly, responses of some of the key informers indicate that GOG, after years of its founding and based on its experience from working with communities hit by disasters, has seen the need to engage in sustainable poverty alleviation and human development projects.

Our project in the area of poverty alleviation and development goes from establishing community garden projects to bursary funds ... I call it operation dignity meaning that we want to bring back dignity to the people who have lost it ... we look at what the people are capable of doing and help them to ... achieve that (Pamir from GOG).

All our projects are based on improving values in the communities ... all our projects [provide] skills to help them stay away from drugs and other social ills. Also, we give bursaries to get them [get] educated in order to learn how to make their own living and improve their lives. (Pamir from GOG).

The above responses indicate that the organisation has responded to people's needs, by developing sustainable development strategies aimed at helping people to achieve functioning and capabilities. It can also be inferred that these projects and strategies are geared towards improving values in the communities by helping people to stay away from crime.

Impact of GOG Strategies

General responses of the key informers at GOG reveal that they are optimistic that their strategies do help people in (especially rural) communities to realise substantive freedom to achieve real capabilities. They are positive that their strategies are successful and do help a lot in poverty alleviation and human development in this context,

Our work is relevant to the society. We do local projects to help people in real need. This is part of our calling as an FBO and we do our best in realising this (Ladia from GOG).

Our community projects envisage more sustainable ways of helping the community in terms of poverty alleviation (Aadam from GOG).

However, GOG also experiences some constraints in the work that they do in the area of poverty alleviation and human development. One major constraint is scarcity of resources to cater for the increasing demand for help from communities: 'We cannot really reach everybody ... number of people who need help keeps increasing and there are not enough funds and materials sometimes to reach to an ever-increasing number of people who need help' (Aaisha from GOG).

Community participants' assessments of the impact of GOG's poverty alleviation and development strategies also reveal apparent general satisfaction with the effectiveness of these strategies in improving people's capabilities:

... the work [GOG] does is not a quick fix thing; it helps provide food and some income for the community for a possible long time ... (Sammy from Northdale Community).

The community garden project has been very helpful. For a poor community like this, food security becomes a big issue. People are relying on grants ... but it is not worth it ... [GOG] helps people to empower themselves to produce their own food (Haaris from Bombay Heights Community).

Some participants affirm the successes of GOG strategies in human development and improving values in the communities,

The work the organisation is doing helps people to overcome social ills as they are able to provide them what they need to sustain themselves instead of engaging in crimes and other social ills (Buhle from Sweetwaters Community).

Poverty creates a situation where there is less stress on values. It is one of the efforts of [GOG] as I have seen, to work in this area ... the projects help to change the mindset of the people ... It brings back Ubuntu ... It helps values and improves society (Haaris from Bombay Heights Community).

Additionally, some respondents who work in both the carpentry and auto-mechanic repair projects established and run under Operation Dignity, underscore that these projects provide employment for them thereby serving as a means through which they can realise their capabilities: 'It helps me to have a form [of] employment and in doing this I stay out of crime and other temptations. This organisation is really helping through this kind of project in order to improve people's lives' (Sithole from Willowton).

From the above presentation, it can be concluded that several views substantiate that the poverty alleviation and human development strategies of GOG have helped in building real capabilities and have made real positive impact on the lives of the people. Their narratives demonstrate participants' view that the strategies are quite practical and geared towards a sustainable and capability building approach to addressing poverty and underdevelopment. These projects as described by participants show that the organisation understands poverty and development not just as economic issues but as issues comprising of multidimensional aspects to be combated using different capability building tactics. The disaster management projects, community gardens, Operation Dignity projects can be taken as aimed at realising various functionings (doings and beings) for the communities.

The strategies utilised by GOG thus far agree with Sen's (1993; 1997) conceptualisation of 'value'. Here the FBO focuses on what people are capable of doing and the kind of lives people value which agree with the CA vision. However, as established in literature (Robeyns 2005; Çakmak 2010), the CA has been criticised for being too individualistic and thus unable to deal with shared values. Hence, in this established role of the FBO in relation to the values of the host community the question remains: what is the process through

which the FBO and the community arrive at shared values? Deneulin and McGregor (2010) argue for a deliberative route to shared values and living well together. The data here hence contributes to the debates on the CA and shared values¹.

Furthermore, the data contribute to the understanding of GOG's paternalistic agency in poverty alleviation and human development. Paternalism in this sense is conceptualised based on motives versus reasons behind the act of an agent. The responses from GOG's key informers allow us to see that the motive behind the agency of the FBO is towards the welfare and improving the functioning and capabilities of the people, hence their agency could thus be described as paternalistic. However, the question would be whether GOG's agency is enabling and not constricting the autonomy and decision-making power of the beneficiaries. This in the view of the present researcher will require further research.

PACSA's Poverty Alleviation and Human Development Strategies

In the analysis of the interviews of PACSA respondents, the researcher outlines two approaches the organisation uses to alleviate poverty. Then the researcher explores members' own evaluations of their work and compare them to evaluations by recipients to assess the degree and impact of their strategies.

The narratives of the key informers in PACSA and their community beneficiaries indicate that the FBO has established two main strategies to tackle poverty and underdevelopment; Accompaniment of Self-organised Community Based Organisations and PACSA's Research and Advocacy Strategies.

Accompaniment of Self-Organised Community Based Groups

Responses to questions posed to both key informers in PACSA and community participants first reveal that the facilitation of the developmental objectives of

¹ One of the questions that come up from the presented data is how do FBOs and host communities move from different values to shared values. Notably, FBOs can impose their values simply because they have resources, or they can engage the communities in a dialogue in order to arrive at shared values.

CBOs is the first strategy that PACSA uses in its effort at poverty alleviation and human development:

Basically, we work with groups in struggle, who are autonomous, and we support them in their own struggles. And the struggles are obviously around socio-economic issues; principally around justice and dignity and equity ... (Stephanie from PACSA)².

We accompany self-organised community-based groups ... organised around a particular aspect dealing with questions of inequality and poverty in their surrounding ... (Trevor from PACSA).

Notably, the objectives of the CBOs around the uMgungundlovu District are centred on issues pertaining to poverty alleviation and human development. Accompaniment of the self-organised CBOs is mainly in the form of process facilitation aimed at certain issues which the communities face, including youth development, unemployment and poor service delivery. The key informers describe how PACSA's process facilitation and accompaniment of CBOs around certain poverty and development issues are done:

The community members raise these issues and we ask the deeper questions in order to find solutions to these challenges ... asking the necessary questions leads to a sit down with the community members to draw up plans what to do in the face of the challenges and who to go to (Thokozani from PACSA).

Tackling some of the issues raised by community members also leads PACSA agents to devise tactics of human development which envisage the empowering of communities:

For us human development is about supporting groups to build their own capacity ... the idea basically is that struggle can only be maintained and sustained if these organisations and the people involved themselves are able to critically analyse what is going on in their

² In this response, there is an allusion to the CA theme of the lives that people have reason to value.

context ... (Stephanie from PACSA).

Empowerment is a self-action ... think PACSA's contribution is about asking deeply, and also understanding the context so that you can get [people] to use what they already have but don't realise that (Marceline from PACSA).

The above responses allude to the agency theme and role which the organisation has undertaken towards improving the lives of the people. Here again, paternalism as an aspect of PACSA's agency in poverty alleviation and human development may be inferred. But this apparent paternalism is not illegitimate and negative since it 'does not act under false pretences to satisfy the interest of the agent it does not violate the individual autonomy of the people' (Salvat 2014:1). Rather, the organisation's strategy of accompanying self-organised groups and engaging them in process facilitation, empowering them to tackle the problem of poverty and underdevelopment, can be said to be positive.

PACSA's Research and Advocacy Strategies

Responses further reveal that PACSA's second broad strategy is an introspective one which the organisation does in its own name, in order to tackle inequality and poverty in the society. Under this main strategy there are two important approaches: PACSA's engagement in poverty and livelihood research and PACSA's Advocacy and building of public social consciousness.

PACSA's Poverty and Livelihood Research

PACSA's research focuses on getting to the root causes of inequality and social injustice, poor service delivery, poverty and underdevelopment in the society. Through their research, they are able to identify and actively engage in addressing these causes through different means:

We do a lot of research level work ... we've done lots of research around municipal services and affordability ... and we've just started shaping consistent research based view around wages and in particular minimum wage for South Africa (Trevor from PACSA).

In terms of poverty alleviation ... what we do, we talk about politics of poverty; in terms of asking why are people experiencing poverty and unemployment...So most of our contribution as PACSA is to make research for example the Basic Food Basket research which focus on what people can or cannot afford to buy (Dlomo from PACSA).

PACSA's Advocacy and Building of Public Social Consciousness

Responses also reveal that PACSA's research helps in their advocacy strategy. Firstly, they make available their research findings to government in order to help inform policy on issues of poverty and development. Secondly, through research they are informed to engage in other forms of advocacy to build public social consciousness on the said issues:

[Our] research and publication feeds into advocacy ... and part of our advocacy role is build public consciousness around these issues ... sometimes we will put out statements into the media ... (Trevor from PACSA).

... our role is to conscientise people as regards what they are supposed to get from the government. Ours is to do research ... we do also point out some issues common to the people in communities and get people to start talking about them ... (Dlomo from PACSA).

Further, responses affirm the above and reveal that the organisation engages in creating awareness in communities through campaigns, marches, rallies, film shows, etc. These events are particularly geared to do one of two things, either to shift [people's] understanding of the root causes of inequality [and] poverty ... or to kind of build a cadre of people who would support social justice activities (Trevor from PACSA).

The preceding views agree with insights from literature (Reese & Clamp 2000; Bunting 2005; Graddy & Ye 2006; Day 2010; Maharaj *et al.* 2008) that underscore the important role of advocacy that CSOs and indeed FBOs play in liberal democracies. Also, some efforts are made by PACSA to create spaces for government agents and community members to meet to discuss issues of poverty and failed service delivery in the communities. Notably,

the organisation has set itself the task of examining the state's poverty alleviation and development efforts, to determine whether they are effective towards eradicating poverty and realising human development. This further affirms views from literature (Kobia 1995; Robinson & White 1997) that emphasise the role of CSOs especially as credible watchdog to government efforts.

The Impact of PACSA's Strategies

Responses of key informers in PACSA reveal that in spite of some constraints, to do with the sometimes unwillingness of government to respond positively to their advocacy agenda on behalf of the poor people in the communities, the organisation's strategies have met with great amount of successes:

... part of the success is as a result of the fact that we do not just raise the questions, rather we help the communities as advocate voice ... this has yielded positive action coming from government ... to address issues of service delivery (Thokozani from PACSA).

Additional responses reveal that despite the quantifiable achievements which the organisation has recorded, other forms of successes are unquantifiable. One of these successes is recorded in the organisation's ability to change the mindset of people with regards to the causes of poverty:

I think successes are often around joint consciousness and around structural issues ... in terms of a quantifiable things? I would say it is not quantifiable (Stephanie from PACSA).

Our primary understanding is that poverty and inequality is not the fault of the people ... poverty is as a result of the fact that some people are taking too much ... we conscientise the people to begin to organise themselves to speak (Trevor from PACSA).

In summary, the key informers are generally of the view that these strategies have helped to address the issues of poverty and underdevelopment in the communities, confirming views from extant literature (Kobia 1995; Robinson & White 1997; Whetho & Uzodike 2009) on the effectiveness of strategies used by FBOs in the development agenda. In addition, the responses

agree with the views of Taylor (1995); Ghosh (1998); Roberts (2000); KZN EC (2006) and Onwuegbuchulam (2018) on the multidimensional and structural nature of the poverty existing within the chosen research context and hence the need to look for multidimensional and capability building approaches to addressing the situation. Conversely, the key informers' responses also reveal that PACSA is aware of some constraints to their strategies. Some of the constraints have to do with reluctance of government to address some of the issues of development and poor service delivery raised by community members:

One of our major constraints is that we have to deal with the government who are most times reluctant to address the concern we raise (Thokozani from PACSA).

Constraints are more at the level of ... when people ... have been bashed a lot by the system, then a sense of powerlessness sets in ... And then having to reignite with those people that actually they can, they are agents of their own change; that is an area of great difficulty (Trevor from PACSA).

On the part of PACSA beneficiaries, a common thread through their various narratives indicate their implicit and explicit confirmation of the positive impact and success of the strategies employed by PACSA to tackle poverty issues in the communities:

... they fund and help us in whatever project we are doing ... we do a collective garden project, which produces food and supplies to the members of the community ... in Kwampumuza, PACSA is involved with the community gardens all over that area ... (Nomvula from Edendale Community).

The responses of members of the different CBOs that work with PACSA in the communities also indicate that the accompaniment and facilitation offered by PACSA agents have helped in realising their various objectives and aims in human development:

... there is a programme mentored by PACSA called parental care

programme ... another programme is community dialogue on how to deal with, crime prevention, child abuse, alcohol abuse ... (Baba from France Community).

These narratives demonstrate participants' view that the work PACSA does through its facilitators is successful. Notably, activities are chosen and directed with community partners' participation. This agrees with a CA understanding (Kallhoff & Schlick 2001; Sen 2003; Robeyns 2005; Mooney 2005) of involving recipients of developmental aid in the strategies established by agents. In this, capability building efforts become a communitarian project and there is no incidence of violating individual autonomy, which is a negative aspect of paternalist agency (Salvat 2014). Additionally, some of the participants are of the view that PACSA's efforts have helped in developing the youth and to enable them to engage in long term enterprises that will capacitate them. This falls under PACSA's strategy aimed at building of social consciousness. The youth are taught to think and imagine differently with regards to the root causes of poverty and youth underdevelopment and to work towards overcoming these. They are also taught to be aware of the issues of justice and equality and to work towards realising their rights to human development and to participate in governance in a democratic South Africa.

It basically gets the young people involved in solving their problems in particular situations and improve their lives ... (Mabaso from Edendale Community).

With the help of PACSA ... we were trained to understand our rights and how we can participate fully to improve ourselves ... (Nkosinathi from Sweetwaters Community).

Conversely, some of the participants indicate that the inability of PACSA to remunerate CBO leaders, who help to facilitate and implement PACSA's strategies, constitutes a constraint. This can also be seen as another form of paternalism which has demotivated some of these leaders:

So, in a way it does have constraints ... PACSA people get paid ... I don't get paid for what I do. This hinders the way that we work (Sphelele from Mkhabhatini Community).

From other responses, it can be deduced that PACSA is in a way invisible in the communities since they mostly work through CBOs. Some of the participants identify this as a constraint and will want PACSA to visibly involve them in the communities instead of through CBOs:

I think for me, an area of improvement maybe them [PACSA], going out more to communities and be seen; they should work more with the people (Nondumiso from Edendale Community).

Concludingly, it could be credibly argued that PACSA as an FBO working in KZN has established strategies which, as confirmed by participants, have had a positive impact on the lives of the people. The organisation's efforts have in many ways confirmed extant literature's views (Ferris 2005; Maharaj et al. 2008, Habib, Maharaj & Nyar 2008; Bercovitch & Kadayifci-Orellana 2009) that FBOs, through their different strategies, influenced by their vocation and faith, do make a positive impact in poverty alleviation, human development and service delivery. There seems to be a conscientious effort by PACSA to help fill in the gap left by government in its role of improving the lives of the people. The themes of improving functioning and capabilities, negotiation of values between the organisation and the host communities, also emerge. The organisation has apparently helped in realising these in KZN. Also, the paternalistic tendencies of the FBO as an agent of poverty alleviation and human development could be seen and this has mostly been positive.

Conclusion

The study has endeavoured to assess the role that two purposefully selected FBOs play and the strategies they use in poverty alleviation and human development in the KZN Province of South Africa. On the side of GOG, findings reveal key informers' optimism that despite some constraints (mostly financial), their strategies are (and have been) quite effective. Also, the assessment by the beneficiaries of GOG's interventions reveal that the poverty alleviation and human development strategies of this organisation are making real positive impact on the lives of the people in these communities. On PACSA's side, key informers are very positive that their strategies are effective in helping to ameliorate the failures of the state in poverty alleviation and human development in the province. They also acknowledge some constraints

to their efforts. The findings also reveal that PACSA's beneficiaries are generally happy that the organisation through its strategies has transformed their lives.

Summarily, the assessments have been generally positive as regards the role the two FBOs play and the effectiveness of their strategies. This study concludes that the two FBOs, despite some constraints, have been effective in realising the basic functioning and capabilities of people and thus constitute credible agents in the arena of poverty alleviation and human development in the study's chosen context of KZN. However, despite the reality that the organisations are relatively successful in providing needed social services for poverty alleviation, filling in for the state in important ways, and that they also appear to avoid much of the criticisms of paternalism, they each fall short in different ways. This study begs additional questions for future research on the relationship between CA, paternalism and these organisations and indeed other FBOs in other contexts. Some of the questions may include: How does FBO agency enable and not constrict the autonomy and decision-making power of beneficiaries? How can FBOs and their beneficiaries positively engage each other towards a deliberative route to shared values? Finally, further research on these and other FBOs is necessary for a more sustained analysis of the whether and how the CA approach can provide a complete picture of aid recipients' well-being.

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