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Proposed Degree: Master of Arts

Department: Religion & Theology

Programme: MPhil Theology

Title of Thesis: Food relief or food security?

A study of the policies and programmes of four Muslim social welfare organisations in South Africa.

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Date: 8 December 2021

“We do not want freedom without bread, nor do we want bread without freedom. We must provide for all the fundamental rights and freedoms associated with a democratic society,”

Nelson Mandela said at Clark University in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1993.

Dedication

This Master's Thesis is dedicated to the mother of the Believers, Khadija al Kubra, wife of my Leader and Master Muhammad ﷺ. With your Love, unwavering support, and all your wealth, you served, suffered, and sacrificed everything you possessed to establish Islam. You are a continuous source of inspiration in my life. Thank you.



Abstract

Food is a basic need, but there is nothing simple, rudimentary, and straightforward about its provision, production, distribution, preparation, or consumption. The provision of food is regarded as an act of great virtue in all faiths and is particularly firmly entrenched in Islamic doctrine, thought, history, culture, and practice. This study investigates the programmes and implementation strategies of four national Muslim social welfare organisations (MSWOs) operating in and from South Africa; these organisations provide food relief to thousands of poor people worldwide, using faith-based donations such as *Zakāh* (a purifying tax on personal wealth). The study discusses faith-based giving from a Muslim perspective offers definitions for food aid, food security and food sovereignty. It locates the work of the organisations in this study within the context of faith-based organisations in social development. The national MSWOs were asked a set of semi-structured questions regarding food security. The questions provided the empirical basis to investigate whether and to what extent these MSWOs assist recipients in attaining and maintaining food security.

The organisations in this study could consider how they can include the findings of this research into the formulation of their programmes and implementation strategies in the context of food security.

Key Words: Food Relief, Food Security; Food Sovereignty, Faith-based Giving, Faith-based Organisation, Zakāh, WAQF

Declaration:

I declare that *“Food relief or food security? A study of the policies and programmes of four Muslim social welfare organisations in South Africa”* is my work. It has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university. All the sources I used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.



Cassiem Dawood Khan

8 December 2021



Acknowledgements

I Thank and Praise the Almighty for considering me worthy of creation. I am always in need of Your Sustenance, Your Mercy, Your Justice, and Your Guidance. I am constantly in need of Your Forgiveness of my many weaknesses and shortcomings, most of which is not showing enough gratitude for the innumerable Blessings that you have shown my family and me.

May the Blessings of the Almighty and His Angels continue to shower upon my Master and Leader, Muhammad ﷺ. I am moved by the hunger you experienced, by you being with and of the poor and by your example in building the movement to establish a just world for all.

I wish to sincerely thank the following people who contributed to completing this study.

My mother. She was constantly faced with the possibility that this sickly, stunted and underweight child was sure to die in infancy. I am here because of your and my father's sacrifices to nourish and nurture me. May the Almighty accept my prayers for you and may you be in the company of the Holy Prophet Muhammad ﷺ and his Immaculate Family in the highest place in heaven.

To my dear wife, Tasneem and my children, Ali Ridha, Muhammed Zuhayr and Fatima Zahra. Without your love, patience, support and constant encouragement, I would not have completed this study.

The Centre for Excellence in Food Security for financial assistance to complete this study.

To Professor Ernst Conradie. My supervisor. Thank you for accepting me on this programme and for your comments on my work.

To Dr Mustapha Saidi. My co-supervisor. Thank you for your comments especially relating to the use of Arabic works.

To the respondents from all organisations that participated in this study, truthfully and enthusiastically. You made this study easy because of your commitment to alleviating the poverty and suffering of the poor in Obedience to the Almighty.

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

AIF	Al Imdaad Foundation
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FBO	Faith-Based Organization
GGF	Gift of the Givers Foundation
IDB	Islamic Development Bank
IRSA	Islamic Relief South Africa
IRTI	Islamic Research and Training Institute
MSWOs	Muslim Social Welfare Organisations
SANZAF	South African National Zakāh Fund
SARB	South African Reserve Bank
SASSA	South African Social Security Agency
STATSSA	Statistic South Africa



GLOSSARY of Arabic Words

ﷺ

Peace and Blessings Upon the Holy Prophet Muhammed.

al-Fuqarā'	The poor
al- Masākīn	The destitute
al-Shāfi'ī	Muhammad Idris Shāfi'ī is the founder of the Shāfi'ī School of Jurisprudence
'Adl	Justice
Amānah	Trust
Fatāwā	Religious Verdicts
Ḥadīth	Sayings of the Holy Prophet Muhammed ﷺ
Hajj	Pilgrimage to Mecca
ḥalāl	Permissible
Halālan Tayyiba	Permissible and Pure
Hubby al-Dunyā	Love of this World
iḥsān	Excellence
Ikhlāṣ	Sincerity
Infāq	Spending
Iqtisād	moderation, mean
اِقْتِصَادَ iqtaSada	relating to an economy, the system of production and management
Ka'bah	Cube-shaped building in Mecca.
maqāṣid al-sharī'a	Objectives of the sharī'a
Masājid	Mosques
Madāris	Places of learning

Mashūrah	process of mutual consultation
Muzakkī	Person paying Zakāh
Mushtaq	Recipient of Zakāh
niṣāb	minimum amount of wealth and possessions that a Muslim must own before being obligated to pay zakat
Qur'ān	Book of Guidance
Qurbān	animal sacrifice during the period of <i>Hajj</i> or annual pilgrimage
Rahmah	Mercy
raison d'être	reason for existence
ṣalāt	prayer
Sadaqah Jāriyyah	A gift that benefits others in this life but also benefits our loved ones in the next and us
sharī'ah	Sharia is a religious law forming part of the Islamic tradition
Shūrā	Mutual Consultation
Tayyiba	Pure
Ulamā	Religious scholars
Zakāh	purifying tax on personal wealth

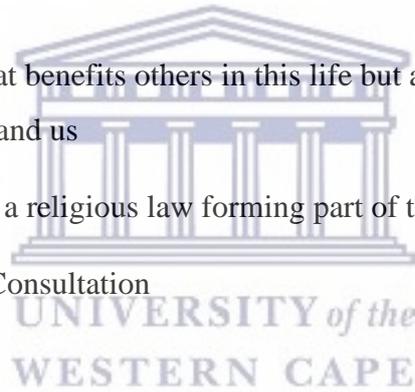


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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Muslim social welfare organisations (MSWOs) have been established worldwide¹ to channel obligatory and voluntary charity by individual Muslims. The obligatory charity paid to these organisations is known as *Zakāh*. It is also a purifying tax and is considered a path towards spiritual transformation. *Zakāh* is the third pillar of Islam. South African MSWOs provide food relief to the poor, especially during natural or anthropogenic emergencies, using *Zakāh* funds and other forms of obligatory and voluntary charitable contributions. This ability to respond to emergencies is well documented in Muslim and secular media. What seldom receives media attention is the track record of such organisations about building the capacity of vulnerable and disaster-affected communities to attain and maintain food security beyond humanitarian crises. Concerns over food security are widely addressed from multi-disciplinary perspectives in South Africa and elsewhere in the world. The question arises as to what extent are such matters addressed in the programmes of Muslim social welfare organisations. This project will contribute to documentation on the policies on food security and implementation strategies employed by South African Muslim social welfare organisations.

The project focussed on the four most influential MSWOs registered and operative in South Africa, namely the South African National Zakāh Fund (SANZAF), Gift of the Givers Foundation (GGF), Al-Imdaad Foundation (AIF), and Islamic Relief South Africa (IRSA). It assessed whether and to what extent the implementation strategies employed by the four largest MSWOs in South Africa assist the recipients of their programmes in attaining and maintaining food security and sovereignty beyond their immediate needs for sustenance. This assessment was based on policy documents, annual reports, and publicity materials made available by these organisations. It was also based on semi-structured interviews with Chief Executive Officers and senior managers of each selected organisation. The results were documented and compared to offer conclusions regarding the research problem. A very brief postscript offering recommendations are also included.

¹ Mamoun Abuarqub, & Isabel Philips. *A Brief History of Humanitarianism in the Muslim World*. (Birmingham: Islamic Relief Worldwide, July 2009), 9.

1.2. Context and Relevance

1.2.1 Food in a Muslim Context

Muslim thinking about economic well-being is governed by the notion of *Iqtisād*, i.e., a sense of equilibrium, to be neither extravagant nor niggardly, so that the basic needs of all people are met and so that there is some equity and therefore stability in society². Food is one of those basic needs, but there is nothing simple, rudimentary, and straightforward about its provision, production, distribution, preparation, or consumption. The provision of food is regarded as an act of great virtue in all faiths and is particularly firmly entrenched in Islamic doctrine, thought, history, culture, and practice³.

A primary source of guidance and reference for all actions of Muslims is the *Qur'an*. The *ḥadīth* (sayings of the Prophet) is the second most important source. While the *Qur'an* provide general principles, the *ḥadīth* gives the details. *Shari'ah* (Islamic law) is based on these two primary sources. Since this study explored the policies and programmes of Muslim social welfare organisations, it was necessary to appreciate the value of the importance of this guiding document in the lives of all Muslims and how the *Qur'an* speaks about food and feeding in various ways⁴. For example, the *Qur'an*⁵ calls on believers to recognise God as the provider and encourages believers to be thankful for having been given food. The *Qur'an* also tells believers⁶ what they should not eat⁷. The virtue of feeding is explained as being done for the love of God⁸ and speaks to the motivation of feeding the poor, the orphans, and the prisoners. The *Qur'an* also talks about breastfeeding⁹ and the period for which it should be done. The mother is valued for breastfeeding, she is encouraged to do it for two years, and it is recommended that she be compensated for this selfless act. In addition, various types of food

2 Bakir Al-Hassani, *International Food Policy Research Institute, Global Nutrition Report: Actions and Accountability to Advance Nutrition and Sustainable Development (Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute, 2015), 130-131.* (Lanham, MD: Imamia Centre, 1988),3-6.

3 Pew Research Centre's Forum on Religion & Public Life published Mapping the Global Muslim Population, which estimated that there were 1.57 billion Muslims of all ages around the world in 2009. The Centre projects the world Muslim population to reach 2.2 billion by 2030.

4 Kassis, H. *A Concordance of the Quran.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983 129-1230.

5 See *The Holy Qur'an*, (Medina: King Fahd Printing Press, 2006), Al-Baqara, 2: 172.

6 See *The Holy Qur'an*, (Medina: King Fahd Printing Press, 2006), Al-Baqara, 3: 115-116.

7 This study is not about Halal Certification.

8 See *The Holy Qur'an*, (Medina: King Fahd Printing Press, 2006), Al-Insan, 76: 8-9.

9 See *The Holy Qur'an*, (Medina: King Fahd Printing Press, 2006), Al-Baqara, 2: 233.

such as the fig, the olive, dates, grapes, and pomegranates¹⁰ are mentioned in multiple verses in the *Qur'an*.

1.2.2 The practice of *Zakāh* as a pillar of Islam

One of the five pillars of Islam is the required payment of *Zakāh*. The amount of *Zakāh* is prescribed for all Muslims who have reached puberty, are sane, free, and own the minimum level of wealth known as *nisab*¹¹. Each Muslim is expected to calculate such payment on an annual basis in terms of 2.5% of their income minus what is perceived to be necessary expenses and taxation. Such “necessary expenses” are a matter of conscience and are based on distinguishing between basic needs and wants¹².

The nature of *Zakāh* is “social”, for it is primarily intended for the poor and the needy people of the society. It has a significant spiritual dimension insofar as it purifies the human beings’ wealth as prayers purify their hearts and fasting purifies their bodies. *Zakāh* encompasses these three dimensions, which we can render by refining social tax¹³. Some scholars argue that because *Zakāh* is an obligation, it should not be interpreted as a form of charity but rather a right of the poor¹⁴.

Sadaqah also describes a voluntary charitable act towards another being, whether through generosity¹⁵, love, compassion or faith. Therefore, these acts are not necessarily physical or monetary. Simple good deeds such as a smile, or a helping hand, are seen as acts of *Sadaqah*.

Zakāh is allocated to eight distinct categories of people, namely 1) *Al-Fuqara'* (the poor), 2) the *Al-Masakin* (the needy), 3) to those employed to collect the *Zakāh*, 4) to attract the hearts of those who have been inclined (towards Islam), 5) to free the captives, 6) for those in debt, 7) for God’s cause, and 8) for the wayfarer (cut off from self-sustenance)¹⁶.

In the South African context, the understanding of *Zakāh*, its calculation, collection and distribution, has been shaped by a handful of scholars and staff members of *Zakāh* distribution

10 See The Holy Quran, (Medina: King Fahd Printing Press, 2006), Al Anám 6:99.

11 Yusuf Al Qardawi, *Fiqh Al Zakāh* (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2001), 10.

12 Sajid Dawray, *A Guide to your Zakaat Calculation for Contemporary Economic Activities* (Kimberley: SANZAF, 1997).

13 See Tariq Ramadan (2005) The poor will come to remind us, <http://tariqRamadān.com/english/2005/11/02/one-day-our-poor-people-will-ask/> (accessed 09 May 2016).

14 Rianne Ten Veen: *Charitable Giving in Islam* (Islamic Relief Birmingham the United Kingdom 2009).

15 For an explanation of Islamic types of giving, see <https://uwt.org/donating-online/types-of-charity-in-islam/> (accessed 3rd Dec 2021).

16 See The Holy Qur’ān, (Medina: King Fahd Printing Press, 2006), At-Tawba, 9: 60.

organisations. The earliest recorded South African work is that by Moulana Abdul Rehman Ansari, which was initially captured in the form of a 1958-sermon titled “*Zakāh: The Religious Tax of Islam*”. Advocate Mahomed Shoaib Omar has both written and edited works on *Zakāh*. His original work includes the “Rules of *Zakāh* and How to Calculate *Zakāh*”¹⁷. His compilation and edited work on the *Fatāwa on Zakāh* (religious edicts on *Zakāh*) by the world-renown Pakistani scholar Justice Mufti Taqi Usmani helps the *Zakāh* contributor to calculate how much is due given the exposure to the western or capitalist economy such as trust funds, provident funds, unquoted shares, property, furniture, insurance and investments.

The *Book on Zakah Hanafi Shafi* was published in 1989 and written by Sheikh Abdurraghim Sallie (d.2013), a graduate of Al Azhar University. Sallie references the work of both classical scholars and personalities that have been referred to as modern-day Islamist reformers such as Sayed Rasheed Ridaa and Mustapha al Maraaghee. Sallie would send copies of the books he had written to the Al Azhar and request that the contents of the books be examined and verified. His son shared some of the copies of letters from the Al Azhar verifying the contents of his books. I have not seen the verification of the *Book on Zakāh*. Sajid Dawray, a former national chairperson of SANZAF, produced a Guide to Zakaat Calculation for Contemporary Economic activities by further developing the works of Ansari, Omar and Sallie by creating computation forms for the user. This booklet will be more beneficial if converted to an online format. One could also argue that the computation tables was a precursor to the Mobile applications that make calculations easy and accessible, which are currently in usage. The work of Dawray confirms that most literature on *Zakāh* continues to be distributed by SANZAF. *A Handbook on Zakāh* was compiled as a 25th-anniversary publication of SANZAF. This compilation includes the works of Moulani Ansari, Advocate Omar and former chairperson Faiek Gamieldien. Subsequently, a 45th-anniversary publication was also presented in a workbook format and is especially useful for individuals responsible for teaching about *Zakāh*. The ultra-conservative Mufti AH Elias has published *Zakāh Made Easy*, a well-distributed book accessible through his website.¹⁸ In 1984, Professor Yusuf Da Costa translated the work of Sayyid Sabiq, *Zakāh the Third Pillar of Islam*. This is a valuable contribution to the scholarly work on *Zakāh*. In his translators’ preface, Da Costa states that private property is not sacrosanct and that the Islamic principle is that everything in the heavens and the earth belongs

17 Mahomed Shuaib Omar, “The Rules of Zakaat” (<https://msolaw.co.za/jdownloads/books/RULES-OF-ZAKAAT.pdf>) (accessed 4th March 2016).

18 Mufti Afzal Hoosen Elias, “Zakaat Made Easy” (<https://www.alislam.co.za/downloads/zakaat-made-easy>).(accessed 5th March 2016).

to God. He encourages Muslim economists to clarify the question of private property and should not fear being labelled as Marxists. He further contends that private ownership of the essential means of production has significantly contributed to the poverty that exists in the world¹⁹. The authoritative work *Fiqh al Zakāh* by Yusuf Al Qardawi and translated by Professor Monzer Kahf is gaining considerable influence amongst Muslims and their organisations outside of the Arabic speaking world, particularly for its ease of use, the quality of translation and editing but most importantly for the popularity of Qardawi as a contemporary scholar whose views are regularly sought on current issues based on his leadership of the International Union of Muslim Scholars. *Fiqh al Zakāh* is used extensively in this study.

1.2.3 MSWOs: Distributors of *Zakāh*

The practice of *Zakāh* in South Africa has been reviewed by the Islamic Research and Training Institute (IRTI) of the Islamic Development Bank (IDB) in its “2015 Islamic Social Finance Report”²⁰. The IDB, based in Jeddah, is a chapter of the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) that oversees the affairs of Muslims worldwide. IRTI has produced various publications that present research on the best practices around *Zakāh* education, management and distribution. This review is significant in that Muslims in South Africa are a minority, and the size of *Zakāh* cannot be compared to Muslim majority countries. It does, however, point to the level of contact, commitment, interest and interaction that exists on the subject of *Zakāh* amongst the Muslims of South Africa. It also points to the strength of organisational systems, policies and implementation strategies in place in South Africa that it is worth reviewing by such an apex body within the Muslim world.

Several MSWOs typically administers the calculation, collection, and distribution of *Zakāh*. These organisations exist to serve the needs of the Muslim community and have their ideological origin in the way the social welfare needs of the Muslim community were addressed by the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ when he established the city-state of Medina. The Prophet Muhammad ﷺ would distribute goods and funds to address such needs from a treasury (*Baitul Mal*) from which both cash and in-kind donations were channelled to the needy, the orphans, homeless, prisoners of war, widows etc²¹. This treasury had a local focus, which meant that

19 Yusuf Da Costa, trans., *Zakāh, The Third Pillar of Islam Saiyid Sabiq*, (Muslim Youth Movement 1984).

20 Mohamed Obaidullah and Nasim Shah Shirazi, “2015 Islamic Social Finance Report”. (*Jeddah, KSA, Islamic Research and Training Institute*) (www.irti.org) (accessed on 4 March 2016).

21 Obaidullah and Shirazi, “2015 Islamic Social Finance Report”. (*Jeddah KSA, Islamic Research and Training Institute*) (www.irti.org 2015) (accessed on 4 March 2016).

Zakāh collected in a particular geographic area must first be distributed in that locality before distributing it in another town or country where the need exists.

Since their arrival as slaves and political prisoners of Dutch rule, South Africa's Muslims have initially and discretely organised under colonial rule²². After that, they organised defiantly under apartheid and more transparently under democratic governance. This can be viewed through their religious, educational, and social welfare institutions. According to some estimates, there are at least 1000 such organisations²³. In addition, more than 1000 mosques operate as registered institutions, either as trusts or Section 21 not-for-profit companies, all of which have some charitable function. Some organisations are independent of local mosques, including large organisations such as the four investigated in this study, over 25 independent Muslim schools, religious seminaries, and several tiny and local Muslim social welfare organisations.

Most Muslims in South Africa pay *Zakāh* with an estimated potential of R1.2 billion South African Rand to six major Muslim social welfare organisations, namely the South African National Zakāh Fund, Gift of the Givers Foundation Al-Imdaad Foundation, Africa Muslim Agency, Muslim Hands and Islamic Relief South Africa. In comparison, the 2014/15 corporate social investment expenditure in South Africa was R8.1 billion, of which the top 100 companies allocated R5.4 billion.

POTENTIAL FUNDS RAISED



The planning within such MSWOs is very much related to *Zakāh* collection campaigns during sacred periods of the Islamic calendar, such as the start of the Muslim New Year to assist in

22 David's, A. *The mosques of Bo-Kaap*. (Cape Town: South African Institute of Arabic and Islamic Research. 1980).

23 David's, M. *Directory of Muslim institutions and mosques in South Africa*. (Maraisburg: Islimu Publications 1996).

calculating *Zakāh*, Ramadan and the period of *Hajj* (that is, annual pilgrimage). These periods or dates are considered auspicious periods for the donation of *Zakāh*.

These organisations use the funds donated for various charitable programmes. A significant part of the funds raised is distributed as food to the poor and needy. Such programmes include food parcels or vouchers provided to individuals or families following an application procedure, initiatives to provide emergency relief in response to various humanitarian crises, and assistance to smaller welfare organisations for their short-term programmes.

A 2006 pamphlet by Awqaf SA on the Muslim contribution to poverty alleviation lists how 33 Muslim organisations distributed funds. Food relief is a significant feature and can be found in cash payments, Ramadan Programmes, soup kitchens, food parcels, and *Qurbani* meat during the period of *Hajj*. The SANZAF recorded in its 2015 Annual Report distributed 22 000 food parcels during *Eid-ul Fitr*. This is a time and day when every Muslim household should be free from want, and it is an obligation of every fasting Muslim to pay *Zakāh-ul Fitr*²⁴ to ensure the joy of food in every home on this auspicious day.

1.2.4 SA MSWOs: Their Efficacy

The work of such MSWOs attracts considerable media attention and is widely appreciated by the general public, especially in providing relief where it is most needed. However, there are also ongoing debates on the programmes of these organisations from within Muslim communities and among the broader public. Since this study is situated within the South African context, it is crucial to understand the complexity of this debate.

MSWOs are no different in displaying the weaknesses in management to non-profit organisations (NPO) in other spheres. The difference between them is that Muslim organisations are more dependent on donations from individuals than other mainstream organisations. Typically, mainstream NPOs depend on government and corporate grants for their income to individual contributions.

There is a vast range of opinions on the efficacy of these organisations. The more critical and commonly expressed views are financial accountability, duplication of services, and excessive expenditure on marketing materials. A higher level of criticism would typically be voiced about the coordination between Muslim social welfare organisations; about maintaining the dignity

²⁴ Here Zakat al-Fitr is the amount paid by the head of the household for each member of the family before Eid al-Fitr prayer. Zakat al-Fitr is equivalent to the cost of one meal. See www.irusa.org (last accessed 3/12/2021).

of the recipients of *Zakāh*; the appointment criteria and professionalism of the employees of these organisations and the qualifications, competence and transparency of those involved in the governance of these organisations. In addition, there are issues of consultation that pose challenges to these organisations regarding the implementation of their programmes. Four concerns may be raised here:

Firstly, there are concerns about how MSWOs relate to other role players in food relief and food security. For example, there is a need to establish how the food relief programmes of MSWOs are or can be aligned with the South African Social Services Agency (SASSA), a national government agency, to ensure greater coordination of services to the poor the needy. No national register of current and previous recipients of *Zakāh* or food aid of any kind exist. If people are double-dipping, it impacts the efficacy of these organisations. Double-dipping will occur if the assistance offered is insufficient to sustain a household. The donors of *Zakāh* to MSWOs often accuse these agencies of duplicating services to the poor and that their existence matters more than the needs of the poor.

Secondly, there are criticisms related to a lack of consultation with the recipients and the relevance of such welfare organisations in the development context of South Africa. Such complaints may be illustrated with a letter from Bulelani Godla, a resident of a Cape Town informal settlement; he wrote to a local Muslim newspaper²⁵ arguing that feeding schemes don't reduce poverty and that poverty will only be addressed if the benefactors (in this case, MSWOs) consult poor communities. Since this study focuses on the implementation strategies of these MSWOs in assisting the recipients of their programmes in attaining and maintaining food security and food sovereignty beyond their immediate needs for sustenance, Bulelani's question on consultation is particularly relevant.

Thirdly, there is concern over professionalism within such organisations. Relief and Development have become a professional endeavour, and most universities provide degrees, courses, and even short programmes that have come to institutionalise best practices. However, my observation is that MSWOs seldom employs such individuals. Even social workers or community development workers are rarely used in these organisations. Where staff possess tertiary qualifications, it is usually in financial accounting to ensure compliance with an audit. The need for a baseline study before implementation of a programme, as essential development

25 Bulelani Godla, "Feeding schemes don't reduce poverty". (*Muslim Views Letters to the Editor April 2015, Cape Town*),21.

practice, would require qualified staff to know what impact such a study will have on proper planning, the effect of the implementation and the allocation of resources. Likewise, benchmarking programmes against similar initiatives of even Muslim organisations are seldom conducted. The organisations often superficially use terminologies such as food security, climate change, and environmental justice. The programmes to which these terms are attached are not supported by evidence that it hopes to address in-house or commissioned research. Only Islamic Relief has this research capacity, but this is provided from its United Kingdom head office. The study by Islamic Relief, thus far, is not intended for or directly relevant to a South African context.

Fourthly, there is a concern that MSWOs tends to underplay their advocacy role in society. The Oxfam handbook on development and relief states that NGOs such as MSWOs play an essential supporting role but that their interventions are small scale and minor in the processes of economic change affecting the poor²⁶. However, project-level interventions can strengthen the terms upon which the poor can negotiate and demand structural changes to address the causes and effects of poverty. MSWOs also have an advocacy role related to food security in the South African context. It also has an advocacy role in the Muslim community to promote the idea that *Zakāh* may be used to fund such advocacy activities²⁷.

Despite such criticisms, all the organisations selected for this study meet the legal and governance requirements as determined by the NPO Directorate of the Department of Social Welfare, those of the South African Revenue Service and for those organisations operating outside of the borders, they even meet the requirements of the SA Reserve Bank and the Financial Intelligence Centre. They all produce external independent audited financial statements and work diligently to ensure the transparency required in a hostile environment where such organisations have become a political target with allegations of sponsoring international terrorism.

This need for accountability is widely recognised within such Muslim social welfare organisations. Individual donors demand that these organisations keep their operational costs, marketing, and salaries as low as legally possible. Reporting is primarily on activities, and with

26 Deborah Eade and Suzanne Williams, *The Oxfam Handbook of Development and Relief*. (Oxford UK: Oxfam, 1995), 10-13.

27 Al Qardawi, *Fiqh Al Zakāh*, 10.

the advent of social media, updates on campaigns are provided through various social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and WhatsApp²⁸.

1.2.5 The need to attend to food security and food sovereignty

The work of such MSWOs is well documented in both the Muslim and mainstream media. Such media reports often focus on the immediate relief provided in times of crisis through food distribution and how such programmes are funded. However, the track record of such organisations about building the capacity of vulnerable and disaster-affected communities in attaining and maintaining food security in the context of climate change²⁹ and beyond humanitarian crises is not always considered.

This recognition prompts this study, which begs whether the policies and implementation strategies of MSWOs in South Africa attend to concerns over food security. Here a conceptual distinction is needed between food relief, the need for regular sustenance, food security and, in addition, food sovereignty. This study assumes that food relief is insufficient for the sake of economic well-being. In poverty and deprivation, there is a daily need for sustenance. MSWOs do attend to such conditions by distributing food parcels regularly. However, beyond such interventions related to food relief and nutrition, there is also a need for food security and sovereignty.

Food security is widely addressed from multi-sectoral, multi-disciplinary, and multi-dimensional perspectives in South Africa and elsewhere in the world. As the UN's Food and Agricultural Organisation observes,

Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for active and healthy life (FAO, 1996: Rome Declaration on World Food Security, para.2).

From this definition of food security, the following four dimensions are usually identified: 1) the physical *availability* of food, 2) economic and physical *access* to food, 3) food *utilisation*

28 Mohammed Haron, "The IAMCR 'Islam and Media' Working Group". *American Journal of Islam and Society*, 30:1 (2013), 152-155, (<https://doi.org/10.35632/ajis.v30i1.1174>).

29 See Food and Agricultural Organisation, *Climate Change and Food Security* (FAO Rome 2008) (<https://www.fao.org/3/k2595e/k2595e00.htm>) To assess climate change and food security, FAO prefers to use a comprehensive definition of climate change that encompasses changes in long-term averages for all the essential climate variables.

4) the *stability* of the first three dimensions over time³⁰. This is also referred to as the four pillars of food security, and for it to be realised, all four dimensions must be fulfilled simultaneously.

These dimensions or pillars of food security are essential as they provide points to consider during policy formulation by organisations such as those considered in this study. It also provides tools for understanding the problems, where solutions may be found and creating a narrative that justifies the chosen policy response. It goes beyond the supply of food to feed the poor, as in the case of providing food relief and calls for the investment of funds in the production of food and for ensuring a proper intake of nutrients. From the dimension of access, we also learn that an adequate food supply at the national or international level does not guarantee household-level food security.

Hunger is due to households and individuals' inability to acquire food: it is not always due to inadequate supply. It is important to note that hunger has come about because of a loss of power, claims, and entitlements.³¹ These entitlements (with associated impediments) are the production of one's own food (land dispossession), wage exchange (increasing unemployment) and social transfers (a lack of social grants). The statistics on hunger indicate that approximately 795 million people do not have enough food to lead a healthy, active life. That's about one in nine people on earth³². To move towards a zero-hunger generation by 2030, 0.3 per cent of the world's economic output would be required every year for 15 years. This will help end hunger for 795 million people. No other sector can lift people out of poverty more effectively than investment in food programmes. This is because 70% of the world's poor live in rural areas and derive their livelihoods from agriculture, livestock, forestry and fisheries³³.

In the South African context, the increase of social grants has improved food intake levels, but this has not stemmed the impact of hunger amongst the most vulnerable or enhanced the intake of nutritious food. The social protection system excludes young black youth between 18 and

30 See Food and Agricultural Organisation, *Climate Change and Food Security* (FAO Rome 2008). (<https://www.fao.org/3/k2595e/k2595e00.htm>). Climate change will affect all four dimensions of food security: food availability, food accessibility, food utilisation and food systems stability. People who are already vulnerable and food insecure are likely to be the first affected. As an indirect effect, low-income people everywhere, particularly in urban areas, are at risk of food insecurity due to loss of assets and lack of adequate insurance coverage.

31 Amartya K. Sen, *Poverty and famine: An essay on entitlement and deprivation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1981).

32 See *The State of Food and Agriculture* (Rome: FAO, 2001), (<http://www.fao.org/docrep/meeting/2001/>) (last accessed on 18 Jan 2016).

33 Laurent Thomas, "Let Us Become the Zero Hunger Generation" (*China Daily Africa Weekly*) (2015), 11.

35. Young black women in this category account for 1 in 5 new HIV infections and cash transfers are presented by UNAIDS as a strategy to reduce their vulnerability³⁴.

Food security is a developmental term. The right to food is legal; food sovereignty is essentially a political concept. Food sovereignty is the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods and their right to define their food and agriculture systems. Food sovereignty focuses on the international causes of hunger and the national policies to reduce hunger and malnutrition. The critical elements of achieving food sovereignty are that food is a fundamental human right, that natural resources must be protected, that social peace and democratic control through the participation of small farmers in policy development must be promoted and ensured. Food must also be viewed as a source of nutrition first and an item of trade second. Critical to achieving food sovereignty is the right to land and ending the globalisation of hunger. The policies of multilateral organisations such as the WTO and IMF at the behest of speculative capital play an important role. These elements or principles find resonance in Muslim practices around paying *Zakāh* and emphasising *Iqtisad* to ensure balance in the community.

1.2.6 South African context: Food Insecurity

South Africa is food secure, but 44% of households are food insecure³⁵. Food insecurity can be defined as being either chronic or transitory. It may be chronic because of its long-term or persistent nature. People cannot meet their food needs over a sustained period resulting from extended periods of poverty, lack of assets and inadequate access to productive or financial resources³⁶. It may be transitory in the sense of being short-term and occurring when there is a sudden drop in the ability to produce or access enough food to maintain the required nutritional status. This is due to short-term shocks and fluctuations in availability and access to food, food prices, and household incomes³⁷.

Chronic food insecurity can be overcome through long-term development measures to address poverty; in contrast, transitory food insecurity is unpredictable and requires well-developed

34 UNAIDS & The African Union, Fast-tracking the end of the AIDS Pandemic in Africa (UNAIDS & The African Union, 2015), 20.

35 See Pietermaritzburg Economic Justice and Dignity Group, Household Affordability Index Sept 2021 (www.pmejd.org.za last accessed on the 3 Dec 2021), 1.

36 See <https://www.fao.org/3/al936e/al936e.pdf> (last accessed 20 April 2016).

37 See <https://www.fao.org/3/al936e/al936e.pdf> (last accessed 20 April 2016).

early warning systems for possible disasters and safety net programmes. Transitory food insecurity is found when a natural disaster or an economic recession occurs³⁸.

Both chronic and transitory forms of food insecurity point to the duration of the problem, but the impact of the insecurity is also measured by its nature, extent and urgency. It is also assessed in terms of how it affects sectors of the population such as those infected by HIV and tuberculosis, women, the aged, and children. A case in point in South Africa is the long-term impact of food insecurity on children.

A discussion on food insecurity would be incomplete without referring to hunger, malnutrition, and poverty as they are deeply interrelated phenomena. Hunger is described as food deprivation, whilst malnutrition results from deficiencies or an imbalance in the consumption of nutrients. Poverty encompasses a lack of food security, health, education, rights, voice, safety, dignity and decent work³⁹. Food insecurity may be manifested in a range of widely discussed health problems, including obesity, diabetes, stunting amongst children⁴⁰.

1.2.7 MSWOs and Food Security

A response by MSWOs to food insecurity may be to provide targeted direct feeding schemes for the sake of food relief. Still, a deeper reflection on the many faces of poverty would need to influence their policies and implementation programmes. This also applies to MSWOs that are often visible regarding food relief programmes. The question addressed in this study is to what extent the policies of such MSWOs take concerns over food security into account.

Such concern over food security is necessary from within an Islamic perspective. In terms of the notion of *Iqtisad*⁴¹, the reality of food insecurity challenges the belief that God provides and sustains all living things. How, then, is it possible that some would be hungry if sufficient food is available? This very question suggests that any Muslim welfare organisation cannot focus merely on food relief but has to concern itself with a broader sense of economic well-being (expressed in the notion of *Iqtisad*) that includes advocacy for food security.

38 See <https://www.fao.org/3/a1936e/a1936e.pdf> (last accessed 20 April 2016).

42 See Meera Tiwari, "What works on the ground to end poverty?" (*OECD Development Co-operation Report 2013: Ending Poverty*, OECD Publishing, Paris. (2013). 96.

40 International Food Policy Research Institute, *Global Nutrition Report: Actions and Accountability to Advance Nutrition and Sustainable Development* (Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute, 2015), 130-131.

41 Bakir Al-Hassani, *Iqtisad – The Islamic Alternative for Economics* (Lanham MD: Imamia Centre, 1988).

One of the Muslim world's current leading religious scholars, Yusuf al Qardawi, believes that *Zakāh* is a right the poor have on the rich's wealth. He states that *Zakāh* aims at eliminating poverty and making the poor self-sufficient. He further says that *Zakāh* aims to achieve broader spiritual, social, and political goals. For this reason, it may be spent on reconciliation of the hearts, the liberation of enslaved people, for those who are in debt, and for the sake of God in the broadest meaning of the word⁴².

1.3. Demarcation and research problem statement

In this study, I focussed on the implementation strategies employed by the four largest MSWOs in South Africa to assist the recipients of their programmes in attaining and maintaining food security and sovereignty beyond their immediate need for sustenance.

1.3.1 Four organisations selected

The four MSWOs on which this study was focused were chosen based on the following criteria: the size of their budget, their focus on food relief, the geographic reach of their programmes in all provinces (through partnerships with smaller organisations based on their allocation policies), their length of service to the community and, especially, their geographical footprint and reach outside of the Muslim community. The following organisations are included in this study:

The SA National *Zakāh* Fund was established by Dr Shaukat Ali Thokan and Carrim Gani in South Africa's mining town of Rustenburg in early 1974. It emerged from religious study groups similar to and heavily influenced by the ideology and programme of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt⁴³. Their focus has always been local, with occasional support for Middle Eastern crises and an annual meat distribution programme in Malawi and Mozambique. This organisation has the most significant footprint in *Zakāh* collection and distribution in South Africa with offices and a presence in all provinces.

Dr Imtiaz Sooliman established the Gift of the Givers Foundation (GGF) to respond to the drought in Mozambique and Somalia and floods in Bangladesh. He emerged on the scene in 1992 following a meeting with a *Sufi* leader from Turkey of the *Jarahi Sufi* order, which instructed him to establish the organisation. Currently, he probably enjoys the most media

42 Yusuf Al Qardawi, *Fiqh Al Zakāh* (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2001), 38.

43 Abdulkader Tayob, *Islamic Resurgence in South Africa: The Muslim Youth Movement* (Cape Town: Credo Press, 1995).

attention; Although food distribution is a significant feature of his work, his international interventions now include a search and rescue and medical emergency component.

The Al Imdaad Foundation was established in 2003 by former students of Madrassa Zakaria, a religious seminary in the south of Johannesburg. The organisation affirms their identity as an *Ulama* (religious scholar-led) institution. It is a religiously conservative organisation but is open to partnerships with international relief and development organisations. It has a solid geographic footprint because of the *Ulama*, who manages and controls most South African mosques. They do not employ women in senior or public positions. Their donors reward them in terms of annual income from *Zakāh* and other charitable contributions.

Dr Hany El Banna established Islamic Relief in 1984 in Birmingham⁴⁴, United Kingdom. The South African office was opened in 2003, and I served as its local founder and Country Director until 2011. I have no formal association with the organisation. It is sometimes perceived to be a Muslim Brotherhood organisation and was designated by the Egyptian military Junta that deposed the democratically elected government of Dr Mohamed Morsi. Dr Essam El Haddad was a former chairperson of the Board of Trustees of Islamic Relief Worldwide. He was an Advisor to Dr Morsi and was arrested alongside him. In South Africa and worldwide, Islamic Relief employs men and women of all faiths and no faith and intra-faith persuasions internationally and locally. It was distinguished for its focus on children made vulnerable and orphaned by the HIV and AIDS pandemic. It hosted an international Consultation on Islam and HIV in November 2007.

1.3.2 Scholarship on Muslim Social Welfare Organisations

Literature produced by and on these MSWOs is mainly of a marketing nature. Such literature includes annual reports, brochures, guidelines on the calculation and payment of *Zakāh*, as discussed earlier. Some of the literature produced is scholarly, including articles on climate change or peacebuilding issues. This type of development literature has been published by Islamic Relief's head office in the United Kingdom, which has a dedicated research unit and an academy for the training of community development workers.⁴⁵ A biographical piece, *Imtiaz Sooliman and the Gift of the Givers a Mercy to All*, was written by journalist and author Shafiq Morton on Dr Imtiaz Sooliman, the founder of the GGF. A 2009 research project on SANZAF

44 Abuarqub, Mamoun & Isabel Philips, A Brief History of Humanitarianism in the Muslim World (Birmingham UK: Islamic Relief Worldwide. July 2009).

45 See <http://www.islamic-relief.org/publications> (accessed 9 May 2016).

by UWC student Ubaidullah Safi sought to assess community participation in faith-based NGOs in South Africa. This study was instructive as it interviewed recipients on their involvement in the project identification, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. It also delved into the decision-making processes and the institutional arrangements of the organisation. The study found the level of community participation to be 3.

A newspaper article by journalist Mahmood Sanglay⁴⁶ offers a review of these organisations around six questions which concentrated on their financial management, donor base and accountability. This was, in my view, well-intended, but it was poorly done, and the journalist was viewed as being mischievous by the six identified MSWOs and hence did not get the full co-operation of the organisations as required.

A considerable gap exists in researching the contribution made by these organisations in addressing poverty and food relief in particular and benchmarking this against the efforts and national mandate of SASSA, tasked to address poverty and food relief in cases of emergency. One of this study's challenges was locating the discussions on food relief and food security within the selected organisations, as presented in chapters 5-8. A second challenge was that although much is written about the Muslim community in South Africa, very little has been written about their activities in alleviating or reducing poverty, and even less is written about their food relief and food security activities. The available information was collected from annual reports, and such references to food security are confirmed as merely anecdotal by this study. This study was not intended to be an in-depth appraisal of each organisation. It sought only to research the respondents' programmes in assisting their recipients in becoming food secure.

This study contributed to secondary scholarship on MSWOs in South Africa. More specifically, it investigated these organisations' policies and implementation strategies to establish whether and to what extent such policies and implementation strategies are adequate to assist recipients of their programmes in attaining and maintaining food security and food sovereignty beyond their immediate needs sustenance. This requires further clarification on such policies and the associated implementation strategies.

46 Mahmood Sanglay, Major SA Muslim charities fail to disclose information in the public interest, Muslim Views (February 2014),1- 7.

1.3.3 Policy discourses within MSWOs

It is true to say that the values and vision of an organisation hold it to its purpose. However, the policy may be the last boundary holding it to ethical practice. Indeed, while written policy should never be revered, it may be the only boundary that holds, as people's needs, wants, and visions change and often compete.⁴⁷

The term policy can be defined as “prudent conduct” at the most basic level. Organisational policies are sometimes confused with legal documents such as constitutions, trust deeds, memorandum of associations, conditions of service and contracts.

It is commonly understood that policies are developed for different aspects of organisational functioning. Some policies can be set at the organisation's establishment, but most policies arise due to practice. Such policies guide and inform the implementation strategies of organisations. There are mainly three kinds of policies. Resource policies relate to people, money and assets. Operational procedures relate to the organisation's governance, how staff relate to clients, how the organisation is structured either as a hierarchy or as a group of self-managed professionals, and how decisions are reached. Organisational policies inform its identity, what issues the organisation addresses, how it does this and what it does not. Here, most organisations experience most difficulties as they lump together resource and operational policies under organisational policies⁴⁸.

Most organisations follow what is understood to be a linear model that regards policy development as a problem-solving process that is rational, balanced, objective and analytical⁴⁹. The review or development of a policy undergoes four phases. First, it must be recognised as an area of concern, and agreement must be reached to address it. The second is that it should be placed on the organisation's agenda. On many occasions in the life of an organisation, one finds that the issues are recognised but get lost in the daily activities. Once on the agenda, decisions need to be made on the options presented. Again, things get lost, as there may not be a board quorum to decide on the matter or other pressing matters, and the policy agreed to get lost in the board pack. The final phase is that of implementation. The draft policy is accepted

47 Olive Organisation Development and Training, “Ideas for a Change Part 5 Developing Policy” (Olive Publications 1999),24-33.

48 Olive Organisation Development and Training, “Ideas for a Change Part 5 Developing Policy” (Olive Publications 1999),24-33.

49 Rebecca Sutton, The Policy Process: An Overview (London Overseas Development Institute Aug.1999), 23.

and ready for implementation. The policy implementation requires political will from the organisation's leadership at this stage. It is the most crucial phase of policy development⁵⁰.

The most significant policy that MSWOs have is collecting and distributing funds raised as *Zakāh*. The distribution of *Zakāh* demands ethical practices. Given the questions arising from the efficacy of Muslim social welfare organisations, it is essential that an organisation's policy on *Zakāh*, in particular, be documented and well publicised. The distribution of *Zakāh* cuts across all three types of policies indicated above.

When MSWOs have a broad range of policy documents that elaborate on their aims and objectives, resources, operations, or identity, this indicates a level of exposure and compliance to institutional donors. Muslim donors expect best practices but can seldom express their wishes in organisational development terminology.

1.3.4 The need for implementation strategies

Implementation strategies are usually developed or reviewed during annual strategic planning sessions of organisations. Considerable time is traditionally set aside for that purpose, and it is common practice that a highly paid development consultant's services are sought to lead the organisation through strategic planning. The strategies under review would have to be placed on an agenda with options and recommendations. Once the new system is designed and a budget is developed for its implementation, it needs to be approved by the board. From my experience, MSWOs are not best known for having strategic planning on their agenda.

Formulating implementation strategies are different from the broader strategic issues and needs facing an organisation. One problem could be that because of the drought, food prices have increased. The implementation strategy will need to identify projects and programs to address the deficit as a strategic issue. The implementation strategy will inform the organisation's activities, what it should do more or less, and what it should start or stop doing. It will also ensure that the implementation is aligned with the organisation's mission.

There is the view that an implementation strategy follows linearly from an approved policy. Policy implementation is non-linear and must be managed through consensus building and key stakeholders' participation .compromise, contingency planning, resource mobilisation, and

50 Thomas, J.W. and Grindle, M.S. After the decision: Implementing policy reforms in developing countries. (World Development Report, 18(8.) 1990),163-1181.

adaptation⁵¹. This is because new policies affect staff roles, organisational structures and incentives. MSWOs, and particularly those in leadership, are well aware of these changes in behaviour and practice that have to occur. This is why the responsibility for changes is primarily left with chief executives and their management team.

1.4 Statement of the research problem

Based on the discussion above, the research problem that is investigated in this study may now be formulated in the following way:

To what extent do the policies, selection of programmes, and implementation strategies for such programmes employed by the five largest MSWOs in South Africa assist the recipients of their schedules in attaining and maintaining food security and food sovereignty beyond their immediate need for sustenance?

Muslim social relief organisations are aware of the need to assist the recipients of food relief in a situation where they can provide for themselves. This awareness comes from their practice as dispensers of *Zakāh*, which requires that the recipients be supported so that they become contributors of *Zakāh* within a year of becoming a recipient of food relief. The organisations are also constantly criticised by donors for not effectively managing *Zakāh*. This awareness permeates the organisation's work and extends to food relief and food security programmes.

The extent to which the organisation is aware of the need to assist recipients in attaining and maintaining food security was investigated by reviewing organisational policies, its programmes' focus, and implementation strategies. The study did not probe the actual knowledge that the senior managers of the selected Muslim welfare organisation have of terminologies such as *Zakāh*, food relief, food security, food sovereignty, policy formulation and implementation strategies, as it assumed prior knowledge and made the definitions available during the interviewees for reference purposes of both the researcher and the respondents. One of the questions posed during the interviews was to what extent terminology is clarified, used, and reported on in both the external and internal communication of each organisation.

The study critically analysed the vision and mission statement, annual reports and promotional material of the respondents using a typology on the characteristics of faith-based organisations (FBOs). This information is supplemented by interviews with chief executives and

51 Rebecca Sutton, *The Policy Process: An Overview* (London Overseas Development Institute Aug. 1999), 23.

programmes directors of each organisation to establish whether additional information on the organisation's engagement with concerns over food security not reflected in such documents may be obtained.

The basis of such analysis of the documentation available from each organisation (supplemented by interviews with chief executive officers and programmes directors) allowed me to compare aspects of the selected organisations regarding their policies and implementation strategies related to food security. This comparison yielded recommendations to inform policy and practice in Muslim welfare organisations.

However, it is essential to clarify the phrase "to what extent" in the research problem statement above. This requires appropriate conceptual tools at different levels of analysis.

Firstly, the distinction between food relief, food security, and food sovereignty was employed to establish whether an organisation attends to these aspects.

Secondly, the distinction between policies, programme selection, and implementation strategies are relevant. The organisations did not explicitly indicate food security in their policy documents. Still, they used the terminology and addressed it in selecting programmes or implementation strategies. The organisations assisted the recipients of its food relief programmes to obtain food security even though this is not reflected in the organisation's policy documents. There is an acute awareness of the need for food security amongst the senior staff of the organisations but a failure to reflect that concern in the organisation's policy and the selection of appropriate programmes.

Thirdly, the nature of the selected programmes is essential. The organisation that prioritised short-term programmes to provide relief in the context of disasters received much publicity (and funding) is less inclined to attend to food security and lacks the capacity and staff to implement such programmes. By contrast, the organisation that has an integrated development including year-long programmes of food distribution to its' recipients in the neighbourhood they work is found to be inclining to food security. All organisations are implementing seasonal programmes providing food relief in the context of Ramaḍān or Hajj recognised that whilst fulfilling religious obligations that have also identified a chronic dependence on food relief. The selection of programmes in all organisations in this research was quite significant. There is a danger that the choice of programmes may be made purely to fulfil religious obligations (in paying *Zakāh*) without responding to developmental needs based on a contextual analysis.

Moreover, there is a need to coordinate short term, seasonal and longer-term programmes if the distinction between food relief, food security and food sovereignty is maintained.

Fourthly, the phrase “to what extent” suggests that attention to food security may be graded regarding how prominent a place is assigned to the need for food security and food sovereignty compared to food relief. This may be reflected in the mission statements, the selection of programmes, and the marketing material. The extent to which food security is factored into the selection of programmes may also be reflected in the organisation’s budget and allocation of human and financial resources to particular programmes.

1.5 Procedure and Methodology

The investigation of the research problem logically required the following five steps:

Firstly, some background is provided on the Muslim injunction regarding the payment of *Zakāh* (obligatory charity) and *Sadaqah* (voluntary charity) how this is acted upon in the South African context. This is done through authoritative contemporary international scholars on *Zakāh* and a brief overview of South African Muslim literature as reflected in chapter two of the thesis.

Secondly, some conceptual clarification is presented on the distinctions between food relief, food security, and food sovereignty employed in this study. This is documented in chapter three of the envisaged thesis.

Thirdly, a brief description of Muslim welfare organisations' emergence and subsequent history is provided to situate the selected organisations within a broader South African and global context. This is documented in chapter four, which includes typologies of faith-based organisations used to analyse the characteristics of the organisations in this thesis.

Fourthly, this study presents the empirical findings of each of the selected MSWOs in South Africa to establish whether and to what extent the policies, selection of programmes, and implementation strategies for such programmes employed by each organisation to assist the recipients of such programmes in attaining and maintaining food security and food sovereignty beyond their immediate needs for sustenance.

This question is primarily addressed based on a critical and detailed analysis of the vision and mission statement, annual reports, audited financial statements, website material, and marketing material available from each organisation. The secondary material on such organisations was taken into account where available.

This documentary analysis supplemented in-depth, semi-structured interviews with each selected organisation's CEO and programmes directors. The interviewees illuminated aspects of the organisation's policies, programmes selection, implementation strategies, and marketing material. The interviews helped establish an awareness of the need for food security amongst an organisation's senior staff, which is not necessarily reflected in the organisation's policy or selecting appropriate programmes. The interview had one main topic, food security. After analysing the primary documents and the reports, the interviews were conducted. I wanted to get the informants' interpretation of what they publish in their materials and websites. I approached this interaction using two methodologies. Content analysis is applied to the MSWO's self-presentation and upward communication (reports). In contrast, interview analysis was applied to the data obtained in the semi-structured interviews conducted with the MSWOs senior managers. Audio recordings of such interviews were made with the permission of the interviewees and are safely stored. Five interviews were conducted with organisations. An additional interview was born with a food wholesaler that supplies several MSWOs with food parcels regularly and substantially. The interview with the wholesaler is reflected in chapter three as it provides the context of how food is made available in South Africa. The investigation results on each of the selected organisations are documented in four chapters (Five to Eight), one on each of the selected organisations.

The research design used semi-structured interviews with respondents. The same questions guided the interview with the MSWOs, whilst a separate set of questions were designed for the Food wholesaler. A qualitative model of research was used.

Qualitative research “involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials—case study, personal experience, introspection, life story, interview, artefacts, and cultural texts and productions, along with observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011:3- 4).

From the description provided above in terms of procedures and methodology, it is evident why qualitative research was appropriate.

Babbie and Mouton (2001:278) define qualitative research designs “as the study which emphasises on studying human action in its natural setting and through the eyes of the actors themselves, together with an emphasis on detailed description and understanding

phenomena within the appropriate context, already suggest what type of designs will be methodologically acceptable”.

This study looks at “human action” implications in building the organisations under discussion. It allows the key personalities to explain the unique nature of the way their work has evolved and its impact.

The qualitative method was designed based on the sensitivity associated with the MSWOs in this study. There is considerable risk involved for the key personalities as they are responsible for handling substantial donations in a country amid violent crime. The MSWOs are also sensitive not to publish the names and amounts donated by donors again to protect them from violent crime. Finally, a qualitative approach addresses the element of fierce competition between the respondents for funds, donors and beneficiaries that would have been exposed in a detailed comparison, for example, the percentage of the funds received on operational expenditure. The choice of a qualitative design in this study is appropriate as it shows an understanding and appreciation of the risks and challenges faced by the leaders and managers of the responding MSWOs.

Finally, the outcomes of this description and analysis of the strategies employed within each organisation to assist the programme’s recipients in attaining and maintaining food security beyond their immediate needs for sustenance are compared. The results of such a comparison are documented in chapter nine of the thesis, and the study concludes with a set of recommendations.

1.6 Conclusion

This research project is informed by empirical research questions, which is exploratory⁵². The study is empirical as new or existing data was collected and analysed. The study is experimental as this is a relatively new area of investigation in South Africa. This study creates a space for others to follow with greater depth. By concentrating on the role of these MSWOs, the largest distributors of food relief, this study hopes to attract sufficient attention to the subject that will spur further academic research and impact on the policies and programmes of these organisations and indeed on the mainstream NGO sector. As stated earlier, this study also offers recommendations to the organisations to consider. These recommendations can be further

52 Earl Babbie and Johann Mouton, *The Practice of Social Research*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 74.

developed as separate organisational programmes, collaborative and coordinating initiatives, and advocacy campaigns.



Chapter Two: Faith-based Giving

2.1 Introduction

Muslim organisations have been established worldwide to channel voluntary and obligatory “charity” or faith-based giving by individual Muslims. South African MSWOs provide food relief to the poor, especially during natural or anthropogenic emergencies using charitable contributions. The obligatory “charity” paid to these organisations is known as *Zakāh* that is the third pillar of Islam. The voluntary charity includes various forms such as *Sadaqah*, *Lillah*, *Qard Hasan* and *Waqf*.

This chapter will explore this practice of faith-based giving, also known as *infaq*¹ and expand in some detail on *Zakāh* and the establishment of *Waqf* (or endowments) in the South African context. South Africa’s Muslims, which comprise less than two per cent of the population, are considered particularly generous as givers. South Africans are a nation of givers². But what motivates this giving and social exchange by Muslims of South Africa and worldwide?

2.2 Social Exchange

Social exchange theory suggests that human relationships are formed using a subjective cost-benefit analysis and comparing alternatives. As one of the leading proponents of this theory, Homans defines social exchange as the exchange of activity, tangible or intangible, and more or less rewarding or costly, between at least two persons³. In the quest to understand social giving, it may also be helpful to reflect on Emile Durkheim’s (1972) theories of five modes of social exchange; and alongside that, compare and contrast both Homans and Durkheim with the four modes of social exchange within Islam. Durkheim lists his methods of exchange as the economy of commerce, which involves the market actors, the economy of obligation that incorporates the state and the nuclear family, the economy of fear which is essentially about crime, the economy of affection which focusses on the extended family and the economy of volition that reflects the voluntary giving by all role players.

1 Monzer Kahf, “Infaq in the Islamic Economic System” (<http://monzer.kahf.com/papers.html>(2005)) (accessed 10/10/2021)

2 Everatt David, et. al. “Patterns of giving in South Africa.” (In *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Non-profit Organizations* 16, no. 3275-291 September 2005)

3 George Homans, *The Social Exchange Theory of G C Homans* (1961).
(https://www.researchgate.net/publication/254936722.TheTheory_of_Social_Exchange_of_GC_Homans)

By grouping modes of exchange, Durkheim attempts to clarify Homans' definition of how these exchanges may occur. However, his view is simplistic and does not explain how it is tangible or intangible, what is the cost-benefit of the business if it is mutual or one-sided and does not explore the possibility that these modes of exchange may have overlapped. It is also clear that these modes exist primarily in industrialised western societies with a clear distinction between nuclear and extended families. It also does not speak to what motivates the actors in the various modes of exchange.

The social exchange that occurs and is discussed in an Islamic context is the broad concept of *Infaq*⁴, which is rather poorly translated as spending or giving. The believer is motivated to uphold this core concept and belief of giving or spending for the betterment of society and the sake of God. The giving for the sake of God is for the benefit of God's creation, with priority given to the Children of Adam (humanity) from amongst creation. This concept of *Infaq* is the central pillar of the Islamic economic system and the Islamic way of life⁵.

2.3 Social Giving in Islam

Being a Muslim implies spending or giving or exchanging where the cost-benefit is measured in intangibles. It is slightly different from other faiths because it has precise amounts, periods, terminologies, and kinds of giving⁶. It is not a broad and vague encouragement to charity or a reflection of the economy of volition by anyone who may have a random desire to engage in this mode of social exchange. It is foundational and a pillar of faith and strongly linked to the pillar of daily prayer (*Salāt*), which becomes void if not related to giving. In the majority of the cases where *Salāt* and *Zakāh* are mentioned together, the word *Zakāh* covers all forms of financial obligations that we have upon one another in a Muslim society. *Salāt* represents God's rights, and *Zakāh* describes other people's rights that God has placed upon us. By combining *Zakāh* with *Salāt*, we are constantly reminded that Islam is not a religion that only gives importance to fulfilling God's rights; it also prioritises the rights that other human beings have upon us⁷. The emphasis on giving is so strong that the word *infaq*, its synonyms and its

4 Monzer Kahf, "Infaq in the Islamic Economic System" ([http://monzer.kahf.com/papers.html\(2005\)](http://monzer.kahf.com/papers.html(2005)))(accessed 10 Oct 2021).

5 Monzer Kahf, "Infaq in the Islamic Economic System" ([http://monzer.kahf.com/papers.html\(2005\)](http://monzer.kahf.com/papers.html(2005)))(accessed 10 Oct 2021).

6 Yusuf Al Qardawi, *Fiqh Al Zakāh* (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2001).

7 Sayed Muhammad Rizvi, "Zakat in Shi 'a Fiqh" (<https://www.al-islam.org/articles/zakat-shia-fiqh-sayyid-muhammad-rizvi>) (accessed 7 Oct 2021).

derivatives are mentioned 167 times in the Quran and the sayings of the prophet Muhammad ﷺ innumerable times.

Monzer Kahf⁸ explains these social exchanges as categorised into four different obligations: Personal, Circumstance, community, and Religious. These obligations are not vague or open for interpretation; instead, they provide a context, which distinguishes it from giving in other faiths as directed. There is a personal obligation as part of one's religious rites. The giving of *Zakāh*, which will be elaborated on below, is considered a personal obligation on those who have attended to their needs first and then have the required minimum of *Nisab*⁹. The giver and those they are responsible for must not suffer because of the overzealousness or generosity of the giver.

It is divided into the *Zakāh* on the property or everything that one owns and calculated annually at 2.5% of the property and the *Zakāh* on persons which are distributed at the end of the month of Ramadan and paid by the head of the household on behalf of all in that household and directly to the poor Muslim to celebrate *Eid*. Another category that is viewed as a personal obligation is when a person makes an oath or a pledge to address a particular problem or issue, such as supporting orphans or paying for the education of the poor and the provision of food to those in need.

The second form of giving is viewed as an obligation that arises from the social circumstances the believer finds themselves in. In the case of a married man, he has to spend on his wife and see to all her needs and that of minor children, including their education. This is, however, not required of the wife. If, however, she is also by the means to and her husband is unable, her contributions are highly valued and rewarded. If the person is by the standards, spending on near relatives such as parents, neighbours, and even guests become obligatory. The person's circumstances may be that they fell short of their religious obligation or social behaviour regarding misdeeds, libel, and legal responsibility. Spending becomes an obligation of these circumstances.

The third category of gifting or spending is those referred to as community obligations. This type of spending is the responsibility of every individual, but if one person covers the gift, the

8 Monzer Kahf, "Infaq in the Islamic Economic System" ([http://monzer.kahf.com/papers.html\(2005\)](http://monzer.kahf.com/papers.html(2005)))(accessed 10 Oct 2021).

9 The Nisab by the gold standard is 3 ounces of gold (87.48 grams) or its equivalent in cash. You can calculate this online, by multiplying the number of grams by the current market value of gold. The Nisab by the silver standard is 21 ounces of silver (612.36 grams) or its equivalent in cash.

community is relieved of this duty. This type of gifting covers all needs of communities and includes infrastructure such as roads, water systems, and religious structures such as mosques. It also covers community needs such as scientific research, economic development of poorer areas, the poor and needy as well when *Zakāh* proceeds were not enough. Interestingly, the Islamic system does not view public infrastructure as solely the state's responsibility.

The fourth category of gifting is religious-based spending and is regarded as voluntary spending. This is divided between once-off contributions and the contributions that have a long-term and ongoing impact¹⁰. The short-term donations go by various names, such as *Sadaqat*, directly translated as giving with a sincere heart. The long-term impact comes from establishing endowments known as *waqf* or *Awqaf* as its plural. These *Awqaf* come in two forms. The first is purchasing a property such as productive agricultural land or real estate. The income generated is utilised to finance health care, education, social services, public infrastructure such as roads and even pay for defence against external threats. The second category is where the endowment directly addresses a social need, and the income generated because of its establishment is used for its maintenance and operating expenses. Once established, providing drinking water fountains, a mosque, an orphanage, etc., once found, would only require donations for its operating expenses¹¹.

These four categories indicate that spending and social giving is encouraged in a very structured manner and are not random acts of goodwill. Because *Infaq* or spending is given without any expectation of reward or return, the giver does not lose their income and wealth because God guarantees that at least the same amount will be returned, if not more¹². Cost-benefit, as discussed by Homans, is not a consideration when giving. The argument that charity seems to be a black hole or endless pit that has no return does not hold when the following verse argues that the believer's contribution is not meaningless or wasted but increases in value.

The parable of those who spend their substance in the way of God is that of a grain of corn: it grows seven ears, and each ear has a hundred grains. God gives manifold increase to whom He pleases: God cares for all and knows all things.

10 Taufique Al-Mubarak, "The Maqāsid of Zakāh and Awqaf and their roles in Inclusive Finance." (Islam and Civilizational Renewal 7.2. IAIS Malaysia April 2016), 219-220.

11 Taufique Al-Mubarak, "The Maqāsid of Zakāh and Awqaf and their roles in Inclusive Finance." (Islam and Civilizational Renewal 7.2. IAIS Malaysia April 2016), 219-220.

12 See The Holy Qur'ān, Al-Baqara, 2: 261.

But this encouragement and reward are not without its conditions. Giving should be for the pleasure of God, for the welfare of the poor and without any expectations of compensation; it should not be given for pretence or to show off; it is better given secretly than when given openly. It should be out of lawful and permissible income and assets.¹³

Though the Muslim who gives (practises *Infaq*) should do so without any hope of a return and please God, the *Qur'an* does present several benefits for gifting. These differ based on whether the spending is monetary or non-monetary. The benefits of monetary *Infaq*: At least the same amount spent will be returned. This will be the minimum return, then twice the amount is given or may increase many times. Or even more than 700 times the initial amount. Faith leaders and even charitable organisations use the counting of rewards to motivate the giver to engage in generosity. The more critically minded have challenged this view of counting rewards, whether for charity or prayers, as a form of “cash-register”, Islam that should be discouraged. The more critically minded Muslim would hold the view best expressed through the quotation of Martin Luther King Junior. He reminds us that “Philanthropy may be commendable, but it must not overlook the circumstances of economic injustice that makes philanthropy necessary¹⁴.

However, the benefits of giving are also encouraged in non-monetary or non-numerical terms as honourable acts of kindness, unselfish acts of worship that improve one’s character, as ways to relieve the stresses of daily life and sufferings the time of death. Giving is particularly encouraged as acts of solidarity with the poor and encouraged when one is undergoing difficulty of one’s own such as ill-health or loss of life. This accounts for the increase in giving experienced and recorded by Muslim charities at the peak of the COVID 19 pandemic¹⁵. These appeals are usually found in the saying of the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ and located in the compendiums of scholars such as Tirmidhi, Muslim and Bukhari¹⁶. Giving, *Infaq* or philanthropy is not the domain of one sector of society or the believers. The value attached to providing is praised no matter who practices it, and here the story of the prostitute who drops her shoe in the well to fetch water for a thirsty dog is often cited¹⁷. Similarly, the amount given does not increase its importance.

13 See The Holy Quran Al Baqara (2: 177); (2:262); (2 :264) (2:267) (2:271).

14 <https://www.brainyquote.com/martin-luther-king> (accessed 15 November 2021).

15 Nasser Haghamed, Faith-based fundraising during COVID (<https://www.devex.com/news/q-a-islamic-relief-ceo-on-faith-based-fundraising-during-covid>) (accessed on 21 Nov 2021).

16 Three of the six compilers of Hadith. often referred to as Imam Tirmidhi, Imam Muslim and Imam Bukhari.

17 Hadith, <https://sunnah.com/bukhari:3321>. (Accessed on the 29 Nov 2021).

2.4 Social Giving in South Africa

In comparison to the discussion of *Infaq* above, which is giving within a religious context, giving is also viewed as an act of expressing solidarity with the poor and marginalised. The study on Giving and Solidarity¹⁸ identifies five different forms of giving, of which religious giving is but one. It notes that religion plays a vital role in the life of the majority of South African citizens. Faith-based giving has extended at least for the Muslim and Jewish faiths beyond its adherents, and this study confirms this later on for the Muslim community.

The giving of the rich for the poor is the second form¹⁹ of giving. Among others, it is recognised for two reasons: its psychological motives to gain respect, status, and prestige and is considered by the rich as benevolence and paternalism. The rich engage in giving because it meets their needs, such as their interests in the Arts or Music that speaks to their refinement. The other reason the rich give is because they require a tax deduction. However, gifting of the poor is seldom discussed and is particularly prevalent in social arrangements in the global south. The best example in South Africa is the *stokvel*, but it may also be very specific in burial societies. *Stokvels* are collective saving clubs that assist members with burial costs, bride price or *lobola* expense, and even furniture. The poor also tend to give more of their time as in-kind giving, such as caring for the sick or tutoring the children in the neighbourhood at the local library.

The third²⁰ form of giving, referred to as the giving in the “economy of affection, is not widely acknowledged as a form of giving. Still, it explains how much of the giving has contributed to alleviating the suffering caused by slavery, colonialism, and apartheid. It continues to play an even more significant role in the democratic dispensation. This giving within the extended family or people from the same village, geographic location, or ethnicity is not recorded and is challenging to quantify. The cost of care for the sick or disabled is a case in point. This would be a cost born by a nursing home or organisation that cares for the disabled; both institutions would also require state grants. Here the payment of registration fees for university access or total price of school fees within the extended families have not only assisted the individual student but lifted an entire family out of poverty.

18 Adam Habib et al, Giving and Solidarity HSRC Press (2008).

19 Adam Habib et al, Giving and Solidarity HSRC Press (2008).

20 Adam Habib et al, Giving and Solidarity HSRC Press (2008).

The fourth type²¹ of giving in South Africa, identified by the *Giving and Solidarity* study, is corporate giving. The Anglo American and Rembrandt groups established their earliest recorded programmes through the Urban Foundation. They attempted to make amends for the damage caused by the Apartheid system. This is particularly clear following the 1976 student uprisings in South Africa's urban areas.

The fifth type²² of giving is giving, which occurs within a political context. As is all of the above, sharing is worthy of detailed and separate studies. It is important to note that giving must not absolve the state from its responsibility. This is but one consideration of giving within a political context. The second is the Foundations established by the billionaires as tax breaks. These are considered undemocratic ways through which the rich reduce the tax pool from which all citizens benefit. Another example of political giving was the international support received by those non-governmental organisations as part of the anti-apartheid role. These were grants received for social justice activities and had declined considerably with the emergence of the democratic government. But because of the rise of corruption, this type of funding, especially for human rights organisations, is increasing.

These types of giving are mentioned alongside the broad discussion of *Infaq* or giving within the Muslim community. Reference will be made later to explain and discuss the work of the four responding organisations.

2.5 Islamic Economy

People are God's, so is wealth²³. This is an apophthegm attributed to Imam Ali, the son in law of the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ. The maxim explains the verse from the Quran, which states that the Kingdom of the Heavens and the Earth and everything between them belong to God. He creates what He Will, and God have power over all things²⁴. The notion of wealth is such that if everything belongs to God, then human beings are the custodians of whatever money and wealth God gave them. The conventional notions of control and ownership (private or collective), accumulation of wealth, production, exchange, distribution and consumption of

21 Adam Habib A et al, *Giving and Solidarity* (HSRC Press 2008).

22 Adam Habib A et al, *Giving and Solidarity* (HSRC Press 2008).

23 As-Sadr M.B *Iqtisaduna* published by The Islamic Book (1983).

24 See The Holy Qur'ān, Al Maida 5-Verse 17.

material resources are impacted by this core belief that God has dominion over all things²⁵. This directly challenges the notion of private ownership as understood in western societies.

The discussion around resources, control, ownership, distribution, means of production, consumption, exchange all fall within the ambit of the economic system of a particular society. Regarding material resources, the conventional view is that resources are limited and human desires are unlimited. Economics is the study of how society manages its scarce resources²⁶. The Islamic idea, expressed through the following verse, is that there are sufficient resources, “Indeed, we have created everything in a precise amount”²⁷. The crisis facing humanity is that of the maldistribution of these resources²⁸. This maldistribution is symptomatic of an unjust social system that allows specific individuals or groups to exploit others and deprive them of their rightful share of the resources God has provided for all, resulting in poverty and misery that the believers can address through their compulsory and voluntary contributions. The process of managing this maldistribution of resources, this imbalance which causes deprivation and makes people vulnerable, leads us to the Islamic view of how society should be organised. Islam introduces the concept *Iqtisad* expressed in the Arabic language as the noun and its verb *iqtisada*, which comes from the root word *qasd*, which means equilibrium or evenly in between²⁹. This *Iqtisadi* activity of working towards equilibrium and ensuring that everyone gets from God’s creation better explains how resources are managed and distributed. In this context, the Islamic concepts *Infaq*, *Zakāh*, *Sadaqā*, *Lillah*, *Khums*, *Qard Hasan* (good loans) and *Waqf* (endowments) are considered obligatory or voluntary contributions are introduced to re-establish the equilibrium.

The practice of *Zakāh* is located centrally within the *Iqtisad* “economic” system of Islam. These concepts are not individual benevolence, and it does not have a secondary role. It is, in fact, a core belief. *Zakāh* is presented as personal devotion, but it is part of the socio-economic system of Islam³⁰, which is in its quest to establish a society that holds a just balance between the two extremes of being extravagant or niggardly³¹. It also brings the rich and the poor closer to each

25 Bakir Al Hassani, *Iqtisad -The Islamic Alternative for Economics*, (1988), 3-6.

26 Mankiw G. *Principles of Economics* Dryden Press (1998), 4.

27 See The Holy Qur’ān, Chapter Qamar 54:49.

28 Bakir Al Hassani, *Iqtisad -The Islamic Alternative for Economics* (1988), 3-6.

29 Bakir Al Hassani, *Iqtisad -The Islamic Alternative for Economics* (1988), 3-6.

30 Yusuf Al Qardawi: *Fiqh al Zakāh* (2001), 10-17.

31 Bakir Al- Hassani, *Iqtisad – The Islamic Alternative for Economics* (1988), 3-6.

other, thus establishing harmony and a means to address inequality instead of anger, resentment, and jealousy, resulting in a disturbance of peace in a supra-national community known as an Ummah.

The Belief in the Oneness of God, the establishment of daily prayers, payment of *Zakāh*, fasting, and pilgrimage to Mecca comprises the five pillars of Islam³². The belief in God is individually and collectively expressed through the performance of daily prayers, the fasting, the pilgrimage and the giving of *Zakāh*. The pillars have a dual purpose and benefit that serves the need of the individual and the collective. It is the declaration of the faith that the individual is deserving of the brotherhood, allegiance, and support of the Muslim community. This support includes benefitting from *Zakāh*, and commitment to the core beliefs includes contributing towards its payment³³. These pillars are slanted towards the collective or the communal to establish harmony³⁴. The belief in the Oneness of God is declared in a community or *Ummah* upon entering the faith. Prayer is encouraged with the community to strengthen the bonds of the community or *Ummah*. The breaking of the fast is encouraged to be done with family, friends, and community, and the pilgrimage is to be done with the larger global community or Ummah from all over the world³⁵. *Zakāh* is paid for the public benefit, and wealth is circulated within a community. The giving of *Zakāh* begins to take on the “contours of a social movement”³⁶. Izetbegovic further explains the view that *Zakāh* is a manifestation of the principle of solidarity as the highest or maximum expression of their humanity, where, not only treasure chests (bank accounts) but also hearts are opened, poverty is eliminated amongst the poor, just as indifference is eliminated amongst the rich. This view is also strongly supported by the main objectives of Islamic law known as the *Maqāṣid of the Sharia*, which is the preservation of (1) the religion of Islam; (2) human life; (3) progeny; (4) the faculty of reason; and, (5) material wealth³⁷. In contextualising the five “essentials” of *maqāṣid al-Sharia*, classical scholar Izz al-Din ibn Abd al-Salam’s commentary is helpful³⁸. He is reported to have

32 Murata, Sachiko and Chittick, William. *The Tao of Islam* State of New York University Press (1994), 31.

33 Alijah Izetbegovic, *Islam Between East and West* (American Trust Publications 1984), 158-160.

34 Alijah Izetbegovic, *Islam Between East and West* (1984).

35 Alijah Izetbegovic, *Islam Between East and West* (1984).

36 Alijah Izetbegovic, *Islam Between East and West* (1984).

37 Taufique Al-Mubarak T “The Maqāṣid of Zakāh and Awqaf and their roles in Inclusive Finance.” (2016 April), 219-220.

38 <https://www.muslimheritage.com/izz-al-din-ibn-abd-al-salam/> (accessed 15 Nov 2021).

written that “all legal rulings in the areas of jurisprudence are contained within” the following Quranic verse:

“Behold, God enjoins justice and the doing of good, and generosity towards [one’s] fellow-men, and He forbids all that is shameful, and that runs counter to reason, as well as envy; [and] He exhorts you [repeatedly] so that you might bear [all this] in mind.” (Qur’an 16:90).

It is in the preservation of the religion of Islam and its establishment into a political, social and economic system that provides the setting for the fulfilment of the religious obligation to pay *Zakāh*.

2.6 *Zakāh as Infaq*

Zakāh is derived from the Arabic word *tazkiyya* and carries the same connotation of purifying or cleansing one’s wealth after the poor have been given their due. *Zakāh* means growth and is best explained by the Arabic expression *Zakāhaz-Zar* – the plant grew. It also implies purification in Arabic³⁹.

It carries another more profound meaning. Derived from the same etymological root as that which refers to the pruning of a tree, it conveys a sense of getting an increase in one’s wealth. If a tree’s branches are allowed to grow wildly and unruly, it will, without purpose, drain the soil of its nutrients whilst stressing the support it receives from its roots and trunk. The fruit it bears will be of poor quality. A pruned tree, on the other hand, is a healthier tree. It produces a better harvest⁴⁰.

The contributor of *Zakāh* will see a growth in their wealth and is based on a hadith of the Holy Prophet, which says that your wealth does not decrease by giving⁴¹. The giving of *Zakāh* purifies the soul from the evil of greediness and sins.

Zakāh as an Arabic word and Islamic concept is often translated into English as alms-giving, obligatory charity, and a religious tax. A tax means that it is regulated and enforceable by an

39 SANZAF, A Handbook on Zakāh 25th Anniversary (SANZAF 1999),11.

40 Sheikh Abdurrahman Khan, Public Lecture 21 Feb 2016.

41 Hadith, The Book of Virtue, Muslim (2588) (<https://sunnah.com/muslim:2588>) (accessed Nov 2021).

external political authority. The word alms is derived from the Judeo- Christian traditions, which are voluntary contributions and can take both the form of an in-kind or cash donation. There is a broad understanding that it should be given to the poor without any stipulation on who specifically widows, orphans etc., may receive it, what quantity may be provided and when it should be distributed.

The use of the words obligatory and charity together in itself is problematic as an obligation requires commitment, a sense of duty, and it implies a moral imperative. Charity is generous, kind and considerate, an expression of sympathy and humanity, and a voluntary action⁴². The former requires an effort to feel accountable to an external authority. The latter is an internal feeling expressed without accountability to an external source but rather an innate desire to act benevolently. Tax and obligations are more important words with rules and regulations, whilst alms and charity tend to be voluntary and appeal to the softer side of human nature. Since *Zakāh* is an article of faith and a core belief, it is viewed by the believing Muslim consciously that it is understood that they can neither willingly default when they are by the means nor can they abuse it when in need because the wealth that is shared belongs to the Almighty and is not their possession. Their faith is affirmed and even tested by engaging with this 3rd pillar of Islam. *Zakāh*, whether perceived as an externally imposed obligation, a natural expression of humanity, a tax or even a habit, it is a fundamentally faith-based action. If there is no faith in a Divine being to whom one is accountable, *Zakāh* will radically change. This is because there is a clear stipulation of what threshold of funds one should have for personal usage, what percentage of one's remaining wealth is due for *Zakāh* and who precisely is eligible to receive this assistance and who is not.

2.7 Zakāh from the Quran

Islamic law is based on these two main sources. A primary source of guidance and reference for all actions of Muslims is the Holy *Qur'an*. The hadith (sayings of the Prophet) is the second most important source. The *Qur'an* provides general principles, and the hadith expands on these principles⁴³. The *Qur'an* was revealed in the formative and established years of the Prophet's mission and is usually referred to as the Meccan and Medina periods. *Quranic* verses were revealed as general guidance and as actual legal instructions to a much lesser extent.

42 See www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/voluntary (accessed 24 Nov 2021).

43, Mohammad Hashim Kamali, *Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence*. (Cambridge: The Islamic Texts Society 1991).

Zakāh was referred to in eight *Qur'anic* verses during the Meccan period of (13) and twenty-two times in the Madinah period of 10 years. During the formative years that *Zakāh* was considered more a virtue, many viewed it as a type of public charity to strengthen the community, especially those who were persecuted and left destitute because of their conversion to a new faith. It was during the formal years that *Zakāh* became obligatory. One of the characteristics of the established years is the nature of revealed verses which are generally longer and more detailed.

An example of the formative year's encouragement to pay *Zakāh* would be chapter 9: verse. 11 “But if they repent, establish prayers and practise *Zakāh*, they are your brethren in faith”, whereas chapter 9 verse 60 is more detailed in its explanations. *Zakāh* is allocated to eight distinct categories of people, namely 1) *Al Fuqara'* (the poor), 2) the *Al-Masakin* (the needy), 3) to those employed to collect the *Zakāh*, 4) to attract the hearts of those who have been inclined (towards Islam), 5) to free the captives, 6) for those in debt, 7) for God's cause, and 8) for the wayfarer (a traveller who is cut off from everything).

2.8 *Zakāh* in early Muslim History

It is necessary to briefly sketch the Meccan period to provide insight into the socio-economic context in which *Zakāh* emerged as a practice of Muslims.

For the first seven years of the mission of the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ, the Pagan Meccan elite at first viewed his propagation of Islam as an irritation. At first, they sought to ridicule and belittle his propagation attempts by claiming that only the marginalised society, the enslaved people, the women, and the youth, had joined his movement. Later, as his movement grew in numbers and his views became known, it was considered a direct challenge and insurrection campaign against this Meccan elite's economic interests and authority. They responded with their plan, including ostracisation, boycott, and ultimately assassination.

They were correct in identifying the poor and those without social status as having joined his movement, but what scholars do not discuss in any detail is how the new converts were sustained financially. Upon accepting the message of Islam, these marginalised and vulnerable of society lost their source of income and sustenance⁴⁴.

The Meccan elite who opposed the Prophet soon realised that his movement was financially sustained by his wife Khadija's financial support and physical protection and his clan, the Banu

44 Jaafar Subhani, *The Message* (Qom IRI, Be'that Foundation 2014), 262.

Hashim. The Meccan elite then decided that the Banu Hashim as a clan and Khadija, a wealthy businesswoman, should be targeted for an economic boycott and social isolation. A formal declaration was written and pinned to the wall of the Holy *Kaa'ba*, which stated that no one should conduct any business with the Banu Hashim, not engage socially, which included marriage and that this ostracisation was because the Banu Hashim is protecting and financing the Prophet and his movement. Abu Talib, the patriarch of the clan and uncle of the Prophet, decided to gather his nephew and family and retreated to the valley of Abu Talib just outside of Mecca for their protection and specifically to protect the Prophet against mounting threats. This boycott lasted three years, and the financial loss to the Prophets movement was severely impacted. This was because the two financiers of his campaign, primarily his wife Khadija and his uncle Abu Talib spent all they possessed in keeping those living under the economic boycott alive. Not all the early Muslims were affected by the economic embargo, and when the economic boycott ended, there were those with some wealth amongst the Muslims.⁴⁵

This period of the social sanction, ostracisation and economic boycott of the Prophet and his clan in the history of early Islam and its relation to the emergence of *Zakāh* as a solution to circulate wealth amongst the early Muslims needs further investigation. *Zakāh* was a community building and independent policy and implementing a strategy for the Prophet and the early Muslims. Its further research will justify how Muslims use *Zakāh* to support each other, especially in times of natural and anthropogenic emergencies⁴⁶.

With the establishment of the community as a political entity in the City-State of Medina, the Prophet was instructed through Divine *Qur'anic* revelation to treat *Zakāh* as a legal obligation of the rich to the poor.

The poor and the needy inform *Zakāh* giving organisations of their financial need, but there is a need for a proactive inquiry into the needs of the poor, as was the practice of early Muslim leaders. Among the specific needs identified was that of food. The early Caliphs would walk the streets of Medina with food from the treasury on their backs to find the hungry and provide food without being known to the recipient.

45 Sayyid Ali Asghar Razwy, Restatement of the history of Islam and Muslims (<https://www.al-islam.org>)(accessed January 2020).

46 Jaafar Subhani, The Message (Be 'that Foundation Qom IRI 2014), 262.

In the often-narrated *Hadith* reported by al-Bukhari and Muslims about *Zakāh*, the Prophet answered his representative to Yemen to spend the *Zakāh* collected locally⁴⁷. Like Medina, where the Prophet was based, Yemen was both a geographic and an ideological community. This instruction is carried out to address that imbalance and maldistribution of resources until it is established and no longer required in that community. But because the injunction to pay *Zakāh* is obligatory, it continues to be collected and transferred to where it is needed. In the time of the second Caliph after the Prophet, the same representative, now governor, then sends *Zakāh* collected in Yemen to Medina with the message that there was no one in need of *Zakāh* in the area governed by him in the hope that the central government in Medina find a society in need to which it can distribute the *Zakāh*.

2.9 *Zakāh* Modern Interpretation

The nature of *Zakāh* is “social”, for it is primarily intended for the poor and the needy people of the society. It has a significant spiritual dimension insofar as it purifies the human beings’ wealth as prayers purify their hearts and fasting purifies their bodies. *Zakāh* encompasses these three dimensions, which we can render by refining social tax.⁴⁸ Some scholars argue that because *Zakāh* is an obligation, it should not be interpreted as a form of charity but rather as a right of the poor.⁴⁹ *Zakāh* is also viewed as a vehicle for redistributive justice⁵⁰.

Zakāh is allocated to eight distinct categories of people, namely 1) *Al Fuqara*’ (the poor), 2) the *Al-Masakin* (the needy), 3) to those employed to collect the *Zakāh*, 4) to attract the hearts of those who have been inclined (towards Islam), 5) to free the captives, 6) for those in debt, 7) for God’s cause, and 8) for the wayfarer (a traveller who is cut off) as explained earlier.

Kroesen offers a modern interpretation of the eight categories as 1) Poverty Eradication, 2) overheads of civil servants dealing with social welfare, 3) peacebuilding and community cohesion, 4) promotion of freedom, human rights and civil liberties, 5) personal insolvency settlements, 6) security and defence, 7) homeless, refugees and migrants. Islamic Relief Worldwide has now accepted this interpretation. The organisation also posed the following

47 Hadith, The Office of the Judge (Kitab Al-Aqdiyah) (<https://sunnah.com/abudawud:3592>) (accessed Nov 11 2021).

48 Tariq Ramaḍān, “the poor will come to remind us”, (<http://tariqRamaḍān.com/english-will-ask/>) (accessed 09 May 2016) .

49 Rianne Ten Veen, Charitable Giving in Islam (Birmingham the United Kingdom, Islamic Relief 2009).

50 Ralph Kroesen, Concepts of Development in Islam (University of Birmingham, UK, Working Paper 20 Religion and Development. 2008),48-49.

questions to Sheikh Yusuf al Qardawi, emphasising the challenges Muslim faith-based organisations face, especially those operating in Muslim minority settings⁵¹.

1. Is it permissible to use *Zakāh* given by Muslims to Islamic Relief to benefit non-Muslims in need?
2. Is it permissible to spend the *Zakāh* given to Islamic Relief to pay the teachers of the schools responsible for it?
3. What proportion is it permissible for those working in the field of *Zakāh* to take from it?

Just as it is definite to whom *Zakāh* can be paid, it is also evident as to whom *Zakāh* cannot be spent. They are as follows: the wealthy as they can sustain themselves. *Zakāh* is meant to circulate the wealth from the rich to the poor to attain a degree of equality in society. *Zakāh* is not meant for those capable of working but simply not willing to work. *Zakāh* cannot be used for those who disbelieve and want to fight against Islam. Conversely, *Zakāh* funds can be used to bring those inclined to Islam closer. The family of the Prophet cannot benefit from *Zakāh* as there are other means by which their needs are provided. Within the Shia tradition, the payments of Khums are used to meet the needs of the family of the Prophet. A *Zakāh* payer cannot give his *Zakāh* to his children, wives or parents, but he can provide his *Zakāh* to his siblings, uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces if they are eligible for *Zakāh*. This practice explains how the most significant portion of social giving by individuals in the Muslim community is given to near relatives, according to the UKZN Giving and Solidarity study.

- a) Jurists agree that *Zakāh* is compulsory on the surplus wealth of every Muslim who is sane and who owns the minimum *Nisab*. It is only applicable to Muslims and that the Muslim must take individual responsibility for this action of paying *Zakāh*. The Muslim paying must intend to pay *Zakāh* and do this every year⁵².

The conditions before *Zakāh* becomes due, the *Zakāh* payer must own the *Nisab* and that the funds were available for an entire lunar or Islamic Calendar year. The funds must be in the complete ownership of the person paying *Zakāh*⁵³.

Al-Harith al-A'war reported from Ali ibn Abu Talib that Zuhayr said: I think, the Prophet said: "Pay a fortieth. A dirham is payable every forty, but you are not liable for payment until you

51 The full set of questions and replies is included as Addendum E.

52 Fairuz Mohamed PowerPoint Presentation shared by SANZAF after the interview 25 November 2021.

53 Fairuz Mohamed PowerPoint Presentation shared by SANZAF after the interview 25 November 2021.

have accumulated two hundred dirhams. When you have 200 dirhams, 5 dirhams are expected, and that proportion applies to more significant amounts⁵⁴.

A) There is no *Zakāh* due on personal assets such as the property we live in, motor vehicles, furniture, books, and neither on capital assets or tools required for a trade. There is no *Zakāh* due to certain precious metals and stones such as platinum and diamonds. If the person has dedicated land or property as a *Waqf*, there is no *Zakāh* due. Should a *Zakāh* payer have acquired assets unlawfully, then *Zakāh* is also not applicable on it⁵⁵.

2.10 Critique of *Zakāh*

Joseph Schacht in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* claims that how *Zakāh* is presented today differs considerably from how it was understood and practised by the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ. He claims the nature of *Zakāh* to be ambiguous, which was why many tribes refused to pay *Zakāh* after the death of the prophet. He also claims that some believers, including the second Caliph, accept this view⁵⁶.

Schacht's views are strongly refuted by Qardawi, who dissects his views on *Zakāh* as a fabrication and ambiguous and addresses the issue of the rejectors of payment of *Zakāh* during the rule of the first Caliph. Schacht does not state what Hadith(s) he uses as a basis for his claim “that *Zakāh* as it became known later” was not a *Quranic* or Prophetic injunction but emerged due to the social conditions that the Arabs lived under. Qardawi refutes this by numerous *Quranic* verses and hadith. As for ambiguity, the various hadiths that point to what is due on *Zakāh* and what percentage should be calculated all point to its being precise and unambiguous. The system was in place during the time of the Prophet, who sent collectors to explain the concept and help with its calculation.

Qardawi points to a book that contains all political documents and treaties signed by the prophet in which the importance of *Salat* (daily prayer) and *Zakāh* is stated. Qardawi provides excellent detail on the tribes who were rejectors of paying *Zakāh* after the death of the Prophet. They were of two categories, those who were new and did not fully understand the concept, those who accepted to pay the *Zakāh* but rejected the leadership of the first Caliph.

54 Fairuz Mohamed PowerPoint Presentation shared by SANZAF after the interview 25 November 2021.

55 Fairuz Mohamed PowerPoint Presentation shared by SANZAF after the interview 25 November 2021.

56 Yusuf al Qardawi, *Fiqh al Zakāh*, (2001),38-41.

Zakāh is said to be formally legislated during the second year of the migration to Medina, which is the established period of the Prophets mission. It is not precisely stipulated when during the Meccan period, the practice of *Zakāh* was introduced. Many scholars refer to verses during the Meccan period where the word is used in a *Quranic* chapter or verse revealed during that period, without providing the historical or political context for the revelation.

2.11 Qardawi's *Fiqh al Zakāh*

One of the Muslim world's leading current scholars, Yusuf al Qardawi, believes that *Zakāh* is a right the poor have on the wealth of the rich. He states that *Zakāh* aims at eliminating poverty and making the poor self-sufficient. He further says that *Zakāh* aims to achieve broader spiritual, social, and political goals. Qardawi uses the classic examples to explain his understanding of the political goals as utilising the spending of *Zakāh* on reconciliation of the hearts, the liberation of enslaved people, for those who are in debt and for the sake of God in the broadest meaning of the word.⁵⁷ I would encourage those involved in the distribution of *Zakāh* to contextualise the examples. Here, I would argue that *Zakāh* can also advocate for worthwhile social causes such as eradicating poverty, mitigating the impact of climate change, and the right to food. This could be done by requesting a religious verdict from Qardawi himself.

The objective of the payment of *Zakāh* is both for individual and societal purposes. The person paying the *Zakāh* is not donating or contributing out of a feeling of benevolence but understands that it is done in obedience to the Almighty, and it is a means for self-purification. On an individual basis, Qardawi explains that it addresses miserliness⁵⁸; it trains the believer to give to be thankful to the Almighty. It is a cure for the love of this world, also known as "*Hubbud-Dunya*", and makes the giver aware of not engaging in unlawful earnings. The giver experiences a mutual love for fellow believers as his wealth has a co-owner in the poor. I would argue that it increases solidarity with the poor.

On a societal or community level⁵⁹, Qardawi expands on the purpose of *Zakāh* as a social security net that addresses the socio-economic disparity. The purpose of *Zakāh* also ensures the spiritual integrity of the nation. The *Hadith* states that if a person dies of hunger in a local area where Muslims with wealth live, then everyone in that locality is guilty of murder and

57 Yusuf al Qardawi, *Fiqh al Zakāh*, (2001),10-17.

58 Yusuf al Qardawi, *Fiqh al Zakāh*, (2001),10-17.

59 Yusuf al Qardawi, *Fiqh al Zakāh*, (2001),10-17.

should pay the family of the deceased blood money. *Zakāh* is also used to pay those in debt until recovered. It can be used to help those getting married and to anyone separated from his wealth, commonly referred to as a wayfarer. *Zakāh* is very explicit for use during disasters and calamities that befall communities. The example of death resulting from hunger makes for an exciting challenge to the Muslim community regarding individual and communal responsibilities regarding the Shariah.

Most importantly, Qardawi clarifies that the method of giving *Zakāh* is to ensure that the recipient is not humiliated and that there is no jealousy or hatred towards them⁶⁰. The *Zakāh* giving organisations in-take forms and the application process for *Zakāh* should be evaluated. This brings into question the space the recipient occupies in *Zakāh* management. Is a satisfaction survey offered, and how is this used to advance the work of *Zakāh* management, primarily as the recipient must be supported until they are liberated from their material need⁶¹. There is no obligation on the distributors of the *Zakāh* to spread the funds raised across the eight categories as stipulated in Quran, but it must be ensured that the poor are prioritised and that *Zakāh* is spent where it is needed the most⁶².

Zakāh must not be paid to the wealthy or the children of the wealthy. *Zakāh* should also not be delivered to those capable of earning an income⁶³. These two points need clarification for the rich children who may find themselves in poverty due to a wealthy parent not fulfilling their obligation. Someone capable of earning an income may be unemployed due to the economic system of that society. Here, Qardawi's earlier observation that *Zakāh* is part of the broader financial system becomes essential. As for the non-payment of *Zakāh* to non-Muslims is only forbidden to those who openly fight Islam⁶⁴.

Qardawi also expands in great detail on every section of the eight categories of eligible people for *Zakāh*, assets on which *Zakāh* is due and the distribution of the *Zakāh*. The state's role in collecting and distributing *Zakāh* is also discussed, and *Zakāh* alongside other taxes. The part emphasised is that even if the condition is perceived to be generally unjust, those living under and benefitting in some way from its laws and protection should continue to pay their *Zakāh* to the state. This, however, preceded a period in history in which civil society was well

60 Yusuf al Qardawi, *Fiqh al Zakāh*, (2001), 10-17.

61 Yusuf al Qardawi, *Fiqh al Zakāh*, (2001), 10-17.

62 Yusuf al Qardawi, *Fiqh al Zakāh*, (2001), 10-17.

63 Yusuf al Qardawi, *Fiqh al Zakāh*, (2001), 10-17.

64 Yusuf al Qardawi, *Fiqh al Zakāh*, (2001), 10-17.

developed, as is the case presently. Here the efforts in self-regulation and encouragement of best practise through the *Zakāh* Core Principles project is noteworthy.⁶⁵

Qardawi, at least in his significant work, *Fiqh al Zakāh*, does not explicitly discuss the role of independent MSWOs both in the Muslim majority countries or where Muslims live in minority settings and their role in the collection and distribution of *Zakāh*. However, one of these organisations, Islamic Relief, presents Sheikh Qardawi with a set of questions he replied to. The questions and his answer are included as a supplement in this study – addendum E.

2.12 The Local Distribution of Zakāh

The Prophet Muhammad’s ﷺ instructions to take from “their” rich and return to “their” poor indicate that *Zakāh* is primarily intended to be redistributed within a community. Early Muslim scholars repeatedly emphasised the local nature of *Zakāh* distribution and extensively discussed regional distribution's purpose and benefits.

According to the 9th-century legal scholar *al-Shafi’i*, the first benefit of local *Zakāh* distribution is the most effective and compassionate way to care for the poor. A rich person should first give to those who live closest to him and relatives in the area because no one else is better positioned to know that these people are needy. Another benefit of local distribution is that locals will know which of their relatives and neighbours are in need, saving the poor from begging or otherwise asking for support. The third benefit of local distribution identified by Muslim scholars is based on their assumption that a significant wealth gap in a community would stimulate resentment among those who have less. In pre-modern times, envy was believed to be a powerful force that could cause actual harm to an individual’s health and security⁶⁶.

Zakāh does not only purify the contributor’s property; but also purifies their heart from selfishness and greed for wealth. In return, it purifies the recipient’s heart from envy and jealousy, hatred and uneasiness; and it fosters in their heart, instead, goodwill and warm wishes from the contributor. As a result, the society at large will purify and free itself from class

65 See *Zakāh* Core Principles Document <https://www.puskasbaznas.com/publications/zcp/zcp-english> and the International Journal of Zakat (IJAZ) <https://doi.org/10.37706/ijaz.v3i2>.

66 Dr Ingrid Mattson “Where should *Zakāh* be distributed” (National *Zakāh* Foundation of Canada (<https://nzf.org.uk/knowledge/where-should-zakat-be-distributed>)(accessed 22 Nov 2021).

warfare and suspicion, from ill feelings and distrust, corruption and disintegration, and all such evils⁶⁷.

Zakāh and *Waqf* are conduits that Muslim communities employ to respond and address poverty and hunger. South African MSWOs are criticised because they collect *Zakāh* locally and distribute it in another country without enquiring about the local need and ensuring that at least all the Muslims locally were met before *Zakāh* is distributed in war-torn or famine-hit Muslim majority countries. The organisations distributing the *Zakāh* are considered effective if they strictly adhere to the wishes of the *Zakāh* giver or comply with the rules that have been set down by Muslim jurists/theologians.

2.13 *Waqf* and Its Uses in South Africa

Another form of *Infaq* is that of *Waqf*. It is best explained in the English language as an Endowment. The Awqaf is also defined as a *Sadaqa Jariya*; this implies an ongoing charity. The continuous nature of giving affirms the *Infaq* type described by the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ earlier in this chapter as like a flowing stream. The basic principle is that an asset or cash is donated, remaining untouched. It is only the dividends that are distributed or re-invested. The donation is untouched because the money, farmland or property can never be sold or distributed as charity⁶⁸.

The first known *waqf* in South Africa was made by a woman of slave parents in Cape Town dedicated to building the first mosque (masjid). This was done approximately 150 years after the first Muslims at the Cape of Good Hope which became the refreshing station of the Dutch East India Company⁶⁹.

Today, every town, city or village has some form of *waqf* in the form of a masjid, prayer room or madrassah. Several Muslim Schools that run along with the state schooling system and are partially subsidised by the state are also developed as *Waqf* property by the Muslim community in South Africa. Some schools have also been built or funded by the Islamic Development Bank (As Salaam in Braemar on the KwaZulu South Coast) or the Al Azhar *Waqf* from Egypt.

Some private family *waqfs* have also emerged, for example, Lockhart, Motala, HS Ebrahim, as “Private family trusts” that have supported various religious, educational, and charitable

67 Dr Ingrid Mattson “Where should Zakāh be distributed” (National Zakāh Foundation of Canada (<https://nzf.org.uk/knowledge/where-should-zakat-be-distributed>)(accessed 22 Nov 2021).

68 Awqaf SA website (accessed the 17th August 2021).

69 Ebrahim Mahomed Mahida, History of Muslims in South Africa: A Chronology. (1993), 31.

causes. These trusts built or sponsored several schools, *madrassahs*, *masjids*, and academic scholarships. Other “trusts” that take care of the needs of village communities who have their origins in India, for example, in the Kholvad and Memon communities and villages. These tend to be restricted only to the descendants of parents or grandparents that emigrated to South Africa from these particular villages of India⁷⁰.

The most common *waqfs* in South Africa are *masjids* and *madrassahs*. Beyond these, there are no significant social development *waqfs* on a large scale. Up until 2001, there were no serious efforts towards establishing a public *waqf*. More awareness has been created about *waqf* in recent times with the formation of *Awqaf SA*, and the *waqf* institution is gaining in currency, albeit slow. The focus of *Awqaf SA*, on the one hand, is on the mobilisation of *waqf* funds, and the other is to fund sustainable community development projects. Several communities have identified the latter, and funding in those areas will benefit the *masjid* and *madrassah* infrastructure, learners, imams, and staff⁷¹.

The lack of religious leaders qualified to teach about the importance of *Waqf* the paucity of literature in English that this form of faith-based giving is not trained in religious education centres are all considered impediments as to why *Waqf* is less known and not established in the multitudes it used to⁷².

However, there now seems to be an awareness that *Waqf* can make a difference in people’s lives. New initiatives such as *Awqaf SA* will undoubtedly have a significant impact on the understanding of *Waqf*.

2.14 Conclusion

This chapter on faith-based giving located the practice of giving within a Muslim context. It outlined the rationale behind giving and provided extensive detail on specific forms of giving; these included *Zakāh* and *Waqf*. In addition to detractors, the views of experts on *Zakāh* and its practitioners were included. The chapter sought to provide an overview of the third pillar of Islam in the broadest possible way.

70 Ebrahim Mahomed Mahida, *History of Muslims in South Africa: A Chronology*. (1993)31.

71 Interviewee (m) Interview conducted by Cassiem Khan in April 2017.

72 Interviewee (m) Interview conducted by Cassiem Khan in April 2017.

Chapter Three: Faith and Food Security

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we discussed the practice of Faith-based Giving in Islam and delved into the concept of *Zakāh* and its eligibility. In this chapter, we will be discussing the concepts of food (aid) relief, food security, food sovereignty, the right to food, and explore the understanding practice, context, technical usage, and political application of these concepts. We begin this chapter with the story of a poor Muslim woman impacted by hunger and poverty, the social phenomena which *Zakāh* is designed to address.

3.2 Human Face of Poverty and Hunger

Farida Bibi lives in abject poverty with her three children in a village near Barisal in the Bay of Bengal. If she is lucky enough to be recruited, her only source of income is as a seasonal wage labourer. What follows are quotations that indicate her relationship with food.

In the morning, we eat little rice diluted with water. At midday, we are given bread by people whose fields we work. In the evening we eat rice and vegetables. We eat only roti's with chilli and salt during the lean season to give it some taste.

You dream of food all the time. You fear the mornings because you will wake up hungry and hear the children crying. I have picked up sugarcane that other people have eaten and thrown away to give them something to chew. We have cooked leaves from the trees and roots from the earth. When you have no land and no money to buy food in the market, you do not go near it: it is torture to see what you cannot have.

Hunger moves inside you like a living thing. At first, it makes you restless, but then you grow tired. You don't waste energy by moving about. Sleep is your only escape. You lose interest in the world; hunger eats your flesh. To feed your children is your only concern. You work for neighbours in exchange for a bit of rice or vegetables. You become small. You lose appetite. Then the thought of food stops being a dream. It frightens you. You wonder how you managed to eat. You lose your relationship to food; you lose all ties with your own body.

“We have chewed rags. I have sent my daughter to the town to live as a maidservant. She is ten. I do not have to find food for her. When she comes home, she brings something from the table of her employers. This is a feast day¹.

In her own words, Farida Bibi describes hunger as an uncomfortable or *painful* sensation caused by insufficient food energy consumption². Scientifically, hunger is referred to as food deprivation. Simply put, all hungry people are food insecure. Still, not all food-insecure people are hungry, as there are other causes of food insecurity, including those due to poor intake of micro-nutrients. The picture that also emerges from her is malnutrition, which results from deficiencies, excesses or imbalances in the consumption of macro-and/or micronutrients³. Malnutrition may result from food insecurity or *non-food factors*, such as inadequate care practices for children, insufficient health services, and an unhealthy environment. She experiences poverty, undoubtedly a cause of hunger, lack of adequate and proper nutrition itself is an underlying cause of poverty. A current and widely used definition of poverty is: Poverty encompasses different dimensions of deprivation that relate to human capabilities, including consumption and food security, health, education, rights, voice, safety, dignity and decent work.⁴

3.3 The extent of World Hunger

The case of Farida Bibi is unfortunately not extreme but is too familiar to the 815 million or 1 in 9 individuals who still go to bed on an empty stomach each night⁵. In her story, she and her family do not take in the daily amount of required nutrients for living a healthy life. The daily amount of energy needed for food is 8700kj. Nutrition disorders are caused by an insufficient intake of food or certain nutrients. Nutrition disorders can interfere with the development and growth of children and predispose them to health problems such as infection and chronic disease.⁶

1 Jonathan Seabrook, *The No-Nonsense Guide to World Poverty*. (London, UK New Internationalist (2003), 34.

2 See Rome Declaration on World Food Security (<https://www.fao.org/3/w3613e/w3613e00.htm>FAO(1996). (Accessed on 27/01/2016).

3) See Rome Declaration on World Food Security (<https://www.fao.org/3/w3613e/w3613e00.htm>FAO(1996). (Accessed on 27/01/2016).

4 See Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development:(<https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/docserver/9789264194779>) (Accessed 20 Feb 2020).

5 See reference One in Nine people who are hungry. <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews>) (accessed 21 Feb 2020)

6 Bridget Fenn (www.who.int/diseasecontrol_emergencies/publications/idhe_2009_london_malnutrition) (accessed 5 October 2021)

In 2015, the global community adopted the 17 Global Goals for Sustainable Development to improve people's lives by 2030. Goal 2 – Zero Hunger – pledges to end hunger, achieve food security, improve nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture. During the past few months of 2021, we have again witnessed newspaper headlines screaming humanitarian crises⁷, famine in Ethiopia, and flash appeals to combat mass starvation. Farida Bibi and her children experience the form of less visible hunger. The regular day-in and day-out hunger affect an estimated 852 million people. The number of hungry people has been increasing at a rate of almost four million per year since the second half of the 1990s—wiping out two-thirds of the reduction of 27 million hungry people achieved during the previous five years. While most of the people in the world that are hungry live in Asia (over 500 million), with 221.1 million in India and a 142.1million in China, hunger is most intractable in Africa. In Sub-Saharan Africa, over 230 million people are hungry. In Latin America and the Caribbean, there are an estimated 64 million hungry people, and in the Middle East, over 35 million. While chronic hunger rarely makes the evening news, it is deadly. Each year it kills as many as 30 to 50 million people, more than three times the number who died annually during World War II. Its victims include the approximately 6.5 million children who die from hunger each year⁸.

Farida Bibi and especially her children would be eligible for food relief from the World Food Programme's office in Dhaka, Bangladesh. She would also be eligible for food relief from many international NGOs operating in Bangladesh. Some of these organisations are South African and would mainly be motivated by religious conviction to support her and her family. This support would primarily be provided if a natural or anthropogenic disaster brought about a declared emergency. The help would also reach her if there were no disasters, especially during the Muslim Holy month of Ramadan and at the time of the annual Hajj pilgrimage and specifically from the Day of Eid Al Adha. During Ramadan, food parcels and cooked meals are distributed, and from Eid Adha, meat is slaughtered and distributed to the poor, neighbours and family. The scale is massive and truly global. Typically, the words used by the Muslim faith-based organisations, the Muslim media, and individual Muslim donors during this period would be that their donations will be utilised to provide food aid, food relief, and address food security concerns.

7 <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/oct/07/ethiopia-facing-humanitarian-crisis-un-chief-warns>

8 U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization's (FAO) 2004 Annual Hunger Report,

3.4 Food Aid

Because of its generic usage, Food Aid is naively understood as the handout of food in times of food shortage, usually in Asia or Africa. This concept, however, has a context and is located broadly as International Food Aid and can be understood in three different applications, programme food aid, relief food aid and project food aid.⁹

Food aid is delivered in several ways between and within countries and by a range of governments, multilateral organisations, international non-government organisations and local organisations. It is about providing food and related assistance to tackle hunger, either in emergencies or to help with more profound, longer-term hunger alleviation and achieve food security where people do not have to live in need or fear starvation.¹⁰

Programme Food Aid is the least benevolent and is, in fact, a form of trade and, at worst, a form of dumping. It has no relation to food insecurity or malnutrition. It represents a specific form of in-kind economic assistance. Most Programme Food Aid is provided on a government-to-government basis and sold in recipient country markets to generate cash for the government. They can either use it for administration purposes or invest in moving the agriculture-based economy to more industrialised. Contrary to another common belief about food aid, Programme Food Aid is generally not given freely but is usually sold to the recipient country through concessional financing and export credit guarantees. Therefore, recipients purchase food aid with money borrowed lower than market interest rates.¹¹ The money is borrowed from the donor countries or international financing schemes over which the donor country has some influence. Countries such as South Korea are considered an excellent example of how food aid transformed an agriculture-based economy into an industrialised nation dependent on purchasing goods and services from the donor nation (the United States of America).

Thus, the two objectives of programme food aid are to create a market for the donor country goods through industrialising and modernising the recipient country's economy and stimulating the economy where revenue generating from the food aid was achieved in South Korea. But the revenue generated could also be misused, as was the case in Indonesia.¹² Without a doubt, many food aid recipients, starting with those of the Marshall Plan in Europe

9 <http://www.fao.org/docrep> (accessed 10 Nov 2021).

10 Frederic Mousseau, *Food Aid or Food Sovereignty* (Published Oaklands Institute 2005)3.

11 Frederic Mousseau *Food Aid or Food Sovereignty* (2005).

12 Frederic Mousseau, *Food Aid or Food Sovereignty* (2005).

after World War II, have managed to use this assistance wisely, integrating it into broader development policies aimed at industrialisation and food self-sufficiency, which ultimately boosted living standards and human development. Unfortunately, this approach is not always successful, and for many countries, food aid is integrated into policies leading to structural food deficits and increased dependency on food imports. Such dependence combined with scarce resources to finance imports in the poorest countries has increased poverty and hunger.¹³

As time progressed and recipient countries became more emboldened to raise their concerns, the European Union and the United States, as the most prominent donors of food aid, significantly changed their policies to be more responsive to addressing the fight against hunger and malnutrition. These policy changes required donor countries to support, focus, and identify priority countries and purchase food locally or in other developing countries. This shift resulted in a move from programme food aid between the 1950s-the 80s to the present, where relief food aid is more dominant.¹⁴

3.5 Food relief activities

Emergency Food Relief activities dominate and account for the bulk of humanitarian assistance of Muslim social welfare organisations, both locally and internationally. Typically the humanitarian agency or social welfare organisation will source essential food items near the disaster, package the food and deliver it to a point from which it will be distributed. This food sourcing activity improves for the aid agency as many lessons are learned. The first lesson relates to the cost-effectiveness of the purchase. The quality of the food purchased, its appropriateness, its utilisation and how to ensure access for the recipients. Local suppliers may themselves be affected by the situation of the natural disaster. This includes the fact that local customers can no longer afford to purchase existing stock.

Any influx of similar goods to be distributed freely can negatively impact the business of the local supplier. This forces local suppliers to deliberately increase their prices, hoping that aid agencies will buy their stock in bulk. It is here that local knowledge and contacts can assist in negotiating a favourable deal if necessary. The transporting of the goods is a further challenge, and so too, the site chosen from where the distribution will take place. The safety of the goods and the safety of the staff during the distribution is another consideration. The delivery must be orderly, and the weak and vulnerable must not be excluded. The delivery requires the

13 Frederic Mousseau, *Food Aid or Food Sovereignty* (2005).

14 Frederic Mousseau, *Food Aid or Food Sovereignty* (2005).

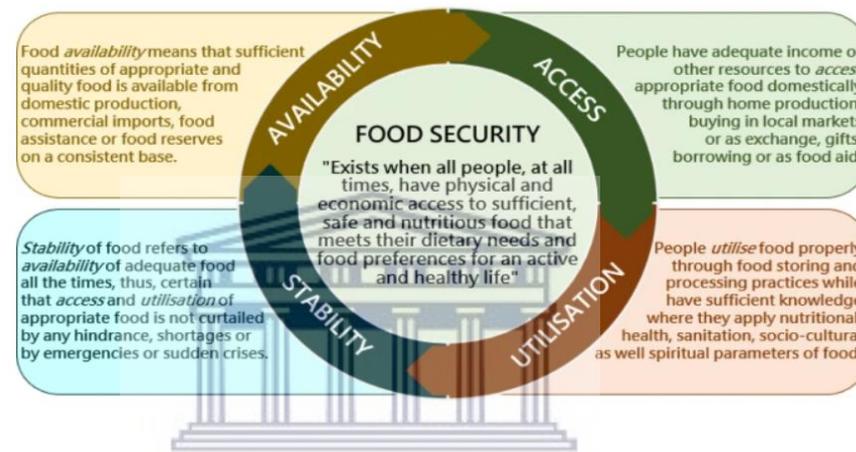
support of local partners, which may include the local authority. The practice usually identifies the most vulnerable and marginalised and distributes them first¹⁵.

3.6 Food Security

The United Nations Organisation’s Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) observes,

Food security exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life.¹⁶

Four Dimensions of Food Security



From this definition of food security, the following four dimensions are usually identified: 1) the physical *availability* of food, 2) economic and physical *access* to food, 3) food *utilisation* 4) the *stability* of the first three dimensions over time¹⁷. This is also referred to as the four pillars of food security, and for it to be realised, all four dimensions must be fulfilled simultaneously.

Food security is a complex concept that operates at many levels. But for this study, we will elaborate briefly on its four pillars. Food *availability* describes the total amount of food in a territory at a time. The FAOs ‘food balance sheet’ approach estimates national food availability as the sum of food production plus imports plus carry-over stocks, minus exports and losses in storage, processing and waste (FAO, 2001). Once the total food supply has been estimated, it is converted into Dietary Energy Supply (DES) and divided by the population to determine whether food availability per capita is adequate at the national level, by comparing DES per

15 Interviewee (f) interview conducted by Cassiem Khan on the 21 Mar 2017.

16 FAO, Rome Declaration on World Food Security, (1996) para.2.

17 FAO, “An introduction to the basic concepts of food security,” (Food and Agricultural Organisation Rome 2008).

capita against a Dietary Energy Requirement (DER) – usually around 2,100 kcal per person per day.

Access to food is assessed in terms of both physical and economic accessibility. Physical access relates to the distance to markets and whether food is actually on sale in the markets. Financial access relates to food prices and affordability, which are compromised by poverty, inflation and food price spikes. *Stability* refers to stable availability and access over time, which seasonality or disruptions can undermine food systems due to natural disasters, climate change, civil insecurity and other shocks. *Utilisation* describes the biological processes that convert food consumed into nutritional status, determined not only by the amount and quality of the diet, for example, its dietary diversity, but also by individual health status, the public health environment, child care and feeding practices.

In terms of national food *availability*, South Africa has enough food to feed its population, currently around 60 million people. Data compiled by the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) shows that aggregate food supplies have been steadily rising for the past 25 years, not only in absolute terms but faster than population growth, from around 2,800 kilocalories per person per day in the early 1990s to 3,000 kcal/capita/day by 2011.

These dimensions or pillars of food security are essential as they provide points to consider during policy formulation by organisations such as those considered in this study. It also provides tools for understanding the problems, where solutions may be found, and a narrative that justifies the chosen policy response. It goes beyond the supply of food to feed the poor, as in the case of providing food relief and calls for the investment of funds in the production of food and for ensuring a proper intake of nutrients. From the dimension of access, we also learn that an adequate food supply at the national or international level does not guarantee household-level food security. In South Africa, the tendency has been to conflate national self-sufficiency with household food security.

The Indian economist Amartya Sen asserts that hunger is due to households and individuals' inability to acquire food: it is not always due to inadequate supply¹⁸. It is important to note that hunger has come about because of a loss of rights or, as¹⁹ claims, due to a loss of entitlements.

18 Amartya K. Sen, *Poverty and Famine: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*. Oxford: Clarendon (1981).

19 Amartya K. Sen, *An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation* (1981).

Sen's 'entitlement theoretical framework', which he categorises as that of

1. *Own production*
2. *Wage exchange*
3. *Social transfers*

These entitlements (with associated impediments) are the production of one's own food (land dispossession), wage exchange (increasing unemployment) and social transfers (a lack of social grants).

An increase in Own production can impact food security in countries or societies where there are large numbers of small-scale farmers. Commercial farmers dominate South Africa's agricultural production. Own production does not currently offer an effective solution to food production, but it can if there is significant investment and uptake. It can impact household consumption and sale and provide an income from the sale of produce²⁰. This is dependent on the availability of land even in urban areas where it can improve the household income, supply of food and dietary quality²¹.

There is an emphasis on wage exchange entitlement in South Africa. This means that people exchange their wage labour for food. The *Household Affordability Index* discussed later in this chapter further explains the challenges of this entitlement in light of rising food prices. It is hoped that government can create more employment opportunities, raise the minimum wage, set price ceilings, especially for food items, better manage food resources so that dumping and wasting are not used to continue to inflate prices and that government can legislate against monopolies and increase competition to bring food prices down²².

The statistics on hunger indicate that some 795 million people do not have enough food to lead a healthy, active life. That's about one in nine people on earth²³. To move towards a zero-hunger generation by 2030, 0.3% of the world economic output would be required every 2015²⁴. This will help end hunger for 795 million people. No other sector can lift people out of poverty more effectively than investment in food Programmes. This is because 70% of the poor worldwide

20 Fukuda-Parr & Taylor et al., *Food Security in South Africa. Human Rights and entitlement perspectives.* (UCT Press Claremont South Africa 2015)11.

21 See my family story of own production (<https://muslimviews.co.za/2021/09/01/az-zahra-garden-inspired-by-heritage/> accessed On the 29th Nov 2021).

22 Fukuda-Parr & Taylor et al., *Food Security in South Africa* (2015).

23 FAO (2001). *The State of Food and Agriculture.* (Rome. <http://www.fao.org/docrep/meeting>) (Accessed on 18 Jan 2016).

24 Laurent Thomas, "Let Us Become the Zero Hunger Generation" (*China Daily Africa Weekly*) (2015),11.

live in rural areas, and they derive their livelihoods from agriculture, livestock, forestry and fisheries²⁵.

In the South African context, social grants have improved food intake levels. It has also become a source of livelihood²⁶, but this has not stemmed the impact of hunger amongst the most vulnerable or enhanced the intake of nutritious food. The social protection system excludes young black youth between 18 and 35. Young black women in this category account for 1 in 5 new HIV infections, and cash transfers are presented as a strategy to reduce their vulnerability²⁷. Social grants are essential to finance food consumption and reduce hunger in poor households, but the determinants of nutrition status are more complex than food consumption. A holistic approach is needed to tackle the persistent and unacceptably high levels of child malnutrition in South Africa. The social grants are not high enough, and social donations alone are not enough.²⁸

3.7 Food Sovereignty

The difference between food security and food sovereignty is explained as ²⁹ “food security is more of a technical concept, and the right to food a legal one, food sovereignty is essentially a political concept.” Food sovereignty is the right of peoples to healthy and culturally appropriate food produced through ecologically sound and sustainable methods and their right to define their food and agriculture systems. Food sovereignty focuses on the international causes of hunger and the national policies to reduce hunger and malnutrition. The critical elements of achieving food sovereignty are that food is a fundamental human right, that natural resources must be protected, that social peace and democratic control through the participation of small farmers in policy development must be promoted and ensured. Food must also be viewed as a source of nutrition first and an item of trade second. Critical to achieving food sovereignty is the right to land and ending the globalisation of hunger. The policies of multilateral organisations such as the WTO and IMF at the behest of speculative capital play a

25 Laurent Thomas, “Let Us Become the Zero Hunger Generation” (China Daily Africa Weekly) (2015),11.

26 Julian May in Fukuda-Parr & Taylor et al, Changes in Food Security in South Africa. Human Rights and entitlement perspectives. UCT Press Claremont South Africa (2015), 93.

27 UNAIDS & The African Union, Fast-tracking the end of the AIDS Pandemic in Africa (UNAIDS & The African Union, 2015), 20.

28 Stephen Devereux, “Policy options for increasing the contribution of social protection to Food Security” (Forum for Food Security in Southern Africa. www.odi.org.uk/food-security-forum. (2003). (Accessed on 27 Mar 2016).

29 Michael Windfuhr and Jennie Jonsen, Food Sovereignty Towards Democracy in Local Food systems (ITDG Publishing Warwickshire the United Kingdom 2005),12-27.

crucial role³⁰. These elements or principles find resonance in Muslim practices around paying Zakāh and emphasising Iqtisad to ensure balance in the community.

Food sovereignty is based on the right of peoples and countries to define their own agricultural and food policy, and it has six interlinked and inseparable components:

A focus on food for people: food sovereignty puts the right to sufficient, healthy and culturally-appropriate food for all individuals, peoples, and communities at the centre of food, agriculture, livestock and fisheries policies and rejects the proposition that food is just another commodity;

The valuing of food providers: food sovereignty values and supports the contributions, and respects the rights, of women and men who grow, harvest and process food and rejects those policies, actions, and programmes that undervalue them and threaten their livelihoods;

Localises food systems: food sovereignty puts food providers and food consumers at the centre for decision-making on food issues; protects food providers from the dumping of food in local markets; protects consumers from poor quality and unhealthy food, including food tainted with transgenic organisms; and rejects governance structures that depend on inequitable international trade and give power to corporations;

Puts control locally: food sovereignty places control over territory, land, grazing, water, seeds, livestock and fish populations on local food providers and respects their rights to use and share them in socially and environmentally sustainable ways; it promotes positive interaction between food providers in different territories and from other sectors that help resolve conflicts; and rejects the privatisation of natural resources through laws, commercial contracts, and intellectual property rights regimes;

Builds knowledge and skills: food sovereignty builds on the skills and local knowledge of food providers and their local organisations that conserve, develop and manage localised food production and harvesting systems, setting appropriate research systems to support this, and rejects technologies that undermine these;

Works with nature: food sovereignty uses nature's contributions in diverse, low external input agroecological production and harvesting methods that maximise the gift of ecosystems and improve resilience, and rejects practices that harm ecosystem functions that depend on energy-intensive monocultures and livestock factories and other industrialised production methods.

30 Michael Windfuhr and Jennie Jonsen, Food Security in Sub-Saharan Africa (2005),12-27.

Six Principles of Food Sovereignty



The COVID 19 pandemic increased the food insecurity experienced by poor people, especially low-income earners and those involved in generating an income from day labour. There was a spontaneous response from communities to support each other, from which we can see the contours of a food sovereignty response. The idea of Community Action Networks (CAN) was born across neighbourhoods in the City of Cape Town. The CAN groups organised themselves under an umbrella body known as Cape Town Together³¹. The government imposed several lockdowns to increase social distancing to stem the spread of the pandemic.

Many people were left destitute as they could not access food and lost the ability to exchange their labour to purchase food. They used a horizontal response instead of the usual patriarchal top-down manner followed by the governments. People organised in favour of a need instead of organising against something. Their organising was also unusual as it was unbounded as they did not use formal organisations or structures. This approach allowed for inclusivity, flattening hierarchies, a collective leadership and a critique of power dynamics and rules developed and were accepted because they made sense on the ground³². They focussed on what was needed, mostly food, during a pandemic that restricted movement. The following highlights how the CAN groups used the principles of food sovereignty.

The CAN groups focus on food for the people. They were not interested in race, gender, religion, or any other classification of people, only that people were hungry and needed food to eat. Neither were they interested in whether the people could purchase the food or make a profit. People are viewed as potential food providers; people were identified; some were

31 See <https://capetowntogether.net/> (accessed on 29th Nov 2021).

32 Goedgedacht Forum Report (2021) COVID 19 Kindness: Creating a new Society 31 Mar -1 April 2021.

encouraged, resourced, and supported to grow their food in public spaces. Others, especially women who made their kitchens available to provide food, were viewed as critical strategic partners and invited to join the network.

Insofar, food systems were localised as those in need were identified in communities, and where possible, food for consumption was locally sourced. Here food was also moved between communities. Control for the purchase, preparation, distribution and consumption was in the hands of local communities and their respective CAN groups.

The CAN groups concretised their network and added value to their unbounded partnership by jointly producing a publication on feeding themselves. CAN groups contributed recipes and their knowledge of planting certain vegetables, thereby building local knowledge and sharing skills. The principle of working with nature can be interpreted as working with the prevailing conditions, and they did well by how they organised to respond to the pandemic.

Food sovereignty is thus a concept that is a clear alternative³³ to food security because food security says nothing about the terms and conditions by which food is produced. It is, to them, vital to know what food is produced, who grows food, where and how that food is made, the scale of food production, and the environmental and health impacts of food production.³⁴

3.8 Food insecurity in the South African context

South Africa is food secure, but 44% of households are food insecure. Food insecurity can be defined as being either chronic or transitory. It may be chronic because of its long-term or persistent nature.

People cannot meet their food needs over a sustained period resulting from extended periods of poverty, lack of assets and inadequate access to productive or financial resources.³⁵ It may be transitory in the sense of being short-term and occurring when there is a sudden drop in the ability to produce or access enough food to maintain the required nutritional status. This results from short-term shocks and fluctuations in availability and access to food, food prices, and household incomes.³⁶

33 <https://www.safsc.org.za/> (accessed 29th Nov 2021) has developed various organising tools and a Climate Justice Charter for the promotion of the concept of food sovereignty.

34 Prof Leila Patel, *Social Welfare and Social Development in South Africa*. (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 2005).

35 See <https://www.fao.org/3/al936e/al936e.pdf> (last accessed 20 April 2016).

36 See <https://www.fao.org/3/al936e/al936e.pdf> (last accessed 20 April 2016).

Chronic food insecurity can be overcome through long-term development measures to address poverty. In contrast, transitory food insecurity is unpredictable and requires well-developed early warning systems for possible disasters and safety net Programmes. Transitory food insecurity is found when a natural disaster or an economic recession occurs.³⁷

Both chronic and transitory forms of food insecurity point to the duration of the problem, but the impact of the insecurity is also measured by its nature, extent, and urgency. It is also assessed in terms of how it affects sectors of the population such as those infected with HIV and tuberculosis, women, the aged, and children. A case in point in South Africa is the long-term impact of food insecurity on children.

A discussion on food insecurity would be incomplete without referring to hunger, malnutrition, and poverty as they are deeply interrelated phenomena. Hunger is described as food deprivation, whilst malnutrition results from deficiencies or an imbalance in the consumption of nutrients. Poverty encompasses a lack of food security, health, education, rights, voice, safety, dignity and decent work³⁸. Food insecurity may be manifested in a range of widely discussed health problems, including obesity, diabetes, stunting amongst children³⁹. 25% of South African children are nutritionally stunted⁴⁰. We know that stunting leads to poor educational, economic and social outcomes throughout life. Stunting contributes to the enormous social problems in our country. Stunting rates of children under five years old are preferred in the food security and nutrition literature as a robust, objectively measured indicator of chronic undernutrition or long-term food insecurity⁴¹. The recent Poverty Trends Report published by Stats SA tells us that 55% of our compatriots are experiencing hunger daily. In the community of Ocean View, 69% of the people are food insecure. Food security is tested by checking if the food is adequate (enough), if there is access to the food (can they get it), can it be utilised (can it be cooked) and is the supply of the food stable, is it always available.

37 See <https://www.fao.org/3/al936e/al936e.pdf> (last accessed 20 April 2016).

38 Wayne Roberts, *Ending Poverty* OECD. Development Co-operation Report, Paris OECD Publishing 2013.

39 International Food Policy Research Institute, *Global Nutrition Report: Actions and Accountability to Advance Nutrition and Sustainable Development* (Washington, DC: International Food Policy Research Institute, 2015), 130-131.

40 Stunting is an anthropometric measure of height-for-age. A child is characterised as having stunted growth if her or his height is less than 2 standard deviations below the height of a child the same age in a reference population.

41 Stephen Devereux, "Policy options for increasing the contribution of social protection to Food Security" (Forum for Food Security in Southern Africa. www.odi.org.uk/food-security-forum. (2003). (Accessed on 27 Mar 2016).

It is argued that a strategy for attacking poverty in conjunction with policies to ensure food security offers the best hope of swiftly reducing mass poverty and hunger. However, recent studies show that economic growth alone will not care about food security. What is needed is a combination of income growth, supported by direct nutrition interventions and investment in health, water, and education from the FAO Commission on Food Security.

Low-income households respond to food insecurity by adopting a range of ‘coping strategies, including dietary adjustments, cutting non-food spending, and raising money to buy food. A 2013 survey in KwaZulu-Natal found various coping strategies to cope with food shortages during the winter months. The most common were as follows⁴²:

1. Rely on less preferred or less expensive foods (88.4% of 138 households)
2. Rely on help from relatives or friends (85.5%)
3. Borrow food or money for food (85.5%)
4. Limit food portion size at mealtimes (80.4%)
5. Beg for food from neighbours or relatives (80.3%)
6. Reduce the number of meals in a day (76.1%)
7. Limit own intake for children’s sake (67.4%)
8. Consume seed stock held for next season (62.0%)
9. Send household members to eat elsewhere (44.9%)
10. Purchase food on credit (43.5%)

3.9 MSWOs and Food Security

A response by MSWO to food insecurity may be to provide targeted direct feeding schemes for the sake of food relief. Still, a deeper reflection on the many faces of poverty would need to influence their policies and implementation Programmes. This also applies to MSWOs, which are often very visible regarding food relief Programmes. The question that will be addressed in this study is to what extent the policies of such MSWOs take concerns over food security into account.

Such concern over food security is necessary from within an Islamic perspective. In terms of the notion of *Iqtisad*⁴³, the reality of food insecurity challenges the belief that God provides and sustains all living things. How, then, is it possible that some would be hungry if sufficient

42 Mjabuliseni SC Ngidi and Sheryl L Hendriks, “Coping with food insecurity in rural South Africa: The case of Jozini, KwaZulu-Natal.” (Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences, 5(25), 2014) 278.

43 Bakir Al Hassani, *Iqtisad -The Islamic Alternative for Economics* (1988), 3-6.

food is available? This very question suggests that any Muslim welfare organisation cannot focus merely on food relief but has to concern itself with a broader sense of economic well-being (expressed in the notion of *Iqtisad*) that includes advocacy for food security.

One of the Muslim world's current leading religious scholars, Yusuf al Qardawi, believes that *Zakāh* is a right the poor have on the wealth of the rich. This right of the poor does not seek to blame the poor for their disposition⁴⁴. Farida Bibi is not hungry because she is lazy. He states that *Zakāh* aims at eliminating poverty and making the poor self-sufficient. He further says that *Zakāh* aims to achieve broader spiritual, social and political goals. For this reason, it may be spent on reconciliation of the hearts, the liberation of enslaved people, for those who are in debt and for the sake of God in the broadest meaning of the word⁴⁵.

According to Qardawi, *Zakāh* can advocate for the rights of the poor. An example is Dom Hélder Pessoa Câmara, the Brazilian Roman Catholic Archbishop of Olinda and Recife, serving from 1964 to 1985 during the country's military regime. "When I give food to the poor, they call me a saint. When I ask why they are poor, they call me a communist. The absence of Programmes in all Muslim organisations asking why people are poor is notable. It is only recently that Islamic Relief has started to engage food retailers on how food is acquired and whether the small scale producers are in the supply chain.

The food first movement has challenged 12 myths that are promoted as to why there is hunger. The myths include that there is not enough food, nature is to blame and that the free market and free trade is the solution have all been refuted⁴⁶.

Free Trade as the solution for ending hunger has made people more food insecure. The unethical practices of MNCs have made people sicker from the food they eat and has squeezed independent producers out of the food chain into urban slums. I am leaving them poor, needy and unable to feed themselves. The food chain globally is owned and controlled mainly by 10 Multinational Corporations who are the architects of the Free Trade⁴⁷ argument.

These MNCs are found across the proverbial farm to fork continuum. What do these MNCs want? They want to maximise their profits and minimise or avoid paying tax altogether. They

44 Yusuf Al Qardawi, *Fiqh al Zakāh* (2001) 10-17.

45 Yusuf Al Qardawi, *Fiqh al Zakāh* (2001) 10-17.

46 See Food First Website (accessed January 2017).

47 See [https://www.oxfamamerica.org/these-10-companies-make-a-lot-of-the-food-we-buy-\(accessed3rdDec2021\)](https://www.oxfamamerica.org/these-10-companies-make-a-lot-of-the-food-we-buy-(accessed3rdDec2021))

want to privatise profit and socialise loss. A study by the School of Public Health and the Centre for Excellence in Food Security of the UWC has shown in great detail how big food companies now control the South African food chain.⁴⁸

3.10 Muslim Businesses in the Food Supply Chain

As part of this study, an interview was conducted with a food wholesaler. The Chief Executive interviewed distinguished between the following role players in the food chain. The producer, manufacturer, distributor, wholesaler, retailer and spaza shops. To the best of his knowledge, a small percentage of foods are imported, including items not grown in South Africa, such as rice. The importation of food is different for the different consumers one finds in the unequal society. The rich would consume more food that is imported. The role players in the food chain need further clarification. 80% of the supplied goods come through conglomerates, such as Proctor and Gamble, Unilever, Nestle, Tiger Brands and Pioneer Foods. These are business that is either Multi-National Corporation or white-owned company.

The lone ranger in this is Willowton Foods which dominate the cooking oil market. He admires the company because having a black South African family-owned business survive in the fast-moving consumer goods market is miraculous in the space of monopolies. This begged the question of small independent producers. This market is less than 10% in size for the wholesaler but presents various challenges for the wholesaler that is ideally placed to bring the independent producers into the food chain⁴⁹. Many independent producers are not registered with the South African Revenue Services as a value-added tax vendor, making it difficult to buy from them. SARS would disapprove of this type of trade. The second is that independent producers do not sell exclusively to the wholesaler and prefer retailing directly to the public to save 15% VAT⁵⁰.

The layer of wholesalers in the food chain is dominated countrywide by family-owned third-generation Muslims of Indiharigin living in South Africa for more than one hundred years. The layer of retailers and spaza shops countrywide is dominated by first-generation immigrant and refugee community Muslims from Somalia, Bangladesh, and to a lesser extent from Pakistan and Ethiopia. Muslim owned businesses can also be found playing a dominant role in specific items such as the sale of meat at a retail level, a gap in the market that was seized upon because of the need for the heart to be Halal. Similarly, Muslims are also involved in the supply

48 Centre for Excellence in Food Security, At the Bottom of the Food Chain (Un-dated Publication)

49 Interviewee (a) interview conducted by Cassiem Khan 27th April 2017.

50 Interviewee (a) interview conducted by Cassiem Khan 27th April 2017.

of chickens. Another area, particularly young Muslims seeking to diversify the family income and Muslim professionals with access to cash, has moved into is the fast-food market because many food brands offer Halal stores as options⁵¹.

The value of this information is two-fold in that it provides insight, at least from the point of view of food, on how the Muslim donor generates their income. The second is the Muslim-owned wholesaler's role in the supply of food parcels both for emergency responses and seasonal distributions such as the month of Ramadan. This is big business, but it comes with its challenges. The Muslim organisations have a list of items they prefer, and the cost is always a factor. The interviewee does not always agree with the content of the food parcel, as he believes that the sugar content of some of the items are too high and unhealthy and can be replaced with foods that are of higher nutritional value. The organisations require parcels to the target group's diets, which he believes is respectful.⁵²

There is much room for the discussion on *Halal* and *Tayyiba* within the "Muslim" food chain, and a first point would be that of the training staff that are not Muslim about the concept. This message of pure nutritious food can benefit anyone. It is not enough for staff to know that Muslims do not consume or sell pork and alcohol. The second area that the interviewee advanced is that because there are so many Muslims involved in supplying food to the nation, if viewed together, it can be an opportunity to showcase Muslim ethical business practices such as the quality of the food provided, the tax evasion, staff relations and how best to support the efforts of humanitarian organisations⁵³. This, the interviewee believes, is possible because the Muslim wholesalers belong to the same buying groups and benefit from buying in bulk. There is also much that Muslim wholesalers can do to bring small independent producers into the market and reduce the dominance of the multi-national corporations and jointly run awareness campaigns on improving the health of the nation. The ultimate goal is to improve the monthly food basket and reduce household costs.

3.11 Cost of Food in South Africa

The Pietermaritzburg Economic Justice and Dignity Group publishes the Household Affordability Index. This report is of particular value for this study because the Index was designed with women living on low incomes in five regions and sixteen areas across South

51 Interviewee (a) interview conducted by Cassiem Khan 27th April 2017.

52 Interviewee (a) interview conducted by Cassiem Khan 27th April 2017.

53 Interviewee (a) interview conducted by Cassiem Khan 27th April 2017.

Africa. The areas and areas are as follows: Johannesburg (Soweto, Alexandra, Tembisa and Hillbrow), Cape Town (Gugulethu, Philippi, Khayelitsha, Langa, Delft, Dunoon), Durban (KwaMashu, Umlazi, Isipingo, Durban CBD, and Mtubatuba), Springbok (in the Northern Cape), and Pietermaritzburg. Many areas have large populations and represent the South African experience in purchasing food⁵⁴.

Women were intentionally included in this study, deciding what to buy and where. The women identified 44 supermarkets and 30 butcheries from which they selected 44 foods that they would place in the household food basket. The cost of the items was gathered between the 1st and the 4th of each month that the pilot project was implemented. This was between April - August 2020. It is important to note that South Africa and the world were amid the COVID 19 pandemic during this period. The food was chosen on affordability, quality, price, and special deals as the PMBEJD understands that women are smart, savvy and shop around for bargains. The women tracked the price of 44 food items. They then separated between the food they would buy first not to go hungry. In September 2021, the cost of these core foods was R2278.90 and made up 54% of the food basket. These foods must be bought regardless of the cost⁵⁵.

A low-income household from which the women came would be households where a general worker would be earning R3643,92 per month on a 21/22 day working month. A domestic worker would make even less at R3207,12 per month⁵⁶. In a household where an aged person receives an Old Age Grant (OAG) from the South African Social Security Agency, which in many cases is the only source of income, this amount would be R1890, and the value of a Child Support Grant (CSG) is R460 per month. 12.78million children receive a CSG, and 3.67 million pensioners receive an OAG. The CSG is geared towards ensuring children do not go hungry, yet 30% of boys and 25% of girls under the age of 5 are stunted in their growth, which directly affects their nutrition and food basket. The pressure on the food basket is enormous as the unemployment is at a staggering 44,4% if one uses an expanded rate. This translates into 11.9 million being unemployed of the total population of 60.1million⁵⁷.

The CSG, the OAG, and the Social Relief in Distress grants are various ways the state could consider ensuring food is in the basket. The state attempts at zero-rating food items mean no Value Added Tax is charged. It does not mean that the manufacturer or the supplier cannot

54 PMBEJD Pietermaritzburg Economic Justice and Dignity Household Affordability Index PMB (2021)1.

55 PMBEJD Household Affordability Index (2021).

56 PMBEJD Household Affordability Index (2021).

57 PMBEJD Household Affordability Index (2021).

increase the item's price. State intervention is required in the food basket. The drastic increase in the cost of food in a country that producers food could reach a boiling point with significant consequences. The social grants are considered ways in which the state placates the poor and meets its obligation to the right to food, which is established in Section 27b of the constitution.

3.12 Right to Food

The Right to food in South Africa is justiciable (subject to prosecution in a court of law. This means that the government must take all reasonable measures to ensure that every individual has access to adequate food. The right to food is also a core economic and social right in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Convention on Economic and Social Rights (ICESCR)⁵⁸. Section 27b of the Bill of Rights⁵⁹, however, does not result in the law being realised, and to ensure this human right, the ICESRC identifies three elements to be fulfilled; increasing the availability of food, enhancing the physical and economic access to acquire the food and improving the utilisation for adequate nutrition.

The SA government went to great lengths to advise the country when a hard lockdown was imposed during the COVID 19 pandemic that there is enough food available from the manufacturers and suppliers for the duration of the lockdown. Facing criticism of how day wage earners would access food, the SA government announced the availability of the Social Relief of Distress grant of R350 per month⁶⁰. This amount is way below the food poverty line of R624. The provision of electricity to all to prepare food is one of the ways that utilisation far adequate nutrition is ensured. Availability is open to interpretation given the vast inequalities in South African society. This may also be questioned given that the rural poor may not have the same understanding of available food because food suppliers service urban communities.

Food is not accessible physically for the rural poor despite having some degree of economic access, should they be recipients of OAG and Child Support Grants. The constant increase in the price of electricity and the unstable supply due to load shedding impacts the state's ability to ensure utilisation. The competition commission fined Premier foods with price-fixing bread as a staple food. The National Minimum Wage is not enough to feed a family of four to acquire the required calories, let alone access electricity to prepare the food. These are all arguments

58 See <https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/cescr.aspx> (accessed on the 19th Nov 2021).

59 SA Constitution Act 108 of 1996.

60 See <https://www.sassa.gov.za/Pages/Child-Support-Grant>. (Accessed 23 Nov 2021)

for the justiciability through a class action case to be taken to the highest court in the land in which the state should be compelled to respond. The justiciability of the right to food allowed for in the South African constitution needs to be tested. Despite this country suffering from Commission of Inquiry fatigue, there may be a need to consider such an inquiry given the high numbers of unemployed and the inability of the SA government to influence the price of food. A commission of inquiry could expose what causes the increase in food prices.

3.13 Conclusion

This chapter broadly discussed the human face of hunger and presented it both from a global and South African perspective. The various concepts of food aid, food relief, food security and food sovereignty were discussed. The Food supply chain and the role of a food wholesaler were shared in explaining the various power relations. The most critical aspect of this chapter is the cost of food in South Africa today.



Chapter Four: Faith-based Organisations (FBOs)

4.1 Introduction

In this study, we have thus far explored faith-based giving in an Islamic context and presented both a theoretical and practical understanding of Zakāh as a form of social giving. A conceptual clarification on the distinction between food relief and food security was also presented. This chapter will describe MSWOs emergence and subsequent history to locate the selected organisations within the broader South African and international development context. The chapter ends with a presentation of various typologies used to describe the characteristics of faith-based organisations. These typologies will be used to describe the organisations in this study.

4.2 Origin of Faith-Based Development work amongst SA Muslims

The context of the South African Muslim experience with development and social welfare can be described in distinct periods. These periods can also be applied to all people living in South Africa, irrespective of their faith or level of political privilege. These are the periods of slavery, colonialism, apartheid, post-Apartheid democracy and the current period of corruption.

The period of slavery experienced by the Muslims in the Cape was from 1652 – to 1838.¹ and is worth noting in that it becomes the period where there is essentially no formal organisation of the enslaved Muslims under Dutch rule that meets their spiritual and organisational needs. Enslaved people, by its definition, are commodities and not considered as humans with dignity. British colonial rule at the Cape, which started in 1804, allowed the Free Blacks, comprising former convicts who had completed their sentences, the indigenous peoples and the formerly enslaved people to establish the first mosque by Qadi Abdus Salaam. This is the first opportunity for the organisation of the Muslim community². The period of slavery coincides with 154 years of Dutch colonial rule (1652-1806) and with a further 24 years of British Colonial rule (1806- 1838) when slavery formally ended.³ Qadi Abdus Salaam was a well-educated Muslim leader who wrote the Holy *Qur'an* from memory whilst a political prisoner

1 Alan Mountain, *An Unsung Heritage Perspectives on Slavery* Published David Phillip (2004),74-94.

2 Shafiq Morton, *From the Spice Islands to Cape Town. The Life and Times of Tuan Guru* Published (Awqaf SA) (2018).

3 Ebrahim Mahomed Mahida, *History of Muslims in South Africa: A Chronology*. (1993), 31.

on Robben Island.⁴ He would certainly know of the words *Zakāh* and *Sadaqa* discussed in the *Qur'an* as he wrote this book from memory whilst imprisoned on Robben Island.

There are no records of the practice of *Zakāh*, either calculated on property or persons explained earlier. For *Zakāh* to be practised, the person paying *Zakāh* must be free and the amount of *Nisab* according to local conditions had to be calculated by a religious authority. The *Nisab* must be in possession of the person paying *Zakāh* for one lunar year.⁵ Morton provides an insight into how the community was organised by Qadi Abdus Salaam, who described the Cape as a place of immense sadness. Given the prevailing slavery and poverty, the collection and distribution of the *Zakāh* was not a priority. Slavery and its accompanying social injustices dominated Cape Muslim life. The few formerly enslaved people engaged in the much-lauded Islamic practice of freeing enslaved people through direct purchase and encouraging escape and rebellion. Sen's view of development as advancing freedom takes a new meaning when viewed in the context of slavery⁶.

Morton discusses the freeing of enslaved people as also linked to other practises that existed at the Cape that sought to relieve the suffering experienced daily amongst the enslaved people. Here, giving talismans for grief and the ritual practice of *Ratiep* combines the recitation of Islamic incantations in rhythmic movements using sharp objects such as knives and swords. The *Ratiep* and talismans gave enslaved people a sense of power where slavery disempowered, dehumanised and commodified them. Development and social services were not measured in the distribution of food and self-help schemes. Still, alleviation from suffering was found in Quranic teachings of virtues and the prophetic sayings that even a smile and a kind act is accepted as charity⁷. This period of slavery certainly has vital elements of social support from within the Muslim slave community. It made Islam look like an attractive proposition and according to Reverend Chris Weeder, an Anglican priest and social activist, who suggested that Islam was South Africa's 'first liberation theology'; that gave the early slave community

4 Ebrahim Mahomed Mahida, *History of Muslims in South Africa: A Chronology*. (1993), 31.

5 Shafiq Morton, *From the Spice Islands to Cape Town. The Life and Times of Tuan Guru Johannesburg: Awqaf SA* (2018).

6 Amartya Kumar Sen, *Poverty and Famine: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*. Oxford: Clarendon. (1981).

7 Shafiq Morton, *From the Spice Islands to Cape Town. The Life and Times of Tuan Guru* (2018).

a 'holding place of sanity' through its sense of 'radical hospitality, or more colloquially, through Ubuntu⁸.

According to Robert Shell, Islam gave every person of mixed origins and vulnerable status a sense of belonging – and dignity – in a stable and self-assured community⁹. Islam advocated an authentic universalism of being for the Cape underclass of enslaved people: it offered 'a cradle-to-the-grave range of social services, identity, and an 'intellectual aspiration'. These charitable giving practices are worthy of further investigation and study as it provides additional insight into the roots of charitable giving in the South African Muslim community. But it also provides insight into why its practices continue to occur almost parallel to and separated from mainstream colonial and Apartheid-era programmes to address poverty alleviation.

The charitable aspects of Islam practised under conditions of slavery, colonialism, and Apartheid in South Africa are mainly independent of the mainstream. It also sought to shield itself from a hostile authority that should never know your true worth. This hints at a deliberate practice of not documenting social assistance. As if it was a type of underground political activity and again emphasising the need for further investigation when one looks at this view and the introduction of the fundraising act (Act 107 of 1978) by the Apartheid government that sought to control fundraising in public spaces but was viewed by the black majority as a way to control the flow of funds to the political resistance. The justification for this deception was found in the religious text. The Prophetic saying, what the right hand gives in charity, not even the left hand should know, continues to support virtuous giving secretly¹⁰.

The diaconal work of the Christian faith in South Africa started with the arrival of the Dutch and sought to mirror the work of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands¹¹. Nothing suggests that the Church closely linked to the colonial authorities extended any social welfare activity

8 A public lecture on gentrification at the Al-Azhar Mosque, District 6, on 24 June 2018.

9 Robert C.-H. Shell and Roger B. Beck, "Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652–1838", *History: Reviews of New Books*, 24:1, (1995) 39, DOI: 10.1080/03612759.1995.9949207.

10 Hadith "...A man who gives in charity and hides it, such that his left-hand does not know what his right hand gives in charity; and a man who remembered Allah in private and so his eyes shed tears." (Abu Hurairah & collected in *Sahih al-Bukhari* (English trans.) vol.1, p.356, no.629 & *Sahih Muslim* (English trans.) vol.2, p.493, no.2248) Also in *Mathew* 6:3.

11 *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk* 2009: 45(2).

towards the enslaved people generally or enslaved Muslims in particular. In 1937, a separate Department of Social Welfare was established in the Union of South Africa¹². According to Patel, social welfare support from the state was primarily directed towards the white population. Patel contends further that the black majority relied on the faith-based sector to address their poverty concerns.

Muslim charities operating in the democratic order are registered with the NPO Directorate of the now inclusive National Department of Social Development. Their books are audited, and their governance complies with the rules set by the government. This would suggest that there has been a deliberate move to come out of the shadow and into the mainstream of compliance. Compliance does not imply coordination and collaboration with state institutions. The agencies in this study raise their funds mainly from within the Muslim community, and some have a growing base from outside of the Muslim community.

However, a tiny percentage of funds was received from the South African government departments such as the Department of Social Development, its National Development Agency, the Department of International Relations – Humanitarian department for disaster relief in other African countries, or disaster relief budgets of municipalities. There is no dependence on the state for operational expenditure, as has been the experience of many non-government organisations in the social welfare sector. Government relations provides credibility insofar as it affirmed the Muslim agencies are not exclusive. Government relations is also for legal-financial compliance and assistance with access to foreign countries for disaster relief. Beyond that, there is the view from the Muslim donor public that any funds received from the government are necessarily “laced with the poison corruption”, and it should not be allowed to contaminate their pure and purifying donations¹³.

In this current period of corruption, any contact with the government is conflated as collaboration with the ruling party. Some under-handed dealings must be at play. This relatively common public perception may not be worthy of note except that the Muslim donor, regardless of the amount they donate as their act of worship, is very particular about “contaminating their *Zakāh*, with any other contributions that may be considered. Pure.”

Collaboration and coordination with the state are done from a position of strength, which means there is no expectation of state financial support, and Muslim agencies strictly manage this relationship.

12 The ANC and Social Security: The Good, the Bad <http://www.povertyandinequality.uct.ac.za/> (accessed 24 Nov 21).

13 Interview with Interviewee (f) on 21 Mar 2017.

4.3 Religion and Development

Within the South African context, Willie van der Merwe, Ignatius Swart and Jurgens Hendriks assert that the South African government expects a meaningful contribution to the country's struggle with poverty and the HIV and AIDS pandemic in the Faith-Based sector¹⁴. One could add that this type of contribution is also expected in any form of disaster relief and the response to the global COVID 19 pandemic.

This expectation may be viewed as unique, especially when the South African state and its constitution in no shape or form is faith-based or does not give prominence to any particular religion. Its predecessor, the Apartheid state, had a distinct policy of Christian National Education which indicates a preference for a specific version of a particular faith. The democratic government made an earnest attempt to equally recognise all beliefs and religions. Chapter 2 of the Bill of Rights – Section 31 reads as follows:

Persons belonging to a cultural, religious or linguistic community may not be denied the right, with other members of that community— (a) to enjoy their culture, practice their religion and use their language; and (b) to form, join and maintain cultural, religious and linguistic associations and other organs of civil society¹⁵.

The secular constitution has assigned religion and faith in the most authoritative document that guides how this society operates. But the state went further in establishing the Commission of Cultural Religious and Linguistic Rights. All spheres of government give due respect to the importance of the religious sector, and this is confirmed by the regular meetings held in any industry where public consultation is necessary.

4.3 Development Context

4.4 The faith-based sector has always been a significant contributor to humanitarian relief. This has become more evident with the growth of civil society and faith-based industry in the latter part of the 20th Century following the fall of communism¹⁶.

This demanded further study as many faith-based organisations provide government and secular or professional services. These new organisations needed some form of registration,

14 Willie van der Merwe, Ignatius Swart, Jurgens Hendriks, Faith-based organisations in the context of social welfare and development in South Africa: Towards a Conceptualisation Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk 2009:45(2) (accessed 26 October 2021).

15 South African Constitution Act 108 of 1996.

16 Elizabeth Ferris, Faith-based and secular humanitarian organizations, (International Review of the Red Cross Volume 87 Number 858 June 2005).

regulation and coordination. The South African experience was facilitated by the opportunity of a transition in government where new institutions and government ministries were created, such as the National Department of Social Development and its Non-Profit Organisations NPO Directorate. (DSD Website) and all organisations required registration or reregistration. The NPO Directorate has not created a particular category for Faith-Based organisations and has not de-registered any faith-inspired organisations because of their faith.

The literature produced on the subject of Religion and Development or the literature on the role of faith-based organisations in social welfare has its earliest reflections, specifically of faith and religion, that have been as recent as the 1980s. It is also noteworthy that faith and belief refer to the Christian faith, and other faiths are not referenced. The faith-based sector has produced scholarly positions on the substance of the work but seldom on the nature and structure of the organisations, how they derive their policies and what informs their implementation strategies as dedicated areas of study. One of the seminal works in this space in South Africa is Sultan Khan, which seeks to explore Muslim Social Giving¹⁷ and Kroessen at the University of Birmingham Department of Religion and Development that has written extensively on Muslim organisations and Development in the international arena. However, his work does not reflect or comment on Western scholars such as Clark, Syder, Unruh and Marshal. The result of (Khan S: 2005) is part of the Giving and Solidarity project that sought to understand giving within the Hindu, Jewish and Indigenous African faiths.

Religion and Development provides a broad context for this study that straddles both disciplines. It is thus imperative to refer to this rapidly developing space both from the academy's perspective and, more importantly, the respondents from the MSWOs in this study. This will allow them to locate their work correctly in both disciplines. This study is limited and detailed, and dedicated research is proposed to advance the importance of both fields operating in tandem within the MSWO sector.

4.5 Religion and faith

Religion is defined as a system of beliefs and practices using which a group of people struggle with the ultimate problems of human life. Yinger defines religion as a system of beliefs and practices of how groups work with the issues and questions of human life, such as the unseen,

17 Sultan Khan, The State of Social Giving Amongst Muslims in South Africa. (Durban, University of KZN 2005).

ethereal beings and perpetual social problems¹⁸. One such problem is poverty or the need to address sustenance problems. Religion can be viewed, discerned, understood, and even practised by knowing what religion is and what religion does. What religion is usually referred to by its contents (substantive) and what religion does (functional) usually refers to its social system¹⁹. The FBOs in this study use a combination of substantive and practical approaches to religion. Its substance explains what *Zakāh* is, and its functional policy explains what *Zakāh* does.

The word ‘religion’ is used in the public domain without considering its specific definition. It does, however, operate within a context and has become entangled with the social and cultural life of a community. People outside of the Islamic religion would understand that Muslims are generous because their faith requires them to be generous. Here the reference is to the payment of *Zakāh*.

Religion has been able to conserve its texts, rituals, institutions, traditions and hierarchy and manage its changes, redefinitions and reinterpretations. Religion is a source of intolerance, human rights violations, extremist violence, non-violent conflict transformation, the defence of human rights, integrity in government, and reconciliation and stability in divided societies. At times religion is viewed and disregarded as mere opinions or superstition when contrasted with empirically-based knowledge. Harpviken and Røislien argue that such a distinction “veils the fact that both positions appear as “true” and “factual” to the individual who holds them²⁰.

Faith is also defined in different ways. It is considered broader than religion and points to the metaphysical beliefs of the followers regardless of religious adherence. In this thesis, the emphasis will be on the Islamic faith. As this study focuses on Muslim Social Welfare organisations, it is helpful to capture a general, textually supported and uncontested view of the Islamic faith in its substantive and functional form.

¹⁸ See J.M. Yinger, Encyclopaedia of Religion and Society <http://hrr.hartsem.edu/ency/Yinger.htm> (accessed 24 Nov 2021).

¹⁹ P.L. Berger, *Second Thoughts on Substantive versus Functional Definitions of Religion* Journal of Scientific Study of Religion No.13: (1974)125-133.

²⁰, Kristian Berg Harpviken and Hanne Eggen Røislien Mapping the Terrain: The Role of Religion in Peacemaking (Oslo Peace Research Institute Oslo,2005),6.

Hadith of Gabriel

In Islām, the Hadith of Gabriel is the most critical *Hadīth*. Its narrative contains the best summary of the core of Islam: the "Five Pillars of Islam", the "Six Articles of Faith", and Ihsan, or "doing what is beautiful". This *Hadīth* is found in both the Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī and the Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim. The hadith is known to express the religion of Islam in a nutshell.^[1]

Hadith of Gabriel holds a particular position, and Muslim scholars showed their unique juristic acumen by naming this hadith the Hadith of Gabriel. This is because this hadith is not about what the companion of the Prophet who narrated from the Prophet but about what the companions described from Gabriel. It is also one of those individual hadīths where the Archangel Gabriel assumed human form and manifested himself before the Prophet and his companions.

A narration attributed to Umar (the second Caliph) reports:

While we were one day sitting with the Messenger of God, peace and blessings of God upon him, there appeared before us a man dressed in white clothes and with black hair. No traces of travel were visible on him, and none of us knew him. He sat down close to the Prophet, peace and blessings upon him, rested his knees against his knees, placed his palms on his thighs, and said, O Muhammad ﷺ! Inform me about Islam." Muhammad ﷺ said, "Islam is that you should testify that there is no deity save God and that Muhammad ﷺ is His Messenger, that you should perform *salah* (ritual prayer), pay the Zakāh (alms), fast during Ramadan, and perform *Hajj* (pilgrimage) to the House (the Kaaba at Makkah), if you can find a way to it (or find the means for making the journey to it)." Said he (the man), "You have spoken truly." We were astonished at his response, thus questioning him and telling him that he was right, but he went on to say, "Inform me about *Iman* (faith)." He (the Messenger of God) answered, "It is that you believe in God and His angels and His Books and His Messengers and the Last Day, and fate (*qadar*), both in its good and in its evil aspects." He said, "You have spoken truly." Then he (the man) said, "Inform me about *Ihsan*." He (the Messenger of God) answered, " It is that you should serve God as though you could see Him, for though you cannot see Him yet He sees you." He said, "Inform me about the Hour (time of the resurrection)." He (the Messenger of God) said,

"About that the one questioned knows no more than the questioner." So, he said, "Well, inform me about the signs thereof (i.e., of its coming)." O 'Umar, do you know who that questioner was?" I replied, "God and His Messenger know better." He said, "That was Jibril. He came to teach you your religion."²¹

4.6 Faith-Based Organisations (FBOs)

Clarke and Jennings, considered as the earliest theorists to point to the noticeable increase in interest in the role of religious organisations in the development sector, has defined faith-based organisations as:

“Any organisation that derives inspiration and guidance for its activities from the teachings and principles of the faith or a particular interpretation or school of thought within the faith” is defined as a faith-based organisation²².

This definition informs the understanding of this thesis about FBOs. Tvedt argues that the term ‘faith-based organisations’ is problematic because it implies that only adherents of a particular religion have faith. Tvedt base his critique on a definition of faith-based organisations as “non-state actors that have a central religious or faith core to their philosophy, membership, or programmatic approach, although they are not simply missionaries. FBOs are distinguished from secular NGOs by their access to ready-made constituencies.”²³ The organisations I explore in this thesis have a ready-made constituency²⁴, but this does not mean they are limited in the services they provide or the support they receive. The faith connection also does not imply loyalty and direct financial support. It is a liability and even a burden when confronted with transparency and accountability issues on many occasions.

FBOs are characterised by having one or more of the following: affiliation with a religious body; a mission statement with explicit reference to spiritual values; financial support from religious sources; and a governance structure where a selection of board members or staff is

21 Murata, Sachiko and Chittick, William. *The Tao of Islam* State of New York University Press (1994), 31.

22 See <https://www.intrac.org/wpcms/wp-content/uploads/2009/02/Praxis-Paper-22-What-is-Distinctive-About-FBOs.pdf> reference to Clarke and Jennings.

23 Susan Dicklitch and Heather Rice, *The Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) and faith-based NGO aid to Africa*, (Development in Practice 14,2004),660 – 672.

24 Susan Dicklitch and Heather Rice, *The Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) and faith-based NGO aid to Africa*, (Development in Practice 14,2004),660 – 672.

based on religious beliefs or affiliation and decision-making processes based on spiritual values. They are motivated by their faith and have a broader constituency than humanitarian. For believers, to be a Jew, Muslim, or Christian implies a duty to respond to the needs of the poor and the marginalised. The expression of this faith takes different forms in different religious traditions but is a powerful motivation for humanitarian action.²⁵

4.7 The typologies of FBOs

Much of the attention on FBOs in the literature revolves around the difference between faith-based and secular organisations. This is problematic as it suggests that secular organisations have established a standard and that faith-based organisations have to meet this standard to be considered professional institutions are engaging in development. There is also a belief that secular organisations are homogenous and all adhere to the standard established to maintain this status. Ferris asserts that faith-based agencies have two distinguishing characteristics: the FBOs are motivated by their faith and have a broader constituency than the humanitarian concern²⁶. In my experience in working within the development sector, I have found colleagues deeply inspired by their faith whilst working in secular organisations; at the same time, I have had colleagues working within faith-based organisations with no concern for religion, as they provided a technical service or were hired especially for their diversity.

Classification allows the study to explore the various types of faith-based organisations involved in development work. There is the accusation that Muslim organisations engaged in disaster relief or poverty alleviation work only support their fellow adherents of the same faith, which accounts for the high-profile humanitarian relief operations to Muslim majority countries. At the same time, Muslims accuse Christian charities of engaging in missionary activities, exploiting poor Muslims' poverty and vulnerability in war-torn Muslim majority countries. I hope to contribute to the literature by exploring the work of the five South African FBOs, given the backdrop of these accusations and counter-accusations.

This exploration will include presenting and reflecting on how theorists have classified and categorised FBOs. These classifications or typologies could appear as simplifying fairly complex organisations that have evolved in particular contexts and continue to adapt based on

25 Elizabeth Ferris, Faith-based and secular humanitarian organizations, (*International Review of the Red Cross Volume 87 Number 858 June 2005*).

26 Elizabeth Ferris, Faith-based and secular humanitarian organizations, (*International Review of the Red Cross Volume 87 Number 858 June 2005*).

the impact of globalisation, technology, and the knowledge and experience generated internally by the staff, recipients, and the leadership of these organisations. One could start a typology or classification by broadly distinguishing between charitable and missionary type faith-based organisations. Clark (2008) has presented two typologies; the first typology focuses on the differences between FBOs in organising. The second typology looks at how they use religious teachings²⁷.

Clarke's presented his first typology on the differences between FBOs in their organisational appearances. This comprehensive typology covers all forms of faith-based organisations and role players, from churches to terrorist organisations.

Faith-based representative organisations or apex bodies that rule on doctrinal matters govern the faithful and represent them through engagement with the state²⁸ and other actors; This typically describes South African organisations such as the now-defunct National Religious Leaders Forum and religion-specific organisations such as the Jewish Board of Deputies, the Muslim Judicial Council and the South African Council of Churches, the Tamil Federation and the Hindu Maha Saba.

Faith-based charitable or development organisations mobilise the faithful to support the poor and other social groups and fund or manage Programmes that tackle poverty and social exclusion²⁹. The organisations presented in this study all fall within this category. The over 150 000 organisations registered with the Non-Profit Organisation Directorate of the National Department of Social Development of the Republic of South Africa.

Faith-based socio-political organisations deploy and interpret faith as a political construct, mobilising based on faith identities to pursue broader political objectives or promoting faith as a socio-cultural construct³⁰. The various faith-based political parties in South Africa are current examples, such as the African Christian Democratic Party ACDP and the Al Jama Party. Socio-political organisations were also very prevalent and provided the dominant discourse during the anti-Apartheid struggle.³¹

27 Gerard Clarke Faith Matters: Faith-Based Organisations, Civil Society and International Development
Journal of International Development 18(6):835-848 August 2006 DOI: 10.1002/jid.131.

28 Gerard Clarke & Michael Jennings, Development Civil Society and Faith-Based Organisations Hampshire MacMillan (2008).

29 Gerard Clarke & Michael Jennings, Development Civil Society and Faith-Based Organisations Hampshire MacMillan (2008).

30 Gerard Clarke & Michael Jennings, Development Civil Society and Faith-Based Organisations (2008)

31 Tayob, Abdulkader. Islamic resurgence in South Africa: The Muslim youth movement. Cape Town: Credo Press, 1995.

Faith-based missionary organisations spread key faith messages beyond the faithful, actively promoting the faith and seeking converts. The Islamic Propagation Centre International was founded by Sheikh Ahmed Deedat and focuses purely on missionary work³².

Faith-based radical, illegal or terrorist organisations that promote radical or militant faith identity, engaging in unlawful practices or violent acts based on faith. (PAGAD website) The People Against Gangsterism is an example of this type of organisation, which has/d a paramilitary organisation dedicated to attacking and killing drug lords and gang leaders whom they consider a hindrance to social development³³.

Clarke's second typology, which is more referred to in the literature, looks at the different ways FBOs deploy religious teachings of their faith. Clarke argue that "the faith element of the FBO is not an add-on to its development activity, but an essential part of that activity, informing it completely" ³⁴(2008:15). The typology focuses on how faith is used in mobilising staff or supporters and how religion is deployed in how FBOs work with recipients and partners. This second typology is more applicable for this study. It could also assist the FBOs in this study to help distinguish themselves from other civil society organisations and indeed from similar organisations within the Muslim Faith-based sector. Clarke (2008:33) refers to the dilemmas that secular donors face in funding FBOs and that this typology could be of assistance³⁵.

Clark's Faith typology is as follows:

Passive: Faith is subsidiary to broader humanitarian principles as a motivation for action, mobilises staff and supporters, and plays a secondary role in identifying, helping, or working with recipients and partners³⁶. Here the Gift of the Givers practises and public persona comes to mind. It was undoubtedly established on faith-based principles, as clearly stated on its website, but all citizens embrace it as a South African product and success story. The name of the organisation itself allows for inclusivity.

Active: Faith provides an essential and explicit motivation for action and mobilises staff and supporters. It plays a direct role in identifying, helping or working with recipients and partners, although there is no discrimination against non-believers, and the organisation supports multi-

32 See <https://www.ipci.co.za/> (website accessed 23 January 2020)

33 See https://en.wikipedia.org/People_Against_Gangsterism_and_Drugs (accessed 27 Nov 2021) as the latest information.

34 Gerard Clarke G & Michael Jennings, Development Civil Society and Faith-Based Organisations (2008)

35 Gerard Clarke G & Michael Jennings, Development Civil Society and Faith-Based Organisations (2008)

36 Gerard Clarke G & Michael Jennings, Development Civil Society and Faith-Based Organisations (2008)

faith cooperation. The other agencies in this study all reveal this characteristic. The words *Zakāh*, *Imdaad* and Islamic, indicate explicit motivation in the organisations' name.

Persuasive: Faith provides an essential and explicit motivation for action and mobilises staff and supporters. It plays a significant role in identifying, helping or working with recipients and partners and provides the dominant basis for engagement. It aims to bring new converts to the faith or advance the trust at the expense of others³⁷. In the case of the AIF and the SANZAF, donors expect their funds to be used and reported on how it was spent on conveying the message of Islam, both within and outside of the Muslim community. It will also be frowned upon if there is no compelling reason why staff outside of the Muslim faith were employed. The persuasive element is geared towards missionary activity outside of the trust and within the Faith community. Knowledge of the unique charity of Zakāh requires individuals within the confidence to be employed to persuade donors to contribute and assist them in calculating the amount they have to contribute. is

Exclusive: Faith provides the principal or overriding motivation for action and mobilises staff and supporters. It gives the principal or sole consideration in identifying recipients. Social and political engagement is rooted in the faith and is often militant or violent and directed against one or more rival beliefs. Here, the complexity and dynamism of FBOs need to be expanded upon. There are elements of exclusivity in the agencies in this study, but there are no traces of militancy, violence or rivalry towards others within and outside of the faith.

Suppose the objective of developing the two typologies is to afford Western donors a funding opportunity. In that case, it is helpful to note that by combining the two typologies, as Clarke suggests, a 'donor blind spot' could be found. This may be that secular, western donors support FBOs that are by enlarging *charitable and development organisations* that are either *passive* or *active* in the way they deploy their faith. Still, as Clarke admits, the typology has apparent weaknesses. First, the four variables are not always clear-cut (Clarke 2008), and organisations do not always fit neatly within these categories³⁸.

Constituent parts of the organisation may have different approaches. The policies and practices of an FBO may be *passive* or *active* on one issue yet *persuasive* and *exclusive*

37 Gerard Clarke G & Michael Jennings Development Civil Society and Faith-Based Organisations (2008)

38 Clarke G & Jennings M Development Civil Society and Faith-Based Organisations Hampshire MacMillan (2008)

on another³⁹. Second, FBOs may be decentralised with local offices abroad or developed by supporting local partner organisations. In these instances, one is bound to find differences in how faith is operationalised. The distinguishing factor here is the purpose. Muslim Faith-Based organisations in this study could benefit from secular donor agencies such as USAID, SIDA, the United Kingdom's DFID, but choose not because the general public that funds its activities does not require the amount of reporting that these agencies do and that the Muslim agencies may have to secure the services of consultants to complete the application and reporting processes required. However, the main reason is that the organisations in this study do not want dependence on institutional donors, especially when they are doing so well in expanding their donor base by convincing individuals of their faith obligations towards social giving.

Sider and Unruh also provided a broader typology in approach and valuable as it distinguishes between organisations and programmes. The five categories of their typology follow a most to least list on the level of how faith is deployed. These are as follows:

Faith-permeated: The connection is evident at all mission, staffing, governance, and support levels. The religious dimension is essential to programme effectiveness.

Faith-centered: Founded for a religious purpose, remain strongly connected, but participants can readily opt out of spiritual elements.

Faith-affiliated: Retain influence of founders, but do not require staff to affirm religious beliefs or practices (except for some board and leaders). They may incorporate little or no explicitly religious content, and they may profess faith in a general way and make spiritual resources available to participants.

Faith-background: Looks and act like secular NGOs. They have a historical tie to a faith tradition. Religious beliefs may motivate some staff, but this is not considered in selection.

Faith-secular partnership: whereby an FBO works together with secular agencies to create a temporary hybrid that resembles faith background⁴⁰

Sider and Unruh also generated eight organisational elements that were applied within each of the five categories, and these sharp points reflect a deeper understanding of how organisations

39 Clarke G & Jennings M Development Civil Society and Faith-Based Organisations Hampshire MacMillan (2008)

40 Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" Non-profit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly, vol. 33, no. 1, (2004), 109-134.

operate. These points are usually the criteria used by both private and institutional donors to assess their support of an organisation.

Mission and vision statement: The first characteristic concerns the extent to which the organisation uses religious language or the language of a specific faith group to define the identity and aims. This is essential in categorising organisations as FBOs because the mission statement can either attract or filter out prospective members of staff, consumers, and donors.

Founding history: This characteristic examines the connection between the organisation and a specific faith group in the past and the present situation.⁴¹

Affiliation: Sider and Unruh defined affiliation as a close relationship with another entity or agency that provides legal status, administrative structure and management of critical resources to the organisation. A constitution can officially arrange this relationship, or it may be more informal. The question is then whether that entity is religious or not. It is, however, a reality that not all FBOs are affiliated with another organisation or faith group, and hence this characteristic is not present in all FBOs⁴².

Control structures: This characteristic involves the role that members of a specific faith community play in selecting people for the control structures of a particular FBO or group of FBOs.

Senior management: As with the previous feature, this characteristic shows whether it is expected of people in senior management to belong to a specific faith group, to be a member of a particular denomination, or to maintain a particular religious lifestyle.

Other staff members: This characteristic reveals how faith plays a role in the selection and appointment of staff. This issue, however, is a hotly contested legal one. Court rulings in the USA, for example, distinguished between staff positions that are an integral part of the religious mission of the organisation and roles that fulfil primarily secular functions in the organisation⁴³.

Support (financially and otherwise) This characteristic indicates how organisations raise financial and non-financial support, such as volunteer time and donations in kind. The question is whether FBOs target appeals for help only to a specific faith group or denomination and whether FBOs exclude certain sources based on religious convictions⁴⁴.

41 Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

42 Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

43 Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

44 Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

Religious practices of staff: This characteristic has to do with the participation of the team, volunteers and board members in organised spiritual practices⁴⁵

In the next instance, the typology examines four Programme characteristics of the organisations to establish their religious content:

Religious environment: This characteristic refers to the environment or space in which a Programme is executed, such as graphic symbols or references to a specific faith group⁴⁶.

Programme content: This characteristic shows whether specific religious activities form part of the Programme, for example, devotion, singing, readings from holy books of a particular group of faith, and whether invitations to take part in the religious activities of a specific faith group are extended.

Integration of religious components: This characteristic reveals how service recipients are likely to encounter religion in the Programme context. In this regard, the authors refer to previous research in which five general strategies for integrating faith were developed: implicit, invitational, relational, integrated-optional and integrated-mandatory. These strategies are organised around three questions that have a bearing on the religious content of Programmes. Are the spiritual dimensions of the Programmes explicit? Is explicit religious content part of the Programmes? Are clear religious elements compulsory for participants of the Programme, or can they be excused from participation?⁴⁷

The expected connection between religious content and the desired outcome:

This characteristic looks at the anticipated relationship between the spiritual technologies (religious activities) and the social service or Programme. The methodology of faith-permeated and faith-centred Programmes, for example, is shaped by the belief that religious outcomes, such as conversion, are essential to the desired social service outcome⁴⁸.

Sider and Unruh, like Clarke, quoted earlier, acknowledge that their typology has its limitations and that the actual reality is more complex and therefore difficult to categorise⁴⁹. Their

45 Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

46 Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

47 Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

48 Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

49 Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

classifications are valuable, despite possible shortcomings, as it affords us a foundation from which to propose a typology that addresses both the structural and the programmatic content of the organisations in this study.

The following observations can be made from the Sider, Unruh, and Clark typologies. Firstly, the typologies were designed to assist western secular donor agencies with classification to distinguish between the various types of faith-based organisations. The second observation was that this classification was necessary when faith-based organisations sought funding for their activities similar to secular ones. Thirdly, the classification did not consider the peculiar practise of other faiths, such as the critical role of Zakāh collection and distribution. The fourth observation is that organisations categorised are well developed and that the characteristics can be separated and defined. Some organisations are still operating in a pioneer phase where one person makes all decisions.

The programmatic elements, too, allow the organisation to think more clearly about the extent to which faith influences and directs its work. The features also give the organisation the confidence to articulate its position as a faith-based organisation. There may exist a dichotomy to present one face to its faith community from which it derives its inspiration, supporters and another to an institutional donor from which it seeks financial support that would require services to be offered to all.

This chapter allows for developing a typology designed from within the Muslim community. In designing such a policy, it is essential to diagnose the organisation to determine which stage of its organisational development. Whether it continues to operate at a first phase, the pioneer driven organisation is dependent on the founder for its every decision and action or whether it has grown to be independent or in its rational phase where formal structures and a definite hierarchy exist. The next phase is an integrated organisation characterised by teams, team meetings, team building, and conflict resolution.⁵⁰ A typology could include organisational and programmatic elements such as 1) governance and staff capacity, 2) accountability-transparency, 3) Programme design, 4) community participation, 5) cooperation and coordination, 6) knowledge and research-driven, 7) monitoring evaluation reporting and learning, 8) faith-based fundraising, and 9) faith-based inclusivity and 10) decision-making.

50 Olive Development and Training, Organisation Diagnosis Durban Olive Publications Dec Part 2 (1997)24-27

Each of these elements addresses shortcomings and weaknesses observed in this study that would enhance its credibility and improve its impact. These observations were not elaborated upon as they were not the focus of this study.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter looked at the background to the formation of Muslim FBOs and considered their growth over slavery, colonialism, apartheid, democracy, and corruption. It also locates the work of these organisations within a broader context of religion and development. It presented various typologies through which FBOs can be viewed and put forward a different typology that includes more operational and programmatic elements. The typology presented by Sider and Unruh will be used as a tool to analyse the faith-based nature of the MSWOs in this study as it is found to be more suitable. In the next chapter, we will explore the formation, faith-based nature and programmes of the South African National Zakāh Fund and the results of the empirical research conducted.



Chapter 5: South African National *Zakāh* Fund

5.1 Introduction

The South African National *Zakāh* Fund (SANZAF) encapsulates the story of charitable giving in the South African context in various ways. This chapter will briefly explore its establishment as a national organisation and how it meets the characteristic of a Faith-Based Organisation as espoused by Sider and Unruh. This chapter also discusses their approach to *Zakāh* collection and distribution and its various programmes. The chapter concludes by presenting and discussing the findings of the interviews with SANZAF officials on whether and to what the extent the policies, programmes and implementation strategies of the organisation contribute towards food security, beyond the immediate needs for the sustenance of their recipients by referring to exchange, social transfer and own production entitlements.

5.2 Institutional History

SANZAF has two strands through which it emerged in South Africa almost simultaneously. This can be referred to as the Cape strand and the Northern strand. The strands are not purely geographical references. The North refers to the old Apartheid-era provinces of Transvaal and Natal in geographic terms, but it has many other connotations in ideological terms. The Cape is where the first Muslims arrived as enslaved people and political prisoners of the Dutch East India Company¹. The Muslim community built the first school and mosque on land donated by a freed-Muslim woman and given as an Endowment or *Waqf* to be used as a mosque and place of education in perpetuity. The Cape is where the local Muslims have the first handwritten copies of the Holy *Quran* in their possession. The Muslims of the Cape engaged in the first acts of *Zakāh* distribution and declaration of property as *Waqf* (endowment). The Cape is also home to the most significant number of followers of Islam and the *Shafi-i* Jurisprudential School in Islam. The origin of this former slave community is mixed but mainly from the Malay-Indonesian archipelago and southern parts of India². In addition to geography, the Cape refers to theology and race in South African Muslim vocabulary. It also refers to social status and political orientation.

1 Achmat Davids, *The Mosques of Bo-Kaap*. Cape Town: South African Institute of Arabic and Islamic Research. (1980).

2 Shafiq Morton, *From the Spice Islands to Cape Town. The Life and Times of Tuan Guru* Published (Awqaf SA) (2018).

In the North (Transvaal), people are mainly of North Indian origin who arrived from 1860 onwards as merchants, follow mostly the Hanafi Jurisprudential school, are conservative in their beliefs are, and considered the merchant class. In Natal, they have both merchant's and indentured labourers' history. The Cape has a mainly working-class and politically more radical orientation³. The Apartheid systems policies introduced the Population Registration and the Group Areas⁴ acts, which impacted the attitudes that developed in the Muslim community. The Muslims of the Cape and the north were primarily grouped racially into two distinct racial groups. The Cape Malay was designated as a subgroup of the Apartheid designation of Coloured race, mainly found in the Cape. The Muslims of the north were broadly designated as Indian. The group areas act impacted all Muslims, as forced removals, the key instrument of this brutal legislation, separated neighbours from their original community support networks and places of worship⁵.

The Cape strand emerged during this critical time in the 1970s. The Group Areas devastated communities, and its impact was felt most severely in the newly created Coloured townships. The problems experienced in these communities were listed by Ebrahim Bardien, a stalwart of the SANZAF, as seeing an increase in poverty. High unemployment, due to the new distances people had to travel because of forced removals, juvenile delinquency increased because of lack of parental and neighbours' supervision. The destruction of families, depression and psychological problems were now more prevalent, and substance abuse, especially illicit drugs in the Muslim community, became the new normal⁶.

A young graduate from the world-renown Al Azhar University in Cairo, Sheikh Faiek Gamielien and Ebrahim Bardien – a Chartered Accountant, and others, proposed the injunction of *Zakāh* can address the social ills and issues relating to poverty. Gamielien made four important observations regarding *Zakāh*. There were no official talks on *Zakāh*, no formal institutions to distribute *Zakāh* in an organised way, the *Zakāh ul Mal* was broadcast only on the 10th Muharram and that *Zakāh ul Fitr* paid by all people fasting was delivered to the local Imam of the Mosque to be distributed by his discretion⁷.

3 Shafiq Morton, From the Spice Islands to Cape Town. The Life and Times of Tuan Guru Published (Awqaf SA). (2018).

4 See <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/group-areas-act-1950> (accessed 25th November 2021).

5 Farid Esack. Three Islamic Strands in the South African Struggle for Justice Author(s): Source: Third (1988).

6 Rahim Ebrahim, South African National Zakāh Fund a Historical Appraisal 1974-2013 (SANZAF 2014).

7 Rahim Ebrahim, South African National Zakāh Fund a Historical Appraisal 1974-2013 (SANZAF 2014).

Between Bardien and Gamieldien, two critical issues are addressed. The state of the community and that of the institution of *Zakāh* as the solution. As part of his community education classes in the Wynberg area, he asks students to bring canned foods and other items to distribute to the poor. These in-kind donations have a long history in Cape Muslim life where enslaved people who were given the rare day off from enslavers would pool their food resources and consume them at their religious ceremonies⁸. Elders from former communities such as District Six, Claremont, Simons' Town etc., would immediately rush over with whatever extra food there was if a breadwinner lost their employment to ensure that in the immediate days following a loss of income, the household would be food secure⁹.

This modest way of mobilising resources received impetus when a student, Cassiem Charles, collected canned food and other items for the poor, door to door to both poor and more affluent communities. His efforts were supported by key personalities such as Shadley Karriem and Abdurazaq Razaq, all fitting the description of devout Muslim youth from working-class communities. Cassiem Charles pays tribute to the Muslim women's efforts from the community who baked cakes and organised Cake sales for the poor¹⁰. This backroom role of Muslim women has now been completely reversed, with the current CEO and Chairperson of the national board of SANZAF being women and renowned leaders in the male-dominated world of *Zakāh*. Food plays an integral part in the story of *Zakāh* in the Cape.

Sheikh Faiek Gamieldien dedicated a series of lectures on *Zakāh* in the Salt River community, meeting his goal of dedicated *Zakāh* education programmes. His relationship with Ebrahim Bardien strengthens, and one can almost sense a partnership between the ideologue and organiser. With the support of local volunteers, Gamieldien establishes a local *Zakāh* committee at the Bridgetown Mosque. Gamieldien and Bardien were joined by a former Robben Island prisoner and anti-apartheid activist, Achmad Cassiem. They were tasked with drawing up the constitution for the Cape *Zakāh* Fund. The Cape *Zakāh* Fund continued to build on the practice of a strong base of donations in kind and community fundraising whilst scurrying in building community structures for the collection and distribution of aid to the poor. These structures were called regional councils. The May 1979 AGM of the Cape *Zakāh* Fund dedicated a significant portion of its time to collecting canned foods, standardising contents of

8 Achmat Davids, *The mosques of Bo-Kaap*. Cape Town: South African Institute of Arabic and Islamic Research. (1980).

9 Hettie. Adams, *William Street District Six* Published Chameleon Press (1988).

10 Rahim Ebrahim. *South African National Zakāh Fund a Historical Appraisal 1974-2013* (SANZAF, 2014).

aid packages, record keeping, storage facilities, and most importantly, distribution procedures¹¹.

The Cape *Zakāh* Fund presents a few important lessons, key amongst which for this particular study is that a critical element of addressing issues of poverty is, first, to correctly analyse the social milieu within which the community is intended to be served finds itself. This could also be viewed as determining a baseline against which progress will be measured¹².

The second lesson is the relationship between religious belief and its social relevance. Sheikh Faiek's *Call to Zakāh* was to encourage mass mobilisation around poverty issues using the spiritual concept of *Zakāh* to address the immediate social problems of the community. It afforded anyone with the smallest of means to participate and to contribute.

The third lesson that one extracts is that these were poor people-driven solutions, not efforts of the rich in saving the poor from hunger. They were indeed not hand downs, but actions of the affected communities themselves. There were no elites and workers; they were all equal.

The fourth lesson is that the practice of food collection, community fundraising and organising is indigenous knowledge, which makes the organisation itself sustainable.

The fifth, this was not a religious establishment or Ulema led initiative despite Sheikh Faiek Gamieldien as a critical motivator playing a leading role. It was not jurisprudential, sectarian or divisive.

Sixthly, this is not an elite-led initiative. By elites, we refer to people giving or assuming leadership based on their social or economic status. Ebrahim Bardien is an Accountant and Faiek Gamieldien, Qualified Social Worker and Religious leader and has a senior position at a major financial institution; they don't use their professions as leverage over the poor. They continue to be active supporters of SANZAF, but not full-time workers or lifetime office bearers and dictators suffering from founders' syndrome. The key workers and founders understand that there is a need to be organised to address the systemic problems of their communities. The drafting and adopting of the constitution, holding an annual general meeting

11 Rahim Ebrahim, South African National Zakāh Fund a Historical Appraisal 1974-2013 (SANZAF, 2014).

12 A baseline in project management is a clearly defined starting point for your project plan. It is a fixed reference point to measure and compare your project's progress against. This allows you to assess the performance of your project over time.

and establishing offices to distribute food aid received as a donation. The last and most important of all is the lesson of ensuring that poor households are food secure.

If the Cape was working class, the north was its direct opposite. The organisation in the north was a merchant class initiative. The north-south discussion has relevance to the collection and distribution of *Zakāh*. The merchants came as free citizens of the British empire and mainly from the Gujarat area known for their traders. They were neither landowners, and neither did they work the land in South Africa. The working class in the KwaZulu and the Cape area enslaves a person and semi-slave -indentured labour history¹³.

If the Cape initiatives were homegrown, the north had a national and international outlook. The Cape *Zakāh* Fund grew out of the homes and communities and did not have a formal organisational base. The South African National *Zakāh* Fund of the North developed out of the Muslim Youth Movement of South Africa (MYM). The founding members were businessmen Ebrahim Jadwat and Mahmud Moosa, then law graduate Hafiz Abu Bakr. In its formative years, the Muslim Youth Movement looked outward and was undoubtedly interested in forming structures that would address the needs of all Muslims. It looked beyond language, geographic region, ethnicity and school of thought. They believed and continue to think that this holds back the advancement and progress of the Muslim community¹⁴. This boldness to determine what must be done can be attributed to the merchant flexing its plan and influence. It also describes a period in which the conservative religious establishment in the north and the country generally were involved with peripheral issues jurisprudential trivialities. Their narrow outlook lacked the vision to speak for the Muslim community in South Africa. Whether in the Cape or the North, the religious leader is best described as a school dropout who would defer social status to the secular educated but fiercely guard the little religious knowledge he possesses.

However, the religiously observant, secular educated, middle class had no problem accessing literature on Islam and broad-minded scholars that would advance their vision. Ebrahim Jadwat was one such person who travelled to Pakistan to personally invite Maulana Dr Muhammad Fazlurahman Ansari, world renown and preeminent scholar at the time to South Africa. Dr Ansari made two significant contributions despite being a classically trained religious scholar.

13 Ebrahim Mahomed Mahida, *History of Muslims in South Africa: A Chronology*. (Durban: Kat Bros., 1993).

14 Abdulkader Tayob. *Islamic resurgence in South Africa: The Muslim Youth Movement*. (Cape Town: Creda Press, 1995).

He shared with the youth that Islamic knowledge and its primary text, the Holy *Qur'an*, is not the preserve of the religious leaders. The second was that Muslims make an intellectual contribution by sharing the equitable Islamic economic system in a world dominated by Communist and Capitalist ideologies. This advice, in 1972, provided the MYM with the confidence to analyse the problems of the Muslim community and propose solutions¹⁵.

At its 1974 convention, the MYM resolved¹⁶ that there should be the standardisation of the Friday sermon, proposing a unified message and that there should be a national *Zakāh* collection and distribution organisation. The first resolution was to be driven by Abdullah Osman, which never really took off and sporadically remains a suggestion, significantly as technology and digitisation have improved that can facilitate this suggestion. Dr Shaukat Ali Thokan was responsible for establishing a National *Zakāh* organisation.

5.3 Faith-based nature of the Organisation

In this section, we will use the categories identified by Sider and Unruh to discuss the faith-based nature of the organisation.

The SANZAF 2019 annual report states that the Vision and Mission of the organisation are as follows:

The South African National Zakāh Fund (SANZAF) is a faith-based socio-welfare and educational organisation that strives to facilitate the empowerment of needy families through the efficient collection and effective distribution of Zakāh and other Sadaqah proactively and cost-effectively through projects with dignity, sincerity and shared responsibility, all in the service of the community and for the pleasure of God.

The mission and vision statement clearly state that SANZAF is faith-based social welfare and educational organisation. It uses religious language and the language of the Islamic faith to provide context to its work and define its identity and what it aims to do, and how it seeks to do it. This is an essential aspect in classifying organisations as FBOs because this mission statement states clearly with whom it will work and for whose benefit they attract or filter out prospective members of staff, donors and those seeking assistance¹⁷. The organisation's efforts

15 Rahim Ebrahim. South African National Zakāh Fund a Historical Appraisal 1974-2013 (SANZAF, 2014)

16 Rahim Ebrahim South African National Zakāh Fund. Historical Appraisal (1974-2013) (SANZAF, 2014)

17 Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

in supporting people in need outside of the Islamic faith is worthy of further study and specifically how *Zakāh* can and have been deployed for this purpose.

The earlier discussion on how the organisation was founded in the Cape and the North has also established the clear faith-based basis for its establishment. The response to the impact of forced removals that exacerbated poverty found an answer in the religious teaching and the third pillar of Islam, called *Zakāh*, and this response continues to drive the organisation. This confirms its faith-based status because of the strong connection between the organisation and a specific faith group in the past and the present situation.

Affiliation: Sider and Unruh defined affiliation as a close relationship with another entity or agency that provides legal status, administrative structure and management of critical resources to the organisation. Ebrahim discusses the formative years of SANZAF as an affiliate of the Muslim Youth Movement (Muslim Youth Movement)¹⁸. Here the reference is made to Dr S Thokan, considered to be the father of SANZAF, being delegated to develop the idea of a National *Zakāh* organisation further by the MYM, his subsequent reporting on the progress of the SANZAF to the MYM, the allocation of first offices and its expansion and funding of staff by the MYM.

Control structures: This characteristic involves the role that members of a specific faith community play in selecting people for the control structures of a particular FBO or group of FBOs¹⁹. The constitution of the SANZAF clearly states that the membership of the organisation is open to members of the “Ummah”, which is another term used to describe the Muslim community²⁰. It is common practice that major organisations seek out prominent members of the broader society, especially professionals, to serve on the Board of Trustees to add prestige and credibility. Nothing indicates that there has ever been a person outside of the Islamic Faith involved with the governance, management or as a staff member of SANZAF.

Senior management: As with the previous feature, this characteristic shows whether it is expected of people in senior management to belong to a specific faith group, to be a member

18 Rahim Ebrahim, South African National Zakāh Fund a Historical Appraisal 1974-2013 (SANZAF, 2014).

20 Rahim Ebrahim, South African National Zakāh Fund a Historical Appraisal 1974-2013 (SANZAF, 2014).

of a particular denomination, or to maintain a particular religious lifestyle²¹. The SANZAF constitution²² details the role of the senior management as members of the Islamic faith. The appendix also includes a detailed organogram. Since senior management in SANZAF is responsible for deciding how *Zakāh* is allocated, one can understand how the organisation does not view it as necessary to appoint staff from outside of the Muslim community.

Sider and Unruh also identify staff appointment as another significant characteristic of a faith-based organisation. The organisation appoints Muslims to all their positions, and it does not distinguish between secular functions and integral parts of the organisation's religious mission. Sider & Unruh would find *Zakāh* collection organisations generally stimulating subjects as they are set up to collect and distribute funds from a specific religious group. It is not an addition to its mission; its mission is collecting funds. The distribution can, however, extend beyond that community. What is noteworthy is that SANZAF only reminds the donors of what must be given, it helps calculate what must be given, but the decision is up to the donor as a commitment to their faith. The collection and distribution of *Zakāh* is a religious practice. The staff, volunteers and board members are involved in different stages of this very organised spiritual practice. Sider and Unruh state that a characteristic of a faith-based organisation has to do with the participation of the staff, volunteers and board members in organised religious practices.

Sider and Unruh have also developed their typology of faith-based organisations to look at four programme characteristics of the organisations to establish their religious content that confirms their faith-based nature. These are the religious environment, the programme content, integration of religious components and the expected connection between religious content and desired outcome²³.

Many of the offices of SANZAF countrywide are on the premises of Mosques or Islamic Centres. Where they are freestanding, the nature of the marketing materials displayed, the staff's dress, greeting etc., all confirm its explicit nature of belonging to the Islamic faith²⁴.

21 Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

22 Rahim Ebrahim, South African National *Zakāh* Fund a Historical Appraisal 1974-2013 (SANZAF, 2014).

23 Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

24 SANZAF Annual Report (2019),50-51.

The focus on education about *Zakāh* is an essential feature of its programmatic work, and its content is religious by nature. The organisation has Ramadan and Qurbani projects and spends its funds to promote Islamic Studies and the propagation of the Islamic faith (and the building of mosques²⁵).

The programmes implemented by SANZAF has religious components integrated into their delivery, and they are by nature explicit. But when one looks at the strategies employed, the programmes implemented become nuanced. In many homes supported by SANZAF, the staff are aware that assistance will benefit those members of the household that are not Muslim. One of the categories of those qualifying for *Zakāh* is that it is given to recipients to bring them closer to the Islamic faith. It is, at times, implicit as recipients will immediately associate staff as being from the Islamic faith. The organisation's donors demand that the *Zakāh* and other charity donated be first used for needy Muslim families. This does become difficult to monitor when the organisation responds to disasters; assistance is never restricted. There is no expectation that recipients will convert to Islam and no conscious and deliberate record of numbers of people who have converted to Islam based on the support are provided or kept. This is despite SANZAF being both a faith-permeated and faith-centred organisation²⁶.

5.4 Programmes

SANZAF reports on its activities using its annual reports²⁷. This is where information on its governance, staff, development programmes and yearly financial statements are shared. SANZAF distinguishes between programmes as having either a national impact or regional impact. The National Office's programmes are driven and include programmes focusing on education and empowerment development. The organisation supports a wide range of programmes. These include supporting Early Childhood Development Centres, youth and community development programmes, mentoring youth, active learning through excursions and on the job training in woodwork and sewing, supporting tertiary education, vocational training and funding Islamic Studies. The other major national programmes are its Ramadan and Qurbani programmes. The Ramadan programmes allow for the education on *Zakāh*, the collection of *Zakāh*, whilst it also implements the preparation and distribution of 130 000 meals for those fasting, the distribution of over 23 000 food hampers that will be consumed by

25 SANZAF Annual Report (2019), 19 -22.

26 Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

27 SANZAF Annual Report (2019), 13-30.

families that cannot afford to celebrate the end of Ramadan. Qurbani is the sacrifice of animals to commemorate the Prophet Abraham's willingness to sacrifice his son Ismail. This coincides with the period of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. Devoted Muslims who are by the means give their money to purchase an animal for sacrifice to SANZAF. Many also slaughter animals themselves and share the meat with SANZAF²⁸.

Within the six regions, programmes are either extension of the national programmes or have their projects guided by local conditions but fit the organisation's criteria. This range supports Islamic Education, drilling boreholes, food relief programmes, providing weekly meals and monthly food programmes, winter warmth programmes, and skills development programmes. The projects in regional offices also include entrepreneurship training and support for micro traders' that also receive clothing for resale that will assist the recipients in becoming financially self-sufficient. The regional offices are also sites for the receipt and distribution of *Zakāh* donations both in kind and in cash. In many societies, the poor and the rich would live in the same town or locality and attend the same mosque. The idea that *Zakāh* is distributed in the area where it is collected is a principle discussed earlier in this study. The exchange between the Governor of Yemen, Muaz bin Jabal, and the second Caliph Umar in early Islamic history is often cited to motivate the collection and distribution of *Zakāh* locally as a priority that will alleviate poverty. Though this may be praiseworthy from the point of view of building community and social cohesion between who can pay *Zakāh* and those who need assistance, significant political challenges exist today that did not exist in the 7th Century Arabian Peninsula. There are now more people in more parts of the world that are in need. More poor people constitute entire nation-states, let alone townships and suburbs that remain impoverished simply by how the political and economic systems are structured. Statistics show that Muslims are about 25% of the world's population but have a 50% share in global poverty²⁹. An exciting challenge and benefit of our times is the digitisation of *Zakāh* Management.

The IDB Institute published the 2017 *Islamic Social Finance Report* that states that the potential of Islamic social finance remains unrealised due to weak systems of *Zakāh* collection and distribution. The 2015 Report of the same organisation covered the work of SANZAF as part of a focus on Islamic Social Finance organisations operating in the Southern African

28 SANZAF Annual Report (2019), 21.

29 See <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/01/31/worlds-muslim-population-more-widespread-than-you-might-think/> (accessed 15 Nov 2021).

region. The weaknesses in the system can easily be overcome with the use of information technology that is available and rapidly advancing in the financial sector. SANZAF supports this view, and the CEO articulated it at the World Zakāh Forum³⁰. She shared her belief that the appropriate technological advancement in the financial sector must be leveraged to aid *Zakāh* collection and *Zakāh* distribution. Both the *Zakāh* donor known as the *Muzakki* and the *Mustahik*, the *Zakāh* recipient, use technology and continue to embrace new technology. This affords the *Zakāh* managers to start mining the data they have and organise this to strengthen their ability to collect and distribute *Zakāh* effectively.

The SANZAF of the 1970s sought to mobilise the community by educating them on the importance of *Zakāh* through talks and classes in communities provided by Sheikh Faiek Gamiieldien. The SANZAF of 2021 provides *Zakat* literature and information on how to calculate your *Zakāh* and make a payment for the various projects through the website and mobile app of the organisation. The *Muzakki* can access a religious scholar through a live chat should they still wish to speak to someone. The organisation also provides general communication and feedback using various forms of social media. Fundraising appeals are also conducted through social media such as Instagram, WhatsApp and Email. These services support the *Zakāh* Collection, but much more can help *Zakāh* distribution. The *Mustahik* or recipient too should be able to access services online, such as making an application. The only difference is that part of the verification process requires home visits, which can benefit the applicant. As for the exchange between Muaz Bin Jabal and the second Caliph Umar, discuss the importance of location. This can easily be enhanced through the data mining that the *Zakāh* manager can do using geolocation software. The fundraising appeals can be more directed to donors in a specific region, and updates can be provided on the work done in a particular area. All organisations with a Mobile fundraising app currently provide the donor with options for the region or project they wish to fund. They also have an option that allows the organisation to direct funds to areas or projects that do not receive much support³¹.

With the increase in crime, organisations like SANZAF find that online donations have become very popular as people do not wish to carry cash. Online donations also indicate that donors have become more knowledgeable and comfortable with online payments. The COVID

30 Yasmine Francke, Presentation to the World Zakāh Forum (2018) shared with Cassiem Khan 22 January 2021.

31 Yasmine Francke, Presentation to the World Zakāh Forum (2018) shared with Cassiem Khan 22 January 2021.

pandemic enforced social distancing, and many people had to work from home and increase their online presence. This also contributed to how donations were received and how fundraising was done. But it also contributed to job losses and increased the vulnerability of people that found it difficult to access basic needs such as food.

SANZAF has 29 offices in the six regions (provinces of South Africa), and they are located in communities where both recipients of Zakāh and donors of Zakāh reside. The organisation employs one hundred eighteen individual staff members at regional offices that Zakāh recipients present themselves requesting assistance with food, rental and any other social problem such as drug abuse or an inability to pay for school fees.

5.5 Empirical Research findings

Two interviews were conducted, one at the national office and the other at a regional office. They are referred to as interviewees one and two, respectively. In both instances, time was spent explaining the purpose of the study and the terminology used.

In the interview with the interviewee, three broad areas were discussed. The first relates to how people in need of assistance approach SANZAF and how the organisation addresses their needs to become food secure, amongst other forms of assistance. The second area discussed is how policies are made within the organisation and precisely where the policy on food security would be located. The third area is staff training and explicitly relating to food and food security.

A potential recipient will first be asked a set of questions to determine whether the person is eligible for *Zakāh*. For further consideration, the person must fit into one of the eight categories of *Zakāh*, which has been listed in the chapter on *Zakāh* in this study. Once considered, the organisation has a standardised means test which comprises a set of questions the caseworker asks the applicant. Every applicant assessed would determine the extent of food insecurity in the household as a priority. As a rule, the caseworker can immediately allocate a food parcel, and the recipient is allowed to refuse if food is not needed. The application has verification procedures that can include home visits. Still, it would as a mandatory procedure include formal documents such as bank statements, proof of residence and rental or loan agreements. The person coming for the request would also be asked about the school-going children, their school fees, extra tuition, bursaries, the number of people employed and the skill levels in the

household. The intake form is designed to ensure that it deals with the request and determines all the applicant's needs.

The organisation has an equal obligation towards the donor of *Zakāh* and wants to ensure that the funds are administered and utilised most effectively. The interviewee shares that the thorough nature of the questions helps satisfy the donor of *Zakāh*, who wants to know that applicants received the assistance they required and that applicants were not turned away or mistreated in any way. This professionalism keeps donors giving their *Zakāh* to SANZAF, which builds their confidence and reputation. This detailed information allows the caseworker to present an action plan to the Shura Committee on each case. This Committee meets once every seven days to review requests for assistance. Caseworkers, the regional Manager, head of the region's social welfare department, and an external regional board member constitute this meeting. Should the request be urgent, ranging from eviction to medical treatment, the caseworker can escalate the request to the Head of Department and Regional Manager. The organisation would directly intervene with the creditor or vendor with the applicant's permission. The purpose of the thorough questioning is that the organisation decided to move from relief to development. This policy affords the Shura committee the ability to suggest a broader range of interventions that has a long-term impact. An example of this is when substance abuse has impacted the poverty levels of the household requesting assistance, the Shura committee may want to initiate a drug awareness programme in that area or region from which applications are received³².

Staff training is primarily in-house, and since regions differ in size and the region's management has different levels of training themselves, staff exposure across the country is varied. Caseworkers have been encouraged, and the organisation has facilitated several of them to do the auxiliary social worker training programme. The staff are encouraged to participate in refresher courses and additional training programmes³³.

The organisation has readily available, well-documented policies for managing its finances, human resources, marketing, and programmatic work, including its casework. The policymaking process is organic, emerging from staff experienced in the various regions. This

32 Interviewee (b) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 20th Mar 2017.

33 Interviewee (b) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 20th Mar 2017.

is filtered upwards and is designed to meet the needs of donors, the efficiency with which applicants have their requests met, ensuring the organisation's primary purpose as a Zakāh collector and distributor³⁴.

The organisation made a strategic decision to allocate sixty per cent of its funds for development. This is the most exciting finding of the study. When interrogating this word *development* with the National Co-ordinator, she clearly articulated that the *Zakāh* funds must have a long-term impact. It must move the recipient to self-sufficiency, and then she noted that it must make the recipient food secure as a response to this study³⁵. In the 2019/20 financial year 28, 000 cases were counselled and supported. It is unclear what percentage of this number of instances were food insecure and what percentage are now food secure because of this assistance, having moved from receiving a mandatory food parcel to procuring their food. The interviewee believes that the data collected from regional offices, on staff, operational activities, training needs, the nature of requests for assistance, the applicants supported by faith, age, gender, disability and what percentage are migrants and refugees should be better utilised for other policies that can be developed. The data could also separate assistance categories, such as rental, school fees and food³⁶.

When converted into an implementation strategy, this policy decision of moving from relief to development resulted in more projects that sought to increase the number of entrepreneurs and those interested in producing their food as a means of sustenance and income generation. SANZAF in the Gauteng region operates two community gardens that benefit 14 people. The organisation provides ongoing support that will afford the gardens the opportunity to be profitable. It is difficult to sustain the projects and maintain a level of commitment without financial support to allow individuals to sustain themselves whilst working on the food security projects³⁷.

We have to be cautious not to support a project to the extent that they lose their developmental focus. Support needs to be given according to the expected outputs. Organisations cannot be desperate to see the project succeed. Giving communities resources they already have or not allowing the community the opportunity to invest themselves creates unrealistic expectations and will lead to challenges in future. Few

34 Interviewee (b)Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 20th Mar 2017.

35 Interviewee (b)Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 20th Mar 2017.

36 Interviewee (b)Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 20th Mar 2017.

37 Interviewee (c)Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 26 Oct 2021.

organisations have successfully run food security programmes. They have been able to gradually withdraw support and resources to the point that allowed food security programmes to run independently and profitably³⁸.

Interviewee two clearly understand the difference between Food Security, Food Relief and Food Sovereignty. He points to food production as an example of food security the feeding schemes as examples of food relief. He provides an interesting example of food security that the Gauteng Region of SANZAF employs. This is the decision to provide Zakāh recipients with food vouchers. The food voucher can be redeemed at a supermarket by the Zakāh recipient. Affording the recipient the freedom to choose what they need and prefer in their diet, empowering them. The agreement with the supermarket is that the voucher does not allow for luxury items or harmful substances such as cigarettes. The voucher aims to promote the recipient's dignity and place the power of decision-making in the recipient's hands. This, in essence, is what food sovereignty is understood to be³⁹.

In response to the question on what is more critical, Interviewee two views the three examples as distinct and can run concurrently. The organisation wants to ensure that the food relief, food security and food sovereignty programmes are efficiently implemented and managed. He is guided by the principle of promoting dignity, choice and independence of the recipients. He also believes that terminology does not matter to the organisation; what matters is the impact they can make in the lives of the poor⁴⁰.

The organisation takes great care of the nutritional value of the food distributed nationally. This includes the feeding schemes. This follows the understanding that the food distributed must not only be permissible according to Islamic laws, Halal but that they must be pure and not contaminated by harmful substances. Cheap food, close to expiry dates, and nutrient-deficient foods are not options. Instead, they would raise more money than purchase food that would not be acceptable for consumption⁴¹.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, the unique formation of the SANZAF was presented. The faith-based nature of the organisation was analysed, and the empirical evidence gathered was given. SANZAF is committed to increasing the capacity of individual households to increase their *exchange*

38 Interviewee (c) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 26 Oct 2021.

39 Interviewee (c)two Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 21 Nov 2021.

40 Interviewee (c)two Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 21 Nov 2021.

41 Interviewee (b)and (c) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 20 Mar 2017 and 21 Nov 2021.

entitlements by investing in projects utilising Zakāh funds that will increase the employability of recipients and mainly increase their ability to become entrepreneurs so that they can become food secure. There is considerable investment in and an interest in supporting initiatives of recipients towards *own production entitlements*. This is through the food gardens being supported. Own production works best amongst small scale farmers engaged in subsistence production. The *social transfer entitlement* is where the organisation continues to excel because this is the guaranteed way people can access food. The organisation's practice of providing a food parcel to everyone coming for assistance shows a depth of understanding of food insecurity. The establishment of the Gift of the Givers Foundation will be presented in the next chapter.



Chapter Six: Gift of the Givers Foundation

6.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the institutional history, faith-based character, and current Gift of the Givers Foundation programmes. The chapters on *Zakāh*, food and faith-based organisations provided the theoretical understanding and backdrop for discussing specific organisations. Reference will be made to the chapters as we unpack the Gift of the Givers Foundation work. This study used semi-structured interviews to elicit the views of key leaders in the organisation on how it seeks to assist recipients of their Programmes in attaining and maintaining food security beyond their immediate needs for sustenance. The interviews were conducted with the Director of Stakeholder relations and the Director of Operations. This chapter also refers to and uses extracts of the sayings of the founder Dr Imtiaz Sooliman from existing literature.

6.2 Institutional history

Organisations are conceptualised long before they are formally established. A concept is the most basic idea, which is serving humanity. In other cases, it is after deep reflection, discussion and consultation on the challenges faced by humanity. It is also very common that a catalytic moment, an event, an incident has left a deep impression on the life of a group of people or an individual that results in the establishment of an organised response to that event¹. In this case, the image of two small children digging for water with their bare hands in Mozambique's, Nacala province in 1990 "freaked" Dr Imtiaz Sooliman out². This moved Dr Sooliman to purchase a fax machine and appeal for funds from anyone in the telephone directory that could assist. He raised one R1million in five days, with which he could dig 30 boreholes³. This effort in itself was enough reason to start the organisation, but forming an organisation and helping people in need does not have to go together.

Dr Sooliman is moved to drastic action by what he observes and is spurred on further action. He continues this practice of delivering aid with urgency, this time, alongside the Islamic Medical Association to provide much-needed relief in Bangladesh. Dr Sooliman reaches out to the Apartheid era government to transport relief supplies, initially requesting the Apartheid-era South African Air Force aeroplanes to deliver relief aid. The Apartheid era government under severe sanctions sees Dr Sooliman's request as an opportunity to promote a humane image of

1 Philippe Ryfman, "Non-Governmental Organizations: An Indispensable Player of Humanitarian Aid." *International Review of the Red Cross* 89, no. 865 (2007): 21–46. doi:10.1017/S1816383107000926.

2 Shafiq Morton, Imtiaz Sooliman and the Gift of the Givers. New York: Bookstore (2014).

3 Morton, S. Imtiaz Sooliman and the Gift of the Givers. New York: Bookstore (2014). I have personally heard Dr Sooliman repeat this story of the Mozambican children on several occasions as his motivation to assist those in need and do it with urgency.

the brutal regime. They agreed and provided an Apartheid-era Navy ship that allowed it to break its pariah status, using the generosity of the SA Muslim public⁴. Beyond the political ramifications, this speaks to essential aspects of the provision of humanitarian aid. These include, but are not limited to, who makes the decisions in organisations, how decisions are made to provide relief assistance, what values and principles inform decision-making, and the role of United Nations Humanitarian principles, such as Independence, in the decision-making process⁵. Many NGOs are constantly faced with this issue of working with entities and governments, mainly when it provides legitimacy and credibility to these bodies. Dr Sooliman was awarded by the Apartheid government for his humanitarian work, separately too, by the De Klerk Foundation in 2018 and has also received several awards by the democratic government, led by Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress.

The naming of Gift of the Givers or, in Arabic, *Waqful Waqifin* marks the organisation's establishment. Usually, organisations are formed through public meetings, agreement on the aims and objectives, a constitution drafting process, registration with the appropriate bodies, establishing the governance, appointment of staff etc. In the case of Dr Sooliman, it was a calling:

You feel the calling; you feel the need, you see the suffering of man, and you want to do something. There are a lot of prayers involved. You've been shown what the right way is: what to do and what not to do. And things are put very clearly in front of you.

From this quotation, it can be deduced that Dr Sooliman is a profoundly spiritual person. This spirituality was awoken in him on the 6th August 1992 when he met a Sufi teacher on the advice of a neighbour. The Sufi, Sheikh Saffer Effendi al-Jerrahi, said to him:

My son, I'm not asking you; I'm instructing you. You will form an organisation. The name will be Gift of the Givers. You will serve all people of all races, religions, classes, political affiliations, and any geographical location, and you will help them unconditionally⁶.

4 Ashwin Desai A and Goolam Vahed G (2013) "NGOs and Xenophobia in South Africa" in *Alternation Special Edition 7* (2013), 246.

5 See https://www.unocha.org/sites/dms/Documents/OOM-humanitarianprinciples_eng_June12.pdf (accessed 10 Nov 2021).

6 Shafiq Morton, *Imtiaz Sooliman and the Gift of the Givers*. New York: Bookstore (2014).

6.3 Faith-based Nature of the Organisation

Captured in the advice of his Sufi master is the mission and vision statement of the Gift of the Givers Foundation. The quote features prominently on the organisation's website⁷. Sider and Unruh suggest that the use of religious language or the language of a specific faith group in the mission and vision statement points to its faith-based character. In this case, the word "Sufi" defines that organisation's identity, aims, and objectives as a faith-based organisation⁸. Sider and Unruh further contend that this identification is essential to filter out prospective donors, supporters, and staff⁹. Though these observations may have some validity in highly secular societies that separate faith-based and non-faith-based activities, it certainly does not hold for the Gift of the Givers Foundation, which has progressively moved from an exclusive faith-based character to a relief organisation embraced by all South Africans. Undoubtedly, some connection between the founding of the organisation and a specific faith group exists, in this case, the Islamic faith¹⁰.

The organisation does not shy away from having its roots in the Islamic faith but is not overly consumed by propagating it. As stated earlier, one would consider the Gift of the Givers, Passive, in deploying its faith¹¹. This is evident when looking at the organisation 2018 Ramadan funding appeal document. Ramadan is the month of fasting, and because of the experience of the feeling of hunger, Muslims are encouraged to be more mindful and act more compassionately towards the poor. This is one of two periods where there is a direct connection between appealing for funds from the Muslim community and the explicit reference to the Islamic faith. The other is during the period of Haj or pilgrimage. Upon closer examination of the documents, one finds that in a 16-page document, there are four concise sayings of the holy prophet Muhammad ﷺ. The first is the slogan of the organisation, "Best Among People are those who Benefit Mankind" the remaining three refer to feeding the hungry, assisting the orphans and providing water for the thirsty¹².

7 See <https://giftofthegivers.org/about-us/> (accessed on 10th Nov 2021).

8 Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

9 Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

10 Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

11 Gerard Clarke G & Michael Jennings, *Development Civil Society and Faith-Based Organisations* (2008).

12 Gift of the Givers Ramadhan Appeal 2018

The website of the GGF does not have any further information about the Sufi Sheikh or his Sufi order¹³. I once asked Dr Sooliman for any books of the Sufi order¹⁴, to which he replied that I could get books from a well-known bookshop in Pretoria but that he does not have a copy of the books of the Sufi order. His Sufi Sheikh instructed Dr Sooliman, but no direct affiliation with the Sufi order. In propagating the literature, their specific chants during religious ceremonies, one can only see a picture on their website¹⁵. He has a picture of the Sufi Sheikh as a standard practice of followers of Sufi orders. There is no *affiliation* as Sider and Unruh define it. There is no close relationship with the Sufi order by providing its legal status, administrative structure, or management of its financial resources. FBOs.

The Gift of the Givers control structure is entirely in the CEO and founder, Dr Sooliman. The organisation has 50 people in South Africa, Somalia, Malawi, Syria, Yemen and Mauritania¹⁶. The team is diverse, but the majority are Muslim. The organisation employs the wife and son of the founder. There was no deliberate attempt to investigate who works for the organisation and in what capacity and whether they were selected based on their faith. The organisation uses many medical personnel, search and rescue teams, paramedics and invites media members to accompany them on their international missions. Though all of these individuals perform critical roles in making decisions, their participation is not limited to their faith.

Sider & Unruh (2004) suggest that faith-based organisations' characteristics are that the senior management and other staff belong to a particular faith and, more specifically, to a specific denomination¹⁷. Staff and senior management feature prominently at points where relief assistance is handed over to recipients. The organisation's marketing materials can observe staff from various regions and the specialist volunteers described above. The regional heads of country managers appear Muslim and always wear the organisation's uniform to identify them from the recipients or dignitaries present.

The organisation's website lists its corporate partners¹⁸. Desai and Vahid describe how the general public assisted with the gift of the Givers to victims of the 2008 Xenophobic violence¹⁹. This has become standard practice that the general public seeks out this organisation to channel

13 See <https://giftofthegivers.org/about-us/> (accessed 10th Nov 2021).

14 Private conversation in 2004.

15 See <https://giftofthegivers.org/about-us/> (accessed 10th Nov 2021).

16 Shafiq Morton, Imtiaz Sooliman and the Gift of the Givers. New York: Bookstore (2014)14.

17 Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

18 See <https://giftofthegivers.org/about-us/>(accessed 10th Nov 2021).

19 Ashwin Desai A and Goolam Vahed G "NGOs and Xenophobia in South Africa" Alternation Special Edition 7(2013) 266(2013), 246.

its donations. This was observed with the advent of the COVID 19 pandemic and the July 2021 insurrection²⁰. The volunteer time is especially noteworthy as the medical teams bring highly-priced expertise when they join relief teams in setting up field hospitals, be it in the Philippines or war-torn Syria. The organisation does maintain its link with the Muslim community as a distributor of Zakāh and expressly accepts donations for feeding the fasting poor in war-torn or impoverished Muslim countries where the organisation has a presence. This also holds for distributing the meat of animals slaughtered during Hajj, known as Qurbani. This is a massive operation and will be discussed further later in this chapter.

The income derived from its faith-based character is drawn from its ready-made constituency, referred to by Clarke as an advantage that FBOs over secular organisations²¹. Dr Sooliman is often invited by mosques to address the congregation on his experiences, which helps keep the constituency informed, engaged and motivated to donate. It is noteworthy that the organisation has always had a high media profile with Dr Sooliman as the personality featured. These media opportunities do not allow for funding appeals as they are usually short news inserts. A potential donor would consider a visible entity addressing the needs of the poor and the vulnerable with urgency and being featured in the national media as having credibility.

The Gift of the Givers Foundation operates in the media spotlight, and there has not been a recorded event that indicates any communal prayers whilst providing relief assistance. The staff wear their branded green clothing, either as tracksuits or sweatshirts. The organisation's marketing materials or the many electronic or print-media materials available on the internet do not indicate staff wearing any religious paraphernalia, such as skull caps, rosary beads, or sporting long unkept beards for which Muslim men are known.

Sider and Unruh suggest that faith-based organisations include devotion, singing, readings from holy books of a specific faith group²², such as a Sufi order in this case, and invite those present to join in these activities even if they are not part of that faith. This is usually explicitly part of the programme activities. The Gift of the Givers Foundation is not known for this type of activity, and even when the opportunity presents itself, the organisation does not engage in this activity.

20 Interviewee (e) informed me that the organisation manages a separate fund to assist small businesses affected by following the July 2021 insurrection to re-establish themselves.

21 Gerard Clarke G & Michael Jennings. *Development: Civil Society and Faith-Based Organisations* (2008)

22 Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

Integration of religious components Sider and Unruh developed five strategies used by faith-based organisations on how spiritual features are integrated into their Programme implementation strategies that confirm the organisation's faith-based character. These strategies are either implicit, invitational, relational, integrated-optional or integrated-mandatory²³. Sider and Unruh suggest that the systems are organised around three questions that bear the religious content of Programmes. “Are the religious dimensions of the Programmes explicit? Is explicit religious content part of the Programmes? Are explicit religious elements compulsory for participants of the Programme, or can they be excused from participation?²⁴” The majority of the Gift of the Givers Programmes involve the distribution of aid, such as food or non-food items, and does not leave much time room for engagement.

Finally, Sider and Unruh submit that faith-based organisations expect the desired outcome from the effort that they had put in, such as the conversion of the recipient to their faith. This is a simplistic transactional understanding of the desired outcomes of faith-permeated and faith-centred programmes.

It is clear from my interaction with Dr Sooliman that he is not motivated to assist those in need by a return or a reward or an outcome that favours him or his organisation. At times his immediate reaction to a need for assistance appears naïve as he sets aside his own religious and political beliefs to the point that the public begins to wonder what his political and religious views are. Dr Sooliman has by 2021 garnered close to 100 awards²⁵ from governments, individuals, and impoverished communities. He was told by his Sufi Master not to expect any reward but instead that he should get a kick up his backside if he did not know that he should consider it a bonus²⁶.

He has travelled to some of the most desolate, war-torn and disaster-struck areas of the world, heading relief missions. Through his work with Gift of the Givers, he and his teams have responded to the needs of countless people affected by a wide range of natural and artificial disasters, such as floods, famine, tsunamis, earthquakes and wars²⁷.

23 Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, “Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs” (2004), 109-134.

24 Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, “Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs” (2004), 109-134.

25 Shafiq Morton, Imtiaz Sooliman and the Gift of the Givers (2014).

26 Shafiq Morton, Imtiaz Sooliman and the Gift of the Givers (2014).

27 Shafiq Morton, Imtiaz Sooliman and the Gift of the Givers (2014).

The transition from doctor to humanitarian was both seamless and straightforward. He is driven by the same basic principles that led to his becoming a medical doctor: respect, care, professionalism and dedication. But something else fuels Dr Sooliman's passion for humanitarianism – the solid belief in the common humanity that unites us. His enthusiasm for and confidence in humanity motivates and energises him, and the reason is his faith. His sense of community is felt throughout his endeavours with Gift of the Givers²⁸.

The Gift of the Givers Foundation is the most significant private disaster response, non-governmental organisation of African origin on the African continent. It works to unite people with a shared vision, to make an accurate and telling the difference by serving humanity for the 'Greater Good.' Assistance is provided unconditionally; assisting the needy, irrespective of human or animal, race, religion, colour, class, political affiliation or geographic location²⁹.

Since its inception in 1992, the organisation has been responsible for delivering life-saving goods and on-the-ground support for innumerable people, collectively valued at some R3.2 billion, in more than 43 countries across the globe, including South Africa³⁰.

6.4 Organisational Programmes

The organisation outlines its programme work into six clearly defined areas. They are as follows: Disaster Response, Hunger Alleviation, Provision of Water, Social Upliftment, Creating an Environment Conducive to Education and Healthcare³¹.

Whenever there is a need for disaster response, be it shack fires in an informal settlement anywhere within the borders of South Africa or a major natural disaster such as an earthquake anywhere in the world, the South African public has come to expect a response from the Gift of the Givers Foundation. When the organisation does respond, it is by definition fast and active. The organisation has been often quoted in the media and in interviews in this study that its decision making is not hampered by internal bureaucracy. The decision to respond is made by the founder and Director, Dr Sooliman.

28 Shafiq Morton, Imtiaz Sooliman and the Gift of the Givers (2014).

29 Shafiq Morton, Imtiaz Sooliman and the Gift of the Givers (2014).

30 See <https://giftofthegivers.org/about-us/>(accessed 10th Nov 2021).

31 See <https://giftofthegivers.org/about-us/>(accessed 10th Nov 2021).

The organisation does make decisions in a very considered way, and this is dependent on the prevailing conditions of the disaster area or war zone. Dr Sooliman states that he has learnt almost everything about humanitarian work during the Bosnia war of 1992. This was his first mission to a war zone without the support of a country or central organisation. After months of every possible obstacle, he sent 780 tons of food, clothes, and blankets via Turkey to Croatia and then to Mostar in Bosnia. He also delivered a mobile hospital with a generator, ambulance, a bus, two surgical theatres, an ICU unit, orthopaedic wards, a dental unit, an outpatient unit, incubators, a lead-insulated x-ray booth and 200 tons of supplies for six months³².

This example is worthy of reflection on what motivates the organisation's founder. Dr Sooliman recalls praying one Sunday afternoon for assistance and finding the brochure for the company in his post box that offered the equipment for this mobile hospital at 50% less than any other company. He has never received any information about this company again. From this example, we can deduce that Dr Sooliman considers divine intervention³³.

The organisation has since then grown in experience and expertise. It can respond with temporary shelter, bedding and blankets, basic foodstuffs, inclusive of baby provisions, Sibusiso Ready Food Supplement (a high-energy and protein supplement, innovated by Gift of the Givers – and the first of its kind in the world), a wide range of medical supplies, medical equipment and ambulances and generators for emergency power supply³⁴.

The organisation can also immediately call on professional search and rescue teams and medical specialists whilst facilitating the evacuation of affected people. As part of disaster response, the organisation rebuilds and rehabilitate infrastructures, such as homes, schools, and medical facilities damaged during crises³⁵.

The organisation identifies itself as having a passion for hunger alleviation, which it considers a universal problem. This deep desire to address hunger is motivated by the organisation's experiences in what it observed during its various disaster response interventions, particularly the impact on children being the most vulnerable. The organisation distributes 350 000 food parcels annually whilst it prepares and serves hot meals and supplies existing feeding schemes with dry food supplies facilitating the provision of thousands of meals daily. The organisation

32 Shafiq Morton, Imtiaz Sooliman and the Gift of the Givers (2014).

33 Shafiq Morton, Imtiaz Sooliman and the Gift of the Givers (2014).

34 See <https://giftofthegivers.org/about-us/> (accessed 10th Nov 2021).

35 See <https://giftofthegivers.org/about-us/> (accessed 10th Nov 2021).

also assists agricultural projects and subsistence farmers and has provided animal feed for farmers during droughts.

Water is provided through water tankers, used to deliver water to desperate communities, but the organisation also encourages the harvesting and recycling of water. The organisation has also established desalination treatment plants and provided water purification solutions at points of use and has, as a last resort, also offered bottled water to critically-affected communities³⁶. South Africa is a water-scarce country, and this has seen the organisation becoming more ally involved with borehole drilling operations, especially at schools, clinics and other central community points. The organisation's use of expertise is also evident here. A geohydrologist leads its water provision team with over 40 years of experience. It has been responsible for the sighting, drilling, testing, developing, and continuously monitoring borehole sites.

The organisation also seeks to address the under-development of many historically disadvantaged communities, which it regards as a socio-economic problem. It promotes the empowerment and dignity of mainly young people by providing school supplies, like skills training interventions and skills development initiatives. The organisation also manages a toll-free telephonic and face to face counselling service³⁷.

The organisation contributes to creating an environment conducive to the improved education of the disadvantaged. This is done by having a comprehensive bursary Programme that provides opportunities for learners to complete their tertiary education, which they would have otherwise been denied due to a lack of funds. The student submits the invoice for payment from the educational institution, amongst other documents, to support their application for financial support. This is paid directly to the institution³⁸. In addition to bursaries for tertiary education, the organisations also provide infrastructural support such as providing water and improving the quality of the toilets in schools.

The organisation is particularly proud of its school-level entrepreneurial development Programme, called Jumpstart, currently at three KwaZulu-Natal schools, designed to plant the seed of entrepreneurship in the minds of Grade 10 and 11 learners, facilitating their ability to

36 See <https://giftofthegivers.org/about-us/>(accessed 10th Nov 2021).

37 See <https://giftofthegivers.org/about-us/>(accessed 10th Nov 2021).

38 <https://giftofthegivers.org/about-us/>(accessed 10th Nov 2021).

start their small businesses. This, too, will be discussed later in this chapter to contribute to food security³⁹.

Health care in communities is separate from disaster response health care. It either arises from a conceptualised intervention or emerges from a short-term disaster response that has become a permanent intervention in that country or community. The organisation has taken over the operation of one of the largest hospitals in war-torn Northern Syria. The Red Crescent movement requested GGF to take responsibility for a second hospital. These hospitals' staff and supplies are funded by the organisation and are an example of a follow-up from a disaster response. Similarly, the organisation supports primary healthcare workers, doctors and midwives in Somalia. The organisation has a dedicated Poor Patient Fund. People can donate to cover hospital treatment for patients unable to afford hospital care and operates in the Middle East region. In South Africa, it established an audiology screening Programme in a Pretoria township and has a large-scale wheelchairs programme.

6.5 Empirical Research Findings

This study sought to understand the various ways through which the organisation engages in activities relating to food security. The study did provide the participants with basic definitions of what is meant by food relief, food security and food sovereignty. But as a general approach, the study was conducted as semi-structured interviews, affording the participant to talk about their food provision interventions.

In the case of the Gift of the Givers, the stakeholder Director, interviewee one, was interviewed in 2017, and the Director of Operations interviewee two was interviewed in 2021.

To the question, does your organisation engage in a clearly outlined food security Programme? Interviewee two replied an emphatic no, qualified by doing work on food security that he explained as bits and pieces on sustainable work. He further explained that most of the organisation's work is still in the space of disaster relief⁴⁰.

The entitlements framework identifies three forms of entitlements, exchange entitlements, social transfer entitlements and own production entitlement⁴¹. The provision of food by the organisation will be viewed through these entitlements. Food supply can be divided into

39 <https://giftofthegivers.org/about-us/>(accessed 10th Nov 2021).

40 Interviewee (e)Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 26 Oct 2021.

41 Fukuda Parr and Taylor et al, Food Security in South Africa (2015) 10-11.

various categories; Firstly, warm-cooked meals are usually distributed during disasters. The second type of food provision is feeding schemes in communities for long periods because of ongoing poverty. These are the schemes discussed above that now receive dry food rations. A third popular type of food provision is the supply of food parcels. A fourth is a support for food production initiatives such as subsistence farming. The fifth type of support is the production of a particular kind of food peculiar to the organisation, which in the case of Gift of the Givers is its Sibusiso food. A sixth distribution is a type referred to as seasonal food distribution during Ramadan and the meat distributed during Hajj, known as Qurbani⁴². The different types of allocation are discussed below.

Where recipients lost the ability to prepare their meals mostly during natural and anthropomorphic man-made disasters, with most cases resulting from shack fires in South Africa, shack fires cause short term food insecurity due to a loss of cooking utensils and stoves. Food is accessible, adequate, available, and the supply is stable, but the food received as donations cannot be utilised because of the fire, hence the need for warm cooked meals⁴³.

Initially, the organisation did set up and manage its feeding schemes. Now, it prefers supplying existing feeding schemes with dry food rations that afford these initiatives independent of the organisation to oversee food distribution. Despite an adequate, available, and stable food supply, families in these poor communities depend on feeding schemes. The recipients cannot access the food as they cannot purchase the food in the market⁴⁴. Families that receive state grants spend the grant money on other essentials such as electricity, transport, and accommodation, which leaves them food insecure⁴⁵.

In October 2002, many cases of malnutrition were detected in poor rural communities in South Africa; this resulted in the deaths of 166 children in the Matatiele region of the Eastern Cape province⁴⁶. The organisation responded immediately with the provision of 2000 food parcels. The Minister of Social Development asked the organisation to submit a proposal to spend R400million. The organisation provided a nine-point-plan of food parcels dealing with the most urgent need. The organisation was also asked to give the contents of the food parcel which it supplied but refused a government request to tender for the roll-out. The organisation felt that

42 Interviewee (e) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 26 Oct 2021.

43 Interviewee (d) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 20th March 2017.

44 Interviewee (e) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 26 Oct 2021.

45 Nkrumah B, Seeking the Right to Food: Food Activism in South Africa Cambridge University Press (2021),3.

46 I visited the region with the National Social Development DG at the time and suggested she contact Dr Sooliman for an immediate response.

tendering for a government contract was what businesses do, and they refused. Tenders were awarded in seven of the nine provinces, and Gift of the Givers was awarded the work as a preferred service provider by the National Treasury without having to tender. Gift of the Givers food parcel initiative received the most significant funds for one entity, R60 million. They proved to be the cheapest, the fastest and the most efficient in distribution⁴⁷.

Dr Sooliman challenges the cynics who claim that food parcels are quick-fix handouts. He asserts that food parcels offer immediate relief of hunger, which is critical in saving lives. The organisation now distributes upwards of 350 thousand food parcels in a regular year and more during disasters such as the COVID 19 pandemic. These food parcels one can locate in the social transfer entitlement. Many recipients are either recipients of social grants, vulnerable victims of xenophobic violence in 2008 or people affected by disasters. Where possible, food is sourced directly from the manufacturers and suppliers, otherwise from wholesalers. This affords the GGF the leverage to demand specific high-quality products and get more for less. The organisation values its food parcel at R350, retailing at R580⁴⁸.

If not carefully managed, food parcels can be a source of considerable controversy. Here we will not focus on the corruption elements of this controversy but the contents of food parcels. Suppliers view the sale of products for food parcels as a lucrative business and could seek to sell substandard products at inflated costs. Suppliers could also write off slow-moving stock or stock close to expiration at a reduced price, even donating some items to show their benevolence and ensure future contracts. The contents of food parcels are purchased and are received as donations. GGF sets the standard for quality, including nutritional benefits and does not compromise on it regardless of what the supplier or donor offers. The organisation has used the services of nutritionists to advise on the contents of food parcels⁴⁹ and what supplies are required for warm meals and feeding schemes. This helps when new products enter the market or existing suppliers cannot deliver. Interviewee two also points to how food parcels are distributed differently. In most cases, food parcel distributions are part of their disaster response and hunger alleviation programmes. But where the organisation provides training such as the community-based health care programme in Somalia or road clearing and building in Yemen, food for work is standard practice and is not viewed as a handout but installs dignity and can be located within the exchange entitlement. But food parcels given to the working poor

47 Shafiq Morton, Imtiaz Sooliman and the Gift of the Givers. (2014).

48 Interviewee (e) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 26 Oct 2021.

49 Interviewee (d) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 20th March 2017.

is also a form of exchange entitlement as the recipient has put in considerable effort to generate their income but cannot meet their food needs⁵⁰.

The next area of addressing food insecurity is those interventions that fall under own production. Here the GGF has four different types of initiatives. The support of subsistence farmers in Zimbabwe and Malawi has shown both growths and results in the food produced for consumption and income generation. Subsistence farming was also tried in the uMzinyathi district of KwaZulu-Natal, but this initiative did not go as planned. The second type of intervention was the funding of Agricultural studies students in supporting subsistence farmers, which has not produced the results. A third area is the involvement of commercial farmers who were assisted during the drought to support subsistence and possible commercial farming initiatives in the food supply. This last initiative is in its early stages. The organisation also believes that by encouraging the growth of entrepreneurs at the school level through its Jumpstart Programme, generating income will assist in addressing food insecurity. Eighteen businesses have already been established with average gains of R15 thousand per month⁵¹.

Providing food relief during disasters is the organisation's primary focus, but considerable effort has been put into engaging in long-term food security efforts. One of the obstacles to long-term initiatives is that the organisation does not have a programmes development department or Director. As opposed to short-term relief initiatives, development programmes are long-term by nature. Development Programmes is implemented under the leadership of the founder and by him as Operations Director. Providing logistical support for the massive relief work conducted does not leave much room for long term development plans and clearly defined implementation strategies⁵².

Training staff on the subject of Zakāh, operations or food provision is either provided internally or sourced for the specific need. This is why there are no board-approved written policies on food, whilst all the elements exist for a multifaceted food security policy. There is also an inherent understanding of the difference between food relief and food security. There is no work done to educate the donor public on food relief, food security, and food sovereignty, which is a political term by nature. The organisation does face challenges on issues relating to Halal. These challenges were unfair in that the detractors would show a preference for one

⁵⁰ Interviewee (e) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 26 Oct 2021.

⁵¹ Interviewee (e) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 26 Oct 2021.

⁵² Interviewee (e) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 26 Oct 2021.

Halal certifying authority over others. The organisation employed the detractors, and this has changed their perception⁵³.

The organisation's work on food will not be complete without reference to its high energy food known as Sibusiso, a Zulu word meaning Blessing. The organisation realised that the actual content of the food provided needs to be addressed, especially in cases of severe malnutrition. Sibusiso is a peanut butter paste or spreads which can be consumed without preparation and have an immediate impact as protein and an energy source for the severely ill and malnourished. This GGF product is grown, produced, designed, packaged, and distributed by the organisation and has proven helpful in cases where there are challenges with food preparation and is especially useful for children to consume.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter presented the formation of the Gift of the Givers Foundation and the central role that its founder has had on the direction of the organisation. It explored the faith-based nature of the organisation and how it has transcended this characteristic. The organisation's programmes were presented, and so too the empirical research by interviewing two key staff members. The organisation is disaster response-driven, but it has critical components that can assist its recipients in becoming food secure beyond the immediate need for sustenance. The absence of a development programmes department results in the disaster response being the dominant implementing strategy. This makes it difficult to determine to what extent recipients can maintain a food secure state. It could be argued that they are food secure for as long as recipients can have food for consumption. However, this study is interested in the extent of the support and the ability to maintain this level of food security. The establishment, challenges, programmes, and faith-based characteristics of the Al Imdaad Foundation will be explored in the next chapter.

⁵³ Interviewee (e) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 26 Oct 2021.

Chapter Seven: Al Imdaad Foundation

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will present the background to the establishment of the Al Imdaad Foundation, its projects and Programmes and discuss its Faith-based nature using the typology of Unruh and Sider. The chapter ends with the semi-structured questions discussed on-site with the Chief Executive Officer and the National Programmes Manager.

7.2 Institutional History

The organisation affirms their identity as an *ulema* (religious scholar) -led institution. The relationship between the religious seminary and religious leaders is elaborated upon in this chapter. Interviewee one was moved by world events such as the Gujarat riots and the United States of America invasion of Iraq and encouraged the people of the small KwaZulu Natal town of Estcourt to start providing humanitarian assistance¹.

Interviewee One is an accountant by training but had hoped to become a medical doctor. Access to finance prevented him from studying during the 1980 student uprisings at the University of Durban Westville. He started a career at the bank, and this income allowed him to support his sister from completing her medical studies. His humble upbringing, having lived in a shack dwelling for much of his childhood, has provided him with an affinity and direct experience of the poor². Interviewee one's interest in medicine and experience in banking are both valuable as he builds the Al Imdaad Foundation. Interviewee one is deliberately camera shy. There are no photographs of him on any image search engines on the internet. His picture also does not feature in any of the organisation's marketing materials. Interviewee one believes that this gives him the freedom to move locally and abroad amongst both donors and recipients. "The work must speak for itself". It also saves him from abuse and protects him from anyone who thinks he has access to cash³. This off the radar approach also explains how the organisation operates. In its 18 years of existence, there has been no scholarly work produced on or by the organisation. Its work has been mentioned alongside other similar South African Muslim relief organisations. This study was noted by Interviewee one to be the first of its kind in independently recording the organisation's work.

1 Interviewee (f) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 21 Mar 2017.

2 Interviewee (f) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 21 Mar 2017.

3 Interviewee (f) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 21 Mar 2017 reason name is concealed in this study.

The organisation, its staff and Interviewee one values collective and consultative decision making and often use the Islamic concept of Mashura or mutual consultation in their daily discourse. AIF operates cooperatively, with the highest decision-making body being the Trustees. The execution of decisions, building organisational systems, networking with similar organisations and supervising operations are left to the Chief Executive Officer. The meetings and contact with trustees are regular and detailed. The accounting training of Interviewee one has given the AIF an added advantage in that it is highly efficient and ensures that it keeps proper and detailed financial records. There are sound accounting systems to collect funds received and report how they were spent to all donors. The organisation also emerged when Information Technology and social media became essential tools for transparency and accountability within relief and development organisations. These online tools are used appropriately and professionally. An automatic reply follows an email to the CEO, and alternative email addresses and telephone numbers are provided if he is not immediately available. Donors find the responsiveness very professional. No donor is too small to warrant a call-back or a reply to an email⁴.

Interviewee one exemplifies Servant Leadership, which is defined as a philosophy and set of practices that enriches the lives of individuals, builds better organisations and ultimately creates a more just and caring world⁵. More specifically, Interviewee one is self-aware of what responsibility goes with his position. Still, his humility, his integrity, his trusting nature and his ability to be result-orientated, to listen, to coach, to collaborate, to resolve conflict and not to abuse his authority⁶ is what I have observed in my association with him for the past 15 years, eight years of which I work in a similar organisation and the duration of the interviews for this study. Interviewee-one lives in a small two-roomed flat in a working-class housing complex during the same period. This is where the interviews for this study was conducted.

At the time of the establishment of the AIF, the international context is particularly relevant⁷, mainly when one discusses the flow of funds across international borders to war-torn countries. The organisation was established in the aftermath of the 11 September 2001 terror attacks on the United States of America and its declaration of a war on terrorism. This was interpreted as

4 Interviewee (f) and from my own observation during my site visit.

5 Robert K. Greenleaf: <https://www.greenleaf.org/what-is-servant-leadership/> (1970) (accessed 29th November 2021).

6 Interviewee (g) interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 21 Mar 2017 in the absence of Interviewee One.

7 I deliberately chose to include this section in the study as it is essentially about the challenges faced by a faith-based organisation, how they are viewed, their funding and their determination to assist the poor.

a war against Muslims and Islam on all fronts. Muslims worldwide expressed their outrage and started to donate to causes that support the victims of violence in countries such as Afghanistan that bore the brunt of US military attacks. The United States sought to end this type of financial support, which is branded as support for international terrorism, by listing and sanctioning countries, individuals and entities. This was enforced by the US Treasury Department's Office of Financial Assets Control (OFAC)⁸. Allies of the United States government followed on a guilty until proven innocent basis. The organisation faced its greatest challenge when the South African Reserve Bank (SARB) refused to allow it a facility to transfer funds abroad for its international relief operations⁹. When an organisation or individual wants to transfer funds outside the borders of this country, it approaches its local bank. It indicates that it wishes to transfer funds to a foreign entity or individual in a particular currency. In most cases, the financial exchange is in the United States Dollars. The local bank forwards the international transfer request to the SARB, and when the amount exceeds Ten Thousand United States Dollars, the US Federal Reserve is notified¹⁰. The transfer is blocked if the country, entity, or individual is on the OFAC list.

The US government was in a foul mood, and any entity with the remotest affiliation with Islam and Muslims had their funds frozen. The process would involve the host country supporting the appeal for having the funds unfrozen, an arduous process. Most countries pre-empted this by blocking the requests in-country to transfer funds before the United States government could apply its sanctions. This is what supposedly happened to the Al Imdaad Foundation. The authority's attention fell on the organisation because of the large amounts it requested to transfer to partner organisations with Islamic and Arabic names that the SARB did not know¹¹.

Interviewee one explains how this caused much distress as most of the letters to the SARB requesting an explanation on the refusal to transfer funds went unanswered. His direct, robust approach of walking into the SARB offices with two bags of documentation demanding to meet the senior officials was remarkable, as it was also a period gripped by fear. He presented the case of the organisation as being a transparent, compliant, locally registered organisation. He also provided details of the partners in all countries they operate and the nature of the work

8 OFAC <https://sanctionssearch.ofac.treas.gov/> (accessed on the 16th Nov 2021).

9 Interviewee (f) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 21 Mar 2017.

10 As Country Director of Islamic Relief, I made transfers but experienced no problems because I transferred to UK Sterling.

11 Interviewee (f) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 21 Mar 2017.

they did. This was done to assure the SARB officials that the AIF was not involved in money laundering or transferring funds to organisations or individuals involved in terrorist activities.

The funds were directed to the countries where there was a great need for assistance to women and children, many of whom were orphaned and suffered from natural and man-made disasters. The funds were given by taxpaying South African donors, many of whom received a Section 18A tax certificate from the AIF to submit it to the South African Revenue Services as a tax return. This detail was provided to enable the SARB to verify the credibility and legitimacy of the organisation¹². This resulted in senior SARB staff agreeing to an immediate facility that has grown annually for external purposes. This is critical for the confidence ordinary donors have in the organisation when they appeal for financial assistance to respond to international relief efforts.

7.3 Faith-Based Nature of the Organisation

This section will look at the faith-based nature of the AIF through the lens of the typology developed by Sider and Unruh. This is particularly relevant as the above example indicates how an organisation can be hindered in executing their work if a blanket understanding of a Muslim and their organisation is applied¹³.

The organisation's vision and mission statements published on its website do not explicitly state its faith-based nature or refer to any specific aspect of faith. The vision statement of the UK branch is, however, explicit¹⁴. The founding history¹⁵ speaks of a Muslim individual concerned about the suffering of Muslims, and these awareness Programmes referred to by Interviewee one¹⁶ did take place in mosques and religious gatherings.

For most of its history, the organisation was closely affiliated with a religious seminary of the Islamic faith and prominent faith-based leaders. Faith affiliation is required should the organisation need questions concerning their usage of faith-based funding such as Zakāh or if

12 During my tenure as Country Director of Islamic Relief I met with the Financial Intelligence Centre (FIC) based in the SARB, to learn more about this problem. The detailed provided helps the FIC in dealings with the US Treasury alerts.

13 Imran Awan and Irene Zempi, "A Working Definition of Islamophobia: A Briefing Paper" *46th Session of United Nations Human Rights Council* November 2020.

14 Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

15 Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

16 Interviewee (f) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 21 Mar 2017

a question arises about the food acquired for distribution, among other concerns. This affiliation does not have to be formal. The relationship with the religious seminary formally ended. Though still influenced by religious leaders from a specific school of thought, the organisation is not legally affiliated with a larger organisation. The organisation uses the services of well-known religious leaders who are also influential public speakers as part of its marketing. These speakers regularly accompany the organisation on relief missions and show affiliation to the religious leadership through live updates and report back talks at mosques.

There is no doubt that these organisations' control structures exist within a particular faith. The attire of staff at the offices and in the field attest to the Islamic faith¹⁷. The organisation's senior management are all from the Islamic faith, and many of those working in the organisation has previously studied at or taught at a religious seminary. The organisation's website states clearly that its team comprises Theologians, Academics, Accountants and IT Specialists, Medical Personnel & Paramedics, Attorneys and Businessmen¹⁸.

A senior staff member commented that donors would not fund the organisation if a woman or man is inappropriately dressed. One rarely sees job advertisements for this and similar organisations. The reason forwarded is that they look for a particular fit within an existing team¹⁹.

The primary source of income of the organisation is faith-designated forms of payment such as *Zakāh*, *Sadaqah* and *Lillah* funds. The majority of donors are from the Muslim faith, but what is clear from both the local and international projects is that funds are not only used for people from the Islamic faith. Given that much of the funds are used to distribute food. In disaster responses that include people of all and no religion, one could easily deduce that a large percentage of funds are spent on people outside of the Islamic faith.²⁰

The organisation reports extensively on the religious practices of the staff in the programmatic work. Guest lecturers are invited to address donors. The general public from the various sites

¹⁷ Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

¹⁸ Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

¹⁹ Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

²⁰ Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

where relief missions are done explicitly use religious language and include prayers, verses from the Holy Quran and sayings of the Holy Prophet.

Sider and Unruh also developed a typology that examines four Programme characteristics of the organisations to establish their religious content.

The organisation's logo that includes a crescent is displayed on the staff's clothing. The head office has a dedicated space for the daily prayers of the Islamic faith, which establishes the religious environment²¹.

Islamic Programmes are one of the Programmes of the organisation. This includes building mosques, supporting madrassas – religious education centres, and distributing religious materials. The rationale for including dedicated Programmes over and above the preference of staff and trustees is the donors' views and role. The organisation asks for faith-based donations. This collection and distribution are itself a religious programme. Having set this basis of the relationship with donors, an expectation in the mind of the donors is created that there will be religious Programmes. This includes inviting recipients to participate in religious Programmes²².

The Integration of religious components into programme activities or to use of religion to introduce programme activities is very well used by the organisation. The 2021 annual report features some of the organisation's Islamic Programmes that provide a development programme component to the religious Programmes²³. Following the lockdown of public places during the COVID 19 pandemic, congregants wanted to see mosques sanitised when allowed to reopen. The organisation offered this service, sending teams deep clean and sanitise carpets and ablution facilities. During the water crises in the Cape Town region, the plastic organisation container was known in Arabic as a *Mudd*. The amount of water in the *Mudd*-685ml was the equivalent of water the Holy Prophet used for ablution before prayers. In this way, the public was encouraged to use less water and at the same time to implement a practice of the Holy Prophet in their lives. Similarly, towel racks and dental hygiene products are

²¹ Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

²² Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

²³ AIF, Annual Report (2021), 39.

donated to mosques²⁴. This amounts to advertising in the mosques and indicates how the organisation can reach recipients of the organisation's services, both the donor and the recipient.

The implicit reach is in the way the staff dress; the invitational is in the Islamic Programmes of madrassas and mosques being built; the relational is in the way the staff introduce themselves and are not hiding or compromising their Islamic identity²⁵. The organisational does not engage in overt missionary activity and will argue that their religious Programmes though integrated with development Programmes, are optional and not mandatory, allowing those recipients of services to excuse themselves of explicitly religious Programmes. In contrast, missionary organisations report on the number of converts or programme activities for converts in their annual reports. The annual report of the AIF presents Islamic Programmes as having been conducted for the benefit of poor Muslims or in Muslim majority countries. Hence there is no expected connection between religious content and desired outcome²⁶

7.4 Programmes

The AIF works in 31 countries across the globe, supporting poor people through a wide range of projects and Programmes²⁷. The Al Imdaad Foundation has a unique characteristic. It was founded in South Africa and then registered and operated in the United Kingdom and Australia, amongst other countries. The trend in international development is that organisations are based in the north and establish field offices in the South. Interestingly, it typically has three South African board members on the UK Charities Commission registered entity. The registration process in these first world countries is very demanding and requires compliance with various organisational policies. These include Child Protection Policies and Health and Safety procedures, including nutrition²⁸.

Another significant point about the AIF is that it established local charitable projects in the United Kingdom²⁹. This included responding to local disasters, self-help projects, addressing homelessness issues, and providing food relief. The organisation provides humanitarian services in crisis and non-crisis situations to the neediest, orphans, widows and destitute,

24 AIF, Annual Report (2021), 40.

25 Observed during a site visit for this study, in the field (Mozambique in 2008)

26 Ronald Sider and Heidi Unruh, "Typology of Religious Characteristics of Social Service and Educational Organizations and Programs" (2004), 109-134.

27 AIF, Annual Report (2021),3-4.

28 Interviewee (f)Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 21 Mar 2017.

29 See <https://www.alimdaad.co.uk/> (accessed 16 Nov 2021).

irrespective of race, religion, culture and geographical boundary. The organisation responds to disasters and emergencies whilst promoting sustainable economic and social development by working with local communities and partner organisations through their international offices.

The Al-Imdaad Foundation has registered offices in the United Kingdom, Indonesia, Jordan, Australia, Kenya, Bangladesh and are all managed through its head office in South Africa. These offices are established to implement various projects in these regions and fundraise locally. The foundation continues this worldwide expansion, which usually follows a local disaster or emergency in that country or a neighbouring country³⁰. Given the challenges of having had their funds not transferred by the SARB, the organisation has learned valuable lessons in proactively keeping governments such as the UK and the South African Department of International Relations and Cooperation informed of their movements and activities through their various embassies globally.

Al-Imdaad Foundation is a signatory to the Code of Conduct for the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movements and NGOs in Disaster Relief, is a member of BOND (British Overseas NGOs for Development). The Foundation supports the Code of Conduct and strives to incorporate its principles in its humanitarian work. The Al-Imdaad Foundation is also registered with the United Nations Department of Economic & Social Affairs. The NGO Branch is the focal point within the United Nations for Non-Governmental Organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).

The AIF Programmes have dedicated Programmes to address the needs of orphans widows, projects that address education, health, empowerment, skills development, Islamic Programmes and water and sanitation Programmes. With the onset of the COVID-19, it has a dedicated programme that addresses the needs of people affected by the pandemic—the organisation groups their Ramadan and Qurbani Programmes under the heading of seasonal Programmes. In addition to these Programmes, the organisation provides individual assistance in South Africa for rental, school and medical fees³¹.

One of the exciting benefits of launching an organisation in the 21st century was that the AIF could immediately have an online presence. This meant that its need to establish offices with its staff and archaic organisation systems as a prerequisite for raising funds and implementing projects was immediately passed. An online presence became more cost-effective as the

³⁰ <https://www.alimdaad.com/content/homepage> (accessed 16 November 2021).

³¹ <https://www.alimdaad.com/content/homepage> (accessed 16 November 2021).

organisation operated from a small town in the KwaZulu Natal Midlands. The organisation's founder started a habit well before launching the operations: collecting mobile telephone numbers from those printed in the public domain and from every unsolicited number that sent out weekly greetings or Eid greetings. This data mining exercise proved its usefulness when trying to reach donors. Similarly, mining for email addresses was helpful at the time³².

When the organisation was established, it dutifully contacted the holders of the email addresses and mobile numbers, requesting them to opt-in to receive information. This request allowed the organisation to introduce itself and establish an ethical basis for ongoing communication³³. The organisation also started to market its contact details on its website, print media, and many Muslim radio³⁴ stations inviting people to follow its activities online. This solid basis of contacts provided the organisation with access, and this continues to be enhanced as new forms of communication became available such as WhatsApp. The organisation also launched its mobile application. This allows a donor to load their banking details and link them to the organisation. The mobile application provides the facility through which the donor can calculate how much Zakāh to pay, choose from a range of products, and make an instant payment. The purpose was to make it easy for donors to donate and respond efficiently to their donations. The donor now gets an electronic reply acknowledging the funds were received. The donor can also electronically request a Section 18A certificate. 95% of the organisation's cash donations are now online³⁵. With increased crime in South Africa, collecting, transporting, or having cash at an office is dangerous. The electronic transfer of money also allows for traceability of funds for the donor, organisation, and authorities. Donors have a wide selection of projects to donate towards using the organisation's mobile application.

One donor can split their contributions into several projects or allow the organisation to allocate the donation where it is needed most. The second motivation for digitisation was to enable the organisation to share live footage of how donations were being spent to donors. Here the use of social media was essential, and the organisation established their online radio station. Because of the size of projects and the amounts of funds raised and distributed, the subject of transparency and accountability is ever-present. The digital era addresses these concerns or

³² Interviewee (f) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 21 Mar 2017.

³³ Interviewee (f) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 21 Mar 2017.

³⁴ The impact of Muslim radio stations in support of the work of Muslim Relief and Development organizations needs further investigation. Radio stations benefit from the advertising and in turn, provide coverage. Al Imdaad Foundation has established its own online streaming radio.

³⁵ Interviewee (h) (conducted telephonically 11 November 2021).

constant, live feedback, though it will never eliminate unfair or malicious criticism³⁶. The organisation regularly takes donors, especially business people who can pay for their travel and accommodation, to participate in disaster response activities. Typically, these donors will be visiting a refugee camp be involved in the packaging, loading and transporting of food. It is here where the support base is solidified. Donors view first-hand how their funds are distributed and how the organisation does not waste the funds on operational expenditures such as flights and accommodation. Donors are usually moved by the plight of refugees or orphans and start mobilising their friends, families and networks through social media to do more³⁷.

The organisation is unique in that they publicly state their confidence in the high standards of their work and transparency levels that they offer a refund policy to anyone who is not satisfied with their work.

7.5 Empirical Research findings

The organisation has a detailed intake form and seeks to get a comprehensive view of the person's circumstances seeking assistance. The verification process is similar to that of the SANZAF, and the organisation collaborates with SANZAF and other organisations on individual requests to verify the information. Recommendations are prepared at AIF local offices and sent to the Estcourt head office. Here dedicated staff check the information supplied and then forward it to a committee for approval. Applicants are encouraged to self-sustenance by enquiring about their skills and how AIF can support a home industry. This support is usually provided directly to a vendor by paying training fees and buying or supplying the required ingredients or materials. The organisation distinguishes between people they can assist towards generating their income (exchange entitlement) and those that need assistance through social transfer entitlement³⁸.

The organisation is involved in a unique way to address its *production entitlement*. This entitlement is essential in places hunger and malnutrition impact small scale farmers. The organisation is based in the KwaZulu Natal midlands around which it is not uncommon to find rural homesteads. These homesteads usually have sufficient land to plant food and rear animals for consumption. It is well recorded that traditional or subsistence agriculture has been declining, especially in South Africa, where rapid urbanisation occurs. The organisation

³⁶ Interviewee (f) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 21 Mar 2017.

³⁷ Interviewee (g) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 21 Mar 2017.

³⁸ Interviewee (h) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 10-11 Nov 2021.

identified a flood plain next to their offices and approached the local municipality to lease the land for agricultural purposes³⁹. The CEO and his team submitted a proposal to the organisation's trustees for consideration. The objective of the urban garden established is that it will become a source of income for the organisation, that it will become a training site for unemployed people looking to be trained in subsistence farming, and at the same time it could become a space for bringing school children to learn about plants and agriculture. The project was approved and has also become a site that the national and provincial government promotes to learn about urban agriculture.⁴⁰

With the amount of funds the organisation raises annually, there is a lot that it can do to provide food relief. But this urban farm is a model through which the organisation has been able to assist recipients of their food relief Programmes in attaining and maintaining food security. The flood plain needed a lot of work, and instead of outsourcing the construction work to a landscaping company, the organisation opted to employ local skilled labour. This means that bricklayers, plasterers, plumbers, unemployed welders were now provided employment. Unskilled locals were also trained, and a local horticulturalist drew up a garden design. He supervised the implementation of the project. The unemployed were also skilled to install the irrigation systems, the raised beds, paving and making cages for chickens and worm farms whilst also starting an urban agriculture training programme. This programme teaches local soil quality, irrigation, seeds, and what vegetable or fruit tree to plant when and when to harvest⁴¹. The organisation's training has now started to include aquaponics and hydroponics⁴².

The organisation joined the KwaZulu Natal province's efforts to address poverty and hunger, known as Operation Sukhumi Sakhe (OSS), which means to stand up in Zulu. The multi-sectoral, interdisciplinary and intergovernmental approach mapped the entire province and proactively sought to find where the poor and marginalised live. The OSS employs community development workers who go and determine the needs and then feed this back to their municipal ward, district and provincial task teams.⁴³ The AIF is well-positioned in the heartland of the KZN province manages to attend district meetings. As a partner organisation, they share resources and skills to address the needs of people on the ground. One of the Programmes of

³⁹ Interviewee (f) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 21 Mar 2017.

⁴⁰ Interviewee (f) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 21 Mar 2017.

⁴¹ Interviewee (f) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 21 Mar 2017.

⁴² AIF annual report (2021),38-39.

⁴³ Interviewee (g) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 21 Mar 2017.

OSS is that of one home, one garden. The urban garden project allowed the AIF to follow the trained workers home and assist them in establishing their home food gardens. The organisation provides the trainees with seeds, seedlings, soil, fertilisers and training to develop their gardens⁴⁴.

Although the organisation does not have a dedicated food security policy, it certainly has all the components of what a food security policy would require. This includes meeting the needs of those neediest that will always remain food insecure, empowering those with the necessary skills and energy to attain their food security whilst investing in their food production for small scale farmers and the rural poor living in homesteads⁴⁵. The organisation spends 65% of its funds on food⁴⁶. The organisation has stringent guidelines for purchasing food items for its food parcels, for the support of feeding schemes, its make breakfast possible and slice for life Programmes⁴⁷. Where it outsources these activities, they have strict monitoring in place⁴⁸. Its food aid includes hot meals in South Africa and extends to countries where access, availability, stability in supply, and even utility is compromised. In Syria, the organisation supplies flour to makeshift bakeries that make bread for refugees living in camps. In many countries across the Muslim world, hunger has moved many donors, and it is now common for a couple getting married to donate the funds of their wedding reception to those in need. The organisation facilitates this, and they saw an increase in this type of request with the onset of the COVID 19 pandemic because of the lockdown restrictions⁴⁹.

The organisation is aware of their food parcels, and though this is nutritionally balanced, the desire for meat as a protein source is well understood. One of its seasonal Programmes is the annual Qurbani programme. Animals are slaughtered, and the meat is prepared, then tin ready to be consumed. The idea of the tin Qurbani is not new, and the purpose in religious terms is that it must be shared with those in need. It provides the recipient access to food and addresses the food security component of utility. In 2021 140, 000 Syrians benefitted from the project.

⁴⁴ Interviewee (g) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 21 Mar 2017.

⁴⁵ Upon completion of this study, I will share a draft Food Security Policy with the organisation that participated in this study that they can use to establish their own food security policies.

⁴⁶ Interviewee (f) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 21 Mar 2017.

⁴⁷ Interviewee (g) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 21 Mar 2017.

⁴⁸ Interviewee (f) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 21 Mar 2017.

⁴⁹ Interviewee (h) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 21 Mar 2017.

7.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, the Al Imdaad Foundation was introduced, how it was established and the challenges it faced, its faith-based nature, how it mobilises Zakāh funds for its various projects, the extent to which its policies and implementation strategies can move recipients of its Programmes to attain food security was discussed in the semi-structured interviews. The Al Imdaad Foundation's assistance to individuals in need has contributed to recipients of their aid achieving and maintaining food security. The organisations' ability to commit resources to their food production in the semi-rural KwaZulu midlands is another example of recipients of their assistance now having achieved food security. The establishment of Islamic Relief, its faith-inspired character, and Programmes are presented in the next chapter.



Chapter Eight: Islamic Relief South Africa

8.1 Introduction

This chapter will present the formation of Islamic Relief South Africa, its faith-inspired nature, its Programmes, and its global presence and reflect on the semi-structured interview with senior staff.

8.2 Institutional history

Islamic Relief South Africa (IRSA) is Islamic Relief Worldwide (IRW) partner organisation. IRW is considered the most significant independent Islamic faith-based relief and development organisation. Here size is measured in terms of a global presence. Its independence is by distinguishing it from organisations doing similar work but are either extensions of Muslim governments or affiliated to the ruling parties of a particular Muslim government¹.

Dr Hany El Banna co-founded Islamic Relief in 1984 following a visit to the Horn of Africa in 1983. Dr Hany is a specialist of foetal pathology but was so moved by the plight of those affected by the famine that he left his profession and dedicated his life to relief and development work². This was the time of Bob Geldof, the Irish pop star who is lauded for his Band-Aid concert raising funds to alleviate the suffering of the people of Ethiopia.³ Dr Hany went around to mosques from his home in Birmingham in the United Kingdom and sought to mobilise the Muslim community around the idea of assisting the poor worldwide. The organisation records its first donation as a 20p donated by Bassem, the 9-year-old nephew of Dr Hany, at one of the talks⁴. From these humble beginnings, currently, the organisation has a presence in 40 countries, which it divides into partner offices, field offices and countries in which they have done work through local entities.⁵ Islamic Relief South Africa was established in 2003 and registered in 2004⁶ is unique in that it was established as both a partner and field office. A partner office raises funds for local and international projects. The organisation presents itself as a humanitarian and developmental organisation, providing life-saving humanitarian aid to those in need and fighting poverty through sustainable development projects. Inspired by faith,

¹ (Undated) Working in Conflict A Toolkit. Islamic Relief Publication.

² Wikipedia Page (accessed 15 November 2021) Personally, heard it from Dr Hany.

³ Wikipedia Page (accessed 15 November 2021) Personally, heard it from Dr Hany.

⁴ See www.islamic-relief.org.za (accessed 20 November 2021).

⁵ 2020 IRW Report (received from the IRSA office upon request (20 Nov 2021).

⁶ IRSA Report (received from the IRSA office upon request 20 Nov 2021).

they serve everyone in need regardless of gender, race or religion. With the trust and support of local donors, IRW has helped the organisation touch the lives of over 30 million people.⁷

The organisation's goals are to respond effectively to humanitarian emergencies, contribute significantly to the UN Sustainable Development Goals and advocate for positive social change. This is done by reducing the humanitarian impact of conflicts and natural disasters. It empowers communities to emerge from poverty and vulnerability and mobilises people and funds to support their work and strengthen the Islamic Relief federation⁸. These are well-developed goals, and the language shows that much thought has gone into clarifying what the organisation does.

One of the hallmarks of the leadership of Dr Hany is that he sought to build an organisation staffed with the best of people in the development arena.⁹ It is this ability to find the most knowledgeable and professional people and driven by a Muslim response to humanitarian disasters, particularly in Muslim majority settings, that has earned Islamic Relief the recognition and strategic partnership of the United Kingdoms, Department of Foreign International Development, the Disaster Emergency Committee, the European Commission, various United Nations organisations such as UN Women, UN OCHA (Organisation for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), the World Food Programme. In addition to these partnerships, the organisation has also partnered with faith-based international development organisations such as World Vision International, Lutheran World Federation and Finn Church Aid.¹⁰

World Vision International invited Islamic Relief to collaborate in producing training Programmes on HIV and AIDS and Gender¹¹. These partnerships are significant because they establish the organisation's credibility guided by the International Humanitarian Principles of Humanity, Impartiality, neutrality and independence. Still, it also provides access to implement its activities and funding opportunities. The organisation also subscribes to the Sphere

7 IRSA profile documents (received from IRSA upon request 20 Nov 2021).

8 IRSA profile page 3 Report (received from the IRSA office upon request 20 Nov 2021).

9 Personal communication. "Don't be afraid to employ very smart people. Remember you found them."

10 IRSA Profile Document Report received from the IRSA office upon request.

11 I participated in both these productions and have been trained to conduct these training.

Standards¹², which aims to improve the quality of humanitarian responses of international organisations and be accountable for their actions when reacting to disasters.

The Sphere philosophy is based on two core beliefs: People affected by disaster or conflict have the right to life with dignity and, therefore, the right to assistance, and all possible steps should be taken to alleviate human suffering arising from disaster or conflict.¹³

8.3 Faith-based Nature of the Organisation

The organisation affirms that its Islamic faith and values inspire it through its Vision statement. They envisage a caring world where empowered communities and social obligations are fulfilled. People respond as one to the suffering of others. The organisation sees its mission as exemplifying Islamic values, mobilising resources, building partnerships and developing local capacity.¹⁴

The organisation has developed its values despite subscribing to the International Humanitarian principles listed above. These Islamic Values are derived from the teachings of the Quran and the prophetic example and are listed and explained as follows:

Sincerity (*Ikhlas*) – In responding to poverty and suffering, our efforts are driven by gravity to God and the need to fulfil our obligations to humanity.

Excellence (*Ihsan*) – Our actions in tackling poverty are marked by excellence in our operations and the conduct through which we help the deserving people we serve.

Compassion (*Rahma*) – We believe the protection and well-being of every life are of paramount importance. We shall join with other humanitarian actors to respond to suffering brought on by disasters, poverty, and injustice.

Social Justice (*Adl*) – Our work is founded on enabling people and institutions to fulfil the poor and vulnerable rights. We work to empower the dispossessed towards realising their God-given human potential and develop their capabilities and resources.

12 The Sphere Project, The Sphere Handbook: Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards in Humanitarian Response, (, Geneva, Switzerland, fourth edition 2018).

13 The Sphere Project, The Sphere Handbook: Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards in Humanitarian Response, (, Geneva, Switzerland, fourth edition (2018)7.

14 See <https://www.islamic-relief.org/> (accessed 17 Nov 2021).

Custodianship (*Amānah*) – We uphold our duty of custodianship over Earth and its resources and the trust people place in us as humanitarian and development practitioners to be transparent and accountable¹⁵.

The values inform the staff how they should approach the people they wish to serve, whether mobilising resources or implementing programmes. It is essential for the organisation not to leave anything to the interpretation given the wide range of backgrounds staff come from. One of the lessons is that of ensuring a common approach¹⁶.

Islamic Relief has adopted a contemporary understanding of the eight categories of eligible people for Zakāh. They have identified seven by collapsing the poor and the needy into their category of poverty alleviation. The wayfarer in the Quran is interpreted as the homeless, refugees, and migrants. The terminology used by Islamic Relief is that of an international development organisation but is solidly grounded in faith-based reasoning. The action of seeking the religious advice of a contemporary eminent religious scholar also indicates the faith-based linkage to programme implementation. This does not translate into the conversion of staff, supporters or recipients to Islam. Still, it presents a different face of Islam to the Western world gripped by Islamophobia.

8.4 Programmes

When a disaster occurs, the organisation responds immediately and stay for as long as is necessary. The second approach is helping communities break the cycle of poverty instead of a band-aid approach by increasing access to essential services, including education, water, sanitation, and healthcare. The third approach is making sustainable development a reality through livelihood projects, skills development and mentorship and adopting an integrated approach to implementing projects and programmes. This requires the organisation to identify the recipients of their support correctly. The humanitarian principles and values of standards are subscribed to allow the organisation to discern recipients' needs accurately. There is never a reference to the poor as some vague category. People affected by conflicts, internally displaced people, pregnant and nursing mothers, the elderly and orphans all have different

¹⁵ See <https://www.islamic-relief.org/> (accessed 17 Nov 2021 12:03).

¹⁶ Interviewee (i) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 2nd April 2017.

needs, both in diet and in the care and support they may need to rebuild their lives and are thus categorised and responded to appropriately¹⁷.

Islamic Relief SA distinguishes its local and international presence¹⁸. The international projects align with the organisation's Birmingham Head Office in the United Kingdom. From this base of operations, the field offices are supported with funds, expertise in the specific field and management of its finances. Islamic Relief SA raises funds for the field offices in a particular country and then transfer the funds to the United Kingdom head office. IRSA staff also can join international relief missions, visit field offices to view implementation, and directly implement seasonal projects. South Africa is also a field office, and though it raises its funds for local projects, the office benefits from the expertise in the various development fields, such as child care, water, food security and disaster response, and contributes towards policy formulation on such issues as HIV and AIDS, Gender and Climate Change, amongst other areas. The support also extends to aligning fundraising campaigns, managing finances, and ensuring the governance structures meet international standards¹⁹.

8.5 Empirical Research Findings

The interview was conducted with the Chief Executive Officer (Interviewee One), head of programmes (Interview two), the Chief Operations Officer (Interviewee three) and the director of monitoring and evaluation (Interviewee four) at the IRSA offices in Cape Town. The director of programmes joined the meeting from their Johannesburg office via Skype. The provisional questions were sent to the organisation before the meeting. Following introductions, interviewee two provided a brief introduction of the various projects and programmes of the organisation. He identified four broad areas of the organisation's work: seasonal programmes, international projects, orphans' programmes, and people walking into the offices for assistance. He confirmed that a significant part of the funds and the activities included providing food in all the programmes. He then focussed his discussion on the orphan and vulnerable children programme. The children are provided with nutritional educational, health and psychosocial support. There are currently 2342 orphans being supported by the organisation²⁰. Islamic Relief

17 IRSA Profile document received from the IRSA office upon request (15 November 2021).

18 See IRSA <https://www.islamic-relief.org.za/> (accessed 16 November 2021).

19 See IRW <https://www.islamic-relief.org/> (accessed 17 November 2021).

20 Interviewee (j) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 2nd April 2017.

believes that for a child to get the best start in life, a child needs a happy home, a safe place, a quality education, and access to medicine and nutritious food. This message the organisation communicates to would-be donors of the Orphan Sponsorship Programme, reminding donors of the highly stressful conditions under which children live worldwide. Children are traumatised by war, living in refugee camps, crippling poverty, and lacking education and medical and psychosocial care²¹.

The person who looks after an orphan and provides for him will be in Paradise.

This saying of the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ is often quoted to motivate donors to support orphans either through an Orphans Endowment (WAQF) Fund, a general Orphan's support appeal or through a one-to-one Orphan sponsorship programme. The latter is very popular among donors as it allows donors to communicate with the children they are sponsoring through Islamic Relief offices worldwide²². IRSA has placed orphan and vulnerable children at the centre of its development interventions. The household's needs and the immediate community become known through the child. Food into the home is also a primary entry point. If there is no food, there is no joy in that household. The food that is provided is a balanced diet.²³

The organisation considers their contribution to the household income as supplementing the child support grant or any other state grant. The orphan programme has an organisational and reporting structure of its own. Fieldworkers have several orphans assigned to them. The fieldworkers report to a programme assistant, who reports to the programme manager for a geographic region. The programme manager reports to the head of programmes. Every child has a file, and the visits are recorded. The monitoring and evaluation manager works with the director of programmes to generate updates on the impact of the orphan's programme for the CEO and the board of trustees. This impact is measured against the indicators set for child care. These include progress in nutrition, health, education and any other aspect of the child's life.

A donor usually starts off the support of a child with a fixed monthly amount. Still, based on the quality of the reports and the confirmation of the support directly from the child, the donor provides additional funding such as another *Ramadan* package, new clothes for *Eid* and a sponsored *Qurbani*.²⁴ Islamic Relief supports 80 000 children worldwide. The organisation believes that the children and the household are made food secure as an example of the social

21 See <https://www.islamic-relief.org.za/about-us/what-we-do/orphans-and-children/> (accessed 17th Nov 2021).

22 See <https://www.islamic-relief.org.za/about-us/what-we-do/orphans-and-children/> (accessed 17th Nov 2021).

23 Interviewee (l) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 2nd April 2017.

24 Interviewee (j) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 2nd April 2017.

transfer entitlement. But goes further in that the child at 18, when the programme ends, is better positioned to either enter the world of work or tertiary education. This improves this household's potential for generating an income and being food secure due to exchanging their labour or skill for food²⁵.

The strength of this programme is that the orphans usually reside in a particular community, in Ennerdale in the south of Johannesburg, Umbumbulu outside of Durban and in Tafelsig, Mitchells Plain, Cape Town. The children attend the same primary and high schools in the area, which helps track their education progress. The HIV and AIDS pandemic has resulted in many children being orphaned in unique ways not experienced before. Children would come from rural areas with a single parent infected by HIV, hoping to get medical attention in Johannesburg. Upon the parent's death, the eldest child would take responsibility for the household²⁶. It is these households that Islamic Relief prioritises for assistance. Islamic Relief established an integrated development programme, known as *Osizweni*, a Zulu word meaning place of safety. Extension eight of Ennerdale and the surrounding informal settlements have many poor people who have come to Johannesburg, also known as the City of Gold, hoping to find employment and health care.

Many are left alone and destitute, and this includes child only households²⁷. As a place of safety, many found a place to meet others in the same circumstances. The Osizweni Centre²⁸ started to connect community members, especially older women who were left to look after their grandchildren. Islamic Relief established an early childhood development centre. In this place, the grandmothers could gather and learn about HIV and AIDS, and the school-going children had a place to do their homework in the library. The City of Johannesburg social services started to use the Osizweni centre to do their outreach programmes. The older women who possessed knowledge of small scale and homestead farming began to plant vegetables for household usage on the vacant land surrounding the centre with the implements and seedlings

25 Interviewee (i) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 2nd April 2017.

26 Helen Meintjes, Katherine Hall, Double-Hugh Marera & Andrew Boule, "Orphans of the AIDS epidemic: The extent, nature and circumstances of child-headed households in South Africa" *AIDS Care* 22(1): (2010)40-49.

27 <https://www.sos-childrensvillages.org/where-we-help/africa/south-africa/ennerdale> (accessed 18th Nov 2021).

28 IRSA was approached by a local resident-Lettie Ngubane, to assist orphan households. I conducted a site visit and was informed of the land available and the support of the local ward councillor. After doing the necessary due diligence, the site was secured with a fence and the first building erected. By this time, IRSA had featured on the Al Jazeera news network as supporting children that were orphaned and made vulnerable because of the AIDS pandemic. This news report spurred Dr Hany to call for an international Muslim conference on HIV and AIDS involving practitioners, researchers, people living with HIV, religious leaders and leaders of significant international Muslim relief and development organisations.

provided by the provincial department of agriculture. Currently, a local supermarket is buying the cabbages grown by the grandmothers, and this gives them a cash income supplementing their old-age pensions.²⁹ One of the orphan's success stories is Selina Mabaso, a young child who led her household after her mother died. Islamic Relief supported this household of children. Selina completed her schooling, studied further in child care and is now part of the Islamic Relief staff. One of the activities that Selina oversees is a healthy lifestyle programme for orphans, having received specialist training from TIBB Health, an organisation that is a donor to Islamic Relief³⁰. Selina can now provide for herself and her siblings.

On the question of how the organisation moves recipients of Zakāh to become food secure. The organisation receives walk-in requests for assistance. The sustainable livelihoods programme motivates the support of such requests. The organisation first seeks to support recipients to either gain a skill or fund a skilled tradesperson with equipment or materials to start a business. This allows the recipient to exchange the income generated to become food secure. The organisation received many requests from young religious leaders for assistance with basic needs such as rental and even food. Many of these leaders had some education, which was a basis for further support. The organisation funded forty of these leaders to complete a B Ed degree that allowed them to get better-paid jobs with which they can now improve their income, be food secure and support their families³¹.

The organisation tried an exciting approach to doing proactive work in finding low-income food-insecure families. The organisation used poverty data using Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to map where the poorest people reside. They then identified gaps where people were not reached and presented the information to other Muslim charities as a means of collaboration and coordination. People are hungry and might occasionally get food from distribution by a Muslim charity. This information allowed Islamic Relief and other Muslim organisations to coordinate their activities to distribute food regularly. The organisation then embarked on recruiting and training community-based religious leaders to identify those in need in their communities and provide them with the funds and resources to support those in need. This allowed for local verification of conditions and finding local solutions in line with the IRW guideline of strengthening communities³².

29 Interviewee (i) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 2nd April 2017.

30 Interviewee (i) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 2nd April 2017.

31 Interviewee (i) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 2nd April 2017.

32 Interviewee (i) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 2nd April 2017.

The organisation presented another example of strengthening local communities. Qurbani is one of its seasonal programmes. During this period, the organisation purchases livestock in cattle, goats, and sheep and distributes this during Hajj, which is in the last month of the Islamic month. The Islamic Calendar is lunar based and does not correspond with the Gregorian Calendar. The Islamic tradition recommends that anyone who is by financial means slaughter as many animals as they can afford. The meat consumption is divided into three parts, one for own usage, a second to be shared with friends and family, and the last third to be donated to the poor. It is common to practise for the devout to donate all of the meat to the poor, especially since meat worldwide is considered a luxury is expensive and out of the reach of the poor and especially the vulnerable such as orphans, widows and refugees as an essential source of protein, missing in their diets. Even in communities where there is livestock, many consider this an asset that can be converted into cash, with which other needs can be met, and not a regular source of food consumption³³.

This programme is implemented in different ways by the organisation. The organisation advertises' the prices of the Qurbani in South Africa and in various countries that Islamic Relief operates where Qurbani can be performed, and the meat is then distributed in that particular country. The organisation also promotes doing Qurbani or animal sacrifice in New Zealand, packaged into a can and delivered to various countries. The final form of participation is donating funds to a Qurbani endowment. Like any Waqf, the capital remains intact, and the dividends of the investment are used to purchase animals for sacrifice. This gives the donor the honour of having a Qurbani done every year based on the endowment³⁴.

Within the borders of South Africa, the organisation puts out a tender for the procurement, purchase, slaughter, packaging and transport of meat to designated sights. This will include meat being distributed to the orphan households and to the various networks established by the organisation where poor people can benefit from the heart. Apart from distributing its tin Qurbani meat, especially to countries in conflict, the organisation also receives an allocation of Qurbani meat from the Hajj Ministry of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. All pilgrims attending the annual Hajj must perform the ritual animal sacrifice. More than 3 million animals are slaughtered with animals for every pilgrim and canned³⁵. Islamic Relief works with small scale livestock farmers in Zimbabwe to meet their needs during the period that the animals need to

33 Interview (l) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 2nd April 2017.

34 Interview (i) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 2nd April 2017.

35 Interview (i) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 2nd April 2017.

be reared for sale³⁶. This is usually a difficult period for the farmers financially. By buying the animals from the farmers, Islamic Relief guarantees the farmers a deal and thereby an income. This meets the organisations' goal of empowering communities³⁷.

The organisation has a trade-in second-hand clothing programme that generates considerable income as it is done on an international level and meets the standards for this activity. The funds generated contributes to the general revenue of the organisation. Islamic Relief Worldwide, the parent body of Islamic Relief South Africa, is involved in used clothing from a dedicated site in Birmingham. Around the United Kingdom mosques, you will find specially designed steel containers where local congregants and communities can drop their used clothing. The donors of the used clothing can even collect a specially printed bag that they can keep in their homes, fill it, and then drop it into a specially designed container at their local mosque. Every week the clothes are collected, taken to the warehouse in Birmingham, checked, cleaned, sorted and packed to the international standards set for trading used clothing. The clothing has an established market and is sold at shipping container loads to dealers worldwide. Islamic Relief South Africa introduced a smaller version of this. The clothes were prepared in small bags and given as donations in kind to refugee women for onward sale and other assistance. This proved to be another way for vulnerable and poor communities to move off the system of immediate relief and increase their ability to generate their income. Dignity comes from people providing for themselves³⁸.

Regarding where and when Zakāh is spent, the organisation never holds Zakāh funds over from one financial year to the next, as donors expect their donations to be spent within the year it was donated. Why should they give the following amount due when the previous one was not spent? By 2016 the organisation had reversed the practice where most funds collected were for international projects in South Africa, and fewer funds were consumed locally. It did require some time for local projects to stabilise. This allows the organisation to claim that it follows the advice of the Prophet Muhammad ﷺ to his governor in Yemen to spend the Zakāh funds locally.³⁹

On how policies are formulated within the organisation. The organisation is not policy led but informed by the experiences of recipients and staff on what works and what is best practice.

36 Sheep and Goats must be one year and older before they can be slaughtered.

37 Interview (j) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 2nd April 2017.

38 Interview (i) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 2nd April 2017.

39 Interview (i) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 2nd April 2017.

As part of the global programmes' support, UK-based orphan programme specialists visited the South Africa programme and listened to the recipients and staff, then held focus group discussions with recipients on what is contained within a food parcel and is what recipients need and want. The meetings also focused on what can be utilised and the impediments to utilisation, such as energy requirements and the cultural appropriateness of what is contained within food assistance. Here, food security principles of access, availability, stability in supply, and utility started to enter into the staff's vocabulary.

A nutritionist's services were secured, and diets for children, the elderly and the sick were also considered before what is placed within the food parcel, which is delivered to a household. The partnership with TIBB, referred to earlier, was also helpful because the healthy lifestyle programme also contributes to fieldworkers advising orphan families on how to utilise the food provided. The information gathered from TIBB, staff and recipients were captured in concept notes. The concept notes are the basic ideas or elements of policies and include background information, the aims and objectives of the intervention, the inputs and outcomes and the desired impact. The Board of Trustees are informed of these developments, and they evaluate and approve the concept notes at a high level in terms of the broad organisational goals⁴⁰.

On the subject of *Halal* and *Tayyiba*. The organisation had an exciting learning moment. The organisation's finance department disagreed with the contents of the food parcel. Finance was motivated by the cost of products, whereas the programme staff intended to add high nutritional value products. An organisation that relies solely on donor funds tries to get the most out of its available funds. Both parties had the best interest of the organisation in mind. A similar discussion followed when the organisation sent the food parcel procurement request to food wholesalers and later to tender. The parties tendering felt that given the charitable nature of the organisation, cheap was the guideline despite the details being provided. *Tayyiba* is pure food, and that has value. The food may be permissible to eat but is the quality of the food nutritious and not harmful. The example of meat in its pure state and processed meat is always a challenge for a food parcel. Processed meat may have many uses, but is it healthy for consumption? The organisation resolved this dispute by focussing the organisation on its values. The value of excellence resolved the disagreements.

40 Interviewee (I) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 2nd April 2017.

The founder of the organisation, Dr Hany, visited the organisation to explain the values. During these lectures, he used examples of the programmes departments' work to unpack the values. He also explained the importance of interacting with donors, recipients, fellow staff, and volunteers. These lectures were recorded and are now used to orient new staff and refresh best practices whenever this is needed as staff may forget how the organisation approaches its work⁴¹.

One of the organisation's strengths is its monitoring and evaluation department. This allows the organisation to measure its impact by setting indicators for every aspect of the work done. An indicator could be the number of donors to be increased or the number of funds from existing donors. Another indicator could be increasing the number of individual recipients who can now generate their income. A third area is improving the time taken to provide a receipt for a donation⁴².

The organisation appeals to Muslim-owned small and medium-sized businesses for funds. Many of the companies are family-owned operations, started by enterprising individuals and are known to fund all Muslim organisations, be they religious, social, political, educational or relief and development entities. In most cases, development jargon does not matter to these self-made entrepreneurs. What impressed them was how many people were served, where they located – especially in majority Muslim settings, when it was done, such as during the month of Ramadan, when more rewards would be earned and that it was done in the most cost-efficient way. But the new generation of the donor, usually the children of this first generation of entrepreneurs and pioneers, have a completely different view of how their Zakāh donations should be spent. They want to hear of the impact and terminology of sustainable livelihoods, indicators, climate change and food security. These donors are better informed, university educated, tech-savvy, active on social media, and open to listening to secular organisations' appeals. This is when qualitative reporting makes a difference. When sharing Islamic Reliefs, many policies such as climate change, child care, gender-based violence and its annual financial statements become essential tools for fundraising. This is why the organisation also includes success stories in its annual reports⁴³.

41 Interviewee (i) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 2nd April 2017.

42 Interviewee (l) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 2nd April 2017.

43 Interviewee (i) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 2nd April 2017.

What does it take to make a family food secure? This was a rhetorical question posed⁴⁴. The question was answered by having a holistic approach to the recipient that comes to Islamic Relief. The ultimate goal is to provide the recipient with dignity. This requires the donor, staff, suppliers, and volunteers to all have a better and deeper understanding of what is needed for the household. That own food production is not easy, and an exchange of your labour for food may not generate enough income to be food secure.

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter looked at the institutional history of Islamic Relief, its vision, its mission, its goals and how important its values are for programmes implementation; it also looked at the various ways that the organisation assists its recipients in being food secure. The organisation's approach of the orphan as the primary recipient, then the household and then the broader community aligns with its global goal of strengthening communities and its sustainable livelihoods approach to development. The Osizweni Centre in Ennerdale provides a model for integrated development in South Africa. The next chapter will focus on the comparisons and best practices.



44 Interviewee (k) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 2nd April 2017.

Chapter 9: Findings of the Research: A Comparative Perspective

9.1 Introduction

This chapter compares the findings of this research, which sought to determine from the responding organisations to what extent their policies, the selection of its programmes and implementation strategies assist recipients of their programmes in attaining and maintaining food security beyond their immediate need for sustenance. This comparison is based on the theoretical discussions in the chapters on Faith-based giving, Faith and Food Security, and Faith-based organisations, and the empirical research presented in Chapters 5-8. Comparisons that are salient to this study are discussed.

This thesis explores the work of South African MSWOs to assist communities affected by natural and anthropomorphic disasters to become food secure. The literature they produce both electronically and in hard copy allows one to review how faith-based terminology and development terminology is deployed to report on activities and to build donor loyalty in the Muslim community of South Africa.

The methodology I employed is of three different kinds: First, I analysed the MSWOs essential documents such as their constitutions and the relevant sections of their websites, which gives me an insight into their origin, values, legal standing and structure as an MSWOs. Secondly, I analysed the MSWOs annual reports and marketing material which provide an insight into their self-presentation, their *raison d'être* and the value they add. I explore how the MSWOs are transparent, account for the funds raised, and promote themselves. I also review whether the reports reflect the added values of the MSWOs and, more generally, whether issues related to food, religion and development are discussed.

Third and last, I analyse the data from the interviews conducted with staff, Programme Directors and Chief Executive Officers in the different MSWOs. I held discussions with these officials in each organisation. The interview had one main topic, food security. After analysing the primary documents and the reports, the interviews were conducted. I wanted to get the informants' interpretation of what they publish in their materials and websites. I approached this interaction using two methodologies. *Content analysis*¹ is applied to the MSWO's self-

¹ Content analysis is a research tool used to determine the presence of certain words, themes, or concepts within some given qualitative data (i.e., text). Using content analysis, researchers can quantify and analyse the

presentation and upward communication (reports). In contrast, *interview analysis*² is applied to the data obtained in the semi-structured interviews conducted with the MSWOs senior managers.

The organisations are engaging in faith-based development work, but they would claim that they are different by their very origin and nature. Since they developed a separate identity, faith-based organisations were always distinguished from secular non-governmental organisations. The faith-based organisations in this study discuss their differences in professionalism, accountability, recipients, and partnerships. Faith-based organisations are complex, and any classification would simplify their establishment, operation, vision, mission, method of reporting and representation. There is, however, a need for some form of classification that contributes to a better understanding without simplification; otherwise, it will be a lumping together that amounts to being dismissive of the complex and diverse nature of faith-based organisations. Elements of such a classification are provided at the end of the chapter on Faith-based organisations.

9.2 Faith-based Giving

All organisations interviewed are involved in the subject of faith-based giving. This involvement is referred to as channelling towards a particular objective, in this case, faith-based donations, to alleviate the suffering and poverty of fellow believers and the poor in general. The payment of Zakāh to a particular organisation is based on the choice of the individual donor. The organisation has no authority or ability to pressure or coerce the Zakāh donor to pay the Zakāh exclusively to their entity³. Many donors split their contributions between the organisations and move between them from year to year based on their performance, accountability or preference. The intention to pay is a mandatory part of the donor's religious practice and the calculation of the amount to be donated is also the donor's responsibility.

presence, meanings and relationships of certain words, themes, or concepts. <https://www.sciencedirect.com/topics/social-sciences/qualitative-content-analysis> (accessed 21/11/2021).

2 A narrative analysis involves making sense of your interview respondents' individual stories. Use this type of qualitative data analysis to highlight important aspects of their stories that will best resonate with your readers. And, highlight critical points you have found in other areas of your research. <https://www.rev.com/blog/analyze-interview-transcripts-in-qualitative-research> (accessed 21/11/2021).

3 Sultan Khan, "The nature and extent of philanthropy amongst the rainbow South African Muslim community." *Man in India*. 91. (2011).169-193. This is a quantitative study on giving patterns to MSWOs within the Muslim community. A strong personal connection with the MSWOs and their credibility in meeting social needs results in 68% of all donations given to MSWOs.

Through their marketing materials, the organisations provide suggestions on how their entity would spend the donation, hoping to attract the donor to donate to their organisation. Examples familiar to all organisations are, what the cost of a food parcel would be to an orphan household in South Africa or Palestine, the price of a borehole in Malawi, feeding a fasting Muslim for the month of Ramadan and providing options such as where it is needed most, leaving the responsibility to distribute their donations appropriately with the organisation. The organisations all have Zakāh Calculators on their websites and experts available to answer any questions to assist in calculating the amount of Zakāh due for this mandatory practice. All the organisations believe that the greater the awareness created and the more structured the education, the more donations are received. This cannot be viewed as fundraising or resource mobilisation in the traditional sense. The donor knows they have to contribute not for the organisation's sake but primarily for their salvation. However, this does open the door to a relationship with a donor that would still have to be built in non-faith-based fundraising situations.

The donor is encouraged to donate any amount, no matter how small, regularly, in the form of faith-based donations such as Sadaqa, Lillah and even money earned from the interest considered impermissible for personal use. Donations in kind are also accepted, such as clothing and food items. These regular small amounts of donations provide organisations such as the Al Imdaad Foundation with continuous income through their Daily Sadaqah Programme. The daily *Shafaqa* (spread compassion) fundraising programme of SANZAF delivers a steady stream of unrestricted revenue and access to donors, whereas the *Zakāh* is considered restricted income. All the organisations have embraced technology. They have made it easy for the donor to contribute using mobile applications, which includes an ease of payment similar to that used by e-hailing services for transport. Donors feel encouraged to donate because the social media of MSWOs, provide immediate, live and continuous updates. The mobile applications of SANZAF and the AIF allow the donor to calculate the Zakāh that is due. Whereas in the secular fundraising arena, high net worth individuals, corporate social investment programmes, international institutional donors, and even government departments are referred to as donors, the donor looks very different within the Muslim community. In most cases, the donors are devout individuals who consistently donate small amounts from their savings as a form of gratitude for the extra income. All organisations agree that some of these donors can be pedantic, such as insisting that all MSWOs have separate bank accounts purely for the acceptance of Zakāh as it is restricted funds.

SANZAF has the most educational activities on Faith-based Giving amongst the organisations interviewed and generally amongst Muslim organisations in South Africa. These activities include dedicated conferences, workshops, ongoing Friday sermons by the many religious leaders, regular radio interviews where the national chairperson answers questions regarding Zakāh calculations, quiz competitions for children, and the Muslim print media. SANZAF also participates regularly in international forums where the propagation and management of Zakāh and Faith-based giving are discussed extensively. There are no inconsistencies between the messages shared. A PowerPoint presentation is readily available that is clear and concise and was used for this research in the chapter on faith-based giving. Several of the organisations in this study also have live chats on their websites to provide immediate answers on Faith-based Giving and find it the best mechanism for education. It allows the potential donor anonymity. Islamic Relief has an *Awqaf* fund for its orphans' programme and its annual canned *Qurbani* programme.

9.3 Food security

This study was primarily an enquiry on food security. All the semi-structured questions were slanted to elicit responses from the organisations on food security. The questions were shared before the interview. To ensure a common understanding, the critical definitions of Food security and food sovereignty were repeated. The definitions were printed and placed on the table for reference during the interview. In addition to the organisations, a discussion was also held with a food wholesaler who supplies some of the organisations in this research with food parcels. Reference was also made to a recent study on the Household Affordability Index.

The MSWOs staff and leadership interviewed presented an inherent understanding of food security, which was understood as own food production and small-scale agriculture. They did not refer to the definitions provided. The critical components of food security such as access, availability, stability and utilisation, the right to food, dedicated sermons to the subject of food, and campaigns to advocate for the right to food are absent from the organisations' vocabulary. The topic of food sovereignty did not get any attention, and my attempts to direct the attention of the officials to the six components of food sovereignty and food security did not find any response.

The organisations in this study, as independent agencies, can claim that they collectively do more in the provision of food for hungry South Africans and beyond than both secular agencies and organisations of other faiths. This claim is based on the amount of food distributed and

places them collectively in an influential position. Food sovereignty is essentially about increasing the influence and power of the user and small-scale producers in the food system. There is much work to be done by the MSWOs on developing a position for themselves, their donors and the recipients of their assistance involved in the food system and to take the principles of food sovereignty onboard meaningfully.

There is very little collaboration in the acquisition and distribution of food between these MSWOs. An attempt by Islamic Relief using a Geographic Information System (GIS) approach to map those in need of food and who are the food providers has not received the necessary response from MSWOs. This study opened up the space for further investigation and research of the role and involvement of Muslims and the food system, from production, manufacturing, distribution and consumers. Viewed together, this is potentially a powerful position to develop further by the role-players who are known to each other. The Muslim community in South Africa has the services of four *Halal* Certification bodies that wield power over the food products of the largest food suppliers through their certification. These suppliers control a substantial component of the South African food system. A significant finding of this study is that the organisations could not present a baseline of what a food-insecure household could be. There is no reference to the food poverty amount published by STATS SA. The food parcels provided by the MSWOs do not come close to the R2500 for a low-income household in South Africa, averaging at R350 per food parcel. The organisations all have programmes, implementation strategies, and informal policies to assist recipients of their support in attaining a degree of food security. Still, the extent and consistency require further consideration. This could be by establishing a food security measurement that would indicate the lower food poverty line amount as determined by STATS SA and a higher amount based on the Household Affordability Index study. This can be built into the intake forms for the social welfare cases.

9.4 Faith-based organisations

All organisations affirm their faith-based identities as they formally project themselves as faith-based organisations. The Al Imdaad Foundation leads the MSWOs to project a faith-based look and feel. As for the content of programmes, SANZAF is a close second in this regard. Islamic Relief is the only respondent with a faith's name but does not display such an overt faith-based nature. The Islamic Relief and Gift of the Givers Foundation staff wear western clothing and do not overtly promote their religion. The typologies presented in the chapter on faith-based organisations provide insight and potentially structure to how these Muslim Faith-based

organisations are constituted and how they deliver their services based on their faith. These categories can be used to be more explicit in the extent to which they meet the characterisation as being faith-based organisations. This could strengthen their funding from their faith-based donor base without fear of losing funding from any non-faith source.

Only GGF has attained positions of having received more funding outside of the Islamic faith community. The organisation was awarded R60million from the South African government. Given the growth and popularity of the GGF being embraced by most citizens in South Africa, especially by corporate South Africa, one could easily speculate that a large percentage of its funds, if not the majority, now comes from outside of the Muslim community. In this regard, GGF has transcended its faith-based nature and is viewed as a humanitarian organisation. This is indeed the era of the Muslim social welfare organisation in the history of Muslim organisations in South Africa. They dominate Muslim media and are often given coverage in the mainstream media; the amount of funds raised is massive, estimated at being close to R1 Billion Rand annually, as shown in the SANZAF diagram in Chapter one. The number of social welfare activities and the contact with the broader South African and even international public is well documented.

This study proposes that the organisations consider a typology that is responsive to some of the criticisms that exist in the public domain. These elements are as follows: governance and staff capacity, accountability, transparency, programme design, community participation, cooperation and coordination, knowledge and research-driven, monitoring evaluation reporting and learning, faith-based fundraising, and faith-based inclusivity and decision-making. This can be self-administered at three levels: a basic or entry-level, an intermediary, and an advanced level of compliance. This will further enhance the organisations' credibility and professionalism both in the donor and the recipient, making the Muslim social welfare sector leaders in social development.

9.5 Institutional history

Hunger and poverty moved all the founders of the organisations in this study to act, and they were motivated by their faith into extraordinary action. This is documented in the respective chapters. The formation of SANZAF allows for reflection when considering the South African Muslim context. Dr Shaukat Ali Thokan and Sheikh Faiek Gamiieldien of SANZAF were both moved by their faith, and towards each other, by the respect they developed for each other based on their religion. There are enough factors that mitigated against the two strands of

SANZAF not merging and forming a national organisation. These were race, class, intra-religious differences, ethnicity, differing worldviews, access to financial resources, to name a few that could have prevented the formation of this national organisation. That this organisation has prospered and remained intact for 47 years is praiseworthy and bears testimony to the value of solid organisational systems and the practice of consultation between the members of this organisation.

The Gift of the Givers has remained firmly in the control of Dr Sooliman since its inception. Whereas the Al Imdaad Foundation and Islamic Relief experienced leadership changes, they remained stable in executing their programmes, governance, and mission. It is noteworthy that the organisations were formed, established, shaped and grown by men, with professions mainly from the Indian community. The question that can be asked is whether these organisations would have succeeded and to what extent had they been founded by women especially since patriarchy and racism exist and impact all aspects of life in South Africa. The SANZAF has appointed women to lead its most senior positions, national chairperson and the chief executive officer. This positive development is an opportunity for further investigation.

The catalyst for the formation of the organisations varied. SANZAF responding to the poverty of communities on the Cape Flats, the Al Imdaad Foundation responding to the plight of Muslims in Gujarat and worldwide, Dr Hany responding to the Horn of Africa and Dr Sooliman was moved two Mozambican children looking for water. The specific beliefs of the founders also influenced the organisations. SANZAF and Islamic Relief can trace their ideology to the Muslim Brotherhood. GGF can trace theirs to Sufism and AIF to the teachings emanating from Madrasa Zakaria and the Deobandi Movement in India.

9.6 Faith-based reflections

The study allows the organisations to locate their contribution within the historical context of Muslim organisations in South Africa. It also provides the location of the Muslim communities' relief, development, and social welfare activities within the broader social development context, especially within a post-Apartheid context.

The level of trust between the South African Treasury and the South African Reserve Bank regarding the Gift of the Givers Foundation and the Al Imdaad Foundation, respectively, is noteworthy and recorded in the respective chapters. In many countries where Islamophobia is rife, Muslim organisations face enormous challenges. In contrast, the level of cooperation and

trust existing in South Africa has not been fully explored and modelled for other nations to consider.

The AIF, GGF and Islamic Relief are significant role players in international development. They have responded to every global disaster in the past 18 years. They have found a place for themselves in an area dominated by secular relief and development organisations. In the international disaster response arena, they have also cooperated. AIF with Islamic Relief following the South East Asia Tsunami in 2004. GGF's mission to Darfur Sudan and SANZAF support Islamic Relief in establishing their field office in Malawi. Religion and Development have seen particularly Islamic Relief playing a meaningful role. Islamic Relief hosted an International Islamic Consultation on HIV and AIDS in South Africa and mobilised humanitarian organisations under the leadership of Dr Hany in the International Humanitarian Forum. This was done at a time when humanitarian organisations were under severe pressure during the United States of America's war on terror. Other initiatives are mobilising Muslim faith-based organisations' response to climate change. Islamic Relief has a dedicated research and development team; the direct impact of its work is that it is regularly cited in the academic writings on Religion and Development, mainly because of its accessibility being based in the United Kingdom and several western capitals. Researching the South African Muslim contribution to poverty alleviation and its components such as Food security should be considered by the organisations in this study as a joint project. This will impact their collective ability to influence how poverty alleviation is viewed, studied, implemented, legislated, and resourced within a South African context.

This chapter presented the most known and oft-cited typologies on faith-based organisations. The purpose of providing a typology or a classification is to suggest that all organisations are not the same. It supports the probing of the faith-based organisational and programmatic characteristics as it seeks to answer whether and to what extent they are faith-based. Though it may be evident that the organisations selected are faith-based entities generally. This clarification of their extent does create an opportunity to address the critiques that faith-based organisations only provide social assistance and employment to the members of their faith. This criticism can also be extended to the exclusivity of the donors and boards of trustees of faith-based organisations. It is here where differences can be found between the respondents. One of the board members of Gift of the Givers Foundation is not Muslim, and the head of programmes of Islamic Relief at the time of the interview was also not Muslim. But these considerations only have value for organisations dependent on government and institutional

donors that would demand diversity in staff, governance structures and recipients. In a South Africa where Muslims are in the minority and where race, gender, and age matter, being open about identity issues has value and could potentially increase the donations received and the credibility of MSWOs. This faith-based transparency can be proactively addressed by the organisations agreeing to implement and publicise how they measure up to the following elements: governance and staff capacity, accountability- transparency, programme design, community participation, cooperation and coordination, knowledge and research-driven, monitoring evaluation reporting and learning, faith-based fundraising, and faith-based inclusivity and decision-making.

The South African government is a legislator, regulator and donor to NGOs through its National Development Agency or various NGO-funding programmes of the provincial and local governments. The SA government does not show a preference for a particular faith. It neither expresses suspicion and prejudice towards faith-based initiatives towards poverty alleviation that may be the case in Western Capitals. Islamophobia is non-existent. By way of example, the South African government appreciate the faith-based nature of an AIF by involving it in the flagship (Sukhume Sakhe) programme of poverty alleviation in the KwaZulu Natal Province, in all levels of participation and decision-making. The National Department of International Relations and Co-operation has supported the AIF, the GGF and Islamic Relief in their disaster response activities through their disaster relief missions to various countries. The Clarke, Sider and Unruh typologies could be used as an appraisal tool by organisations to firm up their self-identification as a faith-based or, as Islamic Relief states, a faith-inspired organisation and contribute to further develop the academic discourses on religion and development.

9.7 Programmes

The programmes of the organisations are not that vastly different. All organisations have seasonal programmes. These are Ramadan and Qurbani programmes, which are massive feeding programmes extending beyond the Muslim community. Two of the organisations have canned Qurbani programmes that address the utility aspect of food security. The Gift of the Givers programmes has a medical, search and rescue component. The medical programmes are highly specialised and currently include two hospitals in war-torn Syria. All organisations do have the capacity to respond to disasters locally. Still, Al Imdaad distinguishes itself as having established a branch in the developed United Kingdom and responds to disasters in providing

disaster response to a first-world setting. Islamic Relief is based in the United Kingdom, and it is the South Africa branch under discussion in this study. Only SANZAF does not implement disaster relief assistance outside of the borders of South Africa. When donors have provided SANZAF with funds for natural disasters outside of the borders of South Africa, the organisation has collaborated with Islamic Relief or the Al Imdaad Foundation by transferring the funds collected to strengthen their disaster response and development initiatives abroad. The only external work that SANZAF does is implementing its Qurbani programme in Malawi and Mozambique.

Similar to Islamic Relief, which operates a Qurbani programme in Zimbabwe, SANZAF also pre-orders animals to be purchased for slaughtering from rurally based small scale farmers. The small-scale farmers can meet their food and other basic needs based on this financial relationship for the year ahead from the funds they earn from the sale of their animals for this ritual slaughter, thus assisting them in becoming food secure. Interestingly, the meat from the animals is distributed to the poor in that province of Malawi and Mozambique, where the animals were purchased. The meat distributions are massive events and require the support of local authorities to facilitate orderly distribution. These food distribution programmes have the components of food security. The organisations need to adopt a comprehensive and integrated approach to all their programmes to show how they make the recipient food secure. The measurement needs to record how the recipient was food insecure and how the interventions improved the recipient's situation to become food secure.

9.8 Empirical research

Semi-structured interviews were held with the organisations to ascertain the extent to which the policies, programmes, and implementation strategies assist the recipients in attaining and maintaining food security. The interviews were held with senior staff in all organisations.

The notion of recipients of the organisations needs further reflection and comparison. Social welfare cases are the most appropriate definition; recipients are also referred to as walk-in cases. These individuals are impoverished or have an urgent need and decided to arrive (walk-in) at the organisation's offices without an appointment. SANZAF and the AIF have the most organised response for social welfare requests. Their system starts with receiving a recipient, documenting the request, assessing it, verifying, and responding timeously. Islamic Relief has defined its recipients as orphan households. The identification of the orphan home, the details gathered, the assessment, verification, and support are all in place. The orphan family is

assigned a dedicated fieldworker who supports the household as a mentor. The home's progress is monitored through ongoing internal reporting, and reports are also forwarded externally to the donor.

Any additional programmatic support is directed to the household based on their needs and the data gathered. The comprehensive support allows for the orphan family over the years to benefit from every service the organisation and the state offers to be self-sustaining, and in this case, to be food secure. This is a long-term commitment. Islamic Relief also operates on the principle of community care for orphans and vulnerable children. This is done through its Osizweni community care centre in Ennerdale extension eight in the South of Johannesburg. Gift of the Givers Foundation does not have recipients or social welfare cases in South Africa, only Palestine. The Palestine office similarly maintains case files and makes assessments, verification and supports households for basic needs such as rental and medical assistance. The only individual aid in South Africa is for bursaries and wheelchairs.

Al Imdaad Foundation and SANZAF assist in three-month renewable cycles. The assistance is evaluated before it is renewed. AIF offers to support recipients to become self-sufficient by purchasing tools, equipment and materials where possible. SANZAF had a three-way approach to assistance that is more developmental in approach. The bursary programme supports a student through part-payment (R30 000 per annum) for a three-year degree and skills training programme (R18 000 per annum). The organisation believes these contributions put the student and the household in line for R12000 and R15000 monthly income, respectively. The organisation recently ended a reasonably comprehensive entrepreneurship programme. This programme supported the household expenses of the recipient for six months and supported their enterprise with between R50 000-R80 000, a mentor and an in-house entrepreneurship programme. After ten years, the organisation had a 64% success rate. The international success rate is 6%. The programme was ended because it was felt that the 36% failure was a loss of Zakāh funds and could be viewed by donors as bad management of Zakāh funds. The organisation has now reconfigured the programme to support existing enterprises and not take risks in developing entrepreneurs. The provision of skills training, self-help programmes and entrepreneurship training are all means towards providing an income to the household. The entrepreneur can now exchange their labour or goods for securing their household food.

The questions around food security also dealt with the food quality provided. All the organisations ensure that the food is *Halal* or permissible from an Islamic injunction

perspective. All organisations go to great lengths to ensure that the food is high quality. At one point in their existence, they have used the services of a nutritionist or a dietician to evaluate what they provide and advise on a balanced diet. The GGF is the only organisation that has invested in innovating and manufacturing a food item that addresses the nutrition deficiency experienced by the poor and especially by the vulnerable such as malnourished children and pregnant women. The Sibusiso high energy food does not need any preparation and can either be squeezed out of a sachet or consumed with a finger or spoon out of a container.

All organisations have engaged in some form of direct or indirect support for small scale agriculture. The GGF has supported small scale farmers in the uMzinyathi area, funded students studying agriculture to support small scale farmers and are now engaging commercial farmers it sustained during the drought to provide mentoring to small-scale farmers. SANZAF has supported several types of urban farming and is currently supporting a small group of farmers to move from a subsistence initiative to a level of income generation. Islamic Relief has seen positive results from its food garden efforts around the Osizweni Centre. It is the AIF that has excelled in the food production sector. The organisation's organic food garden is an example of integrated development, and it has various positive dimensions that can easily be duplicated for the benefit of recipients. The garden is located next to its international headquarters in the KwaZulu Midlands. The project has, from the outset, served as a training facility, and the organisation has an experienced horticulturalist employed on a full-time basis. He was involved in the garden's design and has trained local unemployed people from the surrounding community on all aspects of the garden, its soil, water supply, the type of vegetables and trees to grow, when to plant and how to get the best harvests. The garden required several inputs that were not directly related to gardening, such as plumbing, bricklaying, plastering, electricity supply and welding. This afforded the AIF to invest in skills training around the garden. But all those skills were complemented by establishing home food gardens for the artisans and the garden staff.

Local vegetable vendors also benefit from this programme as they can purchase produce for resale nearby and at a deliberately reduced price. The organisation has set up a farm staff stall that sells its produce to the surrounding suburb. Because of the excellent quality of the crop, many of the hotels in the Drakensberg Mountain range shop for fresh produce at the AIF Green Grocer. The organisation believes that first establishing home food gardens for the staff of the organic food garden has helped it participate with confidence in the one home one garden initiative of the KwaZulu Natal province and has won the support of the national Department

of Social Development. The own production entitlement is a critical component in understanding food insecurity. All the organisations in this study need to strengthen the evidence base of how the recipients of their assistance could become and remain food secure. This can be done by developing monitoring, evaluation, and reporting tools.

An established principle is that the recipient of Zakāh is eligible to receive assistance until it is no longer needed. Food Security is achieved when the recipient has access to food, that the food is available, and it can be utilised and that all three components are stable at all times. The recipient of Zakāh should have all their needs met, including being food secure. The categories of the Zakāh recipient should be considered holistically as opposed to being considered narrowly or separately. Islamic Reliefs' contemporary understanding of the categories is helpful by viewing the wayfarer as a homeless person. A food parcel distribution using Zakāh donations may be a good gesture towards the poor and the needy. Still, it is not going to be helpful to a homeless person if his homelessness is not also addressed. There is room for further investigation and comparison on the objectives of Zakāh on the one hand and that of food security and food sovereignty on the other hand.

9.9 Conclusion

This chapter extracted salient points of the previous chapters for comparison. It was not exhaustive as it sought only to highlight elements that could be considered for further study and for recommendations to its implementation strategies that can ensure food security beyond the existing food relief currently provided. In all compared instances, monitoring, evaluation, and reporting components are absent. If present, it could have shown with evidence how recipients of these organisations are now food secure because of their sustainable livelihoods' programmes.

Chapter Ten: Recommendations and Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to examine whether, and to what extent, the policies, selection of programmes and implementation strategies for such programmes employed by the four largest MSWOs in South Africa assist the recipients of the programmes in attaining and maintaining food security and food sovereignty beyond their immediate needs for sustenance.

This research was completed with the involvement of the leadership and senior staff of these organisations, who provided the context of their establishment, their experiences with faith-based giving, their challenges and benefits of being faith-based organisations and to the best of their understanding how their programmes assist recipients in attaining and maintaining food security.

The implementation strategies and programmes that these organisations employ in how food is provided and the various categories of people that benefit from their assistance, such as orphans and social welfare cases, were shared through semi-structured questions that comprised the empirical research conducted.

This conclusion highlights the observations made in the course of this study. It proposes some recommendations for these organisations and similar faith-based organisations also involved in providing food utilising faith-based donations to attain food security.

The remarks made in this thesis emphasise that Muslim FBOs indisputably perform an essential function in the lives of poor people generally and within the borders of South Africa in particular. Islam has been present in South Africa for close to 370 years, and it is only in the past 27 years that Muslims have experienced political and religious freedom. This study acknowledges that the organised social development contribution of the Muslim community over 47 years, mainly with its resources, has achieved much in such a short period. Thus, with admiration and humility, this study ventures to offer recommendations based on the research to the organisations in this study. These recommendations are as follows:

Organisations must become more proactive in identifying the poor and understanding their food insecurity situation from their perspective. The poor have agency and should be involved in the identification, planning, design of programmes, and implementation strategies that the organisations wish to impact their lives.

There needs to be greater coordination between Muslim social welfare organisations assisting individuals. This can be easily achieved by establishing a central database countrywide for

social welfare cases. Information Technology knowledge and expertise exists within the Muslim community.

There needs to be a relationship between the MSWOs, the South African Social Security Agency, Provincial Departments of Social Development, and all government agencies that provide direct assistance to poor people. This will better inform the Muslim organisations how effective their contributions can be and help avoid duplication of services and better use of resources.

Poverty related data produced by official government agencies such as Statistics South Africa should be used to determine baselines and inform resource allocation.

Faith-based contributions such as Zakāh, Sadaqa, and Lillah funds to poor households seeking assistance should be bench-marked against the National Minimum wage and the actual cost of food, as listed in this study.

There is a need for a Monitoring and Evaluation unit that can assist all Muslim organisations to track progress and report independently and hence credibly.

This study encourages organisations to embark on a pilot programme to assist 100 recipients on a path to food security. This should be done using the Theory of Change approach where the necessary inputs are provided, documenting how the related activities produced specific outputs, what outcomes were achieved and how this impacted the lives of these 100 individuals. This pilot study can inform future policy development and new programmes designed to make households' food secure.

The organisations in this study are recommended to facilitate round-table discussions with manufacturers, suppliers, wholesalers, independent small-scale producers and retailers of food from the Muslim community to discuss ways in which they can reduce the costs of the items that make up the food basket of low-income earners without compromising the quality of the food items.

The establishment of a Food Security Waqf should be done urgently so that this endowment or Waqf can serve as a buffer for rising food prices and growing food insecurity.

Conclusion

To conclude, the involvement of Muslims in every aspect of the food system in South Africa affords this community and the organisations in this study, particularly, an opportunity to make a meaningful contribution towards attaining Food Justice for all.



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Interviews

Food Wholesaler

Interviewee (a) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 27th April 2017.

SANZAF

Interviewee (b) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 20th March 2017.

Interviewee (c) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 26 October and 9th November 2021.

Gift of the Givers Foundation

Interviewee (d) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 20th March 2017.

Interviewee (e) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 26 October and the 21st Nov 2021.

Al Imdaad Foundation

Interviewee (f) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 21 March 2017.

Interviewee (g) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 21 March 2017.

Interviewee (h) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan telephonically 10th-11th November 2021.

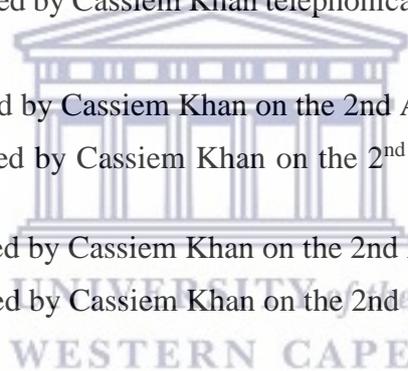
Islamic Relief South Africa

Interviewee (i) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 2nd April 2017.

Interviewee (j) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 2nd April 2017 and 10 November 2021.

Interviewee (k) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 2nd April 2017.

Interviewee (l) Interviewed by Cassiem Khan on the 2nd April 2017.



Addendum A

9 March 2017

The Chief Executive Officer
Al Imdaad Foundation
P. O. Box 481
Estcourt 3310
KZN South Africa

Assalaamu Alaykum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatu

Dear Mr Yacoob Vahed

Re: Requesting AIF to participate in Research

I pray that this letter finds you well.

I would like to invite you to participate in this research project. The topic is as follows: *Food relief or Food security? A study of the policies and programmes of five Muslim social welfare organisations in South Africa.* The study focuses on the extent to which the policies, selection of programmes and implementation strategies for such programmes employed by the five largest Muslim social welfare organisations in South Africa assist the recipients of their programmes to attain and maintain food security and food sovereignty beyond their immediate needs for sustenance?

I have attached a detailed information sheet that addresses why I am doing the project, what would be required of you should you agree to take part, how much of your time will be required, issues of confidentiality, advantages, disadvantages in participating in the research and the way forward should you agree.

In addition to an informal discussion with you, I would also require copies of your annual reports, minutes of meetings relating to food security, financial reports, position papers on food security, policies, strategy documents, marketing materials and any literature that you have that may be useful for the research study.

Please find below contact information for my supervisors. I hope that my request for your participation finds favourable consideration.

Yours truly

Regards

Cassiem Khan

021 531 5130 or 076640 7928
19 Leeuenhof Cres Pinelands Cape Town
Cassiem.khan@gmail.com

Researcher: Cassiem Khan Student No. 9083988, University of Western Cape. Robert Sobukwe Drive Bellville Western Cape

Supervisors: Prof E. Conradie and Dr Mustapha Saidi Department of Religion and Theology School at the University of Western Cape. Robert Sobukwe Drive Bellville Western Cape

Addendum B
INFORMATION SHEET

9 March 2017

Food relief or Food security? A study of the policies and programmes of five Muslim social welfare organisations in South Africa

I would like to invite you to participate in this research project. Does the study focus on to what extent do the policies, selection of programmes and implementation strategies for such programmes employed by the four largest Muslim social welfare organisations in South Africa assist the recipients of their programmes to attain and maintain food security and food sovereignty beyond their immediate needs for sustenance?

Why am I doing the project? The research project forms part of a Masters degree course with the Department of Religion and Theology at the University of the Western Cape. It is hoped that the project could provide useful information for decision-makers of participating Muslim relief and development organisations regarding their practice and understanding of food relief, food security, and food sovereignty. These practices and knowledge are set within the broader context of climate change and how (Zakat) and donations generally are used sustainably.

What will you have to do if you agree to take part?

Reply to this information sheet confirming that you are interested. I will arrange a time to meet, which is convenient for you and at your own offices if that is appropriate. The formal meeting will be with you, the organisation's Chief Executive, and after that with your Head of Programme implementation or the most appropriate person you identify. The discussions will follow an informal set of questions provided with this information sheet.

How much of your time will participation involve?

Each session will be approximately two hours as a one-off event. Supporting information such as annual reports will be identified and gathered subsequently. When I have completed the study, I will produce a chapter on the findings, which I will be more than happy to send you if you are interested.

Will your participation in the project remain confidential?

If you agree to participate, your name and that of the organisation will be quoted as your organisation is the subject of the study and you are the organisation's public face. Your responses to the questions will be used for this research project only, and I will not use them for any other purpose without getting your permission. The discussions will be recorded, and you will be given a copy for your records immediately.

What are the advantages of taking part? You may find the project interesting, and it will allow you to reflect on your organisation's contributions to food relief and food security. It will also allow you to reflect on how policy and implementing strategies are made in your

organisation. It will enable you to identify gaps in organisational policies. It could even contribute to your marketing campaigns.

Are there any disadvantages of taking part? You are not comfortable talking about your organisation as you are not confident about the terminology used and the academic nature of the study. The study will provide definitions of all terminology used, and it is only for educational purposes. This means the student's thesis allows him to get an academic qualification. **It is not an investigation or for journalistic/publishing purposes. It will remain with the university.**

Do you have to take part in the study? No, your participation in this project is entirely voluntary. You are not obliged to participate; a student researcher has approached you with a view that you might be interested in taking part, this does not mean you have to. If you do not wish to participate, you do not have to give a reason, and you will not be contacted again. Similarly, if you agree to participate, you are free to withdraw during the project if you change your mind.

What happens now? If you are interested in participating in the study, you are asked to complete the attached response slip and return it to me by fax or email. Once I have received the title, I will contact you to arrange to meet at a convenient time. I can then visit and hold a short discussion. If you decide not to participate in this study, you need not return the response slip to me. Ignore this letter, and no further contact will be made.

Researcher: Cassiem Khan Student No. 9083988, University of Western Cape. Robert Sobukwe Drive Bellville Western Cape

Supervisor: Prof E. Conradie and Dr Mustapha Saidi Department of Religion and Theology School at the University of Western Cape. Robert Sobukwe Drive Bellville Western Cape

WESTERN CAPE

Addendum D

Provisional questions for semi-structured interviews.

- a. Does your organisation engage in a clearly outlined food security programme?
- b. Do you distinguish between food relief food security and food sovereignty?
- c. What would you consider more important?
- d. Does terminology matter to your governing structure, staff and recipients?
- e. Is food relief an easy option?
- f. Is much thought and consideration given to the nutritional value of the food distributed?
- g. Has there ever been a discussion on Ḥalāl – Tayyiban? Was this recorded for future use?
- h. Are there any written and Board approved policies on Food security?
- i. Has your staff received any formal training on the subject of food relief, food security or sovereignty?
- j. Are qualified staff employed on the subject of food?
- k. What is your relationship with suppliers of food, e.g. wholesalers?
- l. Is there any education to your donor public on food and payment of Zakāh/Charity?
- m. Is there any education on campaigns such as Zero Hunger, the SDGs etc.?
- n. Are any funds allocated to training staff, education of donors, advocacy, research with existing recipients?
- o. Are there any formal sermons prepared and delivered on food and its provision?

Addendum D 1

Muslim Business in the South African Food Chain

- 1) Provide me with a broad background of your understanding of how food is supplied to the South African public
- 2) Where does your establishment fit in this food chain?
- 3) Describe other similar establishments in the rest of the country and what is the size of their footprint, to the best of your knowledge
- 4) Do establishments such as yours and other similar co-operate in buying and promoting products together
- 5) To the best of your knowledge, what percentage of market share do Muslim owned businesses such as yours have within South Africa
- 6) Has there ever been any study on Muslim role in the FMCG market and food in particular?
- 7) Would there be any value in this, apart from co-operation on business, but also for promoting a particular business ethic
- 8) Does your company and its staff reflect on the products being sold? E.g., Its content, not only for alcohol and pork consumption but also for its sugar, salt content and its potential long term harmful effect
- 9) Has your company and its leaders held any training or awareness sessions on food, where you are placed in the food chain and what important role you play in the national health of the country
- 10) What is the extent of your involvement with Muslim Faith-Based Organisations in providing food, for ongoing programs, during relief operations and annual programs such as *zakat fitra* programs.
- 11) Have you quantified this for your business your staff and shared this with the Muslim FBOs?
- 12) Are you a direct donor to Muslim FBOs?
- 13) Do you know if other similar establishments play a similar role?
- 14) Describe your suppliers and how many of them are Muslim – rough percentage?
- 15) Is there a need to talk about the quality of the food in the market and its impact on poor communities?
- 16) How will such a conversation impact your business?
- 17) Will such a conversation impact your customers' businesses, such as spaza shops, etc.
- 18) Have you ever tried to establish what amount of your customers are foreign-owned, women-led, youth-led businesses?
- 19) Can Muslim owned businesses make a difference in the South African food chain, not only on Halāl but also on the TAYYIBUN...e.g. The amount of sugar added in the fizzy drinks, the amount of flour in the salt, the quality of imported goods, etc.

Addendum E

In the name of Allah, the Compassionate and Merciful

To the eminent scholar Dr Yusuf Al-Qaradawi

Peace be upon you, and Allah's mercy and blessings.

I ask Allah the Most High that this letter reaches you in good health and brings you good health. We would like to take this opportunity to wish you in this blessed month of Ramadan, the month of mercy and forgiveness, asking Allah to bestow prosperity and blessings on you and the entire Muslim Umma.

I am writing to ask that you are generous enough to furnish us with answers to several questions that have arisen in our work in the field of relief and development.

1. Is it permissible to use the Zakat given by Muslims to Islamic Relief to benefit non-Muslims in need?
2. Is it permissible to spend the Zakat given to Islamic Relief on paying the teachers of the schools that we are responsible for?
3. Is it permitted to give non-Muslims who need the meat slaughtered for sacrifice donated by Muslims to Islamic Relief?
4. What proportion is it permissible for those working in the field of Zakat to take from it?
5. Is it permissible to disburse surplus zakat funds in waqf projects, provided that the proceeds of these Waqfs are for the poor and the other kinds of Zakat?

Please accept our utmost respect and esteem.

May peace be upon you, and Allah's mercy and blessings.

Heshmat Khalifa

Head of Fundraising

Islamic Relief

The reply:

Praise be to Allah, and peace be upon His Messenger and his companions.

1. The mass of scholars agree that Zakat is taken from the wealthy Muslims to be given to the poor Muslims, as the Prophetic Hadith stipulated. Some scholars have permitted giving zakat to non-Muslims in need, especially if this is the proceeds of substantial zakat, surplus to the requirements of Muslims.

Some scholars were guided in this by Omar Bin Al Khattab (may Allah be pleased with him) when he saw a Jew begging from people, and he asked him, "Why are you begging?" He replied, "I'm begging for the jizya and from need and age." So, he ordered the Treasurer to give him and those like him what they needed from the House of Funds of the Muslims. Then he recited the verse:

"Sadaqat's (alms) is for the poor and the needy, and those employed to administer the (funds); for those whose hearts have been (recently) reconciled (to Truth); for those in bondage and debt; in the cause of Allah. and for the wayfarer: (thus is it) ordained by Allah, and Allah is full of knowledge and wisdom." (Tuba:60)

And he said, "This man is one of the poor of the People of the Book!"

Nevertheless, there is a consideration which sanctions the giving of zakat to non-Muslims, and this is that it should reconcile them with Muslims and make Islam appealing to them. And amongst the purposes stipulated in the Qur'an is the purpose of reconciling people, and its origin was in this reconciliation; it is work entrusted to the Islamic State and its trustees and is part of Shari'ah work.

Large Islamic charitable and relief organisations can take the place of the state regarding this work of reconciliation, especially those in the West, who mix with non-Muslims and know ways and methods which can influence them and bring them closer to Islam.

This course of action supports that non-Islamic relief organisations do not refuse to help Muslims in need, and we are better than them regarding charity.

2. Islamic schools are one of the purposes for which zakat money can be spent in that they are an essential component of contemporary Islamic life so that young Muslims do not grow up illiterate in a changing world or brought up with heads empty of Islamic culture, and hearts devoid of the essence of faith. According to the legal principle, there is no objection to paying teachers from zakat that what is required to fulfil a duty becomes a duty; in other words, if it meant that otherwise, a school would have neither teachers nor pupils. Teachers are one of the cornerstones of education.

The matter is settled by the following: the teachers should be an excellent example in following Islam, with their faith, culture, sensibility and behaviour. Their work can even be considered a kind of jihad and counted as one of the eight areas of zakat

disbursement, “In Allah’s path”. This purpose is meant for all those who lift the word of Islam and lift the banner of unity. Some of the different methods are da’wa, education and media, through which trustworthy Muslims are created.

3. There is no objection to giving non-Muslims Qurbani meat that Muslims have donated to Islamic Relief. There is not the same scrutiny or strictness regarding Qurbani for zakat funds. Zakat is a fundamental religious duty that has significance. Therefore there must be strictness regarding where it can be spent, as stipulated in the Qur’an in Sura Al-Tuba, verse 60:

“Sadaqat’s (alms) is for the poor and the needy, and those employed to administer the (funds); for those whose hearts have been (recently) reconciled (to Truth); for those in bondage and debt; in the cause of Allah. And for the wayfarer: (thus is it) ordained by Allah, and Allah is full of knowledge and wisdom”.

Islam has not prohibited charity towards non-Muslims if they are in need: *“And they feed, for the love of Allah, the indigent, the orphan, and the captive”.* Insan:8

And at the time of the Prophet, the captive was an unbeliever.

Several early scholars permitted giving Sadaqa al-Fitr to Christian priests. Ibn Qudama Al-Hanbali said on the subject of Qurbani, “It is permissible to feed the unbeliever with it.” Al-Hassan, Abu Thawr, and other scholars said the same.

Malik and Al-Laith did not permit giving Christians leather from the Qurbani. As for the obligatory sadaqah, it is not permissible to give it to non-believers because this sadaqah is an obligation and is similar to zakat and kafarat al-yamin.

4. Regarding the proportion which it is permitted for zakat employees to take, my opinion is that this amount must not exceed 12.5% of these funds because the employees are one of the eight areas on which zakat money can be spent. This is based on equality between the eight.
5. It is not permissible to convert zakat donations to a waqf to disburse to the poor from it because zakat funds are supposed to be paid to the beneficiaries immediately. They must be actively utilised according to the precepts stipulated in the Qur’an to achieve these aims and fulfil needs and must be required immediately, with no delay possible. Therefore, the ulama agrees that it is not permissible to delay using zakat beyond the period of its necessity.

The ulama permit is keeping the zakat separate and distributing it to the beneficiaries throughout the year, fulfilling the specific requirements of the beneficiaries.

Converting the zakat to a waqf prevents deserving people from receiving it immediately because it is necessary to benefit from it and gain returns.

The return that a waqf gives cannot be the zakat that its trustee gives; instead, it is a small part of it, representing the return of the waqf, maybe 5% or 10%. Allah’s command was to give the deserving people the whole of the zakat, which is 100%. For this reason, this action is incompatible with the aims of zakat.

Allah Know best

Yousuf Qaradawi