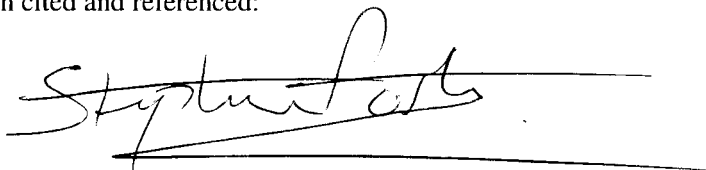


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Who will Guard the Guardians Themselves?
Contributions of the Capability Approach to Capacity
Development Evaluation Frameworks

This work has not previously been submitted in part or whole for the award of any degree; this is the candidate's own work and any substantial contributions and quotations in the dissertation have been cited and referenced:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Stephen Porter', written over a horizontal line.

Stephen Porter

Abstract

The key message emanating from this case study is that a development project's evaluation framework can be made democratic through opening space for public reasoning in its processes. This message may not appear that radical, yet the consequences of putting this into operation have implications for the manner in which 'development' is undertaken as an ideological project. It may help to examine and challenge the roles of the guardians in development.

Implementing a focus group methodology grounded in Sen's capability approach with home based caregivers - individuals who volunteer to provide care to those affected by HIV and AIDS - was undertaken in Zambia and South Africa. It was found that the most important outcome of the focus group was that the caregivers valued the process itself. The process enabled participants to develop relationships and realise that their struggles and highpoints were not singular but shared with others. The process was also valued because it opened a space for the caregivers to contribute to directing the development work with their organisation.

Essentially the caregivers were able to guard the development agency, Voluntary Services Overseas Regional AIDS initiative of Southern Africa. Approaching evaluation from the perspective of the capability approach focuses attention on the *means* as well as the *ends* of freedom. What this means is that the process of evaluation should be valuable to the participants rather than just a means of extracting information. It is further suggested in this paper that the development of techniques to incorporate democratic processes in evaluation frameworks, in accordance with Sen's capability ethics, could contribute to challenging the distribution of power in development work. Enabling the target groups of development projects to direct and challenge implementing agencies could be a potential route to challenge donors, holding them to account based upon the values of the target groups.

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I have benefited from a number of kind and challenging influences during my work on this study. Combining work upon this thesis with my daily workload, though not easy, has been immensely rewarding. Coming away with a piece of work that, I feel can help to develop the evaluation framework of VSO-RAISA is more than I ever expected and owed very much to the people who have assisted me. Thanks go to Murray Leibbrandt and Anna McCord, who were to supervise my initial thesis on rural road evaluation. Their contribution in helping me to appreciate the economic basis of Sen's work was invaluable. David Clark kindly helped me with my thinking about the capability approach by drawing attention to some omissions and mistakes in an earlier version of this study. He and David Crocker further aided my thinking, by providing soon to be published manuscripts that were unavailable in South Africa. A conversation with Sabina Alkire about her methodology, during the conference on Human Development and the Capability Approach in Paris, greatly helped me by enabling me to access insights on her original study that would otherwise have been unattainable. This influenced me tremendously in developing this study.

Without the support I have received from my manager Bongai Mundeta, this study would not have been possible. Thanks go to Francis Zulu and Charity Sisiya for co-facilitating the separate focus groups. Countless alterations resulting from conversations with Roberto Pinauin helped to limit this study where practically it might have spiralled out of a reasonable scope.

I wish to thank Jacques de Wet in working with me to develop this thesis, his guidance helped to turn this work into something of on-going relevance to my professional work. Lynn Woolfrey's excellent proof reading under a tight deadline has enabled me to submit this work on time. Finally, thanks go to the caregivers who participated in the focus groups. Their continued and difficult work with those affected by HIV and AIDS is an inspiration to us all.

For all this support, influence and facilitation, any inadequacies in the text remain my own.

University of Cape Town

<u>Abstract</u>	2
<u>Acknowledgements</u>	3
<u>Chapter 1: Introduction</u>	8
<u>1.1 Central Issues in the Study</u>	8
<u>1.2 Further contributions of this study</u>	14
<u>1.3 Conceptualisation of the research question</u>	17
<u>1.4 Limitations of the study</u>	22
<u>1.5 Origin of the study</u>	23
<u>1.6 Chapter structure</u>	24
<u>Chapter 2: How the Capability Approach can Contribute to the Evaluation of Capacity Development</u>	27
<u>2.1 How can the capability approach contribute to the evaluation of development?</u> 27	
<u>2.2 What are the current limitations on the measurement of the impact of capacity development interventions?</u>	34
<u>2.3 What are the components of a capability based evaluation framework?</u>	38
<u>2.4 Conclusion</u>	52
<u>Chapter 3: Analysis of VSO-RAISA’s Evaluation Framework from the Perspective of the Capability Approach</u>	53
<u>3.1 Definition of questions to interrogate the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework.</u> 53	
<u>3.2 What “bite” of information does the evaluation framework take to be relevant?</u>	56
<u>3.3 Does the evaluation framework <i>evaluate</i> progress in terms of whether freedom has been enhanced?</u>	61

<u>3.4 Is the evaluation framework <i>effective</i> in making the planning and review of VSO</u>	
<u>–RAISA’s interventions dependent upon the free agency of people?</u>	64
<u>3.5 Conclusion</u>	66
<u>Chapter 4: Presentation of a Methodology to deal with inadequacies in the VSO-</u>	
<u>RAISA Evaluation Framework</u>	68
<u>4.1 Research design</u>	68
<u>4.2 Methodology overview: Participation and Public Reasoning</u>	70
<u>4.3 Research Ethics</u>	77
<u>4.4 Lessons learnt from a field test and other literature on the methodology</u>	78
<u>4.5 Locations of Study</u>	80
<u>4.6 The Process of Implementation in the Field</u>	82
<u>4.7 Conclusion</u>	83
<u>Chapter 5: Findings: The capability approach’s contribution to the evaluation</u>	
<u>framework of VSO-RAISA</u>	85
<u>5.1 Caveats in Implementation</u>	85
<u>5.2 Results</u>	87
<u>5.3 Conclusion</u>	95
<u>Chapter 6: Concluding Remarks - Guarding the Guardians</u>	99
<u>References:</u>	105
<u>Appendix I:</u>	119
<u>Appendix II</u>	124

Tables and Figures:

Table 1: Alkire's Dimensions of Impact	14
Table 2: Representation of Key Distinctions	40
Table 3: Alkire's Dimensions of Impact	73
Table 4: Caregivers' recommendations from Zambia	89
Table 5: Caregivers' recommendations from South Africa	90
Figure 1: The Ripple Model	20
Figure 2: Links between Sen's concepts	49

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Central Issues in the Study

Having been a home-based caregiver¹ since 1998, Thandi² had a great deal of experience of the struggles and challenges that caregivers face. She discussed at length, with nods and other affirmations from the other caregivers present, the struggles and highpoints of their work. She talked about how difficult it was that caregivers seem unappreciated by the community, and that within their own family their children cannot understand why they do not get paid a wage. She explained how through becoming too close to a patient and their family, she joins their emotional trauma and suffering. She also reflected on the joy she feels when one of her patients recovers and that in spite of the emotional trauma how she valued the relationships developed with some families. The chief message emanating from her impassioned reflections was that caregivers need care. At the end of the discussion Thandi and other caregivers reflected on the focus group itself. This was the first time that these caregivers had the opportunity to come together as a team and to discuss the struggles and highpoints of being a caregiver. They found this opportunity of value, as the process had been a form of care for the caregivers.

Evaluation frameworks can be made democratic through opening space for public reasoning in their processes. This is the key finding of this research in the case of Voluntary Services Overseas –Regional AIDS Initiative of Southern Africa’s (VSO-RAISA) evaluation framework. The intrinsic value of public reasoning also reflects a major concern of the capability approach. This is therefore the major contribution of the capability approach in the case study. In Sen’s (1999: 3, 36) capability approach development is the expansion of “real freedoms that people enjoy”. Sen (1999: 4) has emphasised both that “the achievement of development is thoroughly dependent on the free agency of people” to be authors of their own destiny and the importance of

¹ A volunteer, usually female, who provides unpaid care to households affected by HIV and AIDS

“the productive role of public discussion, social agitation, and open debates” in the listing of capabilities and consequently in evaluation (*ibid*, 2005: 160). That the capability approach leads us to incorporating public reasoning into the evaluation of development because such a process enhances peoples’ freedom is this author’s response to the central research question of this study:

How can the capability approach contribute to the evaluation framework of VSO-RAISA to aid the planning and review of their capacity development interventions in the constraints of development fieldwork?

That public reasoning is valuable in the process of evaluation also orientates us to a different approach from the original research by Alkire (2002) that stimulated this study. Alkire, emphasised the value of the methodology used to contribute insights to traditional methods of evaluation, such as cost benefit and social impact assessment. This study reinforces this finding, but primarily emphasises that public reasoning is a valuable democratic addition to the process in evaluation.

This contribution has relevance beyond this case study to broader concerns of the manner in which ‘development’ is undertaken as an ideological project; it helps us to examine and challenge the roles of the Guardians in development. A question of importance in political science and development studies is: ‘Quis custodiet ipsos custodies?’ (Who will guard the guardians themselves?). In development projects donors, implementing agencies, project partners and the target group all have their own agendas and ability to manipulate development processes for their own ends - they are all guardians in one sense or another. Donors hold the purse strings and define the terms of projects and in many instances the criteria for the success of a project. Implementing agencies develop funding proposals for and implement projects they perceive as valuable. They collect data on these projects in order to secure more funding. Project partners

² Not the informant’s real name. The name is not disclosed for the sake of confidentiality.

and the target group also have the ability to manipulate the data collected, through subverting the project or concealing information from evaluators.

Power in these aid structures, with few donors, many implementing agencies, and target groups of millions, is weighted towards the top. The values of development projects are defined to a large extent by donors and implementing agencies. These values directly impact upon what is taken to be relevant in monitoring and evaluation and consequently continued project funding and implementation. “[V]alues lie at the heart of evaluation” (House 2005:1072), whether explicitly or implicitly. Evaluation is therefore an exercise of power. In defining, executing and analysing an evaluation the values of the stakeholders, whether donors, implementing agencies, or target groups, define what is relevant. Although evaluators have to some extent the ability to influence the process through the information produced there are limitations upon their power. If they proceeded according to guidelines that, implicitly or explicitly hold the values of donors and implementing agencies then these are a curb on their power. The values that define what is relevant to the evaluation, such as how those in the lower levels of the aid structures are to be engaged and who can challenge and adjust the process with their own values, define what is evaluated.

Two examples illustrate this point. Recent changes in the political landscape that can be perceived as part of the ‘War on Terror’ have brought about changes in project evaluation practices. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) call this “Bush Science” in which “experimental, evidence-based methodologies represent a racialized, masculinist backlash to the proliferation of qualitative enquiry over the past two decades.” House (2005) for example demonstrates the manner in which classic control group methodologies have been legislated to the exclusion of other lines of enquiry or knowledge in education policy. The result is that indicators are defined, not with stakeholders at a grassroots level, but in Washington in relation to predetermined methodological fundamentalism that is aligned with certain world views and values (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005;

House, 2005: 1078-1080). Whether one agrees with the characterisation of “Bush Science” there is an identifiable ideology and movement in the evaluation parameters of US initiatives towards narrowly defined indicators that can be identified with a certain world view.

Evidence of this approach to development is provided, in the regional HIV and AIDS context by the President’s Emergency Plan For AIDS Relief (PEPFAR). From the legislation (US Congress, 2003) to the relatively narrow set of quantifiable indicators used to judge success, the trend is towards a narrow definition of the HIV and AIDS pandemic. In the PEPFAR Bush’s religious beliefs hold sway, along with a health orientated perspective on the pandemic, while the socio-economic roots of the pandemic are marginalised. The operation of these values is explicit. They are contained in the legislation and the strategic plan (ibid, 2003, PEPFAR, 2003) as well as the indicators of the programme:

“Core indicators will include outcome indicators addressing the Emergency Plan’s “2-7-10” goals of 2 million people treated, 7 million infections prevented, and 10 million persons provided with care. Program progress indicators include numbers of facilities supported, numbers of practicing professionals and community workers trained, and numbers of clients reached through prevention, treatment, and care interventions.” (PEPFAR, 2003: 73)

Leaving aside the problematic nature of measuring ‘infections prevented’, given these indicators the target group has a limited ability to participate in the process of evaluation. Resonating with this quote has been concerns aired in a number of forums attended by this researcher. For example, it was reported in a recent meeting that psychosocial support of AIDS orphans is being hindered by partner organisations, who, through accepting PEPFAR funding, are compelled to concentrate on types of service provision that are easily quantified. Distributing books is preferred and treated as synonymous with psychosocial support rather than the long-term counselling of traumatised children preferred by professionals. It is not that the provision of

books is not important, rather that a suite of interventions to meet a child's psychosocial and educational needs and rights is central to mitigating the impact of AIDS. In the PEPFAR approach the target group are to be counted while values that they may hold dear are systematically excluded in any evaluation of the distribution of resources.

Even in an implementing agency that emphasises rights, participation and empowerment, evaluation still tends to favour pre-set objectives related to their own ideological stance. This narrow focus of evaluation can potentially have consequences at odds with the approach of the implementing agency. For example, a study of an Action Aid project revealed that, in spite of the change in language in development interventions and evaluation, based upon Paulo Freire's approach, the evaluations actually recreated narratives that would be familiar to colonial administrators and missionaries (Fiedrich & Jellema, 2003: vii-viii). The evaluation, therefore, fell short of exploring the valued changes in people's lives in spite of its participatory processes by its adherence to restricted language and narrow informational basis. Additionally participants were manipulating the project for their own ends, often contrary to those sought by Action Aid, but reporting to the agency outcomes it required. The target group therefore could be argued to be guarding the guardians through influencing the distribution of resources via evaluations. However, because only *some* members of the target group did exercise their free agency the evaluation still cultivated its own 'truth' disparate from reality.³ The consequences of this are twofold. First, most members of the target group still had little ability to input their own values into the process of project design beyond the manipulation by some of its members. Second, potentially, through this manipulation, violation of human rights could occur, abetted unwittingly by the development agency.

There are two points to make here: first, in guarding the guardians, it would be helpful for the guardian's value system to be open to input through a process of discussion rather than being

³ For the distinction between cultivated truth and reality, a debt is owed to J.K. Galbraith (Galbraith, 2004)

manipulated by the target group. Second, the implementing agency in evaluation should be flexible with regard to information it uses as a basis for evaluation lest it encourages practices that encroach on freedoms and prevent change for disadvantaged minorities who may be overlooked by evaluation.

As these two examples show, the evaluation framework drives the criteria, manner and measurement of success of a project and in this regard evaluation is political. Evaluations can cultivate their own 'truth' distinct from the reality felt by the target group. This is fraudulent in terms of the stated aims of development projects. Projects designed to alleviate poverty can be judged successful even though they fail to enhance people's lives, and successful projects may be judged as failures. This not so innocent fraud happens mainly through a misstatement of the impact upon people. The process of evaluation defines what the target group can and will tell evaluators, as a result of often implicit underlying assumptions (Sen, 1992: 30; Friedrich & Jellema, 2003).

It is argued in this study that the capability approach has a contribution to make to the continuing issue of guarding the guardians, through altering the terms of an evaluation framework. This is because the capability approach emphasises a broad informational base that enhances the role of freedom, and public reasoning in evaluation. The capability approach encourages an evaluation framework, which not only evaluates the project by the *ends* that have been achieved but does so through *means* that opens debate in the process of evaluation enabling a wider array of stakeholders to exercise their power in a more open and explicit manner. As Sen (1999: 9) has stated: "The exercise of freedom is mediated by values, but the values in turn are influenced by public discussions and social interactions, which are themselves influenced by participatory freedoms." Putting the capability ethic into operation would seem to be a worthwhile endeavour, in the context in which development interventions have been accused of inflicting suffering and violence upon the poorest in society, of being skewed by the world system of economics towards

the rich and being conceptually flawed in their mainly economic basis (Gasper, 2004: 9-11; Sen, 1992: 28-30, 1999: 41-43; Parpart, 1993; Crush, 1995; Rist, 1997; Simon, 1998; Wallerstein, 1979). Put another way, implementing an evaluation framework that encourages open debate of valued changes can enable the target group to guard the guardians of the implementing agencies themselves. Alkire's methodology as implemented in this study appears to provide an entry point for this. In turn the implementing agencies may be able to better guard the donors, this point be returned to when concluding this study.

Before preceding it is worth pausing here to state the values of this author, given the focus on transparency of values in the above discussion. The author views development as a process of expanding the freedoms that people value through dialogue with those concerned, taking into account a wide variety of information, in which concerns of non-violence, universal human rights, and justice means and ends are non-negotiable. Damage to disadvantaged people and the environment cannot be justified through appeals to the greater good, which more often than not turns out to be the greater good of a narrow set of elites. Although a qualitative exercise is utilised in this study it is recognised that an evaluation framework as a whole should contain a variety of methods - qualitative and quantitative - to measure impact. This approach is very much in alignment with that of Sen's, but also has been influenced by a wide range of writers, thinkers, and activists who have concerned themselves with freedom. The operation of these values, it is hoped, is represented in this study.

1.2 Further contributions of this study

Two further potential contributions and one challenge of utilising the capability approach are also noted in this case study. First, the capability approach, drawing from Alkire's methodology, can further contribute to capacity development evaluation by introducing the concept of dimensions of impact in the analysis of information. The dimensions of impact are 'middle level' indicators

that can be contrasted to low-level indicators such as ‘number of patients treated’ and high-level indicators such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Utilising dimensions of impact helps to order the manner in which significant, valued and disvalued outcomes and impacts can be thought about in terms of the values for a target group rather than relying on too narrow or too broad indicators that exclude valuable information in relevant areas of peoples lives. Utilising these dimensions, to identify positive association between interventions and outcomes, is especially useful in the context of capacity development where attribution is often shaky. The dimensions of impact are:

Table 1: Dimensions of Impact

<i>Dimension of Impact:</i>	<i>Description:</i>
Life-Health-security	Changes related to physical survival
Knowledge	Knowing: technical, practical, about others, and about themselves
Excellence in work and play	Impact on skills used at work, and at home during relaxation
Relationships	Within community, family, with outsiders, within groups between men and women
Inner voice	At peace with themselves, with their conscience, sense of harmony
Empowerment	Ability to make meaningful choices and decisions and to influence others
Beauty/environment	Impact on environment, sense of harmony with nature: has intervention created or destroyed things of beauty culture

Religion	Impact on deeper values, sources of meaning
----------	---

Source: Alkire (2002: 267-271); Roche (1999: 47).

Second, insights on valuable impacts upon a target group relevant for donor reporting can be gleaned from the implementation of a capability grounded focus group methodology. Developing new insights useful for donor reporting is itself not an outstanding finding. Implementing a variety of other evaluation methodologies, such as a specifically designed survey, would yield new insights useful for donor reporting. However, the methodology utilised surfaced a number of powerful statements that graphically represent the issues of the caregivers. This is of particular value as this can help bring the reality of the grassroots reality back to those responsible for grants in donor agencies who may or may not have experience of the field.

Finally, a challenge of putting into operation the capability approach lies in utilising the key distinctions in the analysis of the results of the focus group. The concepts of capability and functioning are useful for ordering our thoughts. However, when attempting to analyse valued and disvalued, what people actually have the opportunity to do, and what people actually have the opportunity to be, they can prove to be somewhat confusing and overlapping. To illustrate: Does Mpho sowing seed represent a valuable capability, as it reflects the opportunity to be well nourished? Or is it a valuable functioning, as the act of sowing the seed is itself valued as enjoyable and fulfilling? In short, on what aspect should one concentrate? On the *means* enabled or the *ends* achieved? Gasper (2002: 448) and Clark (2002: 62-62) have noted issues similar to this in their analysis of the distinctions of the capability approach. This issue is not disabling, however. Analysis of the results of the focus groups was fruitfully carried out utilising the dimensions of impact. The issue of the overlapping nature of these distinctions may not be more fully resolved due to what Sen has to their incomplete informational basis (Sen, 1992: 48, Sen, 2002: 622).

1.3 Conceptualisation of the research question

The question, which this study explored, is:

How can the capability approach contribute to the evaluation framework of VSO-RAISA to aid the planning and review of their capacity development interventions in the constraints of development fieldwork?

In conceptualising this question two sub-aims, academic and strategic, can be identified. The academic aim of this research is to explore how an evaluation framework grounded in the capability approach can contribute further insight to the existing evaluation methods of capacity development, specifically that of VSO-RAISA. The strategic aim of the research is to explore how a capability based evaluation framework for VSO-RAISA can be utilised to aid the planning and review of capacity development interventions within the constraints of development work field.

An underlying epistemological viewpoint in the approach to this case study is that ‘reason’ is the principle tool in investigation. Indeed as Sen (1999: 249) states, the “idea of using reason to identify and promote better and more acceptable societies has powerfully moved people in the past and continues to do so now.” This is not a positivist stance in which we can capture cause and effect in totality. Rather, in spite of our inability to comprehend the full range of information something useful can be said by employing our reasoned judgement based on our values, obligations, ideals, interests and advantages to examine the limited data that is available (Sen, 1999:273).

While the capability approach will be explored in some detail in the next chapter, a number of terms require elucidation for us to reach a common conceptual understanding. Evaluation in this study is understood as a process, driven by exercises of power. This process is aimed at comprehending the results of an intervention and subsequently distributing resources. This is as

much a statement of requirement as definition; it is deliberately fuzzy, placing a requirement for further clarification of how exercises of power drive the distribution of resources in evaluation.

Often the measurement of distribution of resources is obfuscated by seemingly technical language, for example, in the implementation of cost benefit analysis. Yet the issue of values – whose they are, how they affect what is taken to be relevant, what entitlements they defend – remains inescapable.⁴ Despite the seemingly technical language of monitoring, process evaluation, impact assessment, and cost benefit analysis their measurements and subsequent recommendations are laden with values about a social order and the distribution of resource within that order. Evaluation in the measurement of policy options, as Gasper (2002: 112) has stated, requires us to “define, establish, and defend entitlements.” In short, measurement is about the exercise of power. Clarification is therefore needed as to the values that underlie the evaluation. As Gasper (with original *italics* 2004: 26) warns:

“The term [development] can be used vaguely and inconsistently, and without awareness of the values adopted in particular evaluative usages of ‘development’. If we are not aware that value choices are involved we do not remain neutral; instead we are likely to adopt hidden values. Certain types of social change (e.g. industrialisation or commercialisation) become defined as ‘development’ and automatically considered good (‘progressive’) regardless of their actual effects and the possible alternatives to them in a particular case.”

An evaluation framework, in this study, is defined as a set of processes in which power is exercised that aids the review and planning of a development intervention. Underlying the evaluation framework will be certain values that help to define the distribution of resources. In this study the evaluation framework that is chiefly considered is the current one of VSO-RAISA.

⁴ See Baker, 2000; Roche, 1999 and PUMA, 1999 for examples of technical discussions of evaluation which nevertheless hint at the implicit role of values in evaluation exercises.

Capacity development is a term utilised throughout this case study. VSO-RAISA itself has not defined the term conceptually in any document. Rather, staff in the field perceives capacity development as a process that will build the capacity of an organisation so that it can better serve its target group. For the UNDP capacity is defined as “the ability of people, institutions and societies to perform functions, solve problems and set and achieve objectives” (Lopes & Theisohn, 2003:xi). The European Centre for Development Policy Management (ECDPM) “sees capacity as both a *means* - performance - and as an *end* in itself: ‘capacity is that emergent combination of attributes, capabilities and relationships that enables a *system* to exist, adapt and perform’” (Watson, 2006: 4 *italics* added for emphasis). In this study it is this latter ECDPM definition that is preferred. The ECDPM focus on *means* and *ends* and the explicit recognition of the *systems* nature of capacity offers an analytical understanding close to that of the capability approach which is lacking in the UNDP definition.

A contribution from the UNDP is made, however, in their distinction between capacity development and capacity building. Capacity development is seen as a broader term that includes the initial development of capacity and the subsequent retention of the capacity within institutions. Capacity building is a more narrow term that does not necessarily situate capacity in the institutional systems that surround it (Lopes & Theisohn, 2003: 21). The same perspective is taken up in this study. However, because some quotes contain the term capacity building this caveat needs to be kept in mind.

The concept of development, meanwhile, is defined in this study in alignment with Sen’s capability approach “as a process of expanding the real freedom that people enjoy” (Sen, 1999: 3). Capacity development is thus: the emergent combination of attributes, capabilities and relationships that enables a system to exist, adapt and perform in a manner which expands the real freedoms that people enjoy. Helpfully, this definition includes the conceptual view of capacity

development that is in accordance with VSO-RAISA's operational focus on enhancing the lives of the target group.

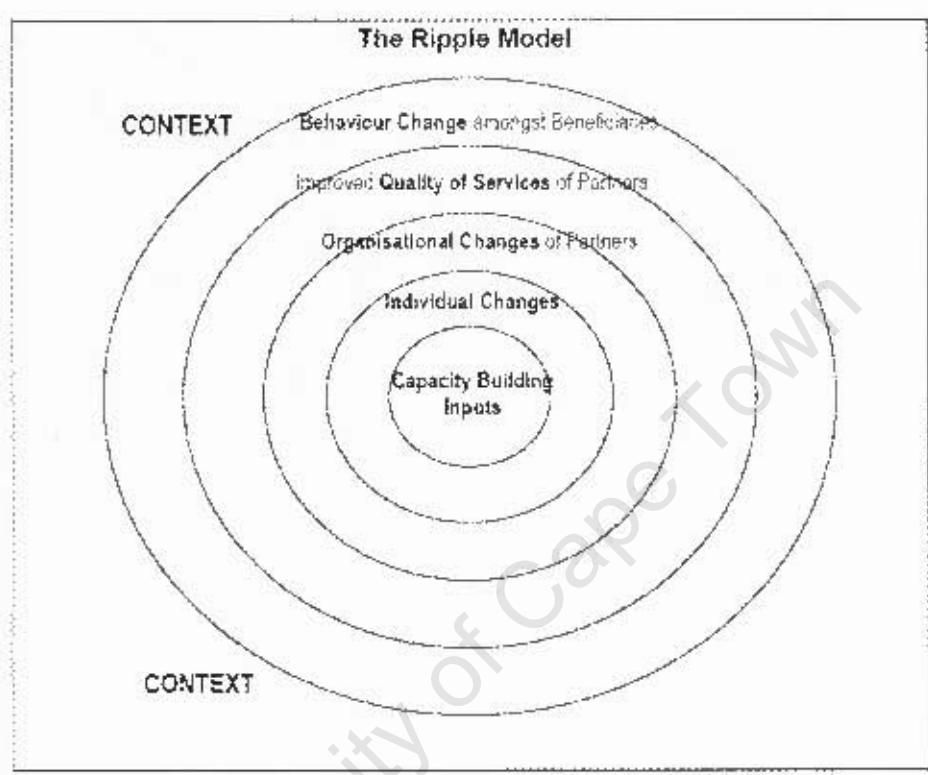
Some terms, although not mentioned specifically in the central research question, require definition because their meaning underlies the way we can analyse related information. "Target group" in this study is the preferred term for a grouping of disadvantaged people who are intended to benefit from a development intervention. Target group is preferred to 'beneficiary' and 'service user'. 'Beneficiary' implies passive recipients. Yet people are active agents in their lives, potentially subverting development interventions for their own ends (Fiedrich & Jellema, 2003). The recent shift towards a rights-based approach in Action Aid, DFID, CARE, and indeed in VSO has emphasised that the development process is politicised, requiring "a positive transformation of power relations among the various development actors" (Nyamu-Musembi: 2004:46). This view resonates strongly with the earlier discussion related to guarding the guardians. The term 'Service User', is sometimes preferred in these agencies. However, 'service user' implies a market relationship that often does not exist. For example, recipients of home based care do not necessarily have the ability to choose between multiple organisations providing the care.

The importance of this distinction goes to the heart of this research, rather than being semantic, being related to the ethics of the capability approach. Consequently, people are not perceived to be less than a presupposed 'rational' ideal. Rather, people's power, their ability to be authors of development interventions - their free agency -, is accepted. The term target group helps us to move closer to this understanding, while also conceding the position of power within which the development agency acts .

Evaluation of development interventions often employs technical language relating to the types of changes that an evaluation can uncover. Outcomes, within the international literature and within VSO are defined changes that happen within the organisation and in the behaviour of the target

group (Roche, 1999: 26; Hailey *et al*, 2005: 21; Jones, 2005). This definition of outcomes is, perhaps, best represented through the following 'ripple model':

Fig 1: The Ripple Model



Source: Hailey *et al* (2005: 21)

In Fig 1 all of the changes can be considered outcomes, except for the capacity building inputs. This model also helps to conceptualise the types of changes that may ripple through an organisation as a result of a capacity development intervention. This model reflects the ability to make plausible association, rather than direct attribution, between areas of organisational change (Hailey *et al*, 2005: 21). Plausible association is a defensible position to assume given the complex nature of cause and effect in capacity development, this point is discussed further in chapter 2.

Impacts, meanwhile, are a level of change that can be differentiated from outcomes. Impacts happen when there are intended and unintended changes that affect the values and things that are

valued, positively and negatively, in the lives of the target group (Roche, 1999). In the capability language this is a change in the intrinsic freedom of an individual and their capabilities and functionings, for example, a change in their ability to access the legal system, rather than an instrumental change, such as an increase in income which is useful for some other valuable end.

In summary, this section provides a common ground for conceptualising the research question for this study; enabling us to explore how the capability approach can contribute further insight into the existing evaluation methods of capacity development, specifically that of VSO-RAISA. The key terms of evaluation framework, capacity development, target group, outcomes and impacts have been conceptualised. Fundamental to the usage of these terms is the innate value of reason; this was central to this study.

1.4 Limitations of the study

Two important limitations within this study are noted here that are not explored further within this study. First, this study does not seek to relate the capability approach to the history of the concept of development. A vast literature on the concept of development and its relation to the capability approach is already in existence. This literature will not be closely interrogated, as this is not the principle concern of this study.⁵

Second, the HIV and AIDS epidemic in Southern Africa, second, although a major contextual issue, is not centralised in this study. For VSO-RAISA mitigation of the impact of the HIV & AIDS epidemic in Southern Africa is the main goal of the programme, externally, it shapes the organisational environment in which it must work. There is, however, among academics and policymakers disagreement on the exact impact of HIV & AIDS (Barnett & Whiteside, 2006;

⁵ On the history of development see, for example, Leys, 1996; Rist, 1997; Robinson, 2002; Peet & Harwick, 1999 on the relation of the capability approach to the history of the concept of development see, for example, Clark, 2002; Gasper, 2004

Nattrass, 2004; Haacker, 2004). Information is limited and the long-run nature of the epidemic means that the long-term impacts are only now being uncovered and debated.

Yet, it is clear that HIV and AIDS continues to devastate individuals, families and communities and throughout the world, exposing the disadvantages against which people struggle. The on-going impacts need to be grappled with. Developing organisational capacity is a key response to the pandemic and a strong evaluation framework is critical in this effort. Reliable evaluation can assist decisions being made at the programme level to ameliorate negative impacts and seize opportunities through facilitating the development of appropriate responses. At the national and international level advocacy can be undertaken by presenting evidence of actual impact. It is recognised therefore that the HIV and AIDS context in Southern Africa and its impacts form a strong undercurrent in the evaluation framework of VSO-RAISA. The central tenet of the research question is about evaluation of capacity development rather than the impacts of HIV, however. This study therefore does not delve deeply into the potential contribution to further detailing the impacts of HIV and AIDS, although further research could uncover this.⁶

1.5 Origin of the study

This case study is an outgrowth of earlier work conducted on the evaluation of rural roads in South Africa (Porter, 2005). Of central inspiration to the earlier study was the work of Alkire (2002) who apart from providing an accessible overview of the capability approach had developed a focus group technique that sought to measure valued and disvalued changes in people's lives guided by eight dimensions of change described above. The work of Alkire demonstrated that by approaching project evaluation from the perspective of the capability approach important insights could be gathered beyond techniques such as cost benefit analysis

⁶ With regard to information on the HIV & AIDS epidemic in Southern Africa, the following reading is illuminating on the limits of current understanding of the impacts of the epidemic in the field of organisational capacity development and upon the state politically, socially, and economically: Bell *et al*

and social impact assessment which are other important forms of evaluation. As with the evaluation of rural road provision the evaluation of capacity development of VSO-RAISA took into account only a limited informational basis. In the daily work carried out as the VSO-RAISA monitoring and evaluation and learning advisor this author was confronted by requests and felt the desire to go beyond the assessment of the organisation and investigate the impact of VSO-RAISA interventions upon our target groups. It therefore seemed pertinent to utilise Alkire's conceptions and methodology as an appropriate starting point and key perspective within the study.

1.6 Chapter structure

Following this introduction there are five chapters exploring the research question stated above. In the second chapter three questions interrogate the capability approach and enable an analysis of the current VSO-RAISA evaluation framework. These three questions are: How can the capability approach contribute to evaluation of development? What are the current limitations on the measurement of the impact on capacity development interventions? And what are the components of a capability based evaluation framework? An important point emanating from this interrogation is that the capability approach centralises participation and an open informational basis. This provides a conceptual framework with which to evaluate VSO-RAISA's capacity development interventions in terms of capability freedom.

The third chapter analyses the strengths and gaps of the current VSO-RAISA evaluation framework from the perspective of the capability approach by asking three questions: What 'bite' of information does the evaluation framework take to be relevant? Does the evaluation framework *evaluate* progress in terms of whether freedom has been enhanced? Is the evaluation framework *effective* in making the planning and review of VSO-RAISA's interventions

(2004); Barnett & Whiteside (2002) Crafts & Haacker, M (2004) De Waal (2003); Epstein (2004); Greener, (2004); Haacker (2004) Natrass (2004); Ostergard, R. (2002) Young, A (2004)

dependent upon the free agency of people? This analysis pinpoints one major gap in the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework: the process of evaluation is not effective in making interventions dependent upon the free agency of people. Put another way, the *means* of evaluation does not in itself promote freedom by encouraging members of the target group to discuss valued changes in their lives and introduce their agency objectives into elements of project design.

The fourth chapter outlines a methodology that seeks to demonstrate how, practically, the capability approach contributes to the evaluation framework of VSO-RAISA. It does this by demonstrating how an existing capability grounded methodology, with a few tweaks, starts to alleviate the inadequacies in the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework presented in the previous chapter. There is limited scope for manoeuvre in developing this methodology. For the methodology to be operational in the context of this study and at the same time start to counter the inadequacies identified, it must fulfil three main criteria: (1) conceptually and functionally the methodology needs to align to the ethics and distinctions of the capability approach; (2) the methodology needs to start making progress in filling the three gaps identified in the previous chapter; (3) the methodology needs to be replicable by partner organisations and to be realistic, given the messy grassroots reality of development work. The chapter is focused on outlining the methodology in relation to these three criteria.

The fifth chapter demonstrates how the capability approach can contribute to the evaluation framework of VSO-RAISA by presenting the results of the implementation of the methodology. In brief, these results confirm the potential contributions of the capability approach described in Chapters 3 and 4, but also present a challenge in utilising some of the main distinctions of the capability approach in the analysis of the results.

Finally, the sixth chapter presents some concluding remarks. It returns us to the issues raised in the introduction and suggests a number of challenges to which the capability approach could contribute fruitfully, namely, evaluation in a rights based approach, confronting power within

development, and introducing more democratic processes of evaluation through the use of deliberative democracy.

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Chapter 2: How the Capability Approach can Contribute to the Evaluation of Capacity Development

The aim of this chapter is to present an overview of the capability approach, demonstrating its importance and outlining its ethical priorities and main distinctions. Throughout this chapter and indeed this study Sen, the originator of the capability approach, and Alkire, who contributed an accessible methodology for putting into operation the capability approach, serve as the main inspiration for the development of this study along with support from a number of major authors. Nussbaum, another major contributor, who presents a ‘rival’ approach to that of Sen’s, is also referenced in discussion, however, due to certain constraints of her approach – to be expanded upon during this study - her work is not centralised. The approach of this chapter is to ask three main questions: How can the capability approach contribute to evaluation of development? What are the current limitations on the measurement of the impact on capacity development interventions? And what are the components of a capability based evaluation framework?

2.1 How can the capability approach contribute to the evaluation of development?

The capability approach is used in this study because it offers an enhancement on a number of competing views of development and their evaluation criteria, such as: a commodity approach, utilitarianism, libertarianism, a basic human needs approach, and rights based approaches (Sen, 1999, 2005, Clark, 2002, 2006; Crocker⁷, 2006; Alkire, 2002). The capability approach centralises freedom as the space in which the achievement of development should be evaluated and judged effective. As Sen (1999:3, 36) states “development can be seen...as a process of

⁷ All quotes from Crocker (2006, 2006a) have been taken from draft manuscripts provided by the author that have eventually been published. Due to resource constraints the actual published manuscripts were not available to the author of this study in South Africa and this has meant that page references for quotes could not be provided, although they are true to the final versions of the published manuscripts.

expanding the real freedom that people enjoy.” We will now undertake a comparison of this view with competing approaches to development.

Commodity approach

The idea that the production and gathering of more material goods *is* development and consequently that development can be measured in terms of these goods has been an underlying current in development economics (Clark, 2002: 10-14). Clark (2002: 29-30) and Crocker (2006) have outlined four criticisms that Sen and Nussbaum have made of a (crude) commodity approach.⁸ Before discussing Sen and Nussbaum’s criticisms it should be clear that neither of them reject the necessity of goods and services in enhancing development. Sen (1999: 26) himself praises the market which can be “an engine of fast economic growth and expansion of living standards”.

The four criticisms of the commodity approach are as follows. First, commodities are only of instrumental value, rather than intrinsic value. Put differently, my car is valuable because it is instrumental in helping me to get around quicker. The ends that are achieved through getting around quicker are of intrinsic value. The second and third criticisms relate to individuals’ and societies’ variable conversion rates for turning resources into something valuable. The commodity approach implies that goods are of equal value to different people across individuals and societies. However, it is quite clear that the value of a bundle of goods in one circumstance is not the same as in another: A blind person has very different requirements from a person who can see, living in the Drakensberg in winter will require more food and energy than living in Cape Town. The fourth and final critique outlined by Clark and Crocker is of the nature of commoditisation itself. Highlighting commodities as development, it is argued, has led to a commodity fetishism which encourages selfish and competitive behaviour in which the pursuit of

resources has negative results for development. Crocker (2006), for example, highlights the commodification of the self in body building competitions and of women's bodies during rape trials. The capability approach offers a visible improvement upon the commodity approach through recognising and developing an approach to well-being, which analyses value in the space of freedom, this point is elaborated upon later in this chapter.

Utilitarianism

Crocker (2006) provides a brief but cutting closing statement on the commodity approach and introduction to utilitarianism:

“The commodities approach, whether crude or Rawlsian, overemphasizes goods and neglects people. The welfare approach, of which utilitarianism is a prime example, overemphasizes people's mental states and neglects other aspects of their well-being... by paying exclusive attention to but one aspect of human well-being, namely, utility.”

Sen (1999:62) notes three deficiencies in a “fully utilitarian approach”. First, he critiques “distributional indifference”. Taking the sum ranking, the total utility gain of an individual, means that different types of inequality can become veiled. In this approach it is difficult to understand differences within the community or household. People could be relatively rich in a number of areas of utility, but totally impoverished in an important or valued area against which the weightings are biased. Further aggregated scores in an area of high inequality can upwardly shift averages and lead to analysis that is biased against the poor living side by side with extreme wealth, a not entirely unfamiliar scenario on the African continent.

Second, Sen criticises the neglect of rights, freedom and other non-utility concerns. Sen notes that by focusing the informational basis on utility abuses of rights and freedoms can take place with

⁸ Crocker (2006) and Alkire (2002: 5) distinguish a complex commodity approach of John Rawls,

little or no impact upon evaluation. For example, in Sen's (1982: 3-12) article *Rights and Agency* he sketches an example in which a gross violation of freedom could take place which would be permissible through utilitarian calculus.

Finally, Sen takes issue with the potential for adaptation of preferences and mental conditioning. This argument asserts that people may have adapted their attitudes, enabling them to live under conditions of poverty and perceive minor changes as great goods. This argument is employed to criticise utilitarian approaches that centralise happiness as an indicator of 'well-being'. This argument is consistently maintained throughout Sen's work (Sen, 1985: 188-189; Sen, 1992: 55; Sen, 1999: 62-63). One only has to think of the idea of slaves singing in a field to realise the potential danger and subsequent justifications for various forms of tyranny that could be brought about through focusing on preferences and ignoring lack of freedoms.

Adaptation of preferences, however, may not be consistent across continents or even countries given specific circumstances, such as culture, surrounding inequality, and the laws of the land. Preliminary research on this issue is ambivalent; in checking for adaptation in three ways based upon survey results Clark and Qizilbash (2005: 23-26) were unable to reach a conclusion. However, one point does remain: we should not uncritically listen to the voices of the poor when discussing preferences. This certainly does not mean excluding them from public reason or from participation in decision-making, as will become clear, but rather in data analysis one should remain wary of revealed preferences.⁹

These criticisms of Sen's are not a wholesale rejection of a utilitarian approach. As Sen (1987: 7) argues in *The Ethics of Development*: "It is not my purpose to write off what has been or is being

specifically with regard to the conversion of resources. Sen's critique of Rawls is further considered in discussion of the informational basis of the capability approach later in this chapter.

⁹ Crocker (2006a) has some interesting suggestions with regard to the potential for deliberative democracy to 'fruitfully enrich' the capability approach. These suggestions are not explored here as methodologies for implementation have yet to be developed and specifically tailored for the capability approach and would therefore require a literature review and development of a methodology that are beyond the current limits of this study.

achieved, but definitely to demand more.” The capability approach therefore still maintains a normative priority on utility, albeit below that of capability and valued functioning (Gasper, 2004: 175-176), in a frame of understanding which takes into account the deficiencies noted above.

Libertarianism

Sen’s critique of Libertarianism focuses on its consequence-free analysis. Libertarianism, according to Sen (1999: 17&19), only focuses attention upon procedures for ensuring liberty. Sen points out that this approach can lead to instances where people’s essential freedoms, such as being able to live a life free from premature mortality and ‘excess’ morbidity, are routinely compromised (Sen, 1982: 12; 1999:65-67). This stance is not a rejection of negative rights *per se*, but a call for adaptation and expansion of the informational basis of evaluation beyond just negative rights.

Basic Needs Approach

Both Alkire (2002: 15) and Crocker (2006) view the capability approach as building upon the Basic Needs Approach. The Basic Needs Approach (BNA) can be summarised as follows: “Economic and societal development, says the BNA, is a matter of human well-being, which in turn is a function of meeting certain basic or human needs” (Crocker, 2006). Crocker outlines five lines of criticism of the BNA: the foundations criticism, the individual variability criticism, the social interdependence criticism, the “minimality criticism”, and the passivity criticism. Alkire, meanwhile focuses on the ‘unsettled questions’ of the BNA as asked by Paul Streeten (1984). As opposed to discussing all of the critiques in turn it is possible to identify a central artery of criticism throughout Alkire and Crocker’s assessments. The BNA criticisms, from the perspective of the capability approach relate to weaknesses of its conceptual foundations: “What Sen is trying to get at, I believe, is that the BNA has failed to clarify the nature and variety of needs and to justify (basic) needs as a moral category more fundamental than commodities, utilities, human

flourishing, or rights” (Crocker, 2006). What this means in practice is that the BNA can at times collapse into a commodity approach, i.e. quantifying an amount of needs rather than justifying a certain need as a moral priority. For example, in practice the need for food becomes a set of measures of food needed. As BNA collapses into commodification, it starts to define minimal amounts of needs regardless of individual variability and therefore appears to treat the target group as passive recipients of defined minimal needs rather than active agents of change who can participate in defining their own future.

So where does this analysis leave us in relation to the BNA? Alkire’s response to the foundational issues that Streeten identifies is to use the capability approach as the foundation of her study while recognising the contributions of the BNA. Alkire (2002: 170 with original *italics*) states “the single most important function of the CA [capability approach] is to make *explicit* some *implicit* assumptions in the BNA about the value of choice and participation (and the disvalue of coercion).” Therefore as with Alkire the argument here is not that the BNA should be rejected, but that the capability approach offers an elucidation of some of the foundational issues of the BNA approach so that the *means* and *ends* of development become coherent.

Rights based approach

The literature of the capability approach does not so much criticise the rights based approach but seeks to link the two approaches, viewing them as mutually reinforcing. In Sen’s earlier and most recent writing he has sought to establish links between the capability and rights based approaches. In Sen’s (1982: 38) paper *Rights and Agency* he persuasively argues for the adoption of a ‘goal rights system’ in which “[t]hese goal rights...can take the form of capability rights and corresponding duties.” In *Human Rights and Capabilities*, Sen (2005: 151) argues that:

“There are many human rights that can be seen as rights to particular capabilities.

However, human rights to important process freedoms cannot be adequately

analysed within the capability framework. Furthermore, both human rights and capabilities have to depend on the process of public reasoning.”

The argument here is that the human rights approach can be complemented by the foundations and evaluative framework of the capability approach, while the capability approach is complemented by the process freedoms that are offered by the human rights approach. This is especially pertinent as the capability approach is not a theory of justice and requires complementary mechanisms governing political processes to aid decision-making (Sen, 2005: 157-158). Vizard (2006) takes this relationship forward by specifically linking the capability approaches ethical and economical arguments with a rights based approach. She establishes how “freedom[s]...can be conceptualised as fundamental human rights” (*ibid*: 15). Indeed, needs, capabilities and rights can all be linked together, as Gasper (2004: 158) argues: “the supposedly rival concepts of basic needs, capabilities, and human rights...are not really rival concepts at all, but are essentially complimentary.”

The work linking the rights based approach to the capability approach is on-going, but perhaps the strongest argument for the link, in the context of this study, is that the capability approach supports rights based claims through offering a well founded theory in which evaluation of different states of affairs is possible: “human rights for specified priority functionings and capabilities...[for] a better defence of basic human interest than a focus on utility” (Gasper, 2004: 175).

In summary, from the above analysis it can be seen that the capability approach can contribute to the evaluation of capacity development because it is based upon adaptation rather than rejection of other approaches. The merits of various ‘competing’ approaches are noted and arguments asserted to enrich, rather than reject. This is the chief merit of the capability approach in aiding capacity development evaluation, its ability to offer an alternative enhanced approach to evaluation, within the existing limits of knowledge.

2.2 What are the current limitations on the measurement of the impact of capacity development interventions?

This section discusses current issues with the evaluation of capacity development and demonstrates how the capability approach can potentially contribute to this evaluation. The literature on capacity development has emphasised the difficulty in measuring the outcomes and impacts of interventions because of the nature of organisations as systems with complex and chaotic interactions. This subsection will outline: first, the importance of capacity development in recent development thinking; second the roots of systems thinking; and third, the current thinking of measuring change in organisations.

Donors, supranational bodies, academics, and international development agencies have recently prioritised the capacity development of civil society organisations in the south. The Commission for Africa (2005: 29), for example, states: “The issue of good governance and capacity-building is what we believe lies at the core of all of Africa’s problems.” For Cooper (2002), the weakness of civil society in challenging and reforming the state, and the corresponding need to develop it capacity, is the primary issue confronting the development of Africa. In relation to civil society Hailey *et al* (2005: 4) state: “Capacity building is being prioritised by both donors and NGOs.”

The reason why international agencies and academics are now emphasising capacity development is because it is seen as an appropriate mechanism to intervene in a manner that starts to move away from some of the maladies of previous development interventions. Developing capacity from the national perspective is asserted to encourage local ownership, build the abilities of civil society, and empower and improve people’s lives over the long-term (Lopes & Theisohn 2003). This can be contrasted with previous ‘top-down’ development interventions that have created inappropriate short-term priorities that have come about because of the promise of donor money and in the process enervated the state and civil society (Commission for Africa 2005: 27-29). Developing the capacity of the state and civil society is therefore seen by donors and international

NGO's as a longer-term development strategy to enable them to better respond to the problems of society and in doing so to improve the lives of people.

The evaluation of capacity development initiatives is a tricky affair, however. It has been recognised that many of the outcomes produced in capacity development are not the result of simple cause and effect relationships; there are many interconnections and unintended effects of an intervention (Hailey *et al*, 2005; Lopes & Theisohn, 2003; Kaplan, 1999; Britton, 2005; Marsden *et al*, 1994). Kaplan (1999: 11) views organisational development as a “constant interplay between order and chaos, between form and flow.” This “constant interplay” highlights the importance of understanding systems thinking in relation to organisational development.

Systems thinking rooted in concepts of Pareto, first conceptualised in the 1930's, matured during the 1960's and 1970's to become a dominant form of understanding the development and interactions of an organisation (Jackson, 1991: 42). Forms of systems thinking, for example, are still the dominant approaches to comprehending organisational development in the management consultant McKinsey's (2001), the Community Development Resource Association (CDRA) (Kaplan, 1996, 1999) and the International NGO Training and Research Centre (INTRAC) (Hailey *et al* 2005; Marsden *et al*, 1994). The development of systems thinking was in the first place a reaction against reductionist views of an organisation developed by Weber and Taylor, who saw organisations as machines, and Mayo and Maslow who centred their analysis upon the human within the organisation. In contrast systems thinking views an organisation as a number of complex entities interacting within the organisation and with external environmental factors.

The systems view of interrelationships is probably best sketched through an analogy. A river viewed narrowly is, in most instances, a conveyor of water from where it rains to the sea. Viewed more broadly the river is a nebulous system. There are numerous species of animal and plant life on the riverbanks, people use rivers to create electricity, grow crops, transport goods, and provide

sewers for large cities. A change in part of the river system impacts upon the rest of the system. Weirs prevent salmon moving upstream to breed, building of dams floods land destroying vegetation and livelihoods, while providing electrification elsewhere. A river is a complex web of dependence, independence and interdependence that is impacted on by among other systems, the capitalist market, the environment, and society.¹⁰ As Gharajedaghi and Ackoff (cited in Patton, 2002: 121) state: “The performance of a system is not the sum of the independent parts; it is the product of their interactions.” As with the river an organisation’s systems and their interactions are nebulous.

Understanding the interactions within an organisation and between it and the outside world is therefore the key to understanding the performance of an organisation. This though remains a complex and daunting process. Hailey *et al* (2005: 16) reflecting on interactions argue that the “impact on the lives of beneficiaries in local communities...can feed back into individual and/or organisational change, for example through stakeholder processes.” This complexity has often been overlooked in development work, however. Hailey *et al* (2005: 24) in their survey of current assessment methodologies for development interventions are clear on the challenge:

“there is a need to understand the particular characteristics of organisational capacity building more clearly and whether, in order to be effective, this creates a need for different approaches to be used for the impact assessment of a programme or project and for organisational capacity building interventions.”

McKinsey’s (2001: 29) meanwhile have lamented that “Establishing a direct linkage between building capacity and increased social impact has proved elusive. In a few cases, certainly, the connection is readily apparent. ... But far more often, it is difficult if not impossible to attribute increased impact to a particular capacity building effort.”

¹⁰ This clarification of relationships within an organisation between dependence, independence and interdependence is owed to Kaplan, 1996: 19-29

Watson (2006: 22), however, offers some hope:

“There is persuasive evidence of the value and effectiveness - in contributing to organisational capacity building - of 'endogenous' M&E approaches that:

- are based upon participation through self-assessment of key players;
- encourage feedback, reflection and learning on the basis of experience; and
- promote internal and external dialogue between stakeholders.”

Ebrahim (2004) has also suggested the utilisation of participatory methodologies and an orientation towards process rather than results in monitoring and evaluating as a mechanism for enhancing the performance of capacity development interventions.

It should also be noted that these discussions on the measurement of capacity development also relate to broader concerns in development evaluation, such as the power of the donor. Watson (2006), for example, contrasts ‘endogenous’, internal M&E processes, with ‘exogenous’, external donor driven results based management approaches. These exogenous results based management approaches, although utilised over a long period, have failed to provide a better understanding of capacity development processes. Hailey *et al* (2005) similarly identify power imbalances between donor, implementing agency and target group in current monitoring and evaluation practices that inhibit learning and openness. These two concerns resonate strongly with House (2005) and Guba and Lincoln’s (2005) disquiet over what they have argued is a rise in methodological conservatism and this study’s concern with the need to open the processes of evaluation in order to ‘guard the guardians’.

Measuring the impact on the target group of a capacity development intervention is a problematic task, as capacity development interventions have complex, sometimes unpredictable effect upon organisations and their target groups. This study therefore does not seek to answer questions related to measuring the social impact of capacity development in all situations. This would

require the utilisation of multiple tools of analysis at multiple layers that would help triangulate data. Yet, there does appear to be a potential contribution that can be made through a participatory process involving internal and external stakeholders that has an open informational basis. As will be discussed in the following section, the capability approach offers ethics and distinctions that help to open the informational basis and ensure that development is effectively based upon participation and the free agency of people. Thus there appears to be a role for a capability based evaluation framework of capacity development.

2.3 What are the components of a capability based evaluation framework?

The aim of this sub-section is to outline the main basis for the capability approach and define the analytical tools that will be used to examine the current VSO-RAISA evaluation framework. Though this analytical approach is grounded in Sen's conceptual distinctions, it also takes account of the clarifications and enlargements of a number of scholars also working with the capability approach, specifically: David Crocker (2006), Sabina Alkire (2002; 2006), Des Gasper (2002, 2004), David Clark (2002, 2006) and Marta Nussbaum (2000).

In outlining the capability approach, two constituent components can be delineated: ethics and distinctions. The main distinctions in the capability approach are between: freedom and achievement; agency and well-being; capability and functioning. Bringing these components to life, defining their boundaries, in execution, is the ethical priority of the capability approach.

Capability Ethics

The ethics of the capability approach are of central importance because they represent values upon which a capability-orientated evaluation is based. The 'value' space for evaluating freedom is that of capabilities (Sen, 2005:154). The ethical priority of the capability approach is therefore the capability to attain freedom. Development therefore can be considered to be the removal of the ills of unfreedom, such as poverty and tyranny, and the enhancement of valued 'doings and

beings', for example, literacy, and political participation. As Sen (1999:4 with original *italics*) states:

“Freedom is the central process of development for two distinct reasons.

1. *The evaluative reason*: assessment of progress has to be done primarily in terms of whether the freedoms that people have are enhanced;
2. *The effectiveness reason*: achievement of development is thoroughly dependent on the free agency of people”

In short, freedom is both the “*primary end* and...the *principal means* of development” (*ibid*: 36 with original *italics*).

What this ethical stance means in practice is that focusing on the consequences of development is insufficient, how the developmental process is achieved is also of paramount importance. In Soviet Russia, for example, it could be imagined that a person was able to live in reasonable housing and their children have access to schooling, but yet not have the freedom to move jobs within the labour market or worship as they might choose. The centrality of freedom as the *means* and *ends* in this argument of Sen's, contrasts specifically with viewing commodities as the means to development. This has been emphasised, especially in his critique of the inadequacy consequential assessment in economics - viewing development only in terms of its ends -, throughout his major writings (see for example Sen, 1985, 1987, 1992, 1999).

It is also important to note that the ethical priority for a capability based evaluation framework is not only to evaluate the *means* and *ends* of a development intervention in terms of the manner in which it enhances freedom, but also to do so in an ethically consistent manner. This means that in the capability approach the evaluation framework itself must work in ways that does not limit what our understanding of freedom can be and does not encourage the promotion of unfreedom. Valuation therefore needs to be made explicit in a manner consistent with opportunity of citizens

to discuss and debate changes; this opens the informational basis as well as helping to perceive power imbalances that may promote unfreedom. Gasper (2002: 176) has summarised this position nicely: “The normative priority to capability can be read as a policy rule to promote people’s capability and then ‘let them make their own mistakes’, rather than of achieved well-being or quality of life, though it might contribute to them.”

For Sen (1999: 57) “the real ‘bite’ of a theory of justice can, to a great extent, be understood from its informational base: what information is – or is not - taken to be directly relevant”. In the same sense, the ‘bite’ of an evaluation can be understood by what the framework does –or does not - take to be relevant. For example, eating a lemon meringue pie your appreciation of the flavour of the pie would be tainted by the spoonful that you were able to bite – whether lemon, meringue, or both. Change the spoon, for a larger one, and your appreciation of the pie and its components changes. Changing a framework and the values that underlie an evaluation can help to elucidate on the components under evaluation.

The ethical priority which centralises means and ends has relevance for analysis of both groups and individuals. For Sen (1987: 3-4, 1992: 39 footnote 3, 1999: 75), like Aristotle, evaluation of human ends and the good of man is based in the study of politics and is intrinsically linked to core issues of classical Greek origin relating to ‘human flourishing’ or eudaimonia: first, is the Socratic question of human motivation, ‘How should one live?’ Sen calls this “the ethics-related view of motivation”; the second is an Aristotelian assertion regarding social achievement: ‘though it is worthwhile to attain the end merely for one man, it is finer and more godlike to attain it for a nation or for city states.’ Sen calls this the ‘ethics-related view of social achievement’ (for further discussion see Sen, 1987; Crocker, 2006; and Clark, 2006).

Given the priority of development being evaluated against the expansion of the means and ends of freedom, it can be surmised that an individual ought to live in freedom, expanding their capabilities and functioning’s towards their agency and well-being objectives (these terms will be

examined in depth below). In answer to ‘How should one live?’ the capability approach thus centralises an ethical individualism (Robeyns, 2004; Gasper, 2002).

Yet, the focus of the capability approach is not just on the individual. Evaluation of the means and ends of freedom ‘for nations and city states’ is also within the realm of the evaluative capacity of the capability approach. In the capability ethic there is an inherent social context to a person’s beings and doings. Sen (1999: viii), for example, dedicates a number of chapters in *Development as Freedom* to discussions related to the social context. As Sen (1999: xii, with original *italics*) states: “[i]t is important to give simultaneous recognition to the centrality of individual freedom *and* to the force of social influences on the extent and reach of individual freedom.” However, as the quote shows, although the social context is given space it is clear that the priority is with the individual, in Sen’s capability language social arrangements are seen as instrumental.

This has given rise to discussions on the issue of whether the capability approach pays insufficient attention to group and social structures (Gore, 1997; Gasper, 2002; Stewart & Deneulin, 2002). But as Robeyns (2003: 108) states, “it is crucial to understand that a commitment to ethical individualism is not incompatible with an ontology that recognizes the connections between people, their social relations, and their social embedment.” In particular, this issue has been taken up by Nussbaum (2000) and Alkire (2002) who offer versions of a capability ethic that strengthen the role of social arrangements. The point for now is that in Sen’s capability ethic the social context – the behaviour of others, the institutions of the state and the norms of society – is of importance to individuals and the choices they have.

Main Distinctions

Moving now to the main distinctions of the capability approach, as stated earlier a number of interrelated concepts provide the basis for evaluating development as freedom. This terminology is very specifically distinguished and defined in the capability approach, as it serves to

conceptually frame and differentiate it from other approaches. Key terms used in the capability approach outlined here are: freedom and achievement; well-being and agency; functioning and capability.

In Sen's capability approach these terms can be represented as follows:

Table 2: Representation of Key Distinctions

	<i>In terms of an agent's personal well-being</i>	<i>In terms of the agent's objectives</i>
Actual Achievement	(Own) Well-Being <i>Achievement - Functioning</i>	Agency Achievement
Freedom to achieve	(Own) Well-Being Freedom – <i>Capability</i>	Agency Freedom

Source: Gasper (2002: 440); Crocker, (2006)

The difference, Sen emphasises, between actual achievement and freedom to achieve is quite central to social evaluation. Sen (1992: 31 with original *italics*) defines actual achievement and freedom to achieve, thus: "Achievement is concerned with what we *manage* to accomplish, and freedom with *real opportunity* that we have to accomplish what we value." Both of these aspects of achievement are intrinsically important in themselves, rather than instrumentally important for some other ends.

Sen (1992: 34-38) argues that much economic evaluation focuses not on freedom, but on the achievement of commodities and incomes, while treating the choices we have as some instrumental means. For Sen this is insufficient. The intrinsic importance of both aspects of achievement can be illustrated. Imagine, for example, Karen needed to get to Paris from London. There are a number of choices and processes open to her. She could drive and catch a ferry, drive

and catch a train, catch a train, fly, catch a bus or even walk. Each of these choices and processes are of value to her in themselves. To reduce these choices to just flying, especially if this were to make her nauseous, would reduce the *real opportunity*, her capability, to accomplish what she values, depending on the speed and the comfort she would wish to travel in and the kind of things she would wish to do and be along the way. The actual achievement, getting to Paris, and the real opportunity to achieve what we value, how she gets to Paris, need not necessarily, therefore, be congruent.

Inequality can be viewed in either perspective. For example, the opportunities for travel to Paris from London are very much more restricted for a poor and disabled person than they are for a young and well-off Karen. Evaluation of efficiency is also relevant given these perspectives, which can be “seen in terms of individual achievement [, did Karen reach Paris,] *or* freedoms to achieve [, what were the costs incurred in reaching Paris in terms of freedom foregone]” (Sen, 1992: 31).

Alkire introduces a useful clarification to ‘achievement’. Alkire (2002: 51) argues that achieving “is an on-going pursuit.” The purpose of Karen’s trip to Paris, for example, may be to attend a conference that will enhance her knowledge on the capability approach. Although she will have achieved attending the conference, she will be in the on-going pursuit of knowledge, something which in itself can never be complete. Alkire (2002: 52) equates the achievement of gaining knowledge with functioning, but prefers the term flourishing for achievements of valued doings and beings, “which also communicates the sense that people pursue and participate...but never realise...once-and-for-all.” This clarification means that achievement can itself be quite fuzzy. There can be, as Gasper (2002: 448) has suggested in a useful critique, “endless pathways of capability and functioning.” This is where one functioning leads to a different type of capability, that leads back into the functioning; a journey through learning and achieving. The approach taken in this study is to preserve the term ‘functioning’ for a singular achievement, getting to

Paris, but utilise flourishing where there is evidence of a continued unrealisable journey, such as, gaining new knowledge. Although even with this clarification utilising this distinction has proved challenging in this case study, a point that will be returned to in Chapter 5. Gasper's critique and the general issue of fuzziness shall be returned to later in this chapter.

Well-being achievements and opportunities (freedom to achieve), for Sen, are to be evaluated in terms of well-being in the spaces of functioning and capability, respectively. In Sen's (1985, 1992: 56-72) approach functioning and capability only relate to the well-being perspective of freedom not to the agency perspective.

Functioning is the achievement of "the various things a person may value doing or being" (Sen, 1999: 75). This focus on functioning "sets the capability approach off from other approaches to the evaluation of well-being" (Alkire, 2005: 120). There can be elementary functionings, for example, being nourished, and complex functionings, such as, being able to take part in social activities of a community. Functionings are enabled by the capabilities that a person enjoys: "A person's "capability" refers to the alternative combinations of functionings that are feasible for [an agent] to achieve. Capability is thus a kind of freedom: the substantive freedom to achieve alternative functionings" (Sen, 1999: 75). In this way Sen describes a functioning combination as a *point*, which may be arrived at through the enactment of various capabilities or freedoms that a person has an opportunity to achieve. Capability is a set of *points*, a number of life options (Sen, 1992: 50). Taken together capability and functioning are constituent of a person's well-being.

Functionings and capability can be considered to be both instrumental and substantive freedoms at the same time. Unless basic functionings are achieved, other valued doings and beings are out of reach. Riding a bicycle may not be possible unless one is adequately nourished. That there is an infinite array of functioning and capability linkages in both intrinsic and instrumental senses has been emphasised by Gasper (2002: 447-448) an issue that has proved problematic in analysis in this study. In short, functioning is the achievement of valued doings and beings related to a

persons well-being, while capability represents the freedom to achieve valued doings and beings in the enhancement of well-being.

The final distinction of importance discussed here is that made between agency and well-being. A person herself can attain objectives in both the well-being and agency spaces. Enhancement of agency and well-being objectives can correlate, co-exist, or diverge. Both well-being and agency operate at the levels of freedom and achievement (See Fig 1 above).

Well-being is described by Sen (1992: 39 & 1985: 195) thus:

“The well-being of a person can be seen in terms of the quality...of the persons being”

“Having well-being...is not something outside her that she commands, but something in her that she achieves. ...Being “well off” [i.e. opulence, having economic means] may help, other things given, to have “well-being”, but there is a distinctly personal quality in the latter absent in the former”

Well-being is therefore related, as are functioning and capability, to doings, for example, eating well, and beings, for example, inner peace. The importance of considering well-being in the space of capability and functioning is that a person’s well-being remains important, no matter the significance that a person places upon it in their agency objectives (Sen, 1992: 71). Well-being in this sense is best conceived as a sub-set of a person’s agency objectives (Crocker, 2006).

The ability of individuals to act in their own right and make choices is free agency (Sen, 1992: 56). Agency is the ability of a person to choose and pursue the life they value beyond their well-being in their *capability set* and is a constitutive part of development: “well-being freedom is the freedom to achieve something particular...agency freedom is more general, since it is not tied to any one type of aim” (Sen, 1985: 203-204). Agency is also the ability of an individual “to help themselves and also to influence the world” (Sen, 1999: 18). Agency does not necessarily have to

enhance well-being - agency objectives can be morally reprehensible (Sen, 1992: 59; Crocker, 2006; Robeyns, 2005: 103).

The notion of public reasoning is central in this understanding of agency. People are understood to be able to argue and discuss their various agency objectives and alter them as a result of this debate. As Sen (2005: 157) states “The richness of the capability perspective broadly interpreted, thus, includes its insistence on the need for open scrutiny for making social judgements, and in this sense it fits in well with the importance of public reasoning.” Agency freedom is thus important as it represents the ability for a person to discuss and achieve what they value in terms of their own objectives beyond their well-being.

The informational basis of well-being and agency are incomplete, that is, Sen does not set limits on what is, or is not to be taken as important, as in utilitarian and basic goods approaches. Sen (1992: 113; 1999: 70-71), for example, specifically, criticises Rawls’ basic goods approach on conversion rates, which as discussed earlier is the inability of different people in different circumstances to convert the same bundle of goods equally. Rawls does not take this differentiation in conversion rate into account. This Rawlsian limitation on what is to be taken as important therefore places an important restraint upon analysis. This restraint is not present in Sen’s incomplete definition of well-being and agency. A further reason that the informational basis is incomplete, is the priority that he places on public discussion as a means of revealing and changing values. This is quite central to this study. The importance of public reasoning was discussed above and is further elaborated on below.

Critiques

Before moving forward to place these concepts into operation analysing VSO-RAISA’s evaluation framework note needs to be taken of critiques of Sen’s key distinctions. Taking these criticisms into account helps to sharpen our understanding and consequently the usage of these terms.

Gasper (2002: 442) has summarised the following three criticisms: (1) Sen's concepts of functioning, capability and capabilities are sometimes obscure; (2) Sen's conceptions of well-being and agency are problematic and partake of some weaknesses of utilitarian psychology, while his conception of personhood is very incomplete; (3) his conception of freedom seems too focused on the range of (valued) choice, and neglectful of other aspects of being and need. A fourth critique can be added which was to ask, "how far Sen's framework is operational?" (Sugden, 1993: 1953). This criticism has not been closely scrutinized here as Clark (2006: 12) has already convincingly argued, the range and depth of current operational applications of the capability approach "lays to rest any remaining concerns about the possibility of making the CA [capability approach] operational." To summarise on the points that Gasper has raised, the following observations have been made in relation to these critiques:

With regard to the first criticism Gasper (2002: 446) has further defined two sub-classes of capability to aid clarity: Options and opportunities capability (O-capability). This sub-class is in alignment with Sen's definition of capability as a set of life options. The second sub-class relates to a person's skill, ability and aptitude capability (S-Capability). He has pointed out that these sub-classes have been implicitly used in the UN's *Human Development Reports* as well as Sen's own writings. The blurring of these terms in the capability literature is problematic. As Gasper (2002: 446) asserts, there "seems to be some confusing, or even confused, usage." Prior to carrying out the fieldwork it was the view of this author that the existing distinctions amended by these sub-classes provide a viable analytical framework. This view however has been narrowed through experience, an issue that will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

In some analytic exercises the breadth and the fuzziness of concepts of well-being and agency proves useful. Sen (1999: 77) has often seen the informational breadth to be no cause for 'embarrassment' and has called the fuzziness of concepts such as inequality and poverty as a "'fundamental reason for incompleteness'" (*ibid*: 1992: 49). Alkire's clarification of achievement

as an on-going process, discussed earlier, is also helpful to reflect upon. Although this does lead to endless pathways of capability and functioning, this is the correct view to take as life and our pursuit of what is of value to us is an on-going endeavour leading us through various stages of achievement. Gasper (2002: 447) himself concedes “the obscurities have not prevented valuable work with operational measures of capability (whether variants of O or S) in the past decade.”

Gasper’s identification of the problematic nature of well-being and agency, in the second critique above, is very much aligned to that of Nussbaum’s. As Nussbaum (2000: 14) states: “I agree with Sen that the concepts introduced by these distinctions [well-being and agency] are important: but I believe that all the important distinctions can be captured as aspects of the capability/functioning distinction.” Crocker (2006) argues that this difference between Sen and Nussbaum has two reasons: first, because Nussbaum is trying to distance herself from Sen’s utilitarian basis. Second, because of fundamental differences in outlook. Nussbaum’s concern with designating a list of central capabilities, detailed by the philosopher outside of grassroots debate, stems from her requiring an “integrated and complex norm of human functioning composed of both functionings and capabilities” (Crocker, 2006). Sen’s designation between agency and well-being is related to the ethical priority of people’s freedoms being the *means* and *ends* of development. People’s free agency and participation in the process of valuation is therefore a required *means* to development. For development to be effective people need to discuss in context specific circumstances what is of value rather than have a list of capabilities proscribed to them. Indeed, in Sen’s (1999a: 10) version of the capability approach participation in the valuation process is perceived as valuable in itself: “Political and social participation has *intrinsic value* for human life and well-being.” Crocker (2006) has argued that although Sen does not directly justify democracy on the basis of its appeal to agency, implicitly it remains of central importance. This is a point echoed strongly by Sen (2005: 158) himself, perhaps somewhat more explicitly than Crocker has argued:

“The distinction between agency and well-being therefore remains invaluable. To reject this distinction is to reject an important part of the ethical basis, which demands that people be the authors of their own destiny.”

But the suggestion of Nussbaum to utilise capability and functioning to analyse both agency and well-being does have some merit in clarifying analysis. Especially as a person's agency objectives and well-being objectives are so intertwined. Ferrero and Zepeda (2006: 6) take this approach and have defined a model where the capability space of an individual has both well-being and agency aspects. Gasper's sub-classes of the O-capability and S-Capability again prove useful. Gasper (2002: 451 with original []) states: “In principle, agency analysis can broaden the concept of [O-] capability.” The approach of this study has been to maintain the distinction between agency and well-being but utilise the terms of capability and functioning in both spaces, emphasising the necessity of an individual's agency freedom.

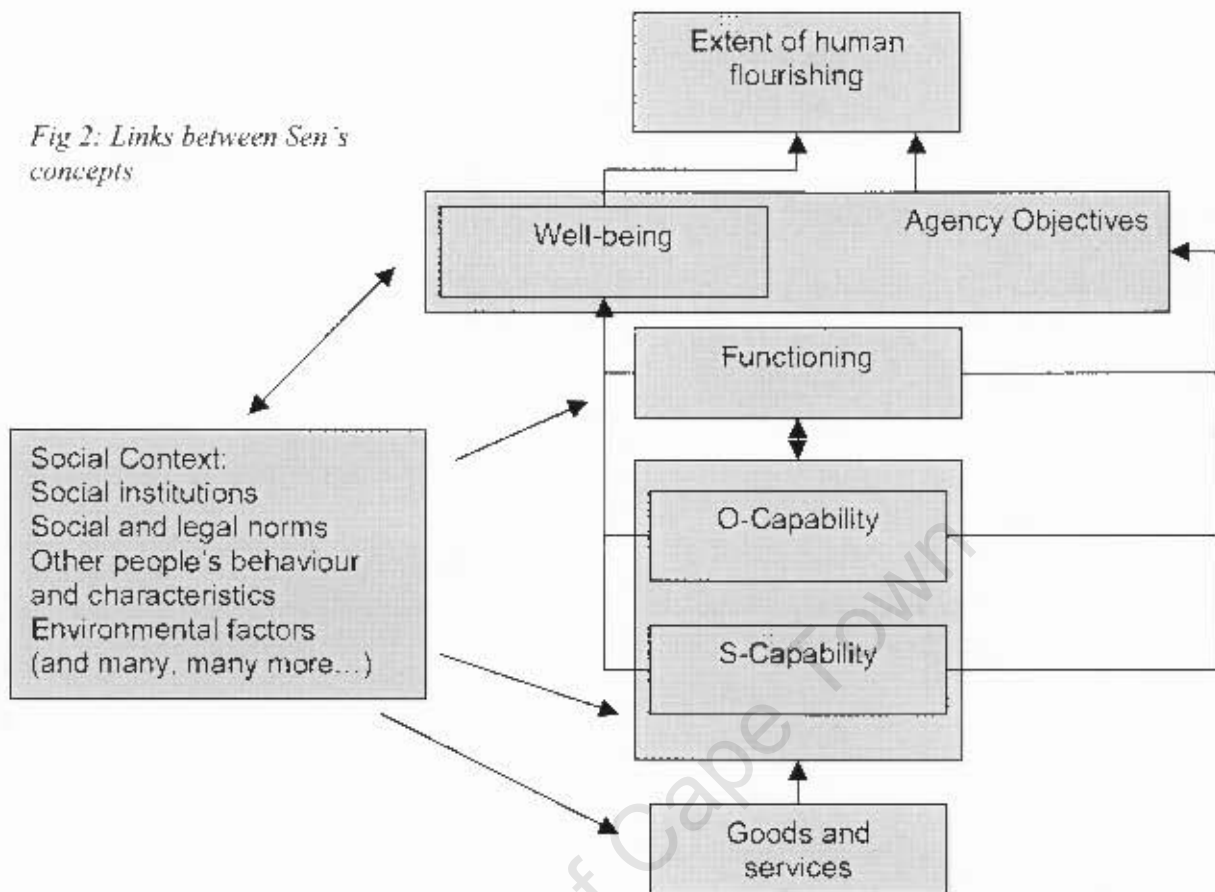
The issue of personhood is somewhat more difficult to deal with. A number of authors have argued this is because Sen's capability approach has been developed with limited reference to disciplines outside of economics and philosophy (Gasper, 2002; Swedburg, 1990). Nussbaum has produced an expanded view of personhood. She provides for a fuller role of religion in her list of central human capabilities, devoting an entire chapter to the role of religion (Nussbaum, 2000). Because a fuller account of personhood is given, this necessarily closes off other accounts, leading to a slimmer informational basis and the issues noted in the previous paragraph with Nussbaum's dispensing with the well-being agency distinction. Indeed, Nussbaum's account of personhood is influenced by her basis in Aristotelian roots. For Aristotle the philosopher is the only person who can hold the highest happiness, an elite position (Russell, 1974: 190). Nussbaum herself reflects this elitism in defending the special task of theory formulation (Nussbaum, 2000: 35). To that extent, although Sen's view of personhood is limited, his capability approach can access a broader informational basis that encompasses the importance of public reasoning that is

adaptable to grassroots realities. It is proposed that in the intended study the issue of the further development of a view of personhood is left to one side for a broader and fuller investigation of the implementation of the capability approach in evaluation.

The final criticism which Gasper summarised, that the capability approach is neglectful of other aspects of being and need, is similar to criticisms with regard to the issue of personhood; full and deserved examination is beyond the scope of the proposed study. It has been conceded by Sen (Sen 1995: 268; 2005: 157) that the capability approach does not offer a full theory of justice, and therefore there are issues which will require other theories for clarification. For Sen the capability approach is not in “an all-or-none form” (Sen, 1999: 86). Gasper (2004) in this vein has further explored the connections between Sen’s capability approach and enhanced basic needs theories. Although this exploration of Gasper’s will not be taken up in this study, the concern for discussion and deliberation in the capability approach emphasises the point that to a large extent it is up to those involved in an evaluation to define what aspects of being and need are important for them.

Given the above discussion of the terms freedom and achievement, capability and functioning, and well-being and freedom, the following diagram (Fig 2) illustrates how the distinctions are to be conceptualised in the proposed study drawn from discussions and diagrams in Gasper (2002: 439), Crocker (2006), Robeyns (2004: 98) and Clark (2006). This diagram together with the main ethical points described above forms the bedrock for the analysis of the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework to be discussed in the next chapter:

Fig 2: Links between Sen's concepts



Source: Gasper (2002: 439); Crocker (2006); Robeyns (2004: 98); Clark (2006)

The delineation of the capability ethic and the conceptualisation of the main distinctions serve two purposes in this study. First, they offer a consistent language and underlying framework upon which this study is based. This will help to establish a plausible association between, on the one hand, enrichment of the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework from the perspective of the capability approach, and on the other, the gathering of new insight. Second, the delineation of the capability ethic and the conceptualisation of the main distinctions will be utilised in a specific task to help examine the strengths and inadequacies in VSO-RAISA's current evaluation framework in terms of the capability approach. This is the subject of the following chapter.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated how the capability approach can contribute to the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework by contrasting this approach with a number of competing approaches. Perhaps the greatest strength of the capability approach is that it is based upon adaptation to rather than rejection of alternative approaches. Scholars working with the capability approach have critiqued the commodity approach, libertarianism, utilitarianism, basic needs approach, and rights based approach. However, they have accepted important stances taken within each and sought to modify them in relation to the capability approach. Second, in exploring limits to the measurement of impact in the current literature on capacity development, it was shown that locally created processes that involve the participation of numerous stakeholders in an open informational basis could prove promising in helping to assess the impact of capacity development interventions. The capability approach centralises participation and an open informational basis and therefore helps to provide a conceptual framework to evaluate VSO-RAISA's capacity development interventions beyond what has been provided elsewhere. Finally, this chapter has outlined the capability ethics and main conceptual distinctions of the approach. Outlining the ethics helps us to locate evaluation frameworks in a set of ethical demands rooted in the work of Aristotle and cognisant of a number of competing approaches of the time. The key distinctions that put this ethical framework into operation are important as they allow us to proceed with a common language while giving us the necessary tools to analyse the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework, and define a methodology grounded in the capability approach to help counter these omissions.

Chapter 3: Analysis of VSO-RAISA's Evaluation Framework from the Perspective of the Capability Approach

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the strengths of and inadequacies in the current VSO-RAISA evaluation framework from the perspective of the capability approach. This analysis pinpoints one major gap in the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework: the process of evaluation is not effective in making interventions dependent upon the free agency of people. Put another way, the *means* of evaluation does not in itself promote freedom by encouraging members of the target group to engage in public reasoning and introduce their agency objectives to elements of project design. Two smaller contributions can be made by the capability approach, the first, through demarcating the conceptual space of the evaluation framework, the positive association of the capacity development intervention and impacts upon the target group become intelligible, and second, in introducing new insights to aid donor reporting and project design. The approach of this chapter is: first, to develop questions grounded in the ethics and distinctions of the capability approach to interrogate the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework; second to answer these questions identifying the main inadequacies in the current evaluation framework in terms of the capability approach; finally the chapter will elaborate on the potential contribution of the capability approach.

3.1 Definition of questions to interrogate the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework

The delineation of the capability ethic and the conceptualisation of the main distinctions will aid examination of the strengths and gaps in VSO-RAISA's current evaluation framework. In conducting this analysis of the current evaluation framework, questions have to be set-out and then applied to formulate conclusions on the strengths and gaps of the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework. The ethics and the distinctions of the capability approach are to act as the conceptual

basis for the development and subsequent responses to three questions. These questions are developed from an earlier study relating to the evaluation methodologies for rural road provision (Porter, 2005).

Conceptually, the capability ethic forms an evaluation *space* whose boundaries are defined by the means and ends of freedom. The distinctions, meanwhile, help us to perceive certain *points* and *vectors* of relevance in that *space*. This conception of *space* and of *points* and *vectors* is grounded directly in the conceptualisations of Sen (1992: 40, 1999: 75). The capability ethic also describes necessary *processes*. As described in the previous chapter consequential analysis of outcomes is insufficient in the capability approach. Achievement of freedom is required to be carried out in certain ways, with *processes* that enhance freedom.

In developing the first question we return to the metaphor of the lemon meringue pie. We need to understand: What ‘bite’ of information does the evaluation framework take to be relevant? This question helps us to define the space of values that VSO-RAISA evaluation framework takes to be relevant compared to that of the capability ethic. This can be visualised as two spoons of differing sizes one for VSO-RAISA the other for the capability approach. The object of this question is to compare the dimensions of these two spoons.

The second and third questions return us to the two distinct reasons why freedom is central to the process of development. To restate Sen (1999:4): “Freedom is the central process of development for two distinct reasons.

- 1.** *The evaluative reason:* assessment of progress has to be done primarily in terms of whether the freedoms that people have are enhanced;
- 2.** *The effectiveness reason:* achievement of development is thoroughly dependent on the free agency of people”

The second question is therefore: Does the evaluation framework *evaluate* progress in terms of whether freedom has been enhanced? This question focuses us on the points and vectors that the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework has identified as important.

The key distinctions of the capability approach assist us in answering this question. Evaluation, as defined earlier, aids review and planning on the allocation of resources. Locating the points where, for example, the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework places emphasis on O-capability, the opportunities that one has, helps us to understand what actually has been taken to be relevant and where resources are weighted. So asking this second question assists us in understanding what the evaluation framework takes to be of relevance, the actual information upon which further planning can be based. This is akin to examining what parts of the lemon meringue pie the hungry person has decided to eat, whether lemon cream, meringue, or both.

The third question asks about the processes involved in the evaluation framework: Is the evaluation framework *effective* in making the planning and review of VSO-RAISA's interventions dependent upon the free agency of people? This question returns us to the dilemma of Karen's trip to Paris. Her arrival in Paris is not more important than the processes of her getting there. If the evaluation of development is not carried out in an ethically consistent manner important opportunities to people could be closed off.

Asking these questions therefore serves three specific purposes. Defining the space of evaluation is, firstly, an exercise in examining what the evaluation framework can reveal. Locating the points and vectors in that space, secondly, is an exercise in examining what the evaluation framework actually has revealed. Examining how these points and vectors were arrived at, thirdly, is an exercise in looking at whether what was turned up was consistent with the values held.

Undertaking this analytical exercise in such a manner draws on one of the main merits of the capability approach: "the need to address judgemental questions in an explicit way, rather than

hiding them in some implicit framework” (Sen, 1999: 75). The current VSO-RAISA evaluation framework is to be scrutinised using explicit values that centralise freedom using these questions. Potential contributions of the capability approach to the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework can then be uncovered and tested through a field study.

3.2 What “bite” of information does the evaluation framework take to be relevant?

The “bite” of VSO-RAISA’s evaluation framework, its core aspects, overlaps broadly with those of the capability approach. Though the focus of the evaluation framework is largely on organisational development account is deliberately taken of key target groups in terms of their valued doings and beings. However, the conceptualisation of the space of evaluation could be enhanced through reference to conceptual frameworks that would help to dissect the space of evaluation into manageable and meaningful chunks. Consideration of two issues that define the core of the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework reveals this alignment, these issues are: VSO-RAISA’s approach to evaluating capacity development and external programme authority.

The VSO-RAISA concept note defines capacity development as the main area of intervention and learning for the programme. VSO-RAISA’s main operational work is undertaken in partnership with smaller local non profit organisations who work in the field of HIV and AIDS across six Southern African countries. The six countries are: Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. VSO-RAISA works with these partners over the course of a number of years to help build their capacity to better deliver services that will help mitigate the impact of HIV and AIDS (Simister 2005, 2005a). The aim of this work with partner organisation is to develop the capacity of partner organisations to enhance the delivery of interventions to their target groups. The purpose of the programme is:

“to strengthen the capacity of civil society and government to develop and implement multi-sectoral responses to HIV&AIDS challenges in prevention, care, access to treatment, and VCT, with special attention to reduction of stigma, gender issues, people living with HIV&AIDS (PLWHA) and orphans and vulnerable children” (Marsh & Robertson, 2004: 3).

VSO-RAISA’s work towards achieving this purpose is evaluated in an annual regional review using, as a guide, seven outcomes. These outcomes focus mainly on the organisational level, for example, increased local ownership and strengthened organisational capacity of partners. However, a key purpose of the programme is that VSO-RAISA builds the capacity of partner organisations in order to better the lives of target groups who receive ‘special attention’ in the capacity development efforts. This point shall be returned to in discussing the relevance of external programme authority.

The spotlight of the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework is on partner organisations. Evaluation of progress in capacity development is undertaken through partnership plans, partnership reviews, and programme area reviews. Partnership planning and review processes are held once a year with each of the key partners. The main aim of these processes is to develop relationships with partners through developing plans for the coming year (Jones, 2005). The review component of the process concentrates on changes within the organisation that can be associated with VSO-RAISA’s support over the past year. The planning session of the workshop focuses on prioritising areas of intervention within the organisation for the next year. During these workshops the spotlight is, however, not only at the organisational level. Space is also given to exploration of outcomes for the employees - an intermediate target group - and disadvantaged people - the end target group (VSO, 2006b). The composition of groups taking part in these processes is left largely open. In practice though, planning and review tends to be conducted by management, with

some representation from other members of the organisation. Partnership reviews then feed into annual programme reviews where information is collated, analysed, and used as a learning tool.

Annual programme reviews are also based upon biannual narrative reports, volunteer development worker reports, general purpose 'red reports', and a key partner surveys. The priorities from this analysis are then tested in a workshop with partner organisations. This represents an important step in the end of year planning process, as it is here that a mandate to move forward on a number of issues is given by the partner organisations. These issues are then fed back into prioritisation for partnership plans during the following year and also inform the annual regional review. This completes a process in which the direction of the programme is determined in consultation with partners at the organisational level.

Thus organisational capacity development in terms of conceptual framing, operational implementation, programme evaluation, and learning is central to the evaluation framework. Indeed, the M&E framework document states: "Almost all of the activities of VSO in the HIV & AIDS sector in Southern Africa are designed to improve capacity" (Simister, 2005: 9). Given the discussion of the difficulty in measuring the end impact of capacity development interventions, discussed in Chapter 2, the spotlight of the evaluation framework upon capacity development would appear to at an appropriate level. This means that the main focus of VSO-RAISA's evaluation framework is on organisational capacity development. This is not meant to imply that partner organisations do not take into account their target group or employees during planning and review, more that the processes as they stand are limited in the manner in which they specifically seek out information on intermediate or end target groups.

External programme authority, the programme donors, place additional requirements on the space in which the evaluation framework operates. The two main donors are the Big Lottery Fund (BLF), and a Dutch donor, PSO. The donor requirements define what is to be reported on in order to access donor funds. This means that even though learning is the central tenet of the VSO-

RAISA M&E framework (Simister, 2005, 2005a) implicitly and explicitly the evaluation framework was and continues to be developed with donor priorities in mind.

As stated in PSO's (2004: 5) M&E manual their focus is principally "on capacity building of partner organisations in the south, so these are better able to contribute to structural poverty alleviation" (PSO, 2004). The focal point of the PSO proposal consequently is immediately on capacity development and in the longer term demonstrating structural poverty alleviation. This fits well with the main conceptual framing and operational functions of VSO-RAISA. PSO's requirements mostly reinforce the spotlight at the organisational level capacity development. However, demonstrating the contribution to structural poverty alleviation, which in the language of this study is the impact upon the target group, requires a broader informational basis. To this end PSO (2004: 14) commissions an evaluation in the final year that looks at the "relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, impact and sustainability of financed interventions." This means that the evaluation framework, to feed into this final year evaluation, needs to build a portfolio of information on impact upon target groups.

The BLF's requirements direct the evaluation light more broadly than only on capacity development of partner organisations to the areas of special attention identified in their concept note: reduction of stigma, gender issues, people living with HIV and AIDS (PLWHA), and orphans and vulnerable children. The BLF donor logframe also highlights five cross-cutting objectives: capacity building; influencing opinion; networking and collaboration; participation; and gender and diversity. These logframe objectives place a number of informational requirements upon the VSO evaluation framework. For example, outcomes and impacts need to be tracked in relation to these target groups; VSO-RAISA's advocacy strategy and its ability to influence opinion needs to be reflected upon; the participation of people living with HIV and AIDS and also women and children needs to be tracked. This means that both the BLF and PSO require more than capacity assessment, and this opens up the informational base of VSO-RAISA.

The requirements of both these donors for a wider array of information are met through the completion of biannual narrative reports, general purpose 'red reports', and an annual partner survey specifically designed for the BLF. Though these reports are completed with a large amount of flexibility, essentially the reports attempt to uncover information that is broader than just organisational capacity development. The biannual report guidelines recommend that changes are analysed in terms of their impact upon target groups, even if the evidence for these changes are only anecdotal (Simister, 2005a). Red Reports also press for wider changes than just to the organisation. One of the specialist roles of the red report is to report on small grants distributed. Small grants are often utilised for service delivery. This means that their impacts upon target groups are often more visible than reporting conducted through partnership reviews. The annual partner surveys, meanwhile, gather quantitative information about the target groups and partners activities with these target groups. All three reports feed into the annual programme reviews and regional reviews and represent the practical fulfilment of a suggestion of Hailey *et al* (2005: 12): for capacity development evaluation frameworks to operate in a "necessary...compromise between the need to collect comparable information in order to draw out general lessons, and to develop approaches which are flexible and appropriate for specific contexts".

There is, however, no conceptual basis to aid analysis of what is important for target groups. For organisational change, VSO-RAISA has listed six areas of organisational change and their outcomes are identified in the concept note, for the target group a comparable framework does not exist past initial identification of them with some donor developed indicators. Having a clearer conceptual framework for designation of outcomes would help with project design as changes could be positively associated with interventions.

In sum, the space that the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework occupies and the values that it inculcates into the operation of evaluation can be said to be defined by two axes: the immediate

capacity development planning and review requirements and the need to demonstrate to donors the impact of this work upon target groups. These axes certainly are not antagonistic to the ethical demands of the capability approach. Indeed, they could be said to align quite closely with it. In both there is an intrinsic concern with removal of the ills of unfreedom, such as marginalisation of women and stigmatisation of people living with HIV and AIDS, and the promotion of freedom, participation and the opening up of avenues of other valued capabilities. Yet, there is potential for the capability approach to contribute clarity with a meaningful conceptual basis for understanding impacts upon the target groups.

3.3 Does the evaluation framework *evaluate* progress in terms of whether freedom has been enhanced?

Throughout the reports of the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework there are examples of progress being evaluated in terms of capability, functioning and flourishing being enhanced. Discussion now turns to demonstrating this, from discussing the space in which development can be evaluated in the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework, to what actually has been evaluated – the points within the informational space that have been taken to be relevant. The key distinctions of the capability approach underpin this analysis.

The skills of members of staff and the general public, S-capabilities, were noted to have been increased as a result of VSO-RAISA's interventions. In the distinctions of the capability approach this shows that S-capabilities are used as benchmarks for progress in the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework. In the partnership review of Thandizani, a home based care organisation in Zambia, training in Anti Retroviral Therapy (ART) has been implemented by staff members (Sisiya, 2006). In the Centre for Positive Care, in South Africa staff reported utilising training in their work in both Anti-Retroviral literacy and comprehensive home based care (Munting, 2006). Finally, S-capabilities were shown to be enhanced in a review of VK Home Based Care, an

organisation in Zambia. A suite of VSO-RAISA interventions, for example, small grants, international exchange and study tours were utilised with members of staff. It was reported that “existing staff has shown increased confidence, management skills, increased level of understanding around issues of HIV and AIDS. Delivery of services has also improved through establishment of referral systems” (Sisiya, 2006a). These three examples show how, in a range of organisations across the region, the S-capability freedom that people have been enhanced through VSO-RAISA’s interventions.

The evaluation framework shows that opportunities for women and men to live the kind of lives that they valued, O-Capabilities, were enhanced through a variety of projects. For example, as reported in a biannual report, learning from a project in Zimbabwe, a number of organisations in Malawi were able to get more men involved in home based care. This is something that they do not usually do due to cultural constraints. This has relieved some of the burden of care from the women involved in the project, for example, cultural issues with looking after male patients. Also through their involvement new opportunities were opened for men that would not have been possible previously (Mbewe, 2005). Birth registrations for orphans and other vulnerable children have been supported by the Centre for Positive Care (Munting, 2006). Birth registrations are particularly important in South Africa, as without correct documentation guardians are not able to access child support grants and the children under their care are not able to attend school. In South Africa and Malawi support has also been given to orphans and vulnerable children through memory and hero books (VSO, 2006, 2006a). Memory and hero book therapy opens two types of opportunity for children. First they are therapy for orphaned children of the kind not usually received, second the books represent a document that enables the child to articulate their wants and desires to adults.

Country coordinators have also reflected upon barriers to the ability to access O-Capabilities. In Zimbabwe, for example, many of VSO-RAISA’s partners are in settings where ART is still not

available. So “[d]espite RAISA having trained all its partners in treatment during 2005, and taking some on a study tour to Zambia to learn about treatment, most of the partners are not in a position to do much with the knowledge” (Chioiyka, 2006). The range of examples in these two paragraphs demonstrates that the country coordinators of VSO-RAISA are cognisant of the need to identify where interventions have enhanced opportunities in the lives of the target group.

Actual achievement of functionings in both well-being and agency objectives have also been noted in the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework. Achievement of types of functionings also represents the opening of different types of capabilities that may have been previously unavailable. A peanut butter making machine, for example, bought with a small grant by the New Dawn of Hope, an organisation for people living with HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe, not only acts as an income generating activity, but also helps meet the nutritional needs of people living with HIV and AIDS (Chiyoka, 2006). By being better nourished people’s well-being functioning is improved, but new opportunities are also available. This provides a pathway from functioning to capability for the target group through their having more energy and being less susceptible to morbidity. Alkire would see this as an example of human flourishing.

Further examples of flourishing and unfreedom have also been reported by country coordinators. As a result of the cell-phone project in Mozambique, where HIV positive women sell airtime on portable phones, the women’s well-being has been enhanced through the instrumental value of income that has allowed them to access enhanced medication and nutrition. They are now also able to better achieve their agency-objectives through the economic gains. One of the women involved, for example, was able to move houses to Maputo from the revenue raised. However, in another instance a woman who was flourishing through starting her own small food stall from the income generated by the cell-phone project had all her money taken by her brother and has been unable to buy further air-time (Mahanjane, 2006, 2006a). This example demonstrates that the

current evaluation framework does open avenues for deeper discussion of project design in relation to unfreedom.

Enhancements of freedoms in these projects were not only recorded at the individual level, but also at the community and organisational levels. This is important as the development of organisational capacity can have outcomes and impacts at a community level. In Zimbabwe, as a result of a study tour to Zambia Tazvinzwa Home Based Care implemented a community preparedness programme (VSO, 2006a). In Namibia, a photo exhibition entitled the Caring Namibia Man, developed through support from VSO-RAISA, was held countrywide. The exhibition was shown in fourteen communities. Feedback from the exhibitions was that people really appreciated the opportunity to see the photographs and to discuss the role of men in their own community (Davidson, 2006).

From analysis of the VSO-RAISA reports it can be seen that progress has been evaluated in terms of whether freedom has been enhanced. Both valued and disvalued impacts and outcomes have been reflected upon in relation to the main distinctions. Although this does not mean that there is no scope for expanding the information collected. A capability-based methodology could turn-up new information, specifically if it has been designed to look closely for a variety of capabilities, functionings and evidence of people flourishing. This suggestion is not particularly ground-breaking; any well-designed methodology implemented in addition to the current system, whether predicated on the capability approach or another theory, may well surface new information for donor reporting.

3.4 Is the evaluation framework *effective* in making the planning and review of VSO –RAISA's interventions dependent upon the free agency of people?

The VSO-RAISA evaluation framework is not dependent upon the free agency of people. The participatory demands of the capability approach go beyond what is currently in operation in

VSO-RAISA. In short, the means the processes of the evaluation framework utilise in the capacity development interventions are not geared towards people being the ‘authors of their own destiny’. This can be demonstrated through examination of the main evaluation processes of VSO-RAISA, those related to the programme and partnership reviews and biannual reports.

Nowhere in the programme or partnership reviews is there an explicit process of participation or public reasoning that engages the broader desires of the target groups. The partnership review guidelines, although leaving the option open to involve the target group, directs practitioners towards the organisation: “It will often be more appropriate to draw on the organisation’s own M&E or feedback systems, and/or to involve service users only in a sample of organisations” (Jones, 2005: 5). This stance is appropriate if the goal of the partnership review were just to gather information, however, the review process is specifically about analysis of the previous year and planning for the next year. Even if the work of VSO-RAISA had no discernable outcomes with the target group, because of the diffuse and sometimes chaotic interactions of capacity development, there is value in involving them in the *means* to the planning of interventions for the next year.

With regard to completion of the biannual reports, the approach varies according to the personal preference of the RAISA country coordinator. A number of country coordinators complete them in consultation with partner organisations; others base their reports upon their field notes. Both of these approaches are sufficient in the context of programme development and donor reporting. However, neither approach gives space for the target group to discuss their agency objectives.

As discussed in Chapter 2, an evaluative framework, such as VSO-RAISA’s should, in its processes encourage and build capacity for the free discussion of agency objectives; not just for improved planning and implementation of the programme, but because such discussion is intrinsically important. At present a legitimate space for members of a target group to express their agency objectives is not built into the evaluation framework or into the capacity

development work with partners, although it is within the remit of the project as defined by the BLF donor logframe cross cutting aim of participation. It is important to note, however, that the accusation here is not that partner organisations do not take into account the views of their staff or end target group. The suggestion is that developing partner's capacity to understand their staff and target groups views in a systematic way could not only yield valuable information for programme design, but also be a valuable process in itself. A methodology grounded in the capability approach would therefore seem to have a contribution in this area.

In terms of the capability approach the current evaluation processes would seem to be insufficient. There is a contribution from the capability approach for the evaluation framework to be enriched so it can start to evaluate the end impacts upon target groups through a process that allows them to enter into public reasoning about their agency and well-being objectives. In sum, there would appear to be space for an evaluation procedure, a *means* of evaluation, which in a manner consistent with grassroots realities, would help contribute insights to the impacts of VSO-RAISA's capacity development interventions on target groups by introducing an intrinsically valuable process that involves public discussion and participation.

3.5 Conclusion

In this analysis three potential areas of contribution by the capability approach to VSO-RAISA's evaluation framework have been noted. The major inadequacy identified is that the process of evaluation is not effective in making interventions dependent upon the free agency of people: the *means* of evaluation does not in itself promote freedom by encouraging members of the target groups to discuss valued changes in their lives and introduce their agency objectives to elements of the project design. Two smaller potential contributions can also be made by the capability approach. First, there is potential for the capability approach to contribute clarity through providing a meaningful conceptual basis for helping to uncover impact upon target groups.

Second, introducing a new methodology for gathering information can contribute new insights to aid donor reporting and project design.

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Chapter 4: Methodology

The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate how, practically, the capability approach can contribute to the evaluation framework of VSO-RAISA. A methodology, which was successfully implemented in the field, is presented in this chapter. The methodology was designed to deal with the inadequacies identified in the previous chapter. As stated in the introduction the work of Alkire has been the inspiration for the development of this study by providing an accessible interpretation of the capability approach and a methodology to put this into operation. This chapter presents an overview of the main tenets of her research that were applied in this study. There was a limited scope for manoeuvre in developing Alkire's methodology as it needed to fulfil the following three main criteria, in order for it to be operational in the context of this study: (1) conceptually and functionally the methodology needed to align to the ethics and distinctions of the capability approach; (2) the methodology needed to start making progress in filling the three gaps identified in the previous chapter; (3) the methodology needed to be replicable by partner organisations and to be realistic, given the messy grassroots reality of development work.

The approach of this chapter is to demonstrate that these three criteria were fulfilled by outlining: first, the overall research design; second, a methodological overview of Alkire's approach; third, the research ethics; fourth lessons learnt from the field test and other implementations; fifth, the locations for the study; sixth, the process for implementation in the field.

4.1 Research design

This case study design, because it originated from engaging with the work of Alkire, is partly-exploratory rather than purely-exploratory. Putting the capability approach in operation using participatory techniques, though explored by Alkire, has not, to the knowledge of this author, been examined in area of capacity development. The case study design, which drew principally on the work of Yin (1989, 1998) with further reference to Neuman (1997), Robson (1993) and

Almond (1996), sought to ensure that the data collection and data analysis of the research were robust.

This academic study is only the starting point for a sustained investigation of the capability approach in the evaluation framework of VSO-RAISA, however. Beyond this case study the plan is to enter into an action learning process to further investigate the employment of the capability approach in VSO-RAISA's evaluation framework. Action Learning has been summarised neatly by the Ortrum Zuber-Skerrit (Ortrum Zuber-Skerrit quoted in CDRA, 2005: 1):

“Action Learning is learning from concrete experience, through group discussion, trial and error, discovery and learning from and with each other. It is a process by which groups of managers/leaders or “learners” generally work on real issues or problems, carrying real responsibility in real conditions.”

The results of the case study, therefore, are to be utilised for an organisational discussion. The inadequacies that were identified and the contributions to dealing with these through the capability approach provides an agenda for continued discussion and discovery.

The data collection methods of this study utilised two techniques: a literature review – contained in chapters 2-3 - and a field methodology – discussed here with the results presented in Chapter 5. In analysing the literature on the capability approach, capacity development evaluation and the detailed documents of VSO-RAISA key questions were developed to focus on the central research question, as demonstrated in the previous chapters. Analysis of the results of the field methodology sought to review responses of the participants and locate them in broad indicator areas called dimensions of change, these will be discussed below. Responses in the focus groups were then weighted depending on which of the dimensions described above drew the most discussion; these results are presented in the following chapter.

4.2 Overview of Methodology: Participation and Public Reasoning

A focus group methodology, developed by Sabina Alkire (2002), aims to help comprehend whether freedoms that people value have been enhanced by a specific intervention. Put another way, the methodology seeks to understand how the programme participants have been able to flourish.

It cannot be argued that introducing this methodology completely realigns the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework so that it reflects all the demands of the capability approach. Implementing Alkire's methodology can help enrich the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework by the inclusion of the methodology presented here aligned to the capability approach. This methodology can, however, help lead to new insights, offer a conceptual foundation for investigating impacts in a target group and introduces a process that allows people to reflect upon their well-being and agency objectives through public reasoning.

In Alkire's methodology "public reasoning" is central; participants are given the space to recognise, define, and choose instances of benefit or disbenefit to themselves. The open-ended nature of the methodology allows for the intended and unintended impacts of an intervention upon a target group to be explored. The methodology enables participants to express the manner in which an intervention has altered their lives, in a valued or disvalued manner, and to influence the future development of interventions through reference to their agency objectives.

The objectives of the methodology that were shared with focus group participants direct attention on the process of discussion and revealing of best practice (adapted from Alkire, 2002: 225):

1. to access and report the different (multidimensional) impacts of the activity to the partner organisation such that these impacts could be factored into ongoing decisions about the programme and feed into 'best practices'

2. to assess impacts in such a way that the concerned community (the home based caregivers) could (and did) reflect critically on the relative value or desirability of different impacts and formulate ongoing recommendations.

Participation is at the core of Alkire's approach. People are understood to be able to comprehend what the valued and undesired changes were in their life and explore these through reasoned debate; in short, entering into a process of public reasoning. The role of the facilitator in the focus group discussion is to "bring up dimensions that have not 'risen to the eye' to provoke discussions on valued ends" (Alkire, 2002: 224) not to ask closed ended questions or offer definitions. For example, the weighting of impacts in this methodology is achieved through an open process of reflection and discussion by participants. To achieve weightings, the participants discuss the main areas of change, and then are asked to highlight the most important area(s). Consensus is sought, but if this does not emerge, then tensions can be noted, rather than obscured. Participants are also invited to make choices and discuss the ways an intervention could be enhanced. Explicitly this "allows commendation of activities that may be expected to meet basic needs. But it also allows a community to choose to leave some basic needs unmet" (Alkire 2002: 195).

The exercise of public reasoning is not just talking shop, however. At the end of the process recommendations are formulated which feed into management decisions on improving current interventions or developing future interventions. This approach relates to some of the broader debate of the 'development industry' on the nature of participation¹¹. Although VSO-RAISA does have specific organisational concerns - such as an advocacy strategy focusing on the increasing burden of care on women in the context of HIV and AIDS (VSO, 2006b) - the participants of the focus groups are not made aware of these and allowed to take a course that they choose. The

¹¹ See, for example, the closing discussion Fiedrich & Jellema (2003) in relation to rights based approaches and the need for organisations to recognise the limits to their claims to neutrality and Chambers (1997) discussion of switching power roles

participants' exercise in public reason also feeds into the partner organisations' management discussions through a variety of mechanisms, including, partnership planning and review workshops and project management committee meetings. This means that the methodology is closely, and deliberately, aligned to the ethical demands of the capability approach (Alkire, 2002: 16).

Participants, in the methodology, are encouraged to discuss the valued and disvalued impacts upon their lives related to an intervention. Probing and analysis of the impact of an intervention upon participants is achieved through asking questions related to eight dimensions of impact that were derived by Alkire, primarily from the religious philosopher John Finnis, after careful consideration of a number of other prominent 'lists' including Max-Neef's and Nussbaum's. As Alkire (2002: 44) states:

"Finnis's theory has a carefully articulated account of valuable, but in themselves non-moral... 'basic' human goods'. It is based on an exercise of practical reason that yields substantive, objective descriptions of dimensions of human flourishing while preserving a space for historical, cultural, and personal specification."

Alkire (with original brackets 2002: 52) asserts that the dimensions (see table 1 below) of impact are:

"like the 'primary colours' of values. An infinite range of shades can be made from our three primary colours, and not every painting (or life or community or income generation project) uses all or even most shades, but if, for example, all red hues were entirely missing, then my understanding of colour would be consistently skewed."

Probing and analysis of information in terms of these dimensions was deliberately designed by Alkire (2002: 49-54) as a useful entry point to a valuation of capabilities, functionings, and

flourishing with multidimensional poverty reduction as a function of this valuation exercise. These dimensions continue the metaphor of 'space' utilised by Sen. Indeed, it is useful to conceive of these dimensions as helping to order the space of analysis by dissecting it into valuable (incomplete) dimensions within the capability space. What this means for the analysis of the focus groups is that the dimensions can potentially be utilised as guides for identification, articulation and further clarification of valued S and O capabilities, functionings, and flourishing as well as disvalued outcomes. Identification of the most significant valued and disvalued outcomes and recommendations, by the participants of the focus group, means that interconnections can be noted and project design focused upon mitigation or extenuation of these significant areas, whether within dimensions or across dimensions. Introducing the concept of dimensions in the analysis of VSO-RAISA work offers a potential contribution to the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework.

An interesting attribute of Alkire's dimensions is that they help avoid the indicator dilemma in which pre-selected 'objectives' and quantifiable indicators can be favoured because of the attractions of producing 'scientific data'. Particularly susceptible to the indicator dilemma are results based management approaches popular in both the public and private sector (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000; Watson, 2006; Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Results based management approaches, however, shroud unintended impacts through over specification and can force participants down a line of reasoning that highlights areas of change within the narrow range of project objectives. As Roche (1999: 43) states: "[t]his dilemma...notes that indicators which are used to verify impact can, by definition, only capture expected change and will only reflect those areas of change that can be made explicit." The downstream effect is that deeper questioning of an intervention's objectives and values is unable to take place; actual impacts may be ignored in favour of intended, but possibly limited objectives. This means that a capacity development intervention could be judged a failure, by not raising the levels of these indicators, though it could be

satisfying broader, unmeasured, community needs that would not be identified due to the systems nature of organisational development impacts.

A field test of the Alkire's methodology with the Amy Biehl Foundations peer educator's programme illustrates how the methodology helps to overcome the issue of the indicator dilemma. One objective of the peer educator's programme is to "deal with embedded cultural stereotypes which....preserve and perpetuate unequal social order" (Porter & Wale, 2005: 7). In defining an indicator for assessment of gender stereotypes, for example, it would be possible to draw on the literature of the subordination and domination of women and produce indicators and 'results' based on those answers. However, our defined notion of subordination may have little do to with the lives of the participants. By having the spotlight on gender issues, we may well close-off other lines of discussion relating to the family or indeed their own self-confidence, that were perceived as more valuable by the participants. The downstream effect is that deeper questioning of an intervention is unable to take place; actual impacts are ignored in favour of intended, but possibly limited objectives. Viewing the peer educator programme through the objectives meant that the programme was being judged a failure by staff by not preventing unprotected sex, though the programme was helping participants to satisfy broader needs. Because Alkire's approach has an incomplete informational basis, grounded in the dimensions, the methodology helped uncover the broader needs of the programme participants that were being satisfied.

When you lose your keys, you do not only look where the light is best. In the same way, when conducting an assessment of a capacity development intervention we should not concentrate on only those things that we seek to measure; areas outside of the 'spotlight' can be more important to the target group than areas within the narrow beam. Utilising the notion of dimensions of impact therefore importantly opens, conceptually, new angles of insight, while not confining analysis to a list of capabilities.

The dimensions provide an incomplete view of human life. Gaps can, however, be filled in between the dimensions and if an important area arises that is incommensurable with the other dimensions it can be added. The dimensions have been termed 'middle level indicators'. Middle level indicators are distinguishable from high-level indicators, such as GNP or GDP per head, and low-level indicators, such as the number of workshops attended. As Alkire (2002: 76) states:

“[i]n simple terms, this account addresses the problem of over specification [for example, number of workshops attended] by proposing generic dimensions, rather than needs or virtues or capabilities, they represent the *most basic* reasons for action which are incommensurable in kind”

The dimensions are as follows:

Table 3: Alkire's Dimensions of Impact

<i>Dimension of Impact:</i>	<i>Description:</i>
Life-Health-security	Changes related to physical survival
Knowledge	Knowing: technical, practical, about others, and about themselves
Excellence in work and play	Impact on skills used at work, and at home during relaxation
Relationships	Within community, family, with outsiders, within groups Between men and women
Inner voice	At peace with themselves, with their conscience, sense of harmony
Empowerment	Ability to make meaningful choices and decisions and to influence others
Beauty/Environment	Impact on environment, sense of harmony with nature: has intervention created or destroyed things of beauty culture
Religion	Impact on deeper values, sources of meaning

Source: Alkire(2002: 267-271); Roche (1999: 47).

Alkire's focus group technique, through its open informational basis and innovative indicators, potentially opens up new avenues of insight, while making space for the valuable process of public reasoning and in so doing influences interventions through introducing a target group agency and well-being objectives. This approach thus provides a frame of reference for changing programmes in alignment with people's agency objectives and helps to overcome the disadvantages of purely open-ended questions - the likelihood of positive answers which ignore

areas of valuable and disvalued change - and of a questionnaire approach - the closing off of the option of public reasoning.

The above discussion shows that Alkire's methodology meets the three criteria outlined in the introduction. Firstly, conceptually and functionally the methodology aligns to the ethics and distinctions of the capability approach. The methodology has been deliberately designed to meet the conditions of the capability approach by helping to provide a frame of reference for capability, functioning, and flourishing which at its heart involves participation and public reasoning. Secondly, the methodology starts to fill the three inadequacies identified in the previous chapter: The dimensions offer a conceptual frame of reference for discussing the enhanced lives of people; new information is potentially uncovered through introducing a different technique for gathering data; and the *means* of evaluation itself promotes freedom by encouraging members of the target groups to discuss valued changes in their lives and introduce their agency objectives to elements of project design. Finally, the methodology is sensitive to the variable grassroots realities of development work. It avoids the 'indicator' dilemma through its open informational basis, allowing the needs of the concerned community to arise between the gaps of the dimensions rather than 'forcing' participants down a line of reasoning.

4.3 Research Ethics

It is important to reiterate that the ethical priority for a capability based evaluation framework is not only to evaluate the *means* and *ends* of a development intervention in terms of the manner in which it enhances freedom, but also put methodologies into practice in a manner ethically consistent with the process of freedom. This means that the evaluation framework and the research process itself must work in ways that do not promote unfreedom and allow those involved to voice their concerns. Therefore consideration was given not only to consent, confidentiality and respect for the participants. The participants were also informed of the

principles underlying the evaluation and were able to play an active role in defining on-going project implementation. Participatory action research as described by Robson (1993:33) did influence the selection of these research ethics.

4.4 Lessons learnt from a field test and other literature on the methodology

The basis for the development of the focus group process implemented in South Africa and Zambia was a version of Alkire's methodology developed by Porter & Wale (2005: 23) in the context of direct service delivery rather than capacity development. This implementation produced a number of important lessons for future implementation. Additionally, Alkire (2002: 231) in her study outlined a number of limitations of the methodology. These two sources are now considered as they form a significant contribution to the development of the current methodology implemented in South Africa and Zambia.

The methodology needs to be complemented by other tools. As recognised above the methodology is an insufficient guide to measuring the impact of capacity development interventions. The other reporting mechanisms of the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework can help, however other methods are still needed to measure impact. This issue is left to one side for on-going development.

Duration and magnitude of changes are not understood through process. This research only represents a case study and therefore only a limited view of the changes in people's lives in one time period. As a follow-up an action research methodology (for description see Robson, 1993: 33) could be implemented to track changes over a longer period as part of an annual partnership review and as part of defining the needs of caregivers.

Attribution of impact may not be very robust. For this we rely upon programme participants and the value of reasoned discussion. Direct attribution is not sought in this study; instead positive association of changes with VSO-RAISA's intervention is investigated during analysis with the

aim of providing feedback to the partners' organisational planning and the VSO-RAISA partnership planning and review process.

Only programme participants are included in the focus group. This is a tricky area. In a future action research orientated methodology participants from the broader community with whom the partner organisations work could also be included in appraisal to explore broader impacts. This is beyond the scope of the current study, however.

Skills of the facilitator are important. In implementing the focus groups two experienced researchers led the discussion. One of whom is familiar with the partner organisation (a colleague), one who is familiar with this methodology (this author).

Important interconnections between dimensions could be missed. There is a danger that results get placed into 'silos' of different dimensions by explicitly outlining the dimensions of change. It is important to explore interconnections of results. Based upon the advice of Porter & Wale (2005:23) the dimensions themselves will not be introduced, instead probing questions will be asked around the dimensions and interconnections sought.

The utilisation of metaphor and art should be part of the methodology. As Jose Ortega y Gasset (cited in Sterland, 2005: 2) inspiringly contended: "The metaphor is perhaps one of man's most fruitful potentialities. Its efficacy verges on magic, and it seems a tool for creation which God forgot inside one of His creatures when He made him." In Sterland's experience the use of art and story telling allowed people to make sense of complexity through reference to simple images relevant in their lives. Art allowed people to reflect in a manner that is relevant for them. As Sterland (2005: 3 & 4 with original *italics*) states: "*The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one thing in terms of another*"

Alkire (2002) in her original methodology also used art as a method to explore the impacts that people felt. Therefore art and metaphor would appear to be a valuable entry point to understanding the changes wrought in people's lives and should be incorporated in the process.

Launching straight into discussion about impacts can leave participants feeling overwhelmed.

Starting the process with questions about activities and then building into outcomes and impacts will help develop an initial rapport with participants. In Porter & Wale's study, because of time pressures, questions on outcomes were asked from the outset. It was felt that this approach left the participant initially ill at ease. Although later in the process participants were more responsive, this issue can be mitigated through devising a more appropriate entry into the discussion based upon advice by Stanfield (2000: 81). Stanfield notes that if you begin with deep probing questions people will not be fully engaged. It is therefore suggested that facilitators move through questions at four levels:

- *The objective level:* Questions about facts and external reality
- *The reflective level:* Questions to call forth immediate personal reaction to the data, an internal response.
- *Interpretative level:* Questions that draw out meaning, values, significance, and implications
- *Decisional level:* Questions that elicits resolution, bring the conversation to a close, and enable the group to make a resolve about the future

4.5 Locations of Study

This study was completed through university based work and fieldwork. The literature on the subject was explored at the University of Pretoria and University of Cape Town, South Africa,

with kind additions from David Crocker and David Clark from their forthcoming work as yet unavailable in these institutions.

Fieldwork for this study was conducted with two partner organisations of VSO-RAISA who deliver home care through volunteers to people infected with HIV and AIDS. The organisations involved were: Tateni in Mamelodi, South Africa and the VK Home Based Care consortium in Madenvu constituency, Lusaka.

Reasons for selecting home based care organisations in Zambia and South Africa, are twofold. First, there is depth of information that can be gathered. Home based care organisations typically work with people affected by HIV and AIDS through volunteers. They are at the forefront of the regional epidemic working to support the family and women. Both the volunteers and the people that they work with could be considered target groups of VSO-RAISA, intermediate and end respectively. The volunteers, an intermediate target group, not only work with the disempowered, they are often also are the disempowered – women, living within poor communities, potentially without access to resources.¹² VSO-RAISA, in most cases, builds the capacity of various systems and members of the organisation, whether staff or volunteers, rather than directly engaging in the delivery of services, such a food distribution.¹³ The caregivers, themselves, represent a group of volunteers whose lives have been touched by VSO-RAISA indirectly through organisational capacity development or directly through training received.

The second reason for the proposed study site is logistical. The partner organisation in Lusaka, Zambia, was visited during the period of study and offered an opportunity to implement the methodology with a home based care consortium whose members have benefited from a variety of interventions from VSO-RAISA. An organisation in Gauteng in South Africa was chosen,

¹² The plight of women in rural Africa has been well documented and is seen as one of the chief drivers in the global pandemic. See for example, VSO (2003) & ILO (2003).

¹³ To consider the direct impact upon the end target group of capacity development interventions, for example strengthening an accounting system, would require the development of an impact assessment

because this is close to the researcher's residence in Pretoria. Further, VSO South Africa has very good relations with a number of organisations in this area and has been working on a joint project where outcomes arising from a number of inputs with home based caregivers could be measured through implementation of this methodology and aid project development.

4.6 The Process of Implementation in the Field

A summary of the process utilised in Zambia and South Africa is presented below, a step-by-step process for the methodology can be found in Appendix I. This process was partially piloted in Cape Town as part of the review of the Amy Biehl foundation's peer educators project (Porter & Wale, 2005). At this juncture it is worth pointing out that the implementation of the focus group methodology in Zambia was to be a pilot. However, because the discussion proceeded very well, as demonstrated by the caregivers' positive feedback, the results have been utilised as part of a full study.

The focus group methodology can be considered a guide to a process rather than a set process that must be followed. This is because every focus group proceeds slightly differently, especially in Southern Africa where local conditions and cultures vary enormously and translation may be required into local languages. Factors influencing the procedure are as diverse as the different group dynamics, varying levels of education, the heat of the day, and the physical location of the focus group. All of these can affect the pace of proceedings and the comfort of those taking part, requiring the facilitators to adapt to the specifics of the situation.

The focus groups opened with a number of warm-up questions designed to get people to relax and ready to engage with each other at a personal level. This was followed by a brief discussion of the term impacts. The importance of this discussion was working the participants towards impacts to refer to their deeply held values and things that they valued doing and being.

methodology that employs further independent forms of inquiry in addition to the proposed methodology.

Following this the caregivers were asked to reflect upon the highpoints and struggles that they had experienced as a caregiver over the past year. After taking two to three examples of their experiences the caregivers were split into smaller groups and given A3 paper to write statements or draw pictures that illustrated their highpoints and struggles. During this process the facilitators would move round the groups discussing with the caregivers what they were drawing or writing and asking them probing questions on the different dimensions. Each smaller group then reported back on their pictures and text in plenary where further probing questions were asked on the nature of the impacts.

The sessions were then concluded by investigating what their recommendations were for enhancing the impact of the care work upon their lives. Initially the recommendations were explored in relation to what they could do, but then discussion was opened to what could be done for them. Following this the caregivers were invited to ask questions of the facilitators. Finally the process ended with a group lunch.

4.7 Conclusion

Having investigated the potential areas of contribution of the capability approach to VSO-RAISA's evaluation framework in Chapter 3, a methodology has been presented that in implementation met the three criteria outlined in the introduction, specifically: The methodology is aligned to the capability approach; it helps to fill the gaps noted in the previous chapter; and it can be executed in a manner consistent with grassroots level realities of partner organisation.

The methodology contributes to the development of VSO-RAISA's evaluation framework in three respects. Firstly, introducing the concept of dimensions in the analysis of information helps to order the manner in which significant, valued and disvalued outcomes and impacts can be thought about for a target group helping to develop positive association with capacity

This is beyond the scope of the current study.

development interventions. Second, information is gathered on valued and disvalued impacts of being a home based caregiver and VSO-RAISA's potential and actual contribution, this further aids the ability to design interventions through introducing fresh information as well as helping to report to donors upon a target group. The third and arguably most important contribution is that the methodology contributes a process which is valuable in itself: opening avenues of discussion and reflection that will allow participants to develop recommendations through public reasoning based on the agency and well-being objectives. As identified in the previous chapter VSO-RAISA's evaluation framework is not *effective* in making the planning and review of VSO-RAISA's interventions dependent upon the free agency of people. Importantly, therefore, this methodology introduces a *means* of evaluation that in itself promotes freedom by encouraging members of the target groups to discuss valued changes in their lives and introduce their agency objectives to elements of the project design. The necessity of seeking to incorporate free agency objectives into programme design through public discussion has been argued convincingly by Sen, drawing on the arguments of Adam Smith (Adam Smith cited in Sen, 2005: 161):

“We can never survey our own sentiments and motives, we can never form any judgment concerning them; unless we remove ourselves, as it were, from our own natural station, and endeavour to view them as at a certain distance from us. But we can do this in no other way than by endeavouring to view them with the eyes of other people, or as other people are likely to view them.”

Chapter 5: Findings: The capability approach's contribution to the evaluation framework of VSO-RAISA

The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate how the capability approach has contributed to the evaluation framework of VSO-RAISA by presenting the results of the implementation of the methodology outlined in the previous chapter. From this implementation it can be recommended that the methodology outlined in Chapter 4 serve as a starting point for similar studies. In brief, the results of the focus groups confirm the three contributions of the capability approach described in the previous two chapters, but also raise a challenge in utilising some of the main distinctions of the capability approach in the analysis of results. The approach of this chapter is: first, to outline the two contexts in which the methodology was implemented; second, to describes the caveats that distinguish the two implementations; third, to present the results; and fourth and finally to return to and summarise the extent to which the capability approach enriches the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework.

5.1 Caveats in Implementation

As discussed in the previous chapter no two focus groups are ever the same. Depending upon the group dynamics, cultural restraints, setting of the focus group, to name but a few factors, a large degree of flexibility is required when undertaking focus group discussions. Therefore some caveats should be mentioned before proceeding to the results:

The focus group discussion in Zambia was facilitated in the local language of Nyanje and English. This allowed participants to express how they felt in a language in which they felt most comfortable. Reporting back on the flip charts was done mainly in English, with members of each of the sub-groups who were literate in English writing-up important points in the discussion. This along with occasional translations from the bi-lingual facilitator enabled the author of this study to keep up with the proceedings. In South Africa the focus group was only facilitated in English,

with translation being done to and from the local language, Sotho, by a member of the management of Tateni. It is proposed here that the initial discussion, although obscuring some of the proceedings, made the participants feel more comfortable. Moreover, asking questions in the local language enabled those not comfortable in English to participate more fully in the plenary group discussions. This issue will be noted in any future implementations.

The discussion in Zambia took place with twenty caregivers, eighteen females and two males. Two male members of management were also present. In South Africa eight caregivers and three members of the management, all female, were present. The decision to let some members of management be present was taken based on this authors' previous experience working with the Amy Biehl Foundation's peer educators' group. During this research the educators had been initially uncomfortable as a familiar face was not present to introduce the facilitators. Also as this was the first time the methodology was being implemented the management of the organisations wanted to see how the process proceeded. In Zambia two members of management stayed relatively quiet and did not impede proceedings in any visible manner. In South Africa, however, a member of the management was a little more vocal than the caregivers during the recommendations phase of the workshop. This may have brought forward new recommendation that would not have arisen normally and may also have prevented some other issues from surfacing.

In Zambia the results of the focus groups recommendations were to provide feedback to the VK consortium's management meeting of the five organisations, to be held in January 2007. In South Africa the recommendations fed immediately into the partnership review convened the next day.

In spite of these differences, two remarkably stable messages surfaced in both focus groups. This would seem to indicate that the caveats noted above did not impede the focus group in attaining its objectives. Multi-dimensional impacts were reported that can feed into best practice, while the

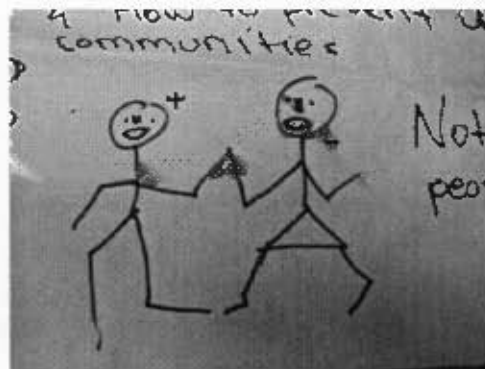
concerned community reflected on the relative desirability of changes and fed these into recommendations.

5.2 Results

The following analysis is drawn from participation in the focus groups where the examples presented here were written, spoken, or illustrated by the focus group participants (tables are presented in Appendix 1 showing the full range of information collected). These results are not a finalised designation, about which there can be no discussion, but rather represents a best fit of the information to the dimensions of impact identified in Chapter 4.

The results (see Appendix II for further detail) reveal two stable messages emanating from both focus groups. First, while being a caregiver can enhance valued doings, such as their lifestyle, and beings, such as their inner feeling of confidence, there is a need for increased care for the caregivers. Second, the process of discussion was of value in itself for the caregivers.

For the Zambian caregivers the valued impacts that were highlighted during the focus group mainly related to the areas of life-health-security, knowledge, relationships and empowerment. In the areas of life-health-security and knowledge the main theme was awareness of how to protect oneself and treat HIV and AIDS related infections. For example participants valued “knowing the dangers of HIV/AIDS and how to prevent it from our communities and how to prevent it from our communities.” These valued impacts especially reveal the importance of the capacity development efforts of VSO-RAISA in training of the caregivers. The relationships developed with the patient and community were shown to be a valued aspect of their work. It appears the caregivers particularly value their work in supporting people living with HIV and AIDS as well as being in the forefront of combating stigma and discrimination. For example, one group drew a picture of a positive person holding hands with a negative person and wrote: “Not discriminating people with HIV&AIDS”



The valued impacts within the dimension of empowerment related mainly to income generating activities, especially those involving food (a poultry project) and tie & dye. The importance attached to empowerment highlights, again, the effect of the VSO-RAISA support. The poultry project, seeds for growing plants, and the training in tie and dye were all delivered through small grants. These small grants have provided important and valued care for the caregivers. For example, one group drew a picture of “a caregiver enjoying himself/herself in the field making income generating activity”



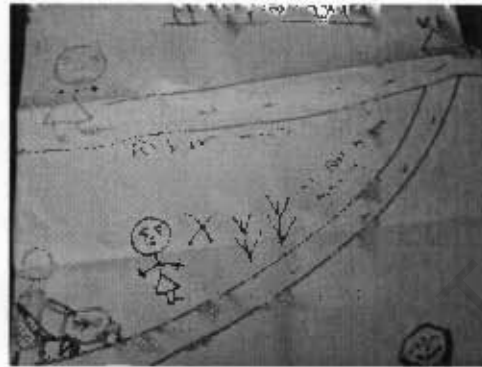
The evidence emerging here on the value of the workshops emphasises the importance of utilising a suite of capacity development tools to reinforce valuable changes. The work and the lives of the caregivers were improved simultaneously. Further research might note interconnections between having income generating activities and improved work as a caregiver. It might even be asserted that these interconnections represent a form of flourishing by the caregivers.

For the South African caregivers valued impacts highlighted in this discussion were significantly focused around knowledge, relationships, and inner voice. An interesting aspect reported in the area of knowledge relates to the information passed on to their families. For example, they valued “relating to them [the caregiver’s family] problems out there, makes them understand more what’s happening out there.” This represents a ‘multiplier’ effect of the VSO-RAISA’s training. Teaching a home based caregiver about prevention can lead, in some instances, to the family also learning about prevention. An unintended though not an unpredictable outcome of the training of the caregivers, this kind of impact should be recognised as part of the capacity development work of VSO-RAISA. The aspect of the caregiver’s work that was most rewarding was their relationship with the patient and the patient’s family; this was cited as rewarding by almost all of the caregivers present. Stating, for example, “the family’s of the patient appreciate what we are doing” and that they were “happy with patients.” Valuing support that some caregivers received from their family was also highlighted by three caregivers during discussions, a minority. They felt that within the family discussing the caregivers work “brings us more closer to each other” The inner voice of the caregivers, their conscience and sense of harmony, was also positively impacted by their work; they liked being appreciated and were happy when a patient got better.

Interestingly, though there were many similarities evident when comparing the work between the South African and Zambian caregivers, important differences did emerge between the caregivers. Empowerment, especially income generating activities of the caregivers was not highlighted in South Africa, whereas it featured strongly in Zambia. This may help identify a gap in the project design of working with caregivers in South Africa or may relate to different socio-economic aspirations of the different sets of caregivers.

There were, however, a number of aspects of their work that the caregivers found challenging. In Zambia the disvalued impacts were mainly felt in the areas of life-health-security, inner voice and empowerment. In the dimension of Life-health-security problems of having to walk long

distances and food shortages emerged strongly. The issue of hunger emerged in all of the discussions within the sub-groups of the focus group both for the caregivers and the clients. The following picture graphically illustrates both of these issues. In the middle of the illustration is the picture of a caregiver crying, at the top is a caregiver walking long distances, while in the bottom left a caregiver is transporting a patient in a wheel barrow.



Being a home-based caregiver can also negatively affect the way the Zambian caregivers felt about themselves, their inner voice. Although caregivers enjoy developing relationships with the patients, their disadvantaged circumstances, especially lack of food, can make clients bad tempered and even act in a violent manner towards the caregivers. There was also the problem of guilt on the part of the caregivers. They can make themselves feel bad because they cannot necessarily meet the needs of their clients, this has sometimes leads them to cry. For example pictures were drawn with the following narratives "A caregiver being chased by the client as if he is not sick or being insulted by the client" and "A client is crying because he has no food. The caregiver is feeling pity because he has nothing to offer the client." Increased psychosocial support to caregivers could be considered in future to aid in the mitigation of these disvalued impacts.

The disvalued impacts around empowerment are mainly in the economic sphere. The caregivers are unpaid and they feel that they deserve some sort of remuneration: "The problem is that our

work is voluntary without pay”. Remuneration was mainly sought through income generating activities, although actual cash transfers were also mentioned.

The disvalued impacts, in South Africa, are concentrated in the areas of relationships and inner voice. On the positive side caregivers said that they valued being welcomed into a patient’s family, on the negative side they felt that to close an attachment to the family of a patient can be problematic, especially if a patient is going to die. One of the caregivers stated that “you can get too close to the family.” Further working with a patient’s family can be challenging, for example, it was generally agreed that “patients children can sometimes be in denial about the work and not offer help to the caregiver.”

Though three of the caregivers had highlighted the support they receive from their families the majority highlighted stresses within their families as a result of their work. The issue of working without remuneration and the stress this placed on the caregiver’s family life featured in this discussion. Children and husbands found it difficult to understand how their wife or mother worked, but did not get paid. For example it was stated “It’s very difficult to our children and husbands to accept what we are doing because sometimes you don’t get the stipends.”

Also the relationship that caregivers have with the community at large also appears to be under stress. Issues of stigma and denial within the community were raised as challenges that caregivers have to face within the community. For example, they told stories of how families lock their patients in their house as they do not want people to know, one of the caregivers stated: “people just don’t want to believe and accept that disease is there”

Disvalued impacts were specifically felt relating to their feelings about themselves in their inner voice. Principally the caregivers felt that their work affects them emotionally and that they require extra support. This was powerfully conveyed through statements such as: “Its as if our hearts are dead” and “If a person dies its like its normal”, or, in relation to their attitude to death “I don’t know what happened to me.” As in Zambia, crying about their work was illustrated:



Comments and pictures such as this confirm the longer-term impacts of home based care on the psyches of the caregivers.

From the discussions the following recommendations were produced by the caregivers:

Table 4: Caregivers' recommendations from Zambia

What in home based care do they feel they should stop doing or do not want to do?	What in home based care do they feel they should start doing or want to do?	What in home based care do they feel they should keep doing?	What in home based care do they feel they should do more of would like more of?
1. Stop cheating, for example, having ghost clients, or reporting that a client was visited when the caregiver did not actually visit the client. 2. Stop discriminating and disclosing clients status 3. Stop raising expectations of clients	4. Recruitment of PLWH/TB etc, 5. To grow food on a large scale 6. Capital income generation activities to caregivers 7. Giving motivation to caregivers 8. Should start giving feedback	9. Giving moral and spiritual support 10. Home based care should continue 11. Capacity building (of Caregivers) 12. Team visits to clients	13. Recruitment of more male caregivers 14. More capacity building 15. "First you take care of the caregiver then you take care of the client"

Table 5: Caregivers' recommendations from South Africa

What in home based care do they feel they should stop doing or do not want to do?	What in home based care do they feel they should start doing or want to do?	What in home based care do they feel they should keep doing?	What in home based care do they feel they should do more of would like more of?
1. Carrying the burden of patients 2. Don't expect the	4. Counselling for caregivers 5. Debriefing of caregivers	9. Keep trying to get funding 10. Keep talking	12. In service training 13. More workshops

family to pay you 3. Getting too close to the patient	6. Working in teams 7. Developing team spirit 8. Social functions for caregivers and family	to carers and them recording issues 11. Keep valuing the caregiver	with VSO 14. More transport support 15. Do more debriefing sessions (as was the one that day) 16. More male involvement
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The recommendations of both the Zambians and South Africans confirm most of the preceding discussion. There are ten recommendations (from table 5 above, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15) from the Zambian caregivers that relate to extra care/support for the caregiver. The most powerful recommendation of the caregivers “First you take care of the caregiver then you take care of the client” was widely affirmed. The recruitment of more male caregivers is a reaction to the necessities on the ground. When the participants were probed about this issue they said that practically speaking female caregivers cannot look after men within their own community, as the men would not let female caregivers to give them bed baths or examine them. The same response was given in the South African case. The involvement of men is necessary then, not only to relieve the burden on women, but also to be able to deliver care to men. There was also awareness on the Zambian caregivers’ part of things that they need to stop doing that hinder their work, on these issues there was general agreement.

In the South African recommendations ten of the issues cited (from table 6 above 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, and 15) relate directly to what can be termed as care for the caregivers. What was emphasised during the recommendations, which reinforces the findings of discussions with the Zambian caregivers, was the need for forms of care/support for caregivers. The focus group itself was perceived to be a good mechanism for the caregivers to voice concerns and develop a team spirit, and this relates to five of the recommendations in the table (4, 5, 6, 7, 15). Some quite imaginative suggestions also arose with regard to helping the families of caregivers to understand

their work better. It was suggested that there could be an annual social function for caregivers during which there would be a presentation about the role and the work of the caregivers. It is interesting to note that although some of the carers valued becoming close to the families of patients, others felt that they should maintain a 'professional' distance. Reconciling these differences would require further research of how this issue has been dealt with by health professionals, regionally and internationally.

In contrast to the Zambian process, the day after the focus group the four-way recommendations of the caregivers were fed implicitly and explicitly into the partnership review process. Implicitly because three of the managers present at the focus group were also present during the partnership review, and explicitly because the four-way recommendations of the caregivers were introduced during the prioritisation of activities for the following year as part of the planning.

The priorities identified during the partnership review were:

- The development of a volunteer management process;
- Development of new funding opportunities;
- Increasing support for the OVC programme.

It is difficult to say to what extent the two processes influenced each other. However, much of what was perceived as important in the development of a volunteer management process reflected the recommendations of the previous day. Therefore it can be stated that the recommendations of the caregivers, their voice in the partnership review process were incorporated into the planning for the following year.

In summary, the importance of the focus group discussion goes beyond defining these recommendations. At the end of the sessions in Zambia and South Africa management and the caregivers commented on it as being a valuable process for the caregivers by giving them an opportunity to bond as a team and direct interventions. It was the first time that the caregivers

were able to do either of these things. In both instances they asked to do more of this sort of exercise.

5.3 Conclusion

These results confirm the three potential contributions asserted in the Chapter 3 to varying degrees, but also identify a challenge. The results also give rise to a recommendation that should a similar study be conducted the methodology presented in Chapter 4 can serve as a useful starting point.

I now turn to a discussion of the manner and extent to which the results of the two focus groups confirm the potential contributions of the capability approach to the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework.

Contribution 1: Dimensions of Impact

Introducing the concept of dimensions in the analysis of information helps to order the manner in which significant, valued and disvalued outcomes and impacts can be thought about for a target group and positive association noted between impacts and capacity development interventions. Probing and the subsequent ordering of responses around the dimensions is an accessible way to summarise the results of the focus group and, as in the Zambian example, comprehend the impact a suite of capacity development tools has on a target group. The challenge will be to roll these dimensions out across the programme in a variety of methodologies. Preliminary steps have been taken in this regard through incorporating these dimensions into a revised BLF donor logframe and in partnership reviews but further training and exploration will be required across the region to implement these with target groups.

Contribution 2: Introduction of new insights to aid project design and donor reporting

Valuable insights can be gained from the above analysis of results: First, the evidence on the value of utilising a suite of capacity development tools in Zambia provides a good signpost on the

direction for designing future capacity development efforts with home based care organisations. Second, undertaking the focus groups across the region helps, on a partnership level, to reveal different approaches to capacity development utilised in the various countries. For example, income generating activities emerged as a priority in Zambia and not in South Africa. It can be speculated that the strength of the market economy in South Africa and its relative wealth encourages people to seek wage remittance for their labour rather than opportunities to engage in income generating activities, this issue will require further investigation. Finally, the key messages emerging help to focus VSO-RAISA capacity development efforts upon the caregivers. The evidence shows this as a legitimate course of action for aiding the disempowered – the caregivers themselves – and in turn influencing services to target groups. This also aids reporting to the BLF and PSO in terms of target group level information by presenting powerful statements from the caregivers themselves.

Contribution 3: The means of evaluation introduces agency objectives through public reasoning to project design

This third and final contribution of the capability approach to the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework is the most important. The capability approach focuses our attention not just on consequential analysis of the *ends* of interventions. Neither does it restrict our attention to analysis of the processes of capacity development, the *means*. Rather the ethics demand that the process itself is conducted in a participatory manner that opens up the potential of public reasoning to promote participants to exercise their free agency. This means that it is effective in promoting freedom by encouraging members of the target groups to discuss valued changes in their lives and introduce their agency objectives to elements of project design. The methodology, which has Alkire's work as its basis, enabled this. As stated above both groups of caregivers identified the methodology as valuable in itself. It had opened up the space to discuss interventions that would help care for them and start to develop their work as a team. This is

something which has not happened before in either Tateni or the VK Home Based Care Consortium.

This third contribution is something to be focused upon through “‘Action learning’” in the on-going development of the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework. The next stage of this is to present the methodology and results are also to feed into the project management committee meeting of an EC funded project of ten home based care organizations in South Africa. Ensuring that the process of evaluation opens up the possibility of public reasoning and the incorporation of agency objectives represents a valued freedom and, by extension, is itself developmental.

A Challenge: The use of the capability and functioning in the analysis of results for the focus groups

Finally, a challenge of utilising the capability approach lies in utilising the key distinctions in the analysis of the results of the focus group. The concepts of capability and functioning are useful for conceptually ordering our thoughts about freedom. For example, does Mpho sowing seed represent a valuable capability, as it reflects the opportunity to be well nourished, or is it a valuable functioning, as the act of sowing the seed itself is valued by herself as enjoyable and fulfilling? As noted in Chapter 3, the distinctions between capability, functioning and flourishing were quite accessible in the analysis of the current VSO-RAISA reports. They helped to provide an analysis of the VSO-RAISA evaluation framework which identified a number of gaps that could be filled through utilising a capability extended framework. However, when attempting to analyse valued and disvalued impacts that arose during this focus group, they can prove to be somewhat confusing and overlapping.

Gaspar (2002: 448) had noted the issue of the endless pathways of capability to functioning and Clark (2002: 62-62) has suggested an intermediate category of ‘actual abilities to function’. Perhaps the issue in this study was that the terms capability and functioning were used in both well-being and agency spaces, thereby enlarging the space of analysis and increasing confusion.

Perhaps there can be no definite clarity as a person's journey through capability and functioning is always going to be fuzzy, but leading to a process of flourishing. This issue is not disabling, however. Analysis of the results of the focus groups was fruitfully carried out utilising the dimensions of impact as a basis. The issue of the overlapping nature of these distinctions if more fully resolved would aid the clarity so that results could be linked back to the core of the capability approach. This, though, may not be necessary as the recognition of flourishing within this context may be enough. This issue will not be resolved here. The point taken forward is that these terms would require a deeper engagement in analysis when designing the analysis of results of a similar study.

Chapter 6: Concluding Remarks - Guarding the Guardians

The capability approach has contributed to the evaluation framework of VSO-RAISA and assisted the planning and review of capacity development interventions with partners in the constraints of field development work. It has done this through contributing the insight that evaluation frameworks can be made democratic, through opening space for public reasoning in their processes.

Thandi and the participants of both focus groups have guarded the guardians; they have been able to challenge the values of the implementing agency through their public reasoning. As a result of their discussion into the valued and disvalued impacts of being a home based caregiver and the development of recommendations based upon their agency objectives. VSO-RAISA's practice will change in two ways. First, greater account will be taken of providing psychosocial support to the caregivers when planning capacity development interventions, especially the need for a debriefing mechanism and forms of teambuilding. Second, the recognition will be taken forward that the evaluation framework of VSO-RAISA can be made more democratic through the introduction of processes that enhance the role of public reasoning with the target groups'. The need to enter into dialogue about these two changes represents the continuation of the strategic aim of this study - to explore how a capability based evaluation framework for VSO-RAISA can be utilised to aid the planning and review of capacity development interventions - through development of an action learning agenda as defined in Chapter 4. That a capability based evaluation framework for VSO-RAISA can be utilised to aid the planning and review of capacity development interventions within the constraints of the field development work is important. Yet, the focus group methodology and dimensions offer only a first step in the changing of the guard and challenging ideological undercurrents in the development project. This case study leads us to an awareness of the need for continued exploration of democratic processes for evaluation

frameworks. This includes opening up internal discussion, allocating resources, and developing, testing, and embedding processes within the programme.

The academic aim of this research was to explore how an evaluation framework grounded in the capability approach can contribute further insight to the existing evaluation methods of capacity development, specifically that of VSO-RAISA. The capability approach, due to its ethical focus on the *means* as well as the *ends* of development, has encouraged VSO-RAISA, a capacity development programme, to reflect upon its values through opening its evaluation framework to the target group to incorporate their agency objectives into their project design. It has aided in tracking the impact of VSO-RAISA's work with an intermediate target group. Given the evidence at hand, if the capability ethics were integrated and embedded into the programme design of VSO-RAISA, through internal dialogue, it would represent a deeper more substantial change in outlook and approach to the target groups. A first step in this integration would be to engage in further efforts to comprehend the impact of VSO-RAISA's work upon the end target group through extended research. This could include, for example, an investigation into how an improvement in accounting practice through the systems nature of capacity development can enhance service delivery.

A further question in this research is whether the reflections by caregivers, as presented in this research, reproduce the narrative of colonial administrations, as with the Action Aid evaluations discussed by Fiedrich and Jellema (2003). It is difficult to offer a conclusion on this from an internal perspective where this author has been very close to the design and implementation of the evaluation. The circumstances are different, because although approached from the capability perspective, no specific ideology was employed in the design of the capacity development interventions and the evaluation. The evaluation further did not seek to ask about those interventions but rather about the experience of caregivers. Nevertheless, though clear differences do exist between the Action Aid example and this study, this author remains open to external

critique. Colonialism left a distinct mark upon African history. Development practitioners should remain alert so they do not perpetuate this within their target communities.

There remains in the study the broader question of how VSO-RAISA is able to guard the guardians? Put differently how can VSO-RAISA engage with and influence the values of donors, be they governments or multilateral institutions, in accordance with how grassroots work has influenced VSO-RAISA? This is a somewhat more difficult and tentative project, but represents, perhaps, the broader contribution of the capability approach to the design of development programmes. This brings us back to the broader concerns raised in the introduction, in which 'development' is undertaken as an ideological project. At a surface level the message - that evaluation of development projects should engage processes of public reasoning and debate - is not particularly radical and should be an appealing message to donor agencies situated in democratic countries. These are the same countries where certain freedoms of speech are supposed to be a corner stone of the democratic process. However, though the message may not be radical, the consequences for evaluation practice would be, it would require donors giving up power. Though the purpose here is not to characterise all donors as the same - and certainly there are some who already attempt to initiate such processes. However, power is not something that has easily been given up. The traditional carving up of the leadership of the IMF and World Bank between Europe and the US along with so far failed attempts to reform expand the permanent members of UN Security Council are testament to the fact that power in important world institutions is hoarded in a small number of countries. However, in spite of these difficulties, the recognition that evaluation frameworks can be made democratic through opening space for public reasoning in their processes, can be a springboard for further debate not only within VSO-RAISA, but also externally with policy makers, other practitioners and academics for enabling challenges to power.

Exploration in two areas in particular could aid implementation of the broader project to challenge ideological projects in development and further guard the guardians through more democratic evaluation frameworks. First there is the suggestion by David Crocker that the capability approach be enriched by drawing on the literature of deliberative democracy. Crocker (2006a) asserts that the using the literature on deliberative democracy would help to develop procedures and principles for valuation exercises in the capability approach. Emphasising that the two approaches can complement each other is the work of James Bohman, a deliberative democracy theorist, who has already begun examining the capability approach within the context of the theory of deliberative democracy (Crocker, 2006a).

A second avenue of exploration should be further synthesising the capability approach with a rights based approach. The recent shift towards a rights-based approach in Action Aid, DFID, CARE, and indeed in VSO has emphasised the development process as politicised, requiring “a positive transformation of power relations among the various development actors” (Nyamu-Musembi: 2004:46) or in the understanding of this study “‘guarding the guardians themselves’”. As discussed in Chapter 2, Sen has highlighted the potential contribution of the capability approach to a rights based approach, and a rights based approach to the capability approach in a number of papers (Sen: 1982, 2004a, 2005). Putting into operation a project that further synthesises the rights based and capability approach provides an entry point to interacting with development agencies already working with a right based approach, as it is a concept that is already understood within their organisational culture.

Challenging the power structures within development, especially as there appears to be, as argued by House (2005), Denzin and Lincoln (2005) a shift to the ideological and methodological right led by programme funding such as the President’s Emergency Plan For AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), would need to incorporate democratic processes lest something of value be lost. Remaining true to enhancing evaluation frameworks with democratic processes in which

development is a process of expanding the freedoms that people value, and where concerns of non-violence, universal human rights, and justice are non-negotiable, could lead to a substantive and instrumental enhancement of freedoms. It would be substantive because: “Political and social participation has *intrinsic value* for human life and well-being.” (Sen, 1999a: 10). It would be instrumentally valuable because other types of freedoms could be enhanced through a democratic process of evaluation: “Democracy has an *instrumental* role in enhancing the hearing that people get in response to their claims to political attention” (Drèze and Sen 2002: 24). The importance of the democratic process in evaluation is summarised, by Hayek (quoted in Sen, 2002: 604):

“The importance of our being free to do a particular thing has nothing to do with the question of whether we or the majority are ever likely to make use of the possibility. It might even be said that the less likely the opportunity to make use of freedom to do a particular thing, the more precious it will be for society as a whole. The less likely the opportunity, the more serious will it be to miss it when it arises, for the experience it offers will be nearly unique”

How do we ensure valued opportunities remain open? ‘Quis custodiet ipsos custodies?’ Who will guard the guardians themselves when projects are evaluated and opportunities potentially closed off. Based on the findings of this study, opening the development process through implementing the ethics of the capability approach, especially in evaluation frameworks, has a contribution to make in safeguarding freedoms that people value through opening opportunities to guard development agencies.

Can the capability approach be more fully amalgamated within VSO-RAISA’s programme design? How can the use of democratic approaches in evaluation be more broadly explored? How can VSO-RAISA guard the donors? These three questions need to be further considered within VSO-RAISA, through continued dialogue and action learning. These questions need also to be

extended to the external environment so that reasoned debate incorporating messages from the disadvantaged can perhaps affect those in power, the guardians.

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Appendix I:

The steps detailed below should be considered guidance rather than verbatim questions. This is because every focus group proceeds slightly differently, especially in Southern Africa where local conditions and cultures vary enormously and translation may be required into local languages. Factors influencing the procedure are as diverse as the different group dynamics, varying levels of education, the heat of the day, and the physical location of the focus group. All of these can affect the pace of proceedings and the comfort of those taking part, requiring the facilitators to adapt to the specifics of the situation. Questions were asked over a 2 ½ hour period to a group of 9-12 caregivers.

- Ask everyone to introduce themselves and tell the group how long they have been a home based caregiver (objective level question)
- Introduce the objectives of the exercise and gain assent from participants for conducting the focus group and using their quotes and photos. Tell them that their names will not be related to quotes (objective level question)
- Ask how many visits they conduct in a week? (objective level question)
- Ascertain what activities they have undertaken to help them do their jobs (reflective level question)
- Discuss the term ‘impacts’. ‘Impacts’ relate to changes in the participants’ lives that have influenced their experience and their reasons for doing things. These are things that may have changed as a result of the programme, but may not have been intended by the programme (interpretive level discussion).

Ask participants to split into groups:

- Ask them to:

- reflect on the highpoints and struggles they have experienced, since becoming a caregiver - over the last year (interpretive level question)
- draw a picture or set of pictures or phrases that reflect these highpoints and struggles (interpretive level discussion)
- The facilitators should also engage in the process of reflection upon their work and present this back to the focus group.
- The following probing questions can be utilised if applicable (drawn from Porter & Wale, 2005). It is not expected that all of these questions will be utilised, but they can be used to probe certain dimensions if they have yet to arise in the participants' field of vision:

Probing Questions

<i>Dimension of Impact:</i>	<i>Questions used to initiate discussion. Firing words and statements used ad hoc in discussion:</i>
1. Life-Health-security	<i>Questions:</i> Has being a home based carer influenced the way you take care of yourself? Has the being a home based carer influenced the way you approach your health? Has being a home based carer influenced the way you protect yourself against harm? <i>Alternative words:</i> Life-Health-security, existence – physical condition - safety measures, protection
2. Knowledge	<i>Questions:</i> Have you learnt anything from being a home based carer?

	Has it been useful? Has this changed anything? <i>Alternative words:</i> Knowledge, information, understanding
3. Excellence in work and play	<i>Questions:</i> Has being a home based carer influenced other areas of your life in your home or community? Has being a home based carer influenced you when you have fun? <i>Alternative phrases:</i> Excellence in work and play, merit in occupations and having fun, brilliance in labour and fooling around, excellence in schoolwork and amusing yourself, doing well in your work and messing around
4. Relationships	<i>Questions:</i> Has the being a home based carer influenced your relationships with others? <i>Alternative phrases:</i> Relationships, especially gender relations, affairs, particularly relations with the other sex, relationships, especially between you and other males and females
5. Inner voice	<i>Questions:</i> Has being a home based carer influenced how you feel about your self? Has being a home based carer influenced your general sense of well-being?

	<i>Alternative words:</i> Inner voice, internal influence, private ideas, personal voice, inner feeling, feeling internally within yourself
6. Empowerment	<i>Questions:</i> Has being a home based carer influenced the decisions you can make? Has the programme influenced the choices/opportunities you have? <i>Alternative words:</i> Empowerment, making choices, influencing others, getting what you want
7. Beauty/ Environment	<i>Questions:</i> Has being a home based carer influenced the way you feel about the world out there? <i>Alternative words:</i> Beauty / environment, prettiness / surroundings, splendour / atmosphere, attractiveness / setting
8. Religion	<i>Questions:</i> Has being a home based carer influenced your beliefs? <i>Alternative words:</i> Religion, faith, belief, religious conviction\

Each smaller group reports back on their pictures and text in plenary (although a tape recorder would be helpful here one was not used. This is because this type of technology is unlikely to be

available to the average CBO and NGO, meaning that the methodology under test and the result gleaned would not be viable in many grassroots circumstances).

After the discussion questions will be formulated around the following issues:

- What impacts are emerging here?
- Which of these impacts are most important?

Potential Probing questions:

- How do these negative impacts come about?
- How can we prevent them?
- Were the positive changes from the programme worth the effort?
- Was the mix of important impacts acceptable?

We will then complete a table by asking

- What in home based care do they feel they should stop doing or do not want to do?
- What in home based care do they feel they should start doing or want to do?
- What in home based care do they feel they should keep doing?
- What in home based care do they feel they should do more of/ would like more of?

Initially these questions will be asked in relation to themselves, then discussion will broaden and analyse what VSO-RAISA and the partner organisation can do in relation to these questions.

- The caregivers were asked if they had any questions for the facilitators

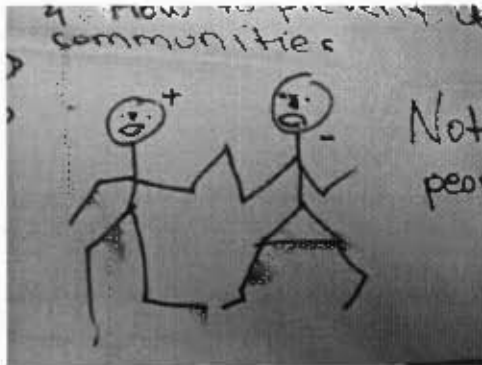
Lunch was then given to the caregivers after the exercise

Appendix II

The results from the focus groups are summarised in the tables below. The first column lists the dimension of impacts that arose during the discussion. Some dimensions of impact are not present because they did not arise during discussion. In the second column the 'valued benefit' is a high-level description that summarises a theme that arose during the discussion. In the third column the valued benefit is related to the key distinctions identified in Chapter 1 and utilised in the analysis in Chapter 2. This is not a finalised designation, about which there can be no discussion, but rather represents a best fit of the information to the distinctions identified earlier. In some ways the designation of reported changes to the key distinctions of the capability approach was problematic due to the fuzzy definition of where a functioning is only a functioning and not also a capability. The final column contains specific examples of valued benefit that discussed during the focus group.

Valued Impacts for VK Caregivers

<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Valued Benefit</i>	<i>Related Capability/ Functioning/ Flourishing</i>	<i>Example of Drawing/Elaboration</i>
Life-Health-Security	Knowing how to protect oneself from HIV & AIDS	S-Capability O-Capability	HBC Kits Knowing how to handle a patient "How to identify diseases that are in our community" "knowing the dangers of HIV/AIDS and how to prevent it from our communities"
	Receiving meals Coffee, tea & lunch	Functioning	Mealies, cooking oil

Knowledge	Knowing about HIV & AIDS	S-Capability O-Capability	"Learnt a lot during workshops" HBC Certificate Having "No fear" of HIV & AIDS
	Knowing about care	S-Capability	"We benefited from training and getting knowledge and knowing how to handle the client" "Knowledge on how to care for patients" "How to look after /handling people with different diseases" Helping client with treatment adherence
Excellence in Work and Play	Skills	S-Capability	"Learnt a lot of things in terms of skills"
Relationships	Patient	Functioning	Help with treatment adherence Caregiver giving water to the client Picture representing stopping stigma in the community and being friendly with an infected person!  Picture of positive person holding hands with a negative person. "Not discriminating people with HIV&AIDS"
	Patient family	Functioning	Encouraging family member to be strong

Inner Voice	Feeling good helping patient	Functioning	Love for the patient Empathy and sympathy for the patient
Empowerment	Economic Empowerment	Functioning O-Capability S-Capability	Picture of "a caregiver enjoying himself/her- self in the field making income generating activity"  "Empowering through IGA's in our homes. E.g. gardening, tie & dye" Skills in tie & dye Poultry IGA's
	Ability to voice their concerns	O-Capability	"First you take care of the caregiver then you take care of the client"
Beauty-Culture	Community commitment	Functioning	"Have love toward our communities"

Valued Tateni Impacts for Caregivers:

<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Valued Benefit</i>	<i>Related Capability/ Functioning/ Flourishing</i>	<i>Example of Drawing/Elaboration</i>
Knowledge	Training	S-Capability	During the discussion caregivers agreed that the training received was useful to help them do their jobs

	Knowledge being spread within the community	S-Capability O-Capability	Caregivers Families start to learn more about the problems of the community "Relating to them [the caregivers family] problems out there, makes them understand more what's happening out there"
Excellence in Work and Play	Happy working	Functioning	"Very proud of working with patient" "I like looking after old people and children"
Relationships	Becoming part of the patient's family	O-Capability Functioning	"the family's of the patient appreciate what we are doing" "the family helps you and welcomes you in their family" can help friendship in the community
	Dedication to the community	Functioning	In spite of the difficulties the home based carers continue in their work because of the commitment they feel towards the community
	Happy with the patients	Functioning	"I happy with patients" "Very tired willing to help everyone"
	Caregivers closer to their own family	Functioning O-Capability	"It brings us more closer to each other" "They also give input/advice" Talking to their family "it gives courage, relief"
Inner Voice	Becoming Happy	Functioning	"What makes us happy is when you care for a patient and the patient get better" We feel good about being appreciated Happy working with the patient "Smile when you see the patient"
Empowerment	Training and workshops helpful	Functioning O-Capability	"We feel this is the kind of workshop we need"
Religion	Religion has a role to play in helping them undertake their home based care work	Functioning	"You pray before you start" 

Disvalued Impacts for VK Caregivers

Dimension	Disbenefit	Related Capability/ Functioning/ Flourishing	Example of Drawing/Elaboration
Life-Health-Security	Long distances to walk	Functioning O-Capability	Picture representing person walking 10km to get to Mwanzwini
	Limited food	Functioning	Picture representing no food for the caregiver
	Issues with care giving	O-Capability	Not being able to transport patient to clinic. Picture representing caregiver carrying a patient in a wheelbarrow. Some times as many as 3. 
Inner voice	Stress placed upon caregiver by the client	Functioning O-Capability	Picture representing: "A caregiver being chased by the client as if he is not sick or being insulted by the client" Picture representing: "A client is crying because he has no food. The caregiver is feeling pity because he has nothing to offer the client" "Patients shout at us when we go without food" Picture representing caregiver crying

Empowerment	Economic	O-Capability	“The problem is that our work is voluntary without pay” “No payments” “No transport” “No housing allowance”
Beauty-Culture	Increased vulnerability	Functioning	“As the world at large, we see ourselves to be more vulnerable coz there is an increase of poverty level and HIV/AIDS”

Disvalued Impacts for Tateni Caregivers:

<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Disbenefit</i>	<i>Related Capability/ Functioning/ Flourishing</i>	<i>Example of Drawing/Elaboration</i>
Life-Health-Security	Food	Functioning O-Capability	“In many occasions the patient does not have adequate food the caregiver does not like going there when they cannot help with the feeding of the client”.
Relationships	Becoming part of the patients family	Functioning	“You can get too close to the family. Often the person will die leaving them sad”
	Difficulties in work with the patient	Functioning	“Sometimes the patient refuse our help (like an old man refuse to be bathed by a young girl)”
	Issues with Stigma in the community	O-Capability S-Capability	The problem with stigma (people tend to lock their patients in their house they do not want people to know) “people just don’t want to believe and accept that disease is there”

	Can put strain on their family life	Functioning	"Children do not understand that we do not get paid" "It's very difficult to our children and husbands to accept what we are doing because sometimes you don't get the stipends"
	Issues with denial within the community	O-Capability S-Capability	A person with HIV & or AIDS can be said to be "bewitched" "Difficult for the children [of the patients] and the community to understand their work" "Patients children can sometimes be in denial about the work and not offer help to the caregiver."
Inner voice	Becoming sad about work	Functioning	The stress of being involved in home based care can begin to take its toll on caregivers. One said she has become more aggressive both with her patients and family. "We lose hope as no one appreciates what we are doing" "Sad: Close relatives neglecting their sick patient" 

	Need for extra support	Functioning O-Capability	“It will help if we can get a psychologist from outside whom we can talk to” The work is very emotionally stressful and often the caregivers have to toughen themselves up to face the challenges: “Its as if our hearts are dead” “If a person dies its like its normal” Tells her mother about effects of home based care “I don’t know what happened to me”
Empowerment	Need for extra support	O-Capability	“Work can be very stressful the stipend and the stress don’t go hand in hand”

VK Caregivers recommendations:

What in home based care do they feel they should stop doing or do not want to do?	What in home based care do they feel they should start doing or want to do?	What in home based care do they feel they should keep doing?	What in home based care do they feel they should do more of would like more of?
1. Stop cheating e.g having ghost clients, or reporting that a client was visited when the caregiver did not actually visit the client. 2. Stop discriminating and disclosing clients status 3. Stop raising expectations of clients	4. Recruitment of PLWH/TB etc. 5. To grow food on a large scale 6. Capital income generation activities to caregivers 7. Giving motivation to caregivers 8. Should start giving feedback	9. Giving moral and spiritual support 10. HBC should continue 11. Capacity building (of Caregivers) 12. Team visits to clients	13. Recruitment of more male caregivers 14. More capacity building 15. “First you take care of the caregiver then you take care of the client”

Tateni Caregivers recommendations:

What in home based care do they feel they should stop doing or do not want to do?	What in home based care do they feel they should start doing or want to do?	What in home based care do they feel they should keep doing?	What in home based care do they feel they should do more of would like more of?
17. Carrying the burden of patients 18. Don't expect the family to pay you 19. Getting too close to the patient	20. Counselling for caregivers 21. Debriefing of caregivers 22. Working in teams 23. Developing team spirit 24. Social functions for caregivers and family	25. Keep trying to get funding 26. Keep talking to carers and them recording issues 27. Keep valuing the caregiver	28. In service training 29. More workshops with VSO 30. More transport support 31. Do more debriefing sessions (as was the one that day) 32. More male involvement