

CSVr SAFE AND INCLUSIVE CITIES RESEARCH PROJECT

The Community Work Programme in Kagiso

Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVr)
study on the Community Work Programme (CWP)

By Themba Masuku, Malose Langa and David Bruce

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3rd Floor, Forum V, Braampark Office Park,
33 Hoofd Street, Braamfontein
P O Box 30778, Braamfontein, 2017,
South Africa; Tel: (011) 403-5650.
Fax: (011) 388-0819.
Email: info@csvr.org.za.
CSV website: <http://www.csvr.org.za>

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Abbreviations and acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
COGTA	Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
COPE	Congress of the People
CPF	Community Policing Forum
CWP	Community Work Programme
DA	Democratic Alliance
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
FBO	Faith-Based Organisation
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IA	Implementing Agent
LRC	Local Reference Committee
MMC	Member of the mayoral committee
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OW	Organisational Workshop

Bokfontein

In 2011 the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation and the Society, Work and Development Institute at the University of the Witwatersrand published a report entitled *The Smoke that Calls* based on research conducted in 2009 and 2010.¹ The report includes seven case studies, six dealing with informal settlements, townships or other localities that have been affected by forms of collective violence, including service delivery protests and xenophobia. The seventh case study deals with a community called Bokfontein, which includes various farm plots near Hartbeespoort Dam in the North West province. In contrast with the other areas focused on in the study, Bokfontein had not been affected by either

service delivery protests or xenophobic violence 'despite a lack of basic services'.²

Bokfontein is a recently established community, created subsequent to the eviction and relocation of two nearby communities in 2005 and 2006. There was initially considerable antagonism, sometimes including violence, between members of the respective former communities. However, since 2008/09 a climate of greater cooperation and peace has been established in the community.

The Bokfontein case study links the absence of violence in the area to development initiatives undertaken in the community, most notably the Community Work Programme (CWP). The CWP initiative is the subject of this report.

¹ K. von Holdt, M. Langa, S. Molapo, N. Mogapi, K. Ngubeni, J. Dlamini and A. Kirsten, *The Smoke that Calls: Insurgent Citizenship, Collective Violence and the Struggle for a Place in the New South Africa. Eight Case Studies of Community Protest and Xenophobic Violence* (Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation and Society, Work and Development Institute, 2001).

² M. Langa, 'Bokfontein: The Nations Are Amazed,' in Karl von Holdt, Malose Langa, Sepetla Molapo, Nomfundo Mogapi, Kindiza Ngubeni, Jacob Dlamini and Adele Kirsten, *The Smoke that Calls: Insurgent Citizenship, Collective Violence and the Struggle for a Place in the New South Africa. Eight Case Studies of Community Protest and Xenophobic Violence* (Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation and Society, Work and Development Institute, 2011), 106.

The CWP

Overview of the CWP

The CWP is a government poverty alleviation programme implemented in recognition of the structural nature of unemployment and intended to assist the 'poorest of the poor'. After a pilot phase under the authority of the Presidency, lasting from late 2007 to 2009, the CWP became the responsibility of the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA) in 2010.

The purpose of the CWP is to provide 'regular and predictable work opportunities at the local level'.³ It is intended to be targeted at 'the poorest areas ... where market-based jobs are unlikely to come any time soon'.⁴ At sites where it has been established, participants do two days of work per week, up to 100 days per year. They receive a daily wage in return for the work done.⁵

The CWP provides participants with part-time employment.⁶ Given the part-time nature of participation, the payment that participants receive is regarded as a wage.⁷ It is governed by a minimum wage determination issued by the Department of Labour in relation to the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP).⁸ However, although work on the CWP qualifies as part-time employment, there is a preference for referring to the CWP as providing 'work opportunities' rather than 'jobs'.⁹

Participants in the CWP are entitled to enjoy most of the protections afforded to employees in terms of South African law. They are covered by the Basic

Conditions of Employment Act (No. 75 of 1997), by Workmen's Compensation and by the Labour Relations Act (No. 66 of 1995). However, the EPWP, which CWP participants fall under, was exempted from certain clauses of the Labour Relations Act, including those relating to hiring and firing. Instead of the hiring and firing clauses, a code of good conduct sets out rights and procedures for discipline and dismissals. Participants are entitled to safety gear, although there is widespread implementation failure in this regard. In short, CWP participants enjoy far better protection in terms of rights at work than anyone in informal employment, and considerably better protection than many formally employed workers in other developing contexts.¹⁰

Although the CWP is part of the EPWP,¹¹ the intention is that work done in the CWP will be ongoing. This is in contrast to work done in other components of the EPWP, where work opportunities are related to the life of a specific project.

The CWP was designed against the backdrop of a review of the first phase of the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP). The logic of the EPWP was that access to temporary full-time job opportunities for unemployed people would act as a stepping stone into formal sector jobs, or to self-employment in an enterprise, and yet too many beneficiaries were instead cast back into unemployment on the expiry of their contracts. In a context in which the wider economy was not creating jobs, short-term employment in the EPWP helped while it lasted – but its effects on poverty beyond the employment period were limited.¹²

³ Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, 'Annual Report 2011/2012,' <http://www.gov.za/sites/www.gov.za/files/Annual%20Report%202011-12....pdf> (accessed 2 April 2016), 66.

⁴ K. Philip, 'The Community Work Programme in South Africa,' 2009, http://www.levyinstitute.org/pubs/conf_june09/conf_june09_files/presentations/Session5b_Philip.pdf (accessed 2 April 2016), 3.

⁵ In 2013 when the research in Kagiso was done, the rate was R67 per day. In mid-2015 it was R76 per day.

⁶ Note that CWP coordinators and site managers work a five-day week.

⁷ There is a tendency to refer to the payment as a stipend. This is reflected in some of the quotes by participants in this report.

⁸ The paragraph is based on an email message from Kate Philip, Trade and Industrial Policy Strategies (TIPS), 28 February 2014.

⁹ This is intended to make clear that the CWP should not be seen as having solved people's problem of unemployment. However, in terms of the definitions used by both Statistics South Africa and the International Labour Organisation, CWP participants no longer count as unemployed and would be regarded as employed. Email message from Kate Philip, TIPS, 28 February 2014.

¹⁰ Email message from Kate Philip, TIPS, 28 February 2014.

¹¹ The CWP falls under COGTA, as opposed to the EPWP which falls under the Department of Public Works.

¹² M. Langa and K. von Holdt, 'Bokfontein Amazes the Nations: Community Work Programme (CWP) Heals a Traumatized Community,' in Devan Pillay, John Daniel, Prishani Naidoo and Roger Southall (eds), *New South African Review 2: New Paths, Old Compromises* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2011), 259.

People who join the CWP may therefore potentially continue working in the programme for a period of time extending over many years – in theory ‘permanently’.¹³ The programme aims to impact on poverty through providing regular work and a small but reliable income. Additional benefits of the CWP are that it serves

to instil the practices and disciplines of work, to institutionalise and embed the causal link between work and remuneration – currently often absent; to give people access to the dignity of being productive rather than being dependent, and to rebuild their sense of economic agency.¹⁴

In addition, the work potentially has other benefits for communities related to the nature of the work that is performed at each site.¹⁵

The CWP programme is intended to be implemented ‘at scale’ and therefore to profoundly shift dynamics within the ‘second economy’, which is characterised by low skills and few opportunities for employment. Each site is supposed to provide a minimum of 1,000 work opportunities.¹⁶ As of April 2015, the CWP included 186 sites. From April 2014 to March 2015, there were 202,599 participants in the CWP.¹⁷

The CWP is an ‘area-based programme’.¹⁸ It is meant to be implemented in a defined local area (called a site) that is usually a ward or number of

wards within a specific municipal area. Participants at each CWP site should be residents of the area. Community participation processes around identifying community needs play a central role in identifying the ‘useful work’ to be done at each site. The CWP manual states that ‘effective local consultation and the use of participatory methods is required’.¹⁹ Community representatives make decisions about appropriate projects for each CWP site after a process of consultation. ‘Useful work’ is work that contributes ‘to the public good, community goods or social services’.²⁰ Typical work at many CWP sites involves agricultural work such as the development of food gardens; home-based care for households affected by HIV and AIDS, TB and other illnesses; and care of orphans, the elderly, sick people and vulnerable families.²¹ The intention is therefore that CWP participants do work that will benefit the communities in which they live.

Although the CWP is generally linked to areas that fall under the jurisdiction of specific municipalities, the municipalities are not the main implementing agencies. In terms of the original framework as defined in the CWP manual, the implementation of the programme is supposed to be handled by agencies – generally non-governmental organisations (NGOs) – appointed to do so. After the completion of the pilot phase of the project in 2010, COGTA contracted three agencies – Teba Development,²² the Mvula Trust and Lima Development – to act as lead agents

¹³ This, as well as any potential for expansion of the programme, of course ultimately depends on government maintaining and expanding its fiscal commitment to the programme.

¹⁴ K. Philip, ‘Towards a Right to Work: The Rationale for an Employment Guarantee in South Africa,’ TIPS Policy Brief (conference paper presented at Overcoming Inequality and Structural Poverty in South Africa: Towards Inclusive Growth and Development, Johannesburg, 20–22 September 2010), 7 – quoted in Langa and von Holdt, *supra* n 12 at 3.

¹⁵ Philip, *supra* n 4.

¹⁶ The requirement is not adhered to rigorously in more rural areas.

¹⁷ Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, ‘The Good, the Better and the Best: How the Community Work Programme Can Reach Its Full Potential as an Instrument of Community Development in South Africa,’ CWP Policy Brief 1 (Johannesburg and Pretoria: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation and Community Work Programme, Department of Cooperative Governance, 2015).

¹⁸ Seriti Institute, ‘Seriti CWP Communities,’ http://www.seriti.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3&Itemid=8 (accessed 2 April 2016).

¹⁹ Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA), *Community Work Programme Implementation Manual* (July 2011), 22.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 19.

²¹ TIPS, ‘TIPS GIS Mapping: Useful Work,’ <http://www.tipsgis.com/#!useful-work/csau> (accessed 3 April 2016).

²² Teba, ‘Company Profile,’ <http://www.teba.co.za/about-us/company-profile> (accessed 3 April 2016).

in implementing the programme,²³ each being responsible for three provinces.²⁴ Within each province, the lead agents appointed provincial implementing agents to manage a number of sites. They were supposed to work with and assist local implementing agents, who are responsible for individual sites. This framework was in place when the research for this report was conducted, although there was no local implementing agent in Kagiso. However, in April 2014 a new management framework was implemented. The three-tier system was abolished and 11 different implementing agents were appointed nationally, with each having sole responsibility for a number of sites.

While it is essentially a state programme funded by the state, the CWP is currently implemented by NGOs. This is partly because the programme is intended for implementation in communities where there are high levels of poverty. Many of the municipalities that have jurisdiction in these communities are dysfunctional. There was thus concern that giving these municipalities responsibility for implementing the programme would be to doom the programme to failure.²⁵ However, the role played by NGOs within the programme is a continual cause of dissatisfaction in municipal and other levels of government, where NGOs are regarded as ‘stealing their thunder’.²⁶

Role of local government in implementing the CWP

Although the programme is implemented by implementing agents, local government does have a role to play. According to the COGTA manual, ‘Actual site selection is decided on by DCoG [Department of Cooperative Governance] on the basis of recommendations by provincial departments responsible for local government, municipalities, Lead Agents or Implementing Agents.’ However, one of the criteria in terms of which sites are supposed to be selected is described as the ‘interest of local government to develop a CWP in their locality’, as reflected in steps such as ‘the incorporation into the Integrated Development Plan, signing of MoU [memorandum of understanding], availability of likely funding partnerships for local development, existing mechanisms available for coordination’ and ‘community participation easily mobilised’.²⁷ The manual therefore says that,

A Community Work Programme (CWP) site requires the formal support of the relevant local government structures as a condition of recognition as part of the CWP. Formal partnerships with local government, the use of Ward Committees and Reference Committees (or other local government-approved development fora) to assist in identifying ‘useful work,’ and active efforts to align with the Integrated Development Plans (IDP) are all key to the success of a CWP site. At the same time, the CWP’s quick turnaround from decision-making to implementation means the CWP can contribute to strengthening community participation and energising these structures.

²³ According to COGTA, supra n 19 at 7, ‘Lead agents’ (LAs) are defined as a ‘non-profit entity appointed at national level to induct and mentor Implementing Agents (IA) and provide them with technical assistance, particularly during a site’s inception phase. Each LA is responsible for at least three IAs’. In addition the manual refers to ‘Implementing agents’, defined as a ‘non-profit entity appointed at provincial level to manage the implementation of Community Work Programme sites’; and Local Implementing Agents, defined as a ‘locally-based, non-profit entity that assists the Implementing Agent (IA) and is mentored by the IA towards gradually assuming responsibility for the implementation of a site’.

²⁴ Lima Rural Development Agency (KwaZulu-Natal, Free State, North West), Mvula (Gauteng, Limpopo, Mpumalanga) and Teba Development (Western Cape, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape).

²⁵ Personal interview, anonymous, Johannesburg, May 2013.

²⁶ Personal interview, anonymous, Johannesburg, May 2013.

²⁷ COGTA, supra n 19 at 21.

Institutionalising these relationships appropriately is therefore vital.²⁸

It goes on to state that

the Ward Committee structures and IDPs are important mechanisms designed to institutionalise participatory decision-making and budgeting at the local level, and the emphasis should be on strengthening these rather than setting up parallel mechanisms. The CWP can contribute to doing so by using and aligning with them; and by providing supplementary capacity at the local level – in a way that does not place an extra burden on local government.²⁹

These structures and processes, then, are supposed to be integrated with the process of identifying community priorities. The process through which the community is consulted about its priorities may involve ‘ward committees’ and there is concern that it be aligned with the IDP process.³⁰

In addition, in terms of the framework set out in the CWP manual, the implementing agency is supposed to establish a reference committee (now commonly referred to as ‘local reference committees’ or LRCs) for each CWP site in which local government role players are represented. Members of the LRC should include ‘representatives from local stakeholder structures, including local government councillors, ward committee representatives, and respected figures from the community and from local civil society organisations’.³¹

LRCs have an advisory function and are not intended to be governance structures.³² However, they have not been fully functional in all areas.

A few sites, including some in which there are political differences in the community, have had difficulties in getting committees to function effectively. In some cases the site is distributed over a large area and sub-site committees have been established. According to an official report, these sometimes function more efficiently than the LRC.³³

Generally, while local governments are not the key implementing agencies, they have a high level of proximity to CWP implementation. They are also the central vehicle for political and economic positioning at the local level. As such, a risk facing the CWP appears to be that local politicians may seek to use the programme as a vehicle for such positioning. The exact role played by local governments or other local ‘political entrepreneurs’³⁴ is potentially a key concern of this project.

Selection of participants

One of the areas where there is a risk of interference by local ‘political entrepreneurs’ is in the recruitment of participants into the CWP. A study entitled ‘Patronage Politics Divides Us’ refers to allegations by an African National Congress (ANC) activist that a local councillor allocates positions on community development programmes to ANC card-carrying members in the hope that they will then vote for him in local government elections.³⁵ According to a 2011 publication on the CWP,

Selection of participants is done by the site management together with people in the area and local leaders. This should be transparent and apolitical. People do not have to belong to a political organisation to get work – but they do need a valid identity document ... The community

²⁸ Ibid., 22.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid., 14.

³² Ibid.

³³ Department of Cooperative Governance (DCoG) and Community Work Programme (CWP), *Communities at Work: Community Work Programme 2010/2011*, http://www.tips.org.za/files/cwp_report_2010_2011_downsized_for_emailing.pdf (accessed 2 April 2016).

³⁴ M. Bandeira and C. Higson-Smith, *Responding to the Smoke that Calls: Principles of Community-Level Interventions for the Prevention of Collective Violence* (Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation and Society, Work and Development Institute, University of the Witwatersrand, 2011), 14.

³⁵ M. Ndletanya, O. Makhalemele and R. Mathekga, ‘Patronage Politics Divides Us: A Study of Poverty, Patronage and Inequality in South Africa,’ Research Report, Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection, 2013, p. 107.

leaders, including councillors, traditional leaders, schools, faith-based organisations and community organisations can be asked to recommend people who want to apply.³⁶

However, some respondents to a 2013 study indicated that ‘access to CWP often requires being part of specific social networks’ and that there are ‘unfair recruitment practices’.³⁷ This suggests that the manner in which recruitment is dealt with may be a factor that requires specific attention.

Conceptualising the CWP’s impact on violence

An analysis of the impact of the CWP in preventing violence in Bokfontein suggests that this is partly a consequence of its provision of ‘livelihood support’ to community members. In addition to the economic benefits, Bokfontein’s resilience against violence is argued to be a result of the impact of the CWP in promoting leadership structures and social capital, thereby containing the threat of xenophobic violence.³⁸

This report is part of a study that expands this focus to explore broad questions about the CWPs impact on violence. A key interest of the study is whether the CWP has the ability to bring about

qualitative changes in relationships within the communities where it is implemented. In line with this, the report focuses on the CWP’s potential to bring about positive changes in the relationships between community members, as well as on how the interface between communities and local government, or other governance structures, plays itself out through the CWP. This links in with the project’s interest in social trust and the sociopolitical environment³⁹ in each community and how this is both impacted on and impacts on the CWP. For purposes of analysing these questions, this report uses the concepts of ‘social cohesion’ (how the CWP impacts on social dynamics between people in the communities in which it is implemented) and ‘civic cohesion’ (how the CWP impacts on and is affected by relationships between community members and government).

More generally, the study hopes to develop theory about the circumstances in which poverty alleviation programmes can contribute to reductions in violence. It is hoped that, through this study, it will be possible to identify more clearly the circumstances under which the CWP is best able to promote social cohesion and civic cohesion and therefore contribute to optimising the resilience of poorer communities against violence.

³⁶ DCoG and CWP, supra n 33 at 28. The report goes on to state that: ‘Sometimes there are local rules. Some communities decide that only one person from a family may work. The CWP may need people with particular skills, and selection may then be done to match the skills needed. Manenberg in Cape Town targets single, young mothers. This site has also formed a partnership with the Department of Correctional Services. When prisoners from the area finish their sentences, they “exit” into the CWP. At first, their work is a form of community service, after which they can become full members of CWP.’

³⁷ Centre for Democratizing Information, ‘The South African Community Capability Study: The Community Work Programme,’ 2013, http://www.tips.org.za/files/u72/cdi_community_capability_study_2013.pdf (accessed 2 April 2016), 6, 7.

³⁸ Langa and von Holdt, supra n 12.

³⁹ This includes social trust, social cohesion, accountability and social capital (Marc et al, 2013, use the term ‘social dynamics’).

Overview of the research site

Kagiso and Swanieville

The township of Kagiso is situated to the west of Johannesburg, adjacent to and bordering the town of Krugersdorp. It has been described as 'the most populous and by far the most vibrant of all townships in the far West Rand'.⁴⁰ Kagiso forms part of the Mogale City Local Municipality, which in turn forms part of the region that falls under the West Rand District Municipality. The area of Swanieville is on the south side. Though it is physically slightly separate, it is formally regarded as part of the township.⁴¹

Kagiso has an area of 14.17 km². According to the 2011 census, it has a population of 115,802 (8,172.93 per km²) in 35,098 households.⁴² The population of Kagiso is more than 99% African.

Table 1: Racial profile of Kagiso

Population group	No. of people	Percentage
Black African	115,024	99.33
Coloured	428	0.37
Other	190	0.16
Indian or Asian	90	0.08
White	71	0.06

Source: Statistics South Africa, 2011 census⁴³

Possibly reflecting the impact of migrant labour on the population profile of the township, there are slightly more men than women in Kagiso.

Table 2: Gender profile of Kagiso

Gender	No. of people	Percentage
Male	58,057	50.13
Female	57,745	49.87

Source: Statistics South Africa, 2011 census⁴⁴

The major 'first language' spoken in Kagiso is Setswana, although the township is linguistically diverse.

Table 3: Language profile of Kagiso

First language	No. of people	Percentage
Setswana	55,004	47.60
isiZulu	17,006	14.72
isiXhosa	13,984	12.10
Sesotho	8,025	6.95
Sepedi	5,557	4.81
Xitsonga	5,104	4.42
Tshivenda	3,257	2.82
English	3,178	2.75
isiNdebele	1,509	1.31
Other	1,076	0.93
Afrikaans	735	0.64
SiSwati	560	0.48
Sign language	554	0.48
<i>Not applicable</i>	253	

Source: Statistics South Africa, 2011 census⁴⁵

The central role played by mining labour in the emergence of Kagiso as a fairly diverse community was referred to by an interviewee:

We have people that speak different languages in the community (e.g. Tsonga, Shangaan, Xhosa and Tswana) because many people were working in the mines.⁴⁶

Though the broader Mogale City Municipality has a number of representatives from the official opposition party, Kagiso itself is an almost exclusively ANC area, with the Democratic Alliance (DA) controlling one of the wards that overlaps with the township.

⁴⁰ Monako Dibetle, 'But I Live in Kagiso,' *Mail & Guardian*, 5 November 2010, <http://mg.co.za/article/2010-11-05-but-i-live-in-kagiso> (accessed 3 April 2016).

⁴¹ For historical information on Kagiso, see, Vusumuzi Khumalo, 'Kagiso Historical Research Report,' http://www.mogalecity.gov.za/content/pdfs/kagiso_history.pdf (accessed 2 April 2016).

⁴² Data sourced from <http://census2011.adrianfrith.com/place/763010> (accessed 2 April 2016).

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Personal interview, community liaison officer, 2013.

The municipality's website does not provide specific data for Kagiso but provides data for the municipal area as a whole. According to one indicator of levels of poverty in the overall municipal area, between 2006 and 2011 over 18,528 households were registered as indigent but only 4,120 households were approved as indigent beneficiaries in 2009.⁴⁷ The municipality disbursed over R2.8 million to various NGOs to assist with the provision of services to these households.⁴⁸ Kagiso accounts for about one-third of the overall population in the Mogale City municipal area.

The Kagiso CWP site

The Kagiso CWP site includes an area that extends well beyond the borders of Kagiso township and includes municipal wards in the town of Tarlton and others in the rural areas to the north-west of Krugersdorp. However, the research for this report focused on the functioning of the CWP in the township.

As of August 2013, there were 1,287 participants in the CWP in the overall Kagiso site. Of these, 920 (71%) were female and 367 (29%) male. There were 356 (28%) in the youth (under 35) age category.

⁴⁷ 'Section 2: Situational Analysis,' *3rd Annual Review of the 5 year IDP, 13/14 IDP*, http://www.mogalecity.gov.za/content/pdfs/idp/idp1314_section2.pdf (accessed 3 April 2016).

⁴⁸ Ibid.

The research was mainly conducted in September and October 2013 and was quasi-ethnographic in nature. It involved observing the functioning and work of the CWP site, as well as in-depth interviews and discussions with people involved with the CWP and in Kagiso. Interviews were based on a research guide and covered a number of themes, with the focus varying at the interviewers' discretion depending on the interviewee.

Themes included:

- characteristics of the community;
- history and characteristics of the CWP in the community;
- general impact of the CWP in the area;
- impact of the CWP on violence.

The research began with researchers establishing contact with Seriti, one of the CWP implementing agents. Seriti assisted the researchers in making contact with the site management at Kagiso. After meeting with the site management on 16 August 2013 and discussing the proposed research with them, two of the researchers attended one of the weekly Kagiso CWP coordinator meetings as a way of acquainting themselves with issues relating to the CWP in Kagiso. At a meeting the following week, time was set aside for the researchers to explain the research to the coordinators. Researchers also went on a tour of Kagiso to familiarise themselves with the location of the various wards, partly for purposes of planning the research as the CWP is organised into teams within each of the wards. A meeting and interviews were also held with Seriti staff involved at other sites in order to explore questions to do with the research in relation to the CWP more broadly.

The research in Kagiso got under way more fully in the second week of September 2013. In total, the research involved 66 individual interviews and 17 focus group interviews, as well as 'non-participant' observation of the work of the CWP and of various CWP and other local gatherings.

Interviews included:

- 28 with personnel from the implementing agency (Seriti), the site manager and coordinators;
- 25 with community stakeholders in senior positions in organisations and institutions in Kagiso;
- four with politicians, including councillors and members of the mayoral committee;
- nine with other CWP participants (three) and residents of Kagiso, including informal traders, a local artist and a disabled woman who had received assistance from the CWP.

Participants in focus groups or other group discussions included:

- CWP participants (three groups);
- informal traders from Mozambique;
- five groups of teenagers at localities including a car wash, a street corner and a park (four groups of boys; one group of four boys and one girl);
- a group of ex-offenders;
- two community members;
- taxi drivers at a taxi rank;
- high school pupils (two boys and two girls);
- adult non-participants (one group interview);
- two police officers;
- two school teachers;
- an informal discussion with local members of the South African Communist Party.

In addition to observing the day-to-day activities of the CWP, other events attended included:

- meetings of CWP coordinators;
- a ward committee meeting;
- community events related to Heritage Day.

Interviews were conducted on a confidential basis. While most were conducted in September, the last was conducted on 2 December 2013. Except where otherwise indicated, all interviews were carried out in Kagiso.

Priorities and concerns of people in Kagiso

When asked about what they considered to be the main concerns of people in the township, participants mentioned issues such as the general lack of quality municipal services, lack of adequate housing, unemployment, drug abuse and crime. However, the three that stood out were poverty and unemployment, crime and drug abuse.

Poverty and unemployment

The most pressing concerns are those related to poverty and unemployment. Historically, the West Rand (which includes Kagiso) was a mining area, but in the late 1990s and early 2000s some of the big mines were closed down due to poor production. This led to major retrenchments in the mines and surrounding industrial firms. One interviewee described the township in these terms:

You see here unemployment is a major problem. Many people are not working here in Swanieville. You see in the past many people were working in the mines but today it is only one shaft that is working. Very few people are working and this is causing a lot of problems in the community ... You see things used to be good here when people were working in the mines, but today this place feels like a ghost. The unemployment is so high that every day you see very old men carrying placards at the robots wanting to be employed. It is so sad man. Just go to town⁴⁹ you will see what I'm talking about that the town is so quiet. It is not like before when the town used to be a busy place because people had money and were able to buy things for themselves and their families.⁵⁰

These comments were echoed by other interviewees:

Originally Swanieville developed as a community because many people came from rural areas of the

Eastern Cape and other parts of South Africa to work here in the mines. The whole area was a gold-mining area from here till to Carletonville. It was mines and mines but today many mines are closed and people are not working.⁵¹

Many respondents attributed other social problems in Kagiso – such as crime, violence, drug and alcohol abuse and unwanted pregnancies – directly to the core problem of high levels of unemployment.

I feel that crime in Kagiso is not committed because people want to commit crime; youth unemployment is a major driver that causes people to commit crime and abuse drugs. Being unemployed is stressful and without support someone may end up committing crime and using drugs. Most people who do crime it's because they are not working and have no other source of income. That is the cause. Because if you are working why would you commit crime? But what I can tell you is that the only thing that we want to see again is how we will start changing the minds of men within Kagiso who are unemployed. There are people who are raping kids in Kagiso, no one is talking about it, but it is happening.⁵²

I would say perhaps youth unemployment is a big problem. Youth unemployment increases crime and other social problems in the township such as for example abuse of alcohol and drugs. There is a big problem of drugs in the area. You can walk right now along the street you see young people this early in the morning smoking *nyaope*. It's a serious problem that government should address.⁵³

A focus group with ex-offenders also highlighted the problem of unemployment as a major concern and priority if crime and violence are to be addressed. Some participants reflected on their own experiences of engaging in criminal activities, while others spoke generally.

⁴⁹ Presumably a reference to the town of Krugersdorp.

⁵⁰ Personal interview, shop owner.

⁵¹ Personal interview, community leader.

⁵² Personal interview, community leader.

⁵³ Personal interview, school principal.

The biggest problem in Kagiso is unemployment. Most of the youths here is unemployed; both male and females. And, as a result of unemployment there are other problems which are created such as teenage pregnancy which is on the increase. Also, unemployment makes poverty worse in the house. So for me, unemployment is the biggest problem in Kagiso. If you can go from township to township you will always find people standing at the street corners. And if you look at those people, they are educated; they have matric, but because of lack of jobs they end up doing bad things. The other related problem is retrenchments especially since many people are unemployed. There are no more jobs available because there are just too many people who are unemployed and educated. So I think that is the main problem here in the township.⁵⁴

For me, personally, it is mainly the unemployed people who had been in jail who are involved in crime. This also applies to unemployed youth like us who have not been to jail. It is difficult to be unemployed because it causes too much stress. It is worse when you have kids because children will demand things for school not knowing that you are unemployed. Also, people who haven't decided what they want to do in life are a problem because they end up engaging in drugs and criminal activities. Once employed, these people often are unable to hold on to their permanent jobs.⁵⁵

Crime

As noted, the issue of crime was raised by many as a concern, and often seen as linked to unemployment. One interviewee said, 'Guys are not working and so they steal to survive.'⁵⁶ This view was supported by many interviewees in the study:

I would say crime and unemployment are a problem in Kagiso.⁵⁷

I'm telling you go to Kagiso police station if you don't believe me and ask police there about crime. They will tell you that this place has so much crime.⁵⁸

In terms of identifying forms of crime that caused particular concern, participants remarked on the following:

Yes, you see here crime is committed by these *nyaope* boys. These young people commit housebreakings and steal our TVs and sell them to buy *nyaope*.⁵⁹

We have a serious problem as CPF [Community Policing Forum] of young people robbing people here in Kagiso.⁶⁰

Drug and alcohol abuse

Crime in Kagiso was often seen as related to young people's addiction to drugs. It was reported that many crimes were also committed on weekends or during the school holidays when young people were drunk or under the influence of other drugs. In particular, many respondents raised the abuse of the addictive drug cocktail *nyaope* as a serious concern and as the major contributing factor to the problem of crime in Kagiso.

I think out of the four of us we will agree that most crime that are happening in the township including murder or someone was shot and had their phone taken is most likely to involve drugs. This is always the case every time someone has been arrested for committing a crime. After a person has been arrested we'd find that drugs were involved. This is becoming normal. And the drug they use is *nyaope*,

⁵⁴ Focus group, ex-offenders.

⁵⁵ Focus group, ex-offenders.

⁵⁶ Focus group, youth.

⁵⁷ Personal interview, non-participant.

⁵⁸ Personal interview, CPF member.

⁵⁹ Focus group, women.

⁶⁰ Personal interview, CPF member.

because it very addictive. Most people who are committing crime in the township use mostly drugs. I am not talking about crime committed in town. Most crimes that are committed in the township are committed by people who smoke *nyaope*, who are wanted by the police. You'd leave your generator behind the house and it would get stolen, you leave anything behind the house it gets stolen. They take any piece of metal for recycling just so they can get a fix.⁶¹

The biggest problem is crime and people smoking *nyaope*. There is a lot of robbery and house breaking in Kagiso because of people abusing the *nyaope* drugs. It is not safe living in this area.⁶²

The problem of *nyaope* use in Kagiso received publicity in June 2013 when a young man from Kagiso wrote an open letter to the Gauteng premier, Nomvula Mokonyane, saying that he had been an addict for several years and appealing for her help. The premier visited the young man's home in Kagiso, accompanied by the Kagiso police station commander and a team of social workers. On hearing that the premier was in the area, seven more *nyaope* addicts came forward and asked for her help. According to a press report, they were all admitted to a rehab centre.⁶³ Shortly afterwards, the Gauteng community safety MEC, Faith Mazibuko,

was behind a police operation 'to clean the streets of Kagiso of drugs, especially an area called Bankok (sic), considered to be a hotspot for *Nyaope* dealers and users'.⁶⁴ An interviewee referred to these interventions by the premier and MEC:

The only problem that we have in this ward is *nyaope*, drugs. And the last time we had a march with the MEC, with the premier, the station commander and the community in this ward because this is ... the headquarters of *nyaope*. Even if you can go to the station commander he will tell you about Bangkok. They call this area Bangkok because there is too much *nyaope* here.⁶⁵

In addition to *nyaope* addiction, it was mentioned that drinking among young people was also a major concern in Kagiso.

All young people drink here. Just come on weekends and go to all these taverns you will see all these young people drinking.⁶⁶

We have a serious problem of young people drinking here in Kagiso.⁶⁷

We have a problem that some tavern owners allow young people to drink even when they are minors.⁶⁸

⁶¹ Focus group, ex-offender.

⁶² Personal interview, CWP participant.

⁶³ Gauteng Online, 'Gauteng Premier Answers *Nyaope* Addict's Call for Help,' 5 June 2013, <http://www.gautengonline.gov.za/MediaStatements/Pages/GautengPremieranswersnyaope-addictscallforhelp.aspx> (accessed 3 April 2016).

⁶⁴ Marizka Coetzer, 'MEC Declare War on Drug Dealers and Addicts,' *Krugersdorp News*, 20 June 2013, <http://krugersdorpnews.co.za/1113/mec-declare-war-on-drug-dealers-and-addicts/> (accessed 3 April 2016).

⁶⁵ Personal interview, CWP participant.

⁶⁶ Personal interview, CPF member.

⁶⁷ Personal interview, elderly woman on the street.

⁶⁸ Personal interview, school teacher.

Violence in Kagiso

Along with other (non-violent) forms of property crime, respondents mentioned violent property crime in the form of robbery as a concern in Kagiso. In this sense, violent crime is seen as part of the general problem of crime in the community.

Besides robbery, interviewees drew attention to other manifestations of the problem of violence, including the high level of violence that often accompanied disputes between young men.

As reflected in the crime statistics for Kagiso (Table 4), alongside the problem of robbery is the substantial number of incidents of assault. These include both common assault and assault

relationships, and they do not know where to go if they run away.⁷²

While cases of domestic violence are often recorded by police as cases of common assault, they are not restricted to cases of this kind. The presence of a firearm often leads to these incidents having a fatal outcome.

And then from last year we had an increased rate of husbands killing wives with guns ... Last year. Even now? Two weeks back we were burying a policeman who shot his wife. The husband was 36 – it's a young couple. It happened a third house from where I stay. And you can hear a gun going off at six in the morning. And now you go out, the children are screaming – watching their parents – their father

Table 3: Language profile of Kagiso

Year ending in March*	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Murder	52	38	42	54	71	68	57	57	77	47
Attempted murder	103	73	75	79	77	87	70	95	111	97
Total sexual crimes	190	220	226	237	248	222	221	185	187	156
Assault GBH	562	693	688	713	739	649	659	638	481	511
Assault common	733	701	755	744	751	863	1,021	948	1,093	895
Aggravated robbery	508	426	418	471	500	673	587	553	476	408
Common robbery	263	325	283	243	208	168	152	164	208	188
Total (above 7 categories)	2,411	2,476	2,487	2,541	2,594	2,730	2,767	2,640	2,633	2,302

Source: Compiled from the ISS Crime Hub⁶⁹

Notes: * The years indicate 'financial years' starting in April the previous year and ending in March of the year that is listed.

GBH = grievous bodily harm

We've got Phuza Wize campaign⁷⁰ which we run. We have a coordinator who is running it from CWP. She runs it in all the wards. And when she runs it in a ward we would invite other community members. And then participants would open up. One said I don't have fingers because my husband burnt me. He was abusive. Such things. So I'll hear those reports when I attend Phuza Wize campaign. But ... my view is that domestic happens ... to such an extent that even last year during the 16 days of activism,⁷¹ ... there's a shelter in Krugersdorp – I contacted a lady who runs it that we want to do a campaign in Kagiso because there are still women who live in abusive

shot himself. So it's a crime that is going on now in Kagiso; husbands killing wives. That is the type of domestic violence happening. And really I believe that it is a concern with the station commander as well; that if there is a high rate of guns. Okay this one was a policeman, but what about the other ones who are not policemen? Where do they get guns to kill women? And then again a wife would have been reporting this thing and she has a protection order but she was not protected from the husband. And at the end of the day he kills her. So that is a wave that is happening at the moment concerning domestic violence, that men are killing their wives.⁷³

⁶⁹ See, www.issafrica.org/crimehub (accessed 3 April 2016).

⁷⁰ See, <http://www.soulcity.org.za/news/phuza-wize-fact-sheet.pdf/view> (accessed 4 April 2016).

⁷¹ See, <http://www.gov.za/16-days-activism-no-violence-against-women-and-children-2014> (accessed 4 April 2016).

⁷² Personal interview, Kagiso CWP representative.

⁷³ Personal interview, Kagiso CWP representative.

Incidents of interpersonal violence frequently also involve disputes between young men. Violence of this kind was also referred to by some interviewees, who indicated that it was common for young people to fight and stab each other with knives or other sharp objects while drunk on weekends.

You see on weekends some of these young people get drunk and start stabbing each other.⁷⁴

[The] CPF had this campaign asking tavern owners to close early because they open 24 hours because many of the killings happen in the early hours of the morning.⁷⁵

These types of cases in fact make the greatest contribution to the overall murder rate nationally.⁷⁶ It is therefore not surprising that Kagiso has consistently recorded a murder rate of well over 40 per 100,000 over the last decade.

Notwithstanding the fact that the latest figures for murder, assault GBH and aggravated robbery are some of the lowest that have been recorded since 2003, and that the total figure for recorded violent crime is lower than in any of the last 10 years, Kagiso has a chronic violent crime problem. In this type of context, it is perhaps not surprising that another form of violence, vigilantism, was noted by some interviewees, particularly those from Swanieville. They felt that this was because police were not doing enough to deal with the increasing levels of crime. Comments in this regard included:

You see people feel the police are not dealing with crime. Now people are taking the law into their own hands, which is wrong but people are just tired man. I remember so many incidents of mob justice. These two guys were caught stealing and were assaulted. One of them died.⁷⁷

There was one incident in my area where a person came from another section to steal in our area and the community apprehended him. The community beat him up and then called the police afterwards. Mob justice is a norm in our community. The community gets angry because these criminals get arrested and they will be out the following day.⁷⁸

Community members are angry because they feel the police are not doing much to arrest suspects. As a result, community members have been arresting suspects and beating them until they die.⁷⁹

Community members were slowly getting tired of crime and some were now taking law into their hands.⁸⁰

Public protests and perceptions of local government

Kagiso has experienced at least three recent violent public protests. On 30 July 2012 protests started after two children were knocked down on Tudor Road. One of the children subsequently died from the injuries sustained. Residents said they had previously asked the municipality to construct speed humps but that nothing was being done. The following day the protests continued with barricades being erected to prevent cars from passing through the township. Incidents of stone throwing also occurred. After police arrested a woman protester, the crowd abducted two South African Broadcasting Corporation journalists. The two were released on condition that the police release the woman. Part of a municipal building was also set alight. Some protesters also complained about other problems such as housing, and the availability of water and toilets.⁸¹

⁷⁴ Personal interview, shop owner.

⁷⁵ Personal interview, CPF member.

⁷⁶ Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 'Streets of Pain, Streets of Sorrow: The Circumstances of the Occurrence of Murder in Six Areas with High Murder Rates,' 30 June 2008, http://www.csvr.org.za/docs/crime/murder_final.pdf (accessed 3 April 2016).

⁷⁷ Group interview, CWP participants.

⁷⁸ Group interview, CWP participants.

⁷⁹ Personal interview, non-participant.

⁸⁰ Notes from interview with CPF member.

⁸¹ SAPA, 'Police Monitoring Kagiso Protests,' *Independent Online*, 31 July 2012, <http://www.iol.co.za/news/crime-courts/police-monitoring-kagiso-protests-1.1353116#.Uhr7D38lFA> (accessed 3 April 2016); Patience Bambalele, 'Kagiso Burning,' *Sowetan Live*, 1 August 2012, <http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012/08/01/kagiso-burning> (accessed 3 April 2016); SAPA, 'Calm in Kagiso after Violent Protest,' *News 24*, 1 August 2012, <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Calm-in-Kagiso-after-violent-protest-20120801> (accessed 3 April 2016).

Another protest demanding speed humps took place in November 2013, this time following accidents in Jacobs and Geba streets in Kagiso. Some traffic lights were damaged during the protest and vehicle drivers who tried to get past by driving on the pavement had stones and sticks thrown at them. Reports indicated that the protest had been preceded by a non-violent protest in July 2013, when residents had also called for speed humps to be erected.⁸² Another peaceful protest was reported in October 2013, though the reports did not clarify the motivation for the protest.⁸³ In addition, there were two other service delivery protests demanding speed humps between September and November when the fieldwork was conducted. During these incidents tyres were burned and rubble was thrown into the roads in order to block them.

A further incident of violent protest took place in January 2014. Some Kagiso residents were angry about blasting at a mine in the area, which they said had caused damage to some houses. Barricades were erected and residents threw stones at police, who fired rubber bullets in an attempt to bring the situation under control. A vehicle belonging to the Mogale municipality was stoned and an attempt made to burn the ward councillor's home.⁸⁴

It is not clear exactly what these incidents tell us about Kagiso. A number of the protests appear to have been focused on the demand for speed humps, raising questions about whether Kagiso residents do not have broader grievances. However, some press reports do suggest that the protests express a broader dissatisfaction with the performance of local government, an issue that also emerged as a theme in the interviews conducted for this research. For instance, in the July 2012 protests residents are reported to have 'said they had previously asked the municipality to construct the speed humps, but that nothing was being done',⁸⁵

with one resident complaining that 'they had been waiting for houses for years' and that 'the main problem is that we do not have enough water and toilets. We have been "engaging" the councillor to no avail'.⁸⁶ On the other hand, a report on the November 2013 protest indicates that there had been a peaceful protest around the issue of speed humps in July 2013, and that the municipality had erected speed humps immediately after that. Photographs of the November 2013 protest on one news website show only a very small number of individuals participating,⁸⁷ although these may have been taken in the aftermath of the protests as the level of destruction seems to suggest that a bigger group was involved. Nevertheless, it is not clear to what degree these protests reflect broad community sentiment.

One local councillor, for instance, suggested that the community was characterised by a level of maturity and would moderate demands, based on an understanding of the various pressures that the council is subject to.

I think in Mogale City, the ANC taught us to account to our community. If our community are demanding speed humps and there is no one from the municipality communicating with residents there will be problems. If as a councillor I can sit back without giving the community feedback or reasons why we don't have that budget for speed humps then they will fight us. But, if we keep on going back to them and give the community feedback they will understand and I don't think that they will fight or resort to using violence because they will be knowledgeable about what is happening and why we [municipality] cannot provide them with speed humps. They know that we cannot provide speed humps in this current financial year because there are some rural communities in our municipality who require very basic services. So we cannot give you the speed humps while other

⁸² Jacobus Myburgh, 'Second Protest against Speeding Turns Violent,' *Krugersdorp News*, 10 November 2013, <http://krugersdorpnews.co.za/222587/second-protest-against-speeding-turns-violent/> (accessed 3 April 2016).

⁸³ Eyewitness News, 'Kagiso Residents Protest,' 10 October 2013, <http://ewn.co.za/2013/10/10/Kagiso-residents-protest#> (accessed 3 April 2016).

⁸⁴ Anna Cox, 'Cops and Protesters in Running Battles,' *Star*, 6 January 2014, <http://www.iol.co.za/news/crime-courts/cops-and-protesters-in-running-battles-1.1628881> (accessed 3 April 2016).

⁸⁵ SAPA, *supra* n 81.

⁸⁶ Bambalele, *supra* n 81.

⁸⁷ Jacobus Myburgh, 'Kagiso Residents Protest,' *Krugersdorp News*, 13 November 2013, <http://krugersdorpnews.co.za/222454/protest-2/> (accessed 3 April 2016).

people are suffering – they don't have water. So we've got priorities for the 2013/2014 budget and we will have priorities for the 2014/2015 financial year. If we give our community that information I do not think that we will have problem or that the community will become violent against the municipality because they know what is happening.⁸⁸

Many participants argued that, while there had been instances of violence, Kagiso was less violent than other townships.

There is no history of violence in Kagiso. Kagiso people are laid back and content with whatever they have. We do not have violence in this area at all because I have never seen people take to the street demanding houses or employment. The only demand that the community has made are speed humps and the protest are often not violent except for burning of tyres and trashing the streets. We are very peaceful people and we do not engage in violence.⁸⁹

A CWP participant concurred with this. She also referred to problems with payments to participants in the CWP in its early days in Kagiso as an issue that had caused considerable dissatisfaction.

There is no violence in this community. I have not seen violent protest where people are arrested or shot at. People in this township just want speed humps. There are no problems in this area because we are working hard for this community. We make people happy that is why I said that we have contributed to making our township peaceful. There used to be problem in the CWP when we were not paid on time and people were upset. Now everything is fine and we are happy.⁹⁰

However, a substantial number of interviewees, including both non-participants and participants, argued that local government is unresponsive to the concerns of the community.

Local government is seen to have failed to respond to environmental challenges and to lack the capacity

to provide services. Some CWP participants were dissatisfied with the relationship between the municipality and the CWP, specifically in relation to support provided to the CWP. There was little sense that they could rely on local government to perform functions that it is supposed to perform, such as cutting grass. Some interviewees also emphasised that much of the work that the CWP does, particularly around keeping Kagiso clean, is supposed to be done by local government. Many councillors were seen to be in local government for their own interests rather than to serve community interests.

The community leaders that we have today are not leaders for the people, they are leaders for themselves. You put them in positions and you will see them after five years when they come back to seek your vote. But what is key is that being a [community] leader requires that you need to inform people about what is going in your ward. Isn't it? ... During the election time, it is when they will start having ward meetings ... Being a community leader requires that you must make sure that you inform people and that you listen to their concerns so that you can serve them better. That is the role of ward councillors. Specifically, leaders on the ground as ward councillors need to be in touch with the people on the ground on an ongoing basis. Unfortunately, they are not doing it. As long as a [councillor] is out of poverty he doesn't care ... That thing makes us not to have leadership between elections. For instance, Mogale City has developed programmes that are run by councillors but unfortunately these programmes are given to specific people who do not care about our communities and our people ... Although we have different political parties on the ground in Mogale City Council, the ANC is too powerful ... This is also made worse by the infighting within the ANC for positions which destabilises the delivery of services and affect the whole community ... We do not have [good] leadership [at local government level]. If the top leadership [at local government] which comprises the mayor, does not come and only comes when it is time for elections no implementation of

⁸⁸ Personal interview, ward councillor.

⁸⁹ Personal interviews, youth.

⁹⁰ Personal interview, CWP participant.

programmes will be done ... The lack of consultation is going to increase service delivery protests ... Also, not all protests are service delivery related, others are because communities believe that people are not being taken seriously.⁹¹

We have a problem with councillors because once they are elected into position they become untouchable. Some of the councillors have never called community meetings to discuss community issues and the only time you will see your councillor is during elections. Although there are not many service delivery protests in Kagiso, people believe that the only way to expose councillors and ensure that they deliver on services to the community is through public protests. Public protests enable the

community to express themselves through protest and also through the attention of the media. Our councillors have become arrogant and unresponsive to the needs of the community that they serve, hence the community resort to protest action.⁹²

The apparent unresponsiveness of councillors to community demands was highlighted in a ward meeting researchers attended. Significantly, there was one item on the agenda and it related to an allegation that the ward councillor was refusing to organise a ward meeting to meet with disgruntled residents. However, disputes of this kind may also reflect the impact of factional conflicts on local-level politics.⁹³

⁹¹ Personal interview, community leader.

⁹² Focus group, school learners.

⁹³ Ndletanya et al., supra n 35.

The CWP

Implementation of the CWP in Kagiso

The CWP was introduced into Kagiso by the Seriti Institute in partnership with the Mogale District Municipality in November 2009. An interviewee who was part of the mayoral committee at that time mentioned that introducing the CWP was initially discussed and then approved in the council after they were approached by Seriti. It appears that the implementation of the CWP was motivated by a sense of urgency on the part of politicians around an impending crisis in Kagiso, partly due to the unsanitary conditions in the township and the municipality more broadly. This sense of urgency had a major impact on the way in which the project was implemented. Many interviewees talked about how dirty Kagiso was at that time.

For me Kagiso was dirty before CWP was introduced. There were many illegal dumps everywhere, including school premises, open spaces, parks, and along the streets. The township was very dirty because the municipality was not removing refuse and people ended up dumping their refuse illegally ...⁹⁴

The problem of refuse removal was not just limited to Kagiso; the whole of Mogale City was affected. Like I said it [the township] was very dirty and the municipality faced huge challenges around capacity. There was no adequate manpower as well as refuse trucks which were broken and as a result could not collect refuse. This was a crisis because even if people cleaned or people volunteer on a weekend to clean, the municipality needed to come with a lorry to collect the refuse. But unfortunately, there were no lorries to remove the refuse. This resulted in heaps of refuse piling up, which eventually scattered all over the township, creating a crisis. This is one of the most difficult problems which made me not to sleep because Kagiso was very dirty. It was *very dirty*.⁹⁵

The refuse crisis was a source of major concern for the municipality, not only because of the health risk it posed to the community but also because of the political ramifications for councillors, including the risk that it might lead to an escalation of dissent and public protest.

South Africa has a history of violent public protests against municipalities that fail to address basic service delivery issues. Local municipalities face challenges in meeting the expectations of the communities they serve. While the reasons for these challenges are beyond the scope of this report, the fact is that there is a relationship between service delivery protest and failure by municipalities to provide basic services to communities.⁹⁶ Politicians who bear the brunt of criticism during service delivery protests thus make use of opportunities to provide the resources needed to address a problem that otherwise has a high potential to lead to service delivery protests.

The CWP not only presented an opportunity to address the problem of pollution but also for politicians to present themselves as providing jobs. Though the creation of jobs is not actually a responsibility of local councillors, they often see job creation as a pivotal part of their duty.⁹⁷ As noted in 'Overview of the CWP', the programme effectively provides participants with part-time employment. The preferred terminology is 'work opportunities' rather than 'jobs', as participation in the CWP should not be interpreted to mean that participants' unemployment problem has been solved. Given the challenges in Kagiso at that time, the proposal by Seriti was a welcome relief to the municipality and a way to address the problem of refuse removal and to create 'employment' for thousands of unemployed people within the municipality.

Yes, when the programme was proposed in the council we were very excited that we wanted it to be

⁹⁴ Personal interview, female CWP coordinator.

⁹⁵ Personal interview, former member of Mogale mayoral committee.

⁹⁶ P. Alexander, C. Runciman and T. Ngwane, 'Media Briefing: Community Protests 2004–2013: Some Research Findings,' Social Change Research Unit, University of Johannesburg, 12 February 2013, <https://www.issafrica.org/uploads/Public-violence-13March2014-Peter-Alexander.pdf> (accessed 3 April 2016).

⁹⁷ Ndletanya et al., *supra* n 35.

implemented as soon as possible as you know many people in this area are not working since the mines were closed. We have high rate of unemployment and we wanted people to temporarily work in this programme.⁹⁸

The CWP could not have come at a better time for politicians in Kagiso and Mogale City, who also wanted the CWP to be seen as a benefit that they were providing.

Obviously we wanted to show communities that we cared about their problems by bringing the CWP to them. It is true that we wanted to gain political mileage hence we did not want to waste time about something that we knew was going to benefit our communities ... Then we took that proposal to the executive mayor, and the other councillors. They were all politicians. They accepted it. That is why I said time was not wasted. The proposal was saying that 1,000 people were needed. We hired 1,000 people.⁹⁹

A central factor, then, in the initiation of the CWP in Kagiso was politicians' concern to enhance their standing in the community. The dominant role played by politicians and political concerns in the implementation of the CWP may have contributed to a number of defining characteristics of the CWP in Kagiso.

One consequence of the prominent role played by political considerations was the lack of consultation with municipal officials and community representatives more broadly during the implementation of the CWP. This is likely to have been affected by the fact that the politicians did not want implementation of the programme to be delayed. In addition, they probably wanted to use the CWP as a mechanism for damage control and as a pacifier in relation to the most urgent issue at the time, the polluted environment in which residents were living.

Consultation between all role players (municipality officials, councillors, faith-based organisations [FBOs], civic organisations, NGOs and community-based organisations) is supposed to be critical in introducing the CWP into a community. The consultation process is crucial to ensure support from all key role players, local accountability and ownership of the programme, and programme sustainability. In Mogale, proper consultation did not take place with all key role players and this created a number of challenges at the inception of the CWP.

The MMC and then the mayor then were made aware of the programme. This was contrary to our advice which required that the consultation is made with the municipality not politicians.¹⁰⁰

Whereas a broad consultation process involving civic organisations, FBOs, municipal officials and interest groups was required, only councillors were consulted. One consequence of the failure to consult was conflict between politicians and municipal officials, notably the executive manager, around the programme although it appears that this was subsequently resolved.

Things were not done properly in the beginning. Hence there was no reference committee in the beginning. So, if we needed to liaise with anybody it would be through [a senior politician]. And then she would make sure that we get assistance. As a result, there was a very high level of animosity from [a key municipal official], because she would claim that she doesn't know what the CWP is, how we got there, she does not recognise the CWP and all those things.¹⁰¹

The lack of inclusive consultation at the inception of the CWP redefined its character differently from that defined in the manual. Arguably, political expediency and the need to gain political mileage was the central reason behind the failure to ensure an inclusive consultation process.

⁹⁸ Personal interview, former municipality employee.

⁹⁹ Personal interview, former member of Mogale mayoral committee. Figures from Seriti were that the CWP started with 500 people in Kagiso.

¹⁰⁰ Personal interview, Seriti representative, Johannesburg.

¹⁰¹ Personal interview, Seriti representative, Johannesburg.

As a result of the rushed and non-consultative manner in which the CWP was implemented in Kagiso, there is limited understanding of the purpose of the programme and limited 'ownership' by the community.

I'm one of the community leaders here but I do not remember any community meeting which was called to discuss this programme. I just saw people working on the streets. I do not know anything about this programme.¹⁰²

This lack of knowledge about the CWP was echoed by many interviewees. They asserted that there was never any consultation with community members about implementing the CWP. Unlike the approach followed in Bokfontein,¹⁰³ the programme was basically imposed by the local councillors without any public discussion about the projects to be undertaken.

Another way in which this approach impacted on the CWP was in relation to the need to establish a reference committee, which is supposed to play an advisory role in the programme. This also appears to have been affected by factors related to the size of the greater Kagiso site and difficulties arising from this, including access to transport for reference committee members. However, notwithstanding these problems, a sub-site committee should have been established to provide input in relation to the CWP in the township.

A further consequence of the primacy given to political concerns was the dominant role played by 'cleaning work' in the programme.

They approached me as the [refers to political position held at that time]. And then it did not take long [before we finalised the decision], I think [within] a month after they [had] approached me [the proposal was approved]. We [municipality] did not [want to] waste time because we saw it as something that was going to excite the community, and it was going to help the municipality. [In the proposal] CWP

was coming up with a lot of activities. It comprised social issues as well as environment as well as employing 1,000 people. But at that start of the programme we focused mainly on the environment [because that was an urgent area to be addressed]. They [the CWP participants] were going to help us with cleaning the location [township].¹⁰⁴

Another consequence of the dominance of political concerns was the high level of leverage given to councillors, notably in relation to recruiting CWP participants. Councillors were given powers by the municipal council to take a lead in implementing the CWP in their wards. The process involved councillors calling ward committee meetings to inform community members about the implementation of CWP.

As a councillor you would call a community meeting in your ward, and you will make an announcement of such to inform those people who are not working, who are unemployed to come to the ward office and register their names.¹⁰⁵

However, this process was not consistent in all the wards. In some wards, community meetings were called and attended in large numbers while in others some community members were not aware of the meetings about the CWP.

Councillors continue to have a central role in the recruitment process, allowing room for it to be used as a vehicle for patronage and abuse (discussed below).

Yet another consequence of the manner in which the CWP was implemented is that the CWP is not properly supported by the municipality. Though progress has been made in this regard, it remains a problem.

I think the problem was that when the project was introduced, it was introduced to the politicians first and not to officials in the municipality. That is a challenge because politicians come and go

¹⁰² Personal interview, community leader.

¹⁰³ Langa and von Holdt, supra n 12.

¹⁰⁴ Personal interview, former member of Mogale mayoral committee.

¹⁰⁵ Personal interview, councillor.

since as you know the politicians' terms change from time to time. As a result, the implementation of programmes is done through officials because there are employees of the municipality. And [the CWP programme] was not rooted really from the municipal manager's office, so that it could be introduced properly through the right channels. There were a number of key departments that we needed to liaise with from time to time and these were excluded from the initial consultation with departments, such as for example Social Development. And people from various departments would claim that we don't know what the CWP is and this created a number of challenges. Some would query that we see these people [CWP participants], they are working on our streets but we do not know what they do. And I think the reason why it was rooted at the department of environment, it was because at that time when it was introduced at the district level, it was said there is not enough manpower to do, especially the street sweeping and whatever. So they requested that for the first six months we concentrate on the environment: grass cutting, street sweeping, eradicating of illegal dumps and all those things. Hence people know the CWP as 'people who sweep streets'. But that is not all there is to the CWP. So, I think that is where the problem comes from; the municipality, especially the officials, were not involved in the beginning when the programme was introduced. So politicians, especially the ward councillors and MMCs, said I would get 50 people from my ward – and officials didn't know anything about that. As a result when they were supposed to be supporting us with tools or materials [that] only the municipality [has], it becomes a problem because it is not on their IDPs, they don't have plans of working with the CWP, and all those things.¹⁰⁶

Related to the fact that the Mogale City Municipality, and particularly the mayoral committee, is dominated by the ANC, preference appears to have been given to areas in which the ANC is dominant.

To tell the truth, you know that when we employ people we have to make sure that our [ANC] members are prioritised. That is the reason why the selection process was left to ward councillors – and if you can check, it went to the councillors or to the wards of the ANC. [The CWP] didn't even go to town or areas that are not under the control of the ANC. Councillors in non-ANC wards were not consulted when the programme was initiated. Let me just put it straight to you; it did not go to wards in town because there are DA-controlled wards. So politics is always involved in these kinds of things.¹⁰⁷

Because when the programme started, councillors were saying this is an ANC project, no COPE [Congress of the People], no DA you know!¹⁰⁸

A further consequence of the prominent role played by politicians is that it has made the CWP vulnerable to the destabilising influence of patronage politics. Following the 2011 elections, many former local councillors were replaced by new councillors. According to one interviewee, these new councillors exerted substantial pressure to replace CWP participants with people linked to their own political supporters.

There were elections, there was an exodus of old councillors and bringing in of new councillors. So these new councillors they were saying they don't want to work with former participants because they were comrades of the former councillors. So they wanted to come in with the new people. So I said: 'This is not going to work. This is not a platform where you can show your cliques.' I mean ANC they have cliques. So I said, 'This is community work, and we are here. We need your support as a councillor, help us to move this project forward.' It was a type of war in the beginning. But they slowly began to understand. Others were saying, 'I don't want [it], just move away from my ward.' Then I had to sit down with the councillor, 'You know what, if you take this project out of the ward, are you going to give these people their monthly stipend that they get? Because they are sustaining families, they have responsibilities ... Don't you think it's going to

¹⁰⁶ Personal interview, Seriti representative, Johannesburg.

¹⁰⁷ Personal interview, former member of Mogale mayoral committee.

¹⁰⁸ Personal interview, Kagiso CWP representative.

discredit you as a ward councillor to say you do not want CWP at all?' So they started to understand and said, 'It's fine, it's okay!' I said: 'Help us, support us.' So they are on board. Although ... I've got two that are giving me problems but I've been to one this morning and she is on board right now. She was telling me, 'I was going to write to your office and province to say, "Remove it from my ward"'.¹⁰⁹

Recruitment into the CWP

According to the CWP manual, recruitment is supposed to be done by the implementing agent 'together with the Reference Committee'.¹¹⁰

CWP work opportunities are targeted at those who need them most, and the mechanisms for selection of participants are established in consultation with the communities. Typically, a CWP Reference Committee (comprising representatives from local government, the local community, a local development NGO and the CWP) considers applications and makes recommendations to the project team; the team then assesses these in terms of CWP criteria – e.g. equitable distribution, priority to the poorest and unemployed, women and female-headed households, youth, etc.¹¹¹

Selection criteria for the CWP are that participants must be unemployed, have any form of identification (e.g. ID, passport) and a bank account. These criteria were used in many wards in Kagiso, although not consistently. In Kagiso, people regarded as indigent and registered in the municipality's indigent register were entitled to be prioritised in the selection process. An indigent is described as a person from a household in which no person has any form of income. Unemployed people whose partners are generating an income are excluded from the indigent register.

I also submitted my name and ID copy.¹¹²

Before joining I was just sitting and trying to [look

for a job]. So, I was not working at all. Until I was told that there is a project called CWP. I went there with a neighbour to register and find out what was happening and what they needed. But by that time they needed a bank statement and a copy of ID. They accepted it whether certified or not.¹¹³

As mentioned, in Kagiso councillors play a prominent role in the selection process.

And it was agreed then that recruitment should be done through the ward councillors. Whereas we as the CWP advised that the recruitment should be done through the municipality ... but it was agreed that each ward councillor recruits participants in their own wards. That was the coordinators and participants ... So it has to be from the indigent register of the municipality, because the people register there. But in Mogale City we were told that every ward councillor has a register in their ward, hence the way we are doing it now, we are still not recruiting from that register at the municipality. The recruitment is still done by councillors not the municipality. At first coordinators would bring a list of names of people in their wards who are interested and we would just register. But we would get a lot of complaints from the ward councillors to say these coordinators are bringing in their own people, and they do not know anything about them. So we said when it's time for us to recruit at any given time, let's [agree] with the municipality that the ward councillors must run with it. But we want that list of people on the letterhead of the ward councillor and he must sign to say that I know that [person A and person B] are coming on now to replace the two that has dropped out. So, that is how it is done, and I think now it's much better than how it used to happen before.¹¹⁴

Okay. We had a problem in the beginning. We had councillors coming here saying a coordinator has employed people and I don't know. So we said, 'at the ward offices' – I was a ward committee member

¹⁰⁹ Personal interview, Kagiso CWP representative.

¹¹⁰ COGTA, supra n 19 at 24.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 66.

¹¹² Personal interview, CWP participant.

¹¹³ Personal interview, CWP coordinator.

¹¹⁴ Personal interview, Seriti representative, Johannesburg

so I know how it works. Unemployed people would come to the office and register their names. So the councillor has a database of unemployed people in her/his ward. And as a result, as a coordinator you go to the councillor and say we need participants in the CWP. And the councillor goes back to the waiting list, to his database, and then because there are different blocks in a ward – they've got A, B, C, D block. A councillor would choose people according to blocks. And then he would say this family has indigents. He would select them according to the needs of the families they come from. And then the councillor would write the list, and then put a stamp and a signature to say I endorse those people, they must be the ones being recruited from the ward. The coordinator would come with that list and with those participants and particulars so that we can capture them.¹¹⁵

The latter interviewee argued that, despite the potential risks, selection by councillors was preferable as there was scope for some measure of accountability.

No, but we said it should be the councillors because if [it is his discretion], he is the one the community is going to stand against at the end of the day. Because when they go to the ward meetings he is the one who asks them, 'Why have you not recruited anyone from a particular house?' So we make the councillor accountable. He should not say, 'I don't know, it's their decision.' So he must be accountable to the people that, 'I drew the list, I nominated so and so.' And then before the list [comes] he must hold a meeting with the community, and the community would point out to him that such a particular family needs to have someone recruited from. He then knows that when I go back to the office I am going to add that one on the list. He must be accountable at the end of the day, because it is his ward.¹¹⁶

A staff member of the implementing agent commented:

We're not involved at all [in the recruitment of CWP

participants]. Because we do not want to be seen as picking [person A] who is related to me, my uncle and all those.¹¹⁷

A different approach was applied with 'site staff':

But in terms of [site staff] there were advertisements that went out in the municipality, and people applied and there were interviews ... And Seriti interviewed those people. And then people were appointed.¹¹⁸

It seems that there was some confusion in the initial stages about the nature of the work opportunities offered by the CWP. Some applicants thought that the opportunities were for formal employment. Indications are that this confusion was accentuated by the way in which some politicians presented the programme. They were seemingly motivated by the desire to gain recognition for providing jobs to community members. It was mentioned that many people had the misconception that the CWP was full-time employment by the local municipality.

Yes, in our wards the councillor just told us to submit our names to this office [councillor's office] for possible jobs in the municipality. We did not know anything about the CWP. I just submitted my name and the copy of my ID.¹¹⁹

As a result, everyone wanted to be part of the CWP as they were drawn by the benefits of being hired by the municipality, including a good salary and access to medical aid. However, interest subsided once people realised that the CWP was not full-time employment by the municipality and that the work did not pay a lot of money. Many interviewees asserted that if the CWP was a well-paying job, the selection methods would have been a source of conflict. However, this was not the case because not many people wanted to be part of the CWP.

The fact that in some cases the CWP was understood as offering municipal jobs may explain why, in certain wards, potential participants were

¹¹⁵ Personal interview, Kagiso CWP representative.

¹¹⁶ Personal interview, Kagiso CWP representative.

¹¹⁷ Personal interview, Seriti representative, Johannesburg.

¹¹⁸ Personal interview, Seriti representative, Johannesburg.

¹¹⁹ Personal interview, Kagiso CWP representative.

asked to submit their CVs to local councillors' offices:

I told people in my ward to submit CVs to my office.¹²⁰

Many people submitted their CVs at our offices [councillor's office]. We tell the ward councillors and they know how they employ people from their wards. But CVs were submitted; we had boxes full of CVs.¹²¹

The fact that the CWP was presented as employment may also explain why many who joined initially have now left the programme.

That is how we got the [required numbers of] people [in the programme] ... Yes. CVs were submitted to the councillors. And when the project started people looked as if they were not interested. They looked down on it [because the stipend was a mere] R50.00 a day and two days a week ... It [the CWP] was advertised in councillors' meetings and people submitted their CVs [to councillors in order to be accepted in the programme].¹²²

Notwithstanding some level of confusion around issues of this kind, many interviewees indicated that they believe the CWP has essentially been implemented in a fair manner and that all community members who are eligible to participate in the programme¹²³ have a roughly equal chance of being selected.

Basically people who benefited out of [the CWP] were people who were unemployed and wanted to be employed in the programme. As a ward councillor we called community meeting in our wards, and we made announcements that such an opportunity existed for people who are unemployed and were interested. We invited people to submit their CV at the ward office and register their names. And the most fortunate part of it is that we even had ward committees involved and these are not ANC structures but community structures. In the ward committees we have 10 people of which five people were chosen

from various blocks within their ward. So we have five blocks in a ward. And we also have got – you know – your religious sector, you also have got business sector represented; you also have got women sector and youth sector represented. And now we also have got some person, somebody who is responsible for labour issues. Now as and when people come to register, a person who heads labour within your ward committee would then be responsible to register those people according to their blocks. So you would take a number of – even numbers – the equal numbers. Whether you take 10 from each – because we have 50 and five blocks. You would perhaps take 10 from each block. So now those who were not covered, their names would also be registered for others who get employment as and when they leave – others are getting replaced and so on. But people do understand they cannot go at once, per se.¹²⁴

A number of other respondents concurred with this view.

No, no there is nothing like that [recruiting CWP participants along party political lines], maybe in other areas not in Kagiso. But let me specifically talk on behalf of my ward. In my ward we've got a ward committee, and I think you understand that. In our ward committee, we have got five blocks. And in each and every block we've got a block rep. If we are looking for participants, let's say we're looking for 10 people, we will request that each and every block leader brings two people from his or her block. And again I think in our office we've got a record of unemployed people in our community. So for you to be employed in the CWP you don't need to be a member of the ANC. This is not a party programme but a government programme. As regards being a councillor, I am a councillor from ANC, but I do not represent ANC members only in my ward. I represent each and every person irrespective of political affiliations in my ward. Therefore, when you come to me and look for a job or whatever thing that you require, I do not ask, 'Which party do you belong to?' I am only interested in where do you live so

¹²⁰ Personal interview, councillor.

¹²¹ Personal interview, community liaison officer.

¹²² Personal interview, former member of Mogale mayoral committee.

¹²³ As a result of being both indigent and a citizen, or otherwise legally resident in South Africa.

¹²⁴ Personal interview, former ward councillor.

that I am certain that the person requiring my help is from my ward. As for opportunities in government programmes, we just look at what you are interested in doing and the capacity that you can bring into our community. We don't worry about the whether you are an ANC supporter or member. I am an ANC member, I am a politician in the ANC, but I am a community representative at local government. This means that I am accountable to all the people in the ward regardless of political affiliation.¹²⁵

Joining CWP is very easy as it is open to everyone regardless of party political affiliation. You are never asked which party you support or belong to. There are even people that we know from DA who are active members of DA in the CWP.¹²⁶

No we do not discriminate people because they are members of other political parties. We have members of other parties such as DA and IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party]. The problem is that many people in Kagiso are ANC members.¹²⁷

Even here in Ward 7, there are people who belong to different political parties. It's not particularly for ANC members. It's not like that. I don't know, maybe in other wards. But in this ward it is not like that.¹²⁸

There is a waiting list for people to join the CWP and there is no corruption or bribing that I have seen.¹²⁹

Not here. There are people who belong to DA. Actually some of them are not even members.¹³⁰

Everyone who lives in this community has a right to be part of the CWP, not just ANC supporters.¹³¹

So we made it very clear that people cannot be discriminated along their party lines and so on. So it is a project that should cover everybody because it's

a government project and initiative to that effect.¹³²

We just take ordinary members from any political party, we do not choose. We do not choose people from a [particular] party, we take everybody.¹³³

Many interviewees maintained that recruitment continues to be fair, though the process has become more arduous in recent years.

It was easy [to join the CWP] because you only had to bring a copy of your ID as well as a bank statement. And it did not take long. Right now it takes time for you to get into the CWP, but at that time if I took a copy of the ID and a bank statement to the coordinator during the week, I know that on Monday he would come back to me to say I must come to work. I had been registered and captured in the database at the ward office so that should an opening takes place I will be recruited. However, right now people have to wait for the head office to instruct [the site manager] and them to get more people because the statistics have gone up of people registered and on the waiting list. They would tell them which number of people to add. Right now it takes longer and people would get impatient that I've long given you my particulars. They do not understand why they are not employed. But I do explain to them that it is not us who employ people.¹³⁴

Although selection is widely regarded as fair, one factor that clearly seems to influence people's chances of being recruited into the CWP is whether they attend ward committee meetings or other community meetings of this kind.

But those who benefited the most are those who attend community meetings where these announcements are made.¹³⁵

Yes, we also called ward committee meetings and ask

¹²⁵ Personal interview, ward councillor.

¹²⁶ Personal interview, female CWP coordinator.

¹²⁷ Personal interview, coordinator.

¹²⁸ Personal interview, CWP participant.

¹²⁹ Personal interview, CWP participant.

¹³⁰ Personal interview, CWP participant.

¹³¹ Personal interview, CWP participant.

¹³² Personal interview, coordinator.

¹³³ Personal interview, coordinator.

¹³⁴ Personal interview, female CWP coordinator.

¹³⁵ Personal interview, former ward councillor.

people to submit their names to be considered for any opening in the CWP.¹³⁶

In some cases, ward committees directly discuss questions to do with who is suitable for recruitment into the CWP.

Ward committee members may also decide which person must be selected for CWP.¹³⁷

It is evident that different wards follow different selection methods. In the two wards in Swanieville, people who were already participating in a voluntary cleaning project were given the first priority to be recruited into the CWP.

A group of older women and men were concerned about illegal dumping in Swanieville and started a voluntary cleaning campaign. This was before CWP started late in 2009. These men and women were collecting rubbish bins everyday as the municipality [Mogale City] also had stopped coming to their area to clean streets. The motivation amongst these men and women was to make sure that the area was clean and neat. There was no financial motivation for them to clean streets. They did this work for three to four months without any payment until they were approached about the local councillor to tell them about CWP. Yes, all people who were already volunteering in the cleaning of streets before the implementation of CWP were selected to be CWP participants. Yes, I was selected. I did not submit any CV or attend any interviews. Our councillor told us that all people who were volunteering must be hired.¹³⁸

This decision was supported by many participants, although some community members who were excluded were not happy with the selection method.

Yes, this process of selecting people who were already volunteering created some tensions in the community as some people felt the process was not fair to only select people who were doing cleaning

streets voluntarily before CWP was implemented.¹³⁹

Yes, this was a tension when only people who were volunteering were selected.¹⁴⁰

A more serious issue concerns evidence that in some cases preference has been given to members of the ANC. The fact that recruitment of CWP participants is the responsibility of ward councillors clearly makes the process vulnerable to manipulation by unscrupulous councillors. Social and economic circumstances have created a number of challenges that local government has to address, such as unemployment, lack of adequate housing, crime and poverty. Although most respondents were adamant that there was no manipulation of the CWP project to serve political ends, evidence from the interviews suggests that political favouritism did indeed impact on the recruitment process.¹³⁹

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A former ward councillor initially refuted the claim of political manipulation in the CWP selection process, but later conceded that it was likely.

I may not necessarily wish to confirm that

¹³⁶ Personal interview, councillor.

¹³⁷ Personal interview, coordinator.

¹³⁸ Personal interview, CWP participant.

¹³⁹ Group interview, CWP participant.

¹⁴⁰ Personal interview, coordinator.

[manipulation of the CWP process by ward councillors] but I know for sure that people can go to an extent of discriminating people along those [party political] lines. Unfortunately, councillors who are elected by political parties suffer a lot of credibility problems and would do anything to please the party and party members. I've seen councillors going at length trying hard to be seen to be doing something for the supporters of their party. In the bigger scheme of things, these people [CWP participants] who are participating don't care about politics because they are more concerned with meeting basic necessities ... So, what I am saying is that, because of pressure from the party and members, councillors end up pushing party members on top of the list so that they are not criticised by party members. These things are happening, we know that.¹⁴¹

One participant confirmed that 'first preference' was given to ANC members. Though everyone has a right to be part of the CWP, those who are not ANC members take second place.

Joining CWP was easy, I heard about it in the community meeting [ward committee] and I filled and submitted my forms. It was very easy for me. At first most people were not keen but now they are keen to join because they can see that it is helping. The CWP is not only taking the people belonging to a certain party. The meetings that we attended were community meetings not ANC meeting. However, you must remember that the ANC is in charge of this area and it will be the ANC councillors who will call these community meetings. But, these are community meetings. I think I was given priority because I was a member of the ANC. ANC members get first preference then the community comes after. There is no way that the councillor will prioritise people who are not ANC members first because people will be unhappy. However, everyone who live in this community has a right to be part of the CWP not just ANC supporters.¹⁴²

Another interviewee indicated that the councillors'

initial recruitment of coordinators had overtly favoured ANC members.

But with the coordinators, as the project was in a starting phase, councillors were told about the project they went and got their coordinators. Those were comrades, you know. Because when the programme started, councillors were saying this is an ANC project, no COPE, no DA you know! [But they were told] this is not going to work because not everybody in every ward is an ANC member. It's a government project – although it's an ANC government.¹⁴³

The interviewee also indicated that in one ward people who did not have ANC membership cards were entirely excluded from the CWP for a considerable period of time.

So, in ward [X] you needed to bring an ANC card to prove that you are an ANC member before you can be put on the list that you are going to participate in the CWP. But it is not happening right now because we engage with councillors that this is wrong. This is not how we work.¹⁴⁴

While acknowledging the possibility that some level of preference was given to ANC members, an interviewee suggested that this did not have a major impact on recruitment during the initial stages. Most participants tended to be apathetic about party politics and were simply interested in finding work opportunities to support their families.

If they took people from the ANC, they took a few; but not all the workers were members of the ANC ... At that time, I think everybody who was interested in becoming part of the CWP was welcome to get involved. The ward councillors did not look at which party the interested person belonged to. Even right now, as I am saying most participants are not members of the ANC. So you wouldn't know which party they belonged to because there were not asked

¹⁴¹ Personal interview, former ward councillor.

¹⁴² Personal interview, male CWP participant.

¹⁴³ Personal interview, Kagiso CWP representative.

¹⁴⁴ Personal interview, Kagiso CWP representative.

about their political affiliation. That time people were just being recruited on the basis of their interest in being part of the CWP programme.¹⁴⁵

Some community members felt that the CWP selection process was fraught with more general forms of nepotism and favouritism.

Yes, coordinators are just hiring their friends and family members.¹⁴⁶

Generalisations like this may be unjustified. Nevertheless, the site management acknowledged problems of this kind, but argued that the current system of recruitment in which ward councillors play a prominent role is the optimum system. In very large sites such as Kagiso, a centralised system of recruitment would not work effectively.

It would be a tedious exercise for us to access the register at Mogale City Municipality because of the way the area is so vastly spread. So, if the municipality says every ward councillor has a register in their own wards, it works better for us because we would say four people from ward 20 have dropped out, we need to replace four and we tell the coordinator to liaise with the councillor. They bring the list of names on the letterhead of the ward councillor, and we register it like that ... So it works for bigger sites for us to recruit through ward councillors ... [though] there are problems. You will find a councillor bringing somebody from their own family when there is that list of indigent people in the ward. And in that instance there is nothing we can do as well. Because we cannot just say that we see that at such and such a house number there are people who need to be on the programme when there is a ward councillor and the ward committee that works within that space. So there are challenges that you will find.¹⁴⁷

Despite evidence of some degree of political favouritism during recruitment for the CWP, this does not appear to have given rise to open public

dissatisfaction. The fact that the CWP was generally implemented in ANC-controlled wards, where, even if they were not ANC members, many people were ANC supporters, may have meant that councillors took a relatively benign view of their participation. In addition, the low status attached to the CWP (discussed below) and the modest incomes associated with it might have meant that, other than among more marginal community members, there was limited rivalry for CWP positions.

There were never complaints or anything. We just concluded that the recruitment process went smoothly because there were never incidents which demonstrated that people were unhappy. I do not want to lie though, there were challenges in the recruitment process but there were no complaints. Even now, there are no complaints that I am aware of from the community regarding the recruitment of CWP employees. We had no complaints whatsoever.¹⁴⁸

Even if political favouritism did not play a major role in recruitment for the CWP, however, there is little doubt that the recruitment process has not been as transparent as it could have been, given the power vested in ward councillors and influential members of the ward committees. This is linked to the issue that the CWP has been primarily publicised through official structures and processes, such as ward committee meetings, and that there has not been an attempt to create generalised awareness in the Kagiso community about how to obtain access to CWP opportunities.

A group participant said, 'I just saw people working. I do not know any community meeting in which people were invited and told about this project. People just invited their relatives and friends and hired them.' Other group members agreed that the process has not been very transparent, as many people, particularly the youth, were never invited to participate in CWP-related activities. Some of the young people interviewed raised issues of nepotism

¹⁴⁵ Personal interview, former member of Mogale mayoral committee, 2013.

¹⁴⁶ Personal interview, non-participant, 2013.

¹⁴⁷ Personal interview, Seriti representative, Johannesburg, 2013.

¹⁴⁸ Personal interview, former member of Mogale mayoral committee, 2013.

and favouritism. One said, 'You see all the people who work in this CWP are from block one. Many of them are Xhosa speaking. This thing is only for Xhosas. If you are Pedi or Zulu you don't get hired. These people are just hiring their friends and relatives.' Another participant said, 'Many of these people don't have qualifications. We have matric certificates but it is hard to get employed.' Another said, 'There was no meeting to tell people about CWP. It is for the first time that I hear about this [initiative].'¹⁴⁹

A consequence of the process that was followed may be that it did not encourage the inclusion of young people.

Work done by the CWP

The CWP is supposed to be engaged in work that is 'useful' to the community. In the Mogale District Municipality, and Kagiso in particular, useful work was initially negotiated between Seriti and the municipality to deal with environmental problems. As indicated, the key challenges faced by the municipality at that time were removing refuse, illegally dumped rubble, cutting grass and cleaning the streets. As a result, during the initial stages the work done was largely confined to addressing these challenges.

Cleaning continues to be the main activity carried out at the Kagiso site, estimated by one interviewee to involve 60% of the CWP participants in Kagiso.¹⁵⁰ A consequence of this is that the CWP's public profile in Kagiso is largely that of a cleaning scheme. When ordinary people were asked about CWP, many referred to it as a cleaning project.

My brother, we were not giving any information. I thought this was a cleaning project for old women and men in the community. You can see there are no young people in this CWP thing. It is only old people.¹⁵¹

Although the dominant role played by cleaning in the CWP is linked to some Kagiso residents' contemptuous attitudes towards the programme, others spoke appreciatively about the impact that the CWP has had on the Kagiso environment. In addition, many participants spoke with pride about the improvements brought about in Kagiso as a result of CWP cleaning activities.

I believe that CWP is very important for this community because before the CWP this area was very dirty. Can you see that place where those guys are playing dice, that place had lots of papers and rubble? This place use to be dumping place and when we joined the CWP we cleaned that area and created a park.¹⁵²

The categories used to characterise work in the CWP are not mutually exclusive, and cleaning forms part of many of them. For example, cleaning, sometimes described in the CWP as the 'environment' sector, is an important part of the 'school support', 'support to other public institutions' and 'home-based care' work that is also done by CWP participants.

Apart from the work that forms part of these other 'sectors', cleaning work done by the CWP in Kagiso variously includes cleaning up general litter, cleaning taxi ranks and clearing illegal dumps. Virtually all the CWP participants interviewed spoke about the cleaning project:

I cannot remember very well but when CWP was introduced Kagiso was very dirty. There were dumps everywhere and the streets were littered with papers and dumps. CWP was tasked with removing illegal dumps and cleaning the streets.¹⁵³

Our main work is recycling, cleaning the streets and the park and cleaning the school.¹⁵⁴

We also have a recycling project and we pick up litter on the road.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁹ Field research notes, 21 September 2013.

¹⁵⁰ Personal interview, Seriti representative, Johannesburg.

¹⁵¹ Field research notes, 21 September 2013.

¹⁵² Personal interview, CWP participant.

¹⁵³ Personal interview, coordinator.

¹⁵⁴ Group interview, CWP participant.

¹⁵⁵ Personal interview, CWP participant.

The CWP's 'recycling project', which is linked to the cleaning work, is an income-generating project for participants (Photo 1). It involves collecting recyclable material and selling it to scrap dealers for cash. The money is banked and distributed among all participants at the end of the year.

Over the years the focus of the CWP in Kagiso has shifted from only cleaning the environment to addressing other social problems in the township, although cleaning remains the main project. In all the wards visited during field research, CWP projects included food gardens (Photo 2), recycling,

home-based care and working in schools as teacher assistants.

Food gardens have become flagship projects for the CWP and are useful for greening the environment and food security for indigent people, including child-headed households. The crops produced in the food gardens, mainly vegetables (spinach, cabbages, lettuce, carrots), are harvested and given to indigent families within the ward. Beneficiaries are mostly old people living alone, child-headed households and families in poverty.



Photo 1: Participants collect recyclable material for their recycling project.



Photo 2: Participants work in one of the food gardens in Kagiso.

We've got a lot of gardens in terms of food gardens in our community. Let me say so we've got food garden in every ward. We have food gardens in Bosele ... we've got another food garden at Chief Mogale – two food gardens at Chief Mogale, and we are developing another one at Extension 9 which is part of our ward. Our ward is covering Kagiso Central, part of Kagiso Extension 6, Chief Mogale which is a new development, and the last portion is up there next to Kagiso Mall. In fact, last year it was our first time in this ward to win the competition of Gauteng. And we took position two out of all CWP in Gauteng and we got R40,000 prize money.¹⁵⁶

I think the most important job they are doing is food security. I encourage it to say; councillors give us land. If people can eat ... we don't need a house that will go hungry at the end of the day [whilst] CWP is in the ward. Your beneficiaries range from the school-feeding schemes, the elderly, the pensioners, the indigents, the orphans, youth-headed families. Even our participants, because some of them they even go to work on empty stomachs. So when he comes back from work with a bunch of spinach he knows that I am going to eat at the end of the day. The vegetables produced in the gardens were given to vulnerable households. Many of these households have family members that are too old to work. Some are also affected and infected by HIV and AIDS.¹⁵⁷

Like the cleaning work, food security or agricultural work is also a key component of much of the other work that participants do.

School support

In schools we've got food gardens for food security. We allocate participants who assist in food schemes. They cook for the children, they clean classrooms for the children, we do teacher-aide, we aid teachers whenever they need assistance in class with the pupils or learners. Also we maintain the school yard, make sure that there is no litter around; and there's cleanliness so that our children learn in a clean

environment at all times. So in some wards they need scholar patrollers for busy roads for school children to cross over.¹⁵⁸

Support to other public institutions

For government institutions we work with Leratong Hospital, which is a provincial hospital. We send our participants there on daily basis from Monday to Thursday. They assist with everything. At the pharmacy they clean the windows, they maintain the flower garden. We've got a food garden also that the hospital kitchen is using for TB patients at Leratong. We also work together with local clinics on their campaigns. For instance, when they have tuberculosis week we campaign with them door to door to make people aware of the disease or when they have condom week we help them with the distribution of condoms. We also work together with community health promoters and the community development workers. We also work with clinics. We're identifying patients who defaulted on their antiretroviral treatment. We follow them up, and then we report back to the clinic sister, so that they don't default ever again. Also those who have tuberculosis, we follow them up so that it doesn't extend to extreme TB.¹⁵⁹

Home-based care

Sometimes there would be an elderly or sick person who needs assistance with cleaning the yard or the house. We go to her house and make sure that he or she takes medication, we cook, we clean the house, we wash the blankets, the curtains, make sure that everything is clean when we leave. And sometimes when we have our crops ready we cook for them from our gardens so they can have a decent meal at the end of the day.¹⁶⁰

Sometimes the assistance involves focused attention to the needs of one person. Two interviewees referred to a case where the CWP went to considerable lengths to provide help to an elderly woman.

¹⁵⁶ Personal interview, ward councillor.

¹⁵⁷ Personal interview, Kagiso CWP representative.

¹⁵⁸ Personal interview, Kagiso CWP representative. For a detailed study of CWP work in schools, see, Centre for Democratising Information, 'The South African Community Capability Study: The Context of Public Primary Education and the Community Work Programme,' 2013, http://www.tips.org.za/files/u72/community_work_programme_education_report.pdf (accessed 2 April 2016).

¹⁵⁹ Personal interview, Kagiso CWP representative.

¹⁶⁰ Personal interview, Kagiso CWP representative.

I've helped one old lady, I got her a wheelchair. She was bedridden for a long time. She was sick and no one took care of her. I started by donating her with a wheelchair. She did not have electricity. When Kagiso was electrified she did not get electricity. So I started running around at Eskom – I took her in a wheelchair accompanied by another participant to the police station to make an affidavit. We then took that affidavit as well as her ID and her rates slip, and took it to Eskom. Eskom came and then electrified her home. She only got electricity in 2013. She has never had electricity since Kagiso was electrified.¹⁶¹

But in terms of servicing the community in general, the CWP has done a lot of good things. They have made a lot of impact in terms of uniting the community. Like a practical example, there is a certain lady down there [in our ward]. The lady is almost 70 or 70-something years, she stays alone in the house. Ever since we [Kagiso township] was electrified in 1992/1993, somewhere there, she never got electricity until today, rather, this year. Now it's only four, five months that that woman got electricity because of the CWP. She also got a wheelchair because of CWP. The CWP participants went somewhere to go and ask for a wheelchair for that particular lady. I can take you to that woman's house – to that old lady's house, that house is [now] very clean because of CWP. They've renovated – we went to a brick manufacturing company to request for a donation and we got bricks from that company. They came to me and said councillor can you assist us to draft a proposal to go and request some material and assist that woman. Then they went there and took photos, interviewed that old lady, interviewed me; then at the end of the day – during Mandela Day last year, not this year, they came – African Brick and renovated the house. They painted the house, they plastered the house, they changed the roof, wiring, and they built a wall.¹⁶²

The CWP is also engaged in other social activities, such as ID campaigns where community members

are referred to social workers or government institutions for assistance.

Some of the community members they [don't] have legal documents. So we assist them by referring them to those government institutions.¹⁶³

CWP sometimes assist to identify problems in our area. They used to go door to door to check who has an ID, and who does not have an ID assist. As a result, we have created a database of our ward because of CWP who provide us with information.¹⁶⁴

One activity that the CWP in Kagiso consciously does not engage in is anti-crime patrols. An interviewee said that they had been advised not to do this type of work due to potential risks to participants. A patroller programme, run by the Gauteng Department of Community Safety, has apparently been trained and equipped for this type of activity.

Decision making and accountability

As noted, the manner in which the CWP was introduced in Kagiso contributed to defining its character. Partly because of the inception process, but also for a variety of other reasons to do with personalities, the geography of the site and the practicalities of setting up these kinds of structures, the Kagiso site has not had a functioning reference committee since its inception. The absence of such a committee creates a vacuum in relation to providing direction to the CWP.

Things were not done properly in the beginning hence there was no reference committee in the beginning.¹⁶⁵

A reference committee provides a potential vehicle for local civic organisations, NGOs, FBOs and relevant government departments to play a part in shaping the character of the CWP.

¹⁶¹ Personal interview, CWP coordinator.

¹⁶² Personal interview, ward councillor.

¹⁶³ Personal interview, Kagiso CWP representative.

¹⁶⁴ Personal interview, ward councillor.

¹⁶⁵ Personal interview, Seriti representative, Johannesburg.

A consequence of there being no reference committee is that a lot of authority over the operation of the CWP in each ward is given to ward councillors. However, their authority over the site is constrained by the authority awarded to the implementing agents as part of the site management. Councillors in Kagiso have a lot of influence over the identification and recruitment of participants, sometimes in consultation with ward committee members. Nevertheless, they cannot recruit new participants without first consulting with Sereti to confirm that the budget provides for people to be recruited. Despite this, allegations of nepotism, political manipulation of the CWP and lack of transparency surfaced during the research.

In so far as ward councillors are engaged with what is happening in their wards, they are also able to exert a lot of influence over the work done by the CWP. A CWP staff member commented that

most of the activities are based on what the ward needs. So we work closely with councillors as the first citizens of the wards, to identify useful work in their wards. The ward's needs differ from ward to ward. So we don't take a certain ward's need and be a uniform in other wards.¹⁶⁶

Other decisions related to the CWP are made at the municipal level. For example, the municipal council makes the decision to initiate the CWP in a municipality. The municipality's buy-in is critical to ensure that the CWP is supported and sustained. A consequence of the absence of a properly constituted reference committee may be difficulty in ensuring that the CWP receives the political support that it needs from the Mogale City Municipality. A member of the site management team gave the example of the need to raise municipal support for training CWP members in home-based care.

Because our biggest strength is people, the human resource we have out there. But most of them are not trained. But if you go to the department of social development and you say we would like for our participants to learn from your people who are

doing work in your department. So they assist with whatever it is that people there, social development, are doing. And then we will be told we don't work with CWP, we don't know what you do and all those things. So it becomes very difficult for us to work without the assistance of the reference committee. Because in the reference committee we are supposed to have departmental heads who will introduce these things to their subordinates for us to be able to work well with them.¹⁶⁷

The vacuum in terms of local ownership of the CWP unfortunately also provides scope for abuse of the programme, sometimes by senior politicians. Rather than using municipal resources, for instance, politicians may pressure the CWP to make themselves available where cleaning services are urgently needed, for example during municipal strikes (ironically, CWP members are asked to stand in for workers who are already remunerated much better than they are), or to provide an audience at municipal events that are to be addressed by prominent public personalities.

Attitudes towards the CWP **Appreciation of the CWP**

In the early stages there were several problems with the CWP in Kagiso, including not paying people on time, lack of proper resources to do the required work and general disorganisation. A participant described some of the difficulties experienced during the initial stages of the CWP in Kagiso:

And then the money we worked for in November 2009, we received it on the 31st December 2009. That was when we started getting our first pay. Then there were ups and downs where money wasn't paid in, people wouldn't get paid. There were people who went for four months without being paid. We did not know what the problem was. But when they checked you'd find that with some people account numbers had a number missing, someone would use someone else's account number at home. So in such cases it affected the whole Mogale. If there was a mistake in my ward it would affect the whole of Mogale City, and people's payments would be delayed.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ Personal interview, Kagiso CWP representative.

¹⁶⁷ Personal interview, Sereti representative, Johannesburg.

¹⁶⁸ Personal interview, CWP coordinator.

These problems discouraged some people who had initially joined the programme.

The CWP does not pay its workers on time and we worked for almost three months without being paid. It was difficult to work so hard and at the end of the month you are not paid.¹⁶⁹

Though these problems discouraged some participants, many remained in the programme. They were generally appreciative of the assistance that it provided to them, although they hoped for increases in payment or a greater number of working days, as well as other improvements in the conditions and benefits, such as provision of a second CWP uniform/overall and provision of pay slips to make it easier to open accounts.

Let me say; if there is no CWP, I don't know how things would have been now. So, CWP has made a lot of difference in people's lives, including myself. Come to think of it, some wards have 55 participants, others have 50 participants, others have 40. So if there was no CWP then many of us would have been unemployed doing nothing. So what would have happened without CWP? So, CWP brought changes. Government brought changes [through] CWP.¹⁷⁰

Participants also expressed pride in the work done by the CWP:

I hope the CWP can exist forever and maybe be turned into a company because we are doing a wonderful job for our community. We have people in our community who have heard about our work and now they want to come and see me about their problems. I tell them that I am not a councillor and they should go to their councillor but at times if I can help I do help. I would say that the CWP is doing a good job in the whole of Kagiso because when we meet on Friday as coordinators you hear the good

work that other CWPs are doing in their wards. There are really beautiful stories and wonderful work ... and we believe that we are making a contribution to our community.¹⁷¹

Community members are happy with our work that we clean streets. Look at the streets, everything is clean. People appreciate our work as CWP. The environment is clean because of our hard work.¹⁷²

The environment is clean because of our hard work.¹⁷³

Yes, you feel good yourselves that at least you doing something for your community.¹⁷⁴

You feel good because many of these grannies are staying alone. We go and cook for them. We wash their clothes. Sometimes we also take them to the clinic.¹⁷⁵

Non-participants with knowledge of the functioning of the CWP also tended to be supportive and appreciative of the programme. This included direct recipients of the services provided, such as churches, crèches, libraries and people involved in local community structures. Some of these positive views were linked to the general objectives of the CWP.

What I can tell you is that this programme is a programme that was developed by the president to help the communities deal with their community problems. It's a programme that addresses the problem of poverty within poor communities. The essence of the programme is that people must start learning to do things for themselves and not wait to be given things by government. What I can tell you is that the programme is good on the basis that it does make a lot of impact in the community. This project provides people in the community who have no

¹⁶⁹ Group interview, youth.

¹⁷⁰ Personal interview, CWP participant.

¹⁷¹ Personal interview, CWP coordinator.

¹⁷² Personal interview, CWP participant.

¹⁷³ Personal interview, CWP participant.

¹⁷⁴ Personal interview, CWP participant.

¹⁷⁵ Personal interview, CWP participant.

source of income and are willing to work to generate income for themselves by working ... But what I can tell you, that programme had a lot to do with taking out poverty in communities.¹⁷⁶

Chief, CWP is a very good project for communities because it assists communities in various ways. So for me I would even encourage government to consider [pumping] lots of money, funding the project. Because if you don't do so it would be a recipe for disaster because many people are now unemployed and you know they are more used to getting assistance from government. They are used to every month going to the bank, I receive some money. And now if you are going to take it away from the people again, you will be creating a very serious uneasiness within communities because the very same people are now going to toyi-toyi. It will be a protest. Soon it will be a protest if it is taken away because it actually has an impact in communities. The CWP assists communities in a sense and should continue.¹⁷⁷

One widely appreciated aspect of the service provided by the CWP was the cleaning work and its impact on the Kagiso environment.

For us in the school they [CWP participants] help a lot. For an example, we've got only one cleaner at the school and he is responsible for the cleaning of school surroundings all by himself. So, they [CWP] have helped us a lot by providing us with human resources that we did not have to clean the school as well as clean classrooms. In fact, any job we've got which needs manpower, they are there to assist us. And we are very happy with what they are doing for us at the school.¹⁷⁸

Without a doubt, I couldn't have functioned in this library without the CWP people. Yes, the municipality do have a Parks Department, but honestly they don't come around to the library. I think I have been lucky because they [the Parks Department] have

been here once or twice. Every time you must put in a work order for them to come and cut the grass and do these things. But the guys that come here, there are six of them that are coming here twice a week, there was no garden in Kagiso when I came here. They've actually developed all the plants, the beddings and everything here. And they took really pride and I brought them plants from home that we can plant, like [succulents] and aloes and types of things that can be replanted. I've also tried to teach them about the plants; how you can harvest from this plant using a leaf, using roots so that they can also try and teach others. But honestly, without them [CWP] there would have been no garden here. And also the littering around the library was terrible before they came here. I mean as it is, our job inside the library takes up so much of your time – I cannot call the staff and say let's go and pick up papers outside. We would never get around to everything. So my opinion is, I can't do without them ... Yah, for instance if my general workers are on leave – at one stage – I only had one general worker; they offered. They came in and they said, '[Name], we realise you need help, can we clean inside for you? Can we wash the windows for you? What can we do for you?' So, yah.¹⁷⁹

Okay, I must say that I don't have good knowledge of the mandate of CWP but I have seen them over the years making our township look clean. Our township is now very clean because before they started this place was very dirty. There were illegal dumps everywhere. In summer when it is hot there were flies all over the place. As you can see the streets are clean now because of them. I don't know how they are employed and who pays their salaries but I know that they are doing good work for our community.¹⁸⁰

Well I wouldn't lie to you. Those guys are doing a good job. I mean schools are clean. They take it upon themselves to go into schools, clean them, cut grass and all that. Streets are clean compared to

¹⁷⁶ Personal interview, CPF member.

¹⁷⁷ Personal interview, former ward councillor.

¹⁷⁸ Personal interview, male school principal.

¹⁷⁹ Personal interview, local librarian.

¹⁸⁰ Personal interview, local businessman.

what you would expect because the municipality was not cleaning streets any more. I mean they come in, they cut grass at churches ... To me what they are doing – as much as it is not coordinated, the way I look at it ... It is something that has an impact in the community. It is! ... Ya. Well they do, they do [come to clean]. And it would be unfair to say they don't.¹⁸¹

Along with the cleaning work, some interviewees also appreciated the provision of food to indigent people.

Ever since the CWP came into place, Kagiso has become more clean though there are still challenges. There was illegal dumping of rubbish in Kagiso and flies were all over the place. This open space there was very dirty. People dump their rubbish at night and Kagiso was very dirty. CWP people came in and cleared most of the rubble and cleaned the streets. The problem is that people still dump their rubbish in open spaces and this makes it difficult to keep our township clean. At that school down there, CWP people have a vegetable garden. I understand from the CWP that work here that the vegetables are given to indigent families and old people who have no support system. I think what they are doing is excellent and I hope the government can hear their pleas and increase their salaries. I don't know what we would do without CWP people.¹⁸²

Certain respondents were appreciative of a specific service that was provided to them or their institution.

Firstly, I used to take CWP as a light ... as a small thing. But now after realising what these people do, I realised that these people are doing a great job. More especially for us, in 2010 they gave us moral support when we had a Mandela Project involving renovating a house. They assisted us massively. They came in their numbers in terms of cleaning the house.¹⁸³

Appreciative attitudes were shared by many people in Kagiso and were not restricted to those who had been direct beneficiaries of CWP services.

Yeah these people are helping at least to keep the environment [clean].¹⁸⁴

Some people formed a positive view of the CWP merely by observing them at work.

The majority of people in Kagiso are happy with the CWP and few people criticise them. Other people call them Clena wena popayi [clean you fool] and that is not good because these people are working for our community to be better. Other say CWP people are lazy but I think these people work very hard. As you can see them, these people are working hard until they go home in the afternoon. You may even think that they are paid a lot of money because they are dedicated to their work¹⁸⁵

Criticism of and negative attitudes towards the CWP
Despite having a positive view of the CWP, one interviewee raised questions about what factors dictated whether or not one was able to access the services of the CWP.

So again, it goes as to who are you – because if there is anything that is going to happen here, and I am going to [have] people from outside, I just speak to the councillor; those guys would clean right around [here]. If I need painting they will come and do painting and everything. So, again you ask yourself, why is that? I know they clean in the school here, I know that they also work from a ward office, which means it's a programme of the municipality, and probably the councillor in that area. How much do they get to do things for people who are the darlings and favourites of the councillor?¹⁸⁶

Another interviewee indicated that she had experienced several difficulties with the CWP, including alleged shirking of work, and said that she felt she had no authority over them despite being

¹⁸¹ Personal interview, local priest.

¹⁸² Personal interview, female church representative.

¹⁸³ Personal interview, local NGO representative.

¹⁸⁴ Personal interview, non-participant.

¹⁸⁵ Personal interview, school patroller.

¹⁸⁶ Personal interview, local priest.

the person in charge at the school where they were providing assistance.

It's just a pity, these people [CWP participants] have been brought in by the department or by the government and we've got no say over them ... I am doing my work and I am being paid for what I do. So they can't just come and stand here and bunk, and then go home and then expect me to sign things. I cannot, I said I can't ... it is a good project but unfortunately it is unmonitored. It is also not [properly] supervised. So the participants work as they wish and most of the time they bunk at the back of the toilets there. Unfortunately, I can't follow them around because it is not part of my job description ... And they [CWP participants] sometimes look at me as this person who makes them work hard. Unfortunately they do not have supervision. And I have complained many times about them. At some stage I said they shouldn't come altogether to this school because they were creating more problems for us. I told them that they must leave me with my people that I know that would be under me. But then, since this is not my project, it is the department's project, my hands are tied. After my complaint they sent people to come and supervise them but I am still crying about the supervision. They don't work. They work the way they want. There is a lot of laxity in terms of working. Last week I requested them [CWP] to clean the windows before the learners wrote the ANA exams¹⁸⁷ but they refused. They said they don't clean windows [at] any time, they only clean windows during the holidays ... But on that day I said it's because we are having an exam, and it's a special time for learners. I had to plead with them before they could do it. I had to say, 'Please, I beg you' and it was then that they could clean the windows. And they only cleaned the front part and at the back they didn't do anything. So they are not helpful as they were supposed to be. Otherwise, if they were supervised properly, and they knew what they are supposed to be doing here properly, then I would really say let this project continue. But to me they are just getting the money from the department over nothing ... But, in the

beginning they were so committed but right now I don't know how they do their selection, I am not sure if they are being selected any way. I don't know, but I think the training is very important. They need to start training these people from the ward levels.¹⁸⁸

A number of others also alluded to the issue of CWP participants shirking work or being 'lazy' and unproductive.

Those people are lazy. I always see them sitting under the tree and talking and talking, but they still get paid.¹⁸⁹

I really do not know what these people are doing. They just sit and sit and talk. I have never seen them working. I agree with T [another interviewee] that these people are lazy.¹⁹⁰

I feel government is wasting money to pay these people to just sit under trees and talk and talk and then knock off at 14:00 without having done anything. They say they are cleaning the streets but the streets are so dirty. You can see this yourself.¹⁹¹

Those are the things that I can tell you – that it's a good programme that has been introduced. It did drive out hunger out of the communities ... It's only those few elements ... which I don't like even in my structure. People who are ripping off the state money. They do not work but during payday they want to get money.¹⁹²

Negative attitudes to the CWP appeared to be most prevalent among young men and the unemployed. The derogatory term *Clena wena popaye* was mentioned in many interviews conducted with non-participants. Some, particularly young people on street corners, asserted that being a CWP worker was for people who have given up hope.

I cannot imagine myself working in the CWP. This CWP thing is for losers. If you work in the CWP, it means you have lost hope in life.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁷ Annual National Assessment administered by the Department of Basic Education.

¹⁸⁸ Personal interview, school principal.

¹⁸⁹ Personal interview, community leader.

¹⁹⁰ Group interview, non-participant.

¹⁹¹ Personal interview, non-participant.

¹⁹² Personal interview, CPF leader.

¹⁹³ Personal interview, youth

These people [CWP] we call *Clena wena popaye*.¹⁹⁴

No, I cannot be part of that programme. I'm still young to work in the project where I will be picking up papers on the streets. As a young person I still have dreams to be something in life¹⁹⁵

I agree with M [another interviewee] that to work is like you have given up in life.¹⁹⁶

This CWP thing is for retired people. It is a project for grannies.¹⁹⁷

This is a programme for pensioners and people who have stopped dreaming in life.¹⁹⁸

The youths were very clear that 'we do not go to school to become street sweepers but to go to university and do better things in life'. All agreed that they would not want to be part of the CWP even if they were unemployed. 'I don't think it's a job I would do even if I was not unemployed. There is no way that one can spend 12 years learning and become a street sweeper.' Another remarked that, 'I would rather get married to a rich man than become a street sweeper.' Another expressed fear of becoming a CWP participant as follows: 'What will my parents, my young brothers and sisters and my school think of me if I was employed as a street sweeper by the CWP. Many people call these people *Opopayi* and say *Clena wena popayi* and it's definitely not something I would do after finishing school even on a voluntary basis.'¹⁹⁹

Partly because they identified the CWP as a 'cleaning programme', many young people rejected the idea of participating in it, even if they were unemployed. This was due to the low payments but also because it would not satisfy their expectations regarding the type of work that they believed was appropriate for them.

To tell you the truth our youth expects better jobs even though they are not qualified. Which we would always tell them, is not possible. So now it happens that the older generation takes advantage of this opportunity. Because you'd find that you don't even have a matric but you expect to earn a higher salary. That is why they prefer to make money through other means. That is why you would find that most of the CWPs are people who are desperate of putting food on the table. That is why it attracts older people.²⁰⁰

The issue of money was the primary concern of those who rejected the idea of participating in the programme.

I also had the same problem – when I looked at the people who work there, I asked myself who they were targeting, because usually the youth is more informed about such programmes such as this. It is not like they do not know. So there is this rumour that there was a tender where people from here worked for Pikitup²⁰¹ So they were not given the correct salary. So, when we did our own research and we asked how they got the job and they said they went to the ward and so on. We asked how much they were paid and they told us – we found out that it was ridiculous. Actually those people were not targeting us. I mean, you can't say you will pay me about R540.00 a month with my matric. Even I am desperate for a job, but that is unfair. I'll rather go and work for Checkers. So we have a problem with the criteria they employed those people. What is working there? Who is in charge of CWP? Till this day I cannot tell you who runs it. I am thinking that maybe the government but I doubt that the government would pay people such low money.²⁰²

In the group, there is this guy who was working there, and then I asked him how do you get in, and he said to me, you just go and register your name and details. But the problem is the payment.

¹⁹⁴ Personal interview, youth.

¹⁹⁵ Group interview, youth.

¹⁹⁶ Group interview, youth.

¹⁹⁷ Group interview, youth.

¹⁹⁸ Personal interview, youth leader.

¹⁹⁹ Notes from an interview with a group of young learners.

²⁰⁰ Personal interview, community liaison officer.

²⁰¹ See, <http://www.pikitup.co.za/home/> (accessed 6 April 2016).

²⁰² Group interview, ex-offender.

I asked him how much is the payment and he said R540.00 per month. And then I asked is it really R540.00, and he said it was the payment and you work two days in a week. So my question was, if they give you R540.00 what would you do with it? And he said other things I can do, others I can't. But now I can see he no longer goes like he used to before. He skips days. It's like he lost interest. And to my understanding he lost interest because the payment is very little. And the other thing ... it's like it was planned that the payment would be made low so that the youth shouldn't join, only older people should come. So if we don't work as the youth – I mean you ask yourself, what am I going to do with R540.00 because it is very little – you would do other things and leave out others. So that is what we ask ourselves when we're standing at the corner, what are we going to do with R540.00. Others end up telling you that I cannot budget money to buy tekkies [shoes] for three months. That money is too little ... Let's say no one is working in your family, and you are the only person working in the CWP for R540.00 – you have to give them money for groceries, and you also need to buy yourself clothes and toiletry. So you can see that that money is very little.²⁰³

The whole group laughed when I mentioned CWP as a temporary job opportunity while searching for permanent jobs. One participant asked, 'Hey Chief, please be serious. Do you really call that a job? Please Chief, be serious! Can you really call that a job? You must be joking.' Another said, 'I better die than to work on the streets like a crazy person.' All participants asserted that CWP was not an option for them. One said, 'CWP is for pensioners or people that have given up on life.'²⁰⁴

Some respondents seemed to think that, despite the high levels of unemployment, better formal sector job opportunities were nevertheless available ('I'll rather go and work for Checkers'). An interviewee also indicated that he would be able to survive better through taking advantage of opportunities to do 'piece jobs'.

Regarding the issue that I am not working, like now I am not working but what unemployed people are doing is to look for piece jobs. A person is able to go to Bro K and clean his yard and Bro K gives him work to clean his yard. I am just giving an example here. If one cleans a yard in the township you are paid about R150.00. If you go around cleaning people's yards you can make R300.00 within two days. So at CWP, as others have said, it's modern-day slavery. There are people in the location who see it like that. They say CWP makes people fools. You'd sweep under the scorching sun for R540.00. You clean streets in the cold for R540.00. Of that R540.00, when you go to the doctor, the doctor will ask for R200.00, and you are now left with R340.00. You still have to buy food for children. So, the way I see it, even the older people who are working there, they're people who once worked in good companies and they retired and took retirement packages and they are not under financial pressure. So these people work for CWP and the R540.00 they get is for their own use or pocket money. So these people can afford to buy groceries and so on with this money because theirs does not come only from CWP. But if I go there, my income would be coming only from the R540.00 CWP money and it will not do anything for me. Indeed, this thing is slavery because R540.00 a month is very little.²⁰⁵

One young man who had left the programme expressed a less conventional explanation for lack of interest in being part of the CWP. In addition to identifying the payment as a problem ('Besides, the money was just a joke for us. How can anyone work for R50 a day in this day and age?'), he also identified the dominance of 'old women' in the programme as something that had discouraged him from participating.

It was difficult to work with old women because they always thought they knew better than them even though there were not coordinators.²⁰⁶

Another group member indicated that

²⁰³ Group interview, ex-offender.

²⁰⁴ Malose Langa field notes, 2013.

²⁰⁵ Group interview, ex-offender.

²⁰⁶ Group interview, youth.

we left because we wanted to give women a chance to work. The CWP is about women empowerment and we needed to give women the opportunity to work.²⁰⁷

Besides these negative perceptions of the CWP, many people in Kagiso appeared to ridicule the programme. Young and unemployed people were the most likely to use derogatory names to refer to CWP participants.

Community members' negative attitudes were also raised by some CWP participants. They said they felt disrespected and complained about littering that was sometimes deliberately done to insult them.

It is like you are fool that we clean then they immediately throw things and when you tell them not to do that they say they are creating job opportunities for us. It is like an insult to you because you are trying to keep the environment clean but they keep on making it dirty.²⁰⁸

There are days when the community has made unnecessary demands on CWP because people will dump litter and complain that CWP people are not working.²⁰⁹

Some people do not respect us. They take us for fools. We clean today but the following day the whole place is already dirty as if we did not clean. When we tell them not to litter they say [we] are working or creating a job for you. It is like o setlaela [fool].²¹⁰

CWP participants spoke with councillors and community meetings were called in some wards to talk to community members about littering in public places. Despite this, littering continues to be a major problem in Kagiso. This has led to a sense of demoralisation among some CWP participants. They feel that at times it is difficult to see any progress from their hard work in cleaning the streets of

Kagiso as people continue to litter on a daily basis.

It is discouraging sometimes that you work so hard but people still take you for granted.²¹¹

Fortunately, most CWP participants are not bothered about negative attitudes or derogatory names such as *Clena wena popaye*. They hold the view that they are doing useful work for their community.

We don't care about those comments. They don't hurt us any more.²¹²

To deal with the stress of the job and provide support to one another, participants come together in the mornings for devotion and at the end of the day for afternoon devotion and debriefing.

In summary, a variety of attitudes, both positive and negative, were expressed towards the CWP in Kagiso. To some extent, specific types of attitudes were associated with specific groups. Unemployed young men, for instance, were often dismissive or disparaging about the programme, while those who had benefited from it tended to be appreciative. A variable was the level of knowledge about the programme. People who were supportive and appreciative demonstrated more knowledge than those who mocked and made fun of the CWP.

You know what, the problem is that no one educates the community about the work of the CWP. They [the community] don't understand their duties. They only see the CWP and conclude for themselves what these people are about and why they exist and do the work that they do. So other people think that they are employed to do the work that they are doing but if people were explained as regards the role of CWP they will realise that these are volunteers doing community work. Explaining the role of CWP to the community would have been better in ensuring the support from the community.²¹³

²⁰⁷ Group interview, youth.

²⁰⁸ Personal interview, CWP participant.

²⁰⁹ Personal interview, coordinator.

²¹⁰ Group interview, CWP participants.

²¹¹ Personal interview, CWP participant.

²¹² Personal interview, CWP participant.

²¹³ Personal interview, male high school principal.

This suggests that attitudes towards the CWP can be shifted, and that the CWP would benefit if there was greater awareness and understanding about the programme in Kagiso.

Gender and the CWP

In August 2013, 71% (920 out of 1,287) of participants in the Kagiso CWP were female. This is consistent with the profile of the CWP nationally. For instance, in March 2011, 70% of participants in the CWP nationally were reported to be female.²¹⁴ Women not only make up a substantial majority of participants but also occupy most senior positions in the CWP in Kagiso, including the positions of site manager, administrators and virtually all coordinators.

Differences in levels of participation by men and women in the CWP may be partly linked to differences in levels of unemployment. In July 2013, for instance, it was reported that the national unemployment rate for women was 2.9% higher than that for the population overall. However, the official unemployment rate is defined in relation to those who are looking for work. Though the level of female unemployment was higher than the national rate, there were much bigger differences in levels of male and female employment: those who were employed included 42.8% of black men and 30.8% of black women.²¹⁵ Though levels of employment and unemployment may be a factor, they do not appear on their own to account for the wide differences between levels of participation by men and women in the programme.

Though women make up the majority of people in South Africa, there are marginally fewer women (49.9%) than men (50.1%) in Kagiso,²¹⁶ perhaps as a result of the impact of migrant labour on the overall population profile. A question explored in the research was therefore gender dynamics and why women make up such a large majority of participants in the Kagiso CWP.

The most general explanation for the high levels of female participation related primarily to the responsibilities flowing from motherhood.

The role of raising children and ensuring that children eat is a responsibility of a mother. As women who have children we have no choice but to do this work.²¹⁷

When children cry because they want food they cry to their mothers and we feel the pain if we cannot provide for them. As a mother it's even more difficult when you are raising children alone with no help from the father of your children and you are forced to work in order to provide for them. With the cost of living becoming high every time a mother cannot leave her children to starve ... I have no support at all from the family of my late husband and rely on the grant I receive from government. It's difficult because the grant is very small so with the CWP money I am able to make ends meet.²¹⁸

Look, as I said and I actually thought about your question for some time and I then came to realise that most women have got children. And as a mother you would do everything for your kids to go to bed with something in their stomach. You fend for your kids. And what I have seen is that a lot of women are participating in the project along that basis. You know! They would want to make a difference in the lives of their little ones. And to a large extent this money also assists them in so far as your burial societies are concerned and so on. It covers a lot. It's women – women are torchbearers in our communities. So, guys, males I may not take them seriously. All what they do is to make babies and they leave babies with these people and they go. And women are left with these kids and they have to fend for their kids. They have to make sure that their children have uniforms, that their children go to school having eaten something. They also send their children to crèche and so on and blah blah. So that

²¹⁴ DCoG and CWP, supra n 33 at 29.

²¹⁵ 'Unemployment, Illiteracy Higher for Women – Stats SA,' *News 24*, 5 July 2013, <http://www.citypress.co.za/news/unemployment-illiteracy-higher-for-women-stats-sa/> (accessed 3 April 2016).

²¹⁶ Data sourced from <http://census2011.adrianfrith.com/place/763010> (accessed 2 April 2016).

²¹⁷ Personal interview, CWP participant, 2013.

²¹⁸ Personal interview, CWP participant, 2013.

is why CWP attracts more women than men. But there are men in the programme although there are few ... Women participate passionately so with all their hearts as well because it makes also a difference. If you are responsible for a family, and a child comes to you and says, 'Daddy I need 50 cents, I need hundred rands I am going to school,' if you don't have money you will feel bad because you cannot provide for your children. And those who are responsible for their own families would also be forced to consider being part of this programme, just like most women who have family responsibilities. So for me it wouldn't be an ideal to [design] it only for women than men. I've seen men participating in this as such and unemployed men who have responsibilities should be encouraged to join the CWP and become responsible fathers.²¹⁹

However, it was not exclusively their maternal responsibilities that motivated women to join the programme. Some respondents also identified the CWP as an opportunity to contribute to the community.

When they introduced the CWP project I was seated at home and not doing anything, and I saw this as an opportunity to contribute to my community and also look after my children. The payment also was a motivation for me as I'm now able to provide for my family and I'm able to assist my partner [to] look after our children and buy household goods.²²⁰

The tendency to explain the preponderance of women in the CWP in Kagiso in relation to maternal responsibilities is consistent with the fact that most female participants who were interviewed indicated that they have children. Nevertheless, their circumstances varied. Some, although unemployed, do not fit the profile of being indigent because their husband or partner has a stable job. Others are solely reliant on the CWP income. Divorced or separated participants may be receiving child maintenance from the father. Some single mothers are raising children on their own with the aid of the government child grant and there are also

participants who are widows.

Another major explanation accounting for the high proportion of women in the CWP in Kagiso was 'male pride'. Men were described as too proud to work in the CWP, regarding it as beneath their dignity not only because of the low payments received but also because of the type of work done.

I think men have pride as there are lots of men who are unemployed and they say the money is too little. Women have no option because they have kids that they have to support. Unemployed men do not want to join because the money is very little although they too have the same responsibilities to raise their children. Men generally do not want to work for little money they want more money even when they do not have the qualification or the experience.²²¹

There are more women than men in this project because women are used to housework and cleaning and they love working. Men are very few in this project because of pride. Men have pride even when there have nothing. Men will be very shy to work the kind of work we do in the CWP like cleaning the streets and cleaning the schools. As you can see, the men in the CWP are old people who are retired and perhaps are not looking for anything better. Women have responsibilities and have to work to feed their children.²²²

Men are very choosy; they say they can't clean the street. When we started we didn't have anything, we had to wear our clothes, bring our own cleaning equipment. Women persevere under difficult conditions. Men have started showing interest now that the conditions are better but still there are still very few men in the project.²²³

Men have pride that we cannot pick up used Pampers in the street and so on for R500.00 or R400.00 and something. But a woman would say I am going to do it ... But men would always complain.²²⁴

²¹⁹ Personal interview, former ward councillor.

²²⁰ Personal interview, female CWP participant.

²²¹ Personal interview, female CWP participant.

²²² Group interview, CWP participant.

²²³ Group interview, CWP participant.

²²⁴ Group interview, CWP participant.

Some interviewees expressed concern that they would be ridiculed if they joined the CWP.

What will my peers say when they see me wearing the orange overall and cleaning the streets of Kagiso? Maybe I can do this type of a job in another township but never in Kagiso where I live. I will be a laughing stock amongst my peers and my community. This is not the type of work to be done by young people. If I had to do this job it means that I will be surrendering in life, that I have failed and reached a dead end. This is not an inspiring job even for us who are unemployed. How do I work the whole day for just R60 per day? It's crazy and I don't think that it is worth my effort although I am unemployed.²²⁵

The study did not collect data on the profile of the households from which female participants came. It is thus not entirely clear to what extent they were female-headed households to which fathers made no financial contribution, or households in which there were unemployed men who were reluctant to work on the CWP. Similarly, among the substantial number of unemployed young men who rejected the idea of working on the CWP, it is not clear what proportion were fathers and might therefore be labelled as men who merely 'make babies and they leave babies with these people'. A powerful factor encouraging female participation in the CWP was the responsibility to provide for their children. However, it is again not clear to what degree men who rejected the idea of participation in the CWP had put their pride over their responsibilities to their children, as argued to be the case by some respondents.

Men do not want to be seen doing that in most cases. They think that if I am going to go to the street and do that thing, I might be seen as being down and out. But he cannot bring any income to the house. What I can tell you is that I have seen that women do not have pride because they want their kids to eat. But men do not care. I can tell you – that is why they say

a woman holds a knife at its sharpest point. That is what those women are doing at the ground.²²⁶

Paradoxically, one group of participants argued that it was in fact partly their sense of responsibility to their families that led men to reject CWP opportunities because of the low income they would receive.

The money that they earn is not enough in the eyes of many men. Many men will tell you I can't work for R500. I have a family to support and so forth.²²⁷

Remember it's a stipend! They say how much, and then we say [R540.00]. 'R540.00, no! No!' Thinking that he is supposed to support children, three children, he also has to maintain himself. That R500.00 is little for him. But one thing for sure, a woman can do a lot with that R500.00. I think that is the reason. He says R500.00 is little, it cannot maintain my children.²²⁸

There was also a view that men are apathetic about attending community meetings, whereas women are proactive. Given that people were selected on the basis of their application, it is possible that more women than men had knowledge about the selection process due to their attendance at such meetings.

I'll say women are more than men because in Setswana there is a saying that *mmangwana o e tshwara ka fa bogaleng* [a woman holds a knife at its sharpest point]. Women were the first ones who came running when they heard about the CWP being introduced in Kagiso. Men came later when the programme was under way and the selection had already been done. Besides, more women than men attend community meetings; that is the reasons why we have more women than men in the CWP.²²⁹

The idea that women are generally keen to volunteer and are satisfied with low pay is what Wendy Hollway refers to as the 'feminisation' of volunteer

²²⁵ Group interview, youth.

²²⁶ Group interview, CWP participants.

²²⁷ Group interview, CWP participants.

²²⁸ Group interview, CWP participant.

²²⁹ Personal interview, female coordinator.

work.²³⁰ Hollway argues that women are more likely to do volunteer work than men. She claims that the idea that women should be the cleaners and nurturers is rooted in the discourses of femininity. For men, however, work is associated with hard labour (e.g. working in the mines or big factories) and earning enough money to support their families. Notions of hegemonic masculinity thus seem to be playing a role in that men are expected to be breadwinners. One could argue that working in the CWP does not offer men an opportunity to fulfil popular notions of masculinity, specifically that they should be able to support their wives and children by earning a steady income. In addition, for some men, earning a steady income alone is not sufficient; the work has to offer them a sense of honour and respect, which, given the negative attitudes discussed, is not the case with the CWP. Catherine Campbell found that working in the mines under poor conditions was seen as a sign of bravery for men, despite earning poor salaries.²³¹ Bravery and fearlessness are key to being a 'real man'.²³²

For these men, work is not only about money but also about status.

The nature of the work undertaken by the CWP in Kagiso prevents poor working-class men from wanting to be part of the programme, even when they do not have money to support their families. This is different to the situation in Bokfontein, where many men were involved in the CWP and associated it with a sense of pride and dignity.²³³ Being part of the CWP in Bokfontein was considered an honour and people involved were accorded respect and status as 'real' community builders.²³⁴ In Bokfontein, labour-intensive projects were also undertaken, including road construction and digging pipes for water. This labour was divided along gender lines:²³⁵ men were actively involved in many of the labour-intensive projects, while women were involved in caring and nurturing projects such as crèches, home-based care and cleaning of public spaces.

²³⁰ W. Hollway, *The Capacity to Care: Gender and Ethical Subjectivity* (London: Routledge, 2006).

²³¹ C. Campbell, 'Migrancy, Masculine Identities and AIDS: The Psychosocial Context of HIV Transmission on the South African Gold Mines,' *Social Science and Medicine* 45(2) (1997): 273–281.

²³² R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995).

²³³ Langa and von Holdt, *supra* n 12.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Ibid.

Does the CWP in Kagiso advance social cohesion?

It seems reasonable to argue that the CWP advances social cohesion in Kagiso on the basis that it strengthens:

- economic and social inclusion;
- social bonds and networks;
- social capital and collective efficacy.

Though the research did not establish that the CWP promotes tolerance it appears that the programme helps to sustain tolerant attitudes in so far as these may already exist.

Economic and social inclusion

Remuneration in the CWP is governed by a minimum wage determination. It used to be comparable to that in agriculture²³⁶ but this is no longer the case.²³⁷ The incomes that people receive in the CWP are low compared to incomes received by many people who are in formal employment. This is partly because the daily payment is relatively low but also because participants may only be reimbursed for up to two days of work per week. Although the CWP incomes are modest, they are nevertheless stable.

CWP has changed my life because I'm able to provide for my family. I also joined the burial society with the money I get from CWP, I pay contributions for four people. Although the money is little, one is guaranteed that payment will come through at the end of the month.²³⁸

And you'd have a lot of people who are disgruntled because obviously they didn't have income that would assist them to take children to school, to take their babies to crèches and so on. But immediately after the introduction of the CWP, a number of issues

were addressed, issues of hunger for example. Although it's not addressing the whole crunch of issues that are affecting our people, but basically at least people are going to bed with something in their stomach than what happened before. And surely speaking I say people are more satisfied now than before because every month they are expecting something else. It may not be much, but that bit actually address their issues.²³⁹

Notwithstanding the modest incomes, the CWP has made a profound difference to the lives of many people. Most participants who were interviewed expressed the view that the CWP enables them to look after their families, send children to school and has given them slightly greater economic power.²⁴⁰

Yes, the money is not enough but one rand is better than nothing. I have been saving few cents every month and now I am able to support my family and children. I even bought some furniture in my house with the small money I get from CWP. I also buy clothes for my children. The money is small but it has changed my life to tell you the truth. No one can give R100.00 so getting this little money is better than nothing.²⁴¹

CWP helped me a lot because I was sitting at home unemployed. This project has assisted by reducing poverty in our area as we are now getting something for our families although it is not much.²⁴²

With the money that I get from CWP I'm able to make progress in life and be a better person. My life has been better since joining CWP as I'm able to do things for myself and able to provide for my kids. I no longer have to rely on neighbours and family for basic things like food. I am self-sufficient with the little money that I have.²⁴³

²³⁶ Following a major strike in the agricultural sector, the official minimum wage for farm workers was increased on 1 March 2013 from R69 per day to R105 per day. Staff Writer, 'Minister Reveals New Minimum Wage for Farm Workers,' *Business Day*, 4 February 2013, <http://www.bdlive.co.za/national/labour/2013/02/04/minister-reveals-new-minimum-wage-for-farm-workers> (accessed 3 April 2016).

²³⁷ Email, Kate Philip, TIPS, 28 February 2014.

²³⁸ Personal interview, CWP participant.

²³⁹ Personal interview, councillor.

²⁴⁰ See also, Centre for Democratising Information, *supra* n 37.

²⁴¹ Personal interview, CWP participant.

²⁴² Personal interview, CWP participant.

²⁴³ Personal interview, CWP participant.

In some cases people expressed appreciation not only about the fact that they were able to survive better on the income that they received from the CWP, but also because it had enabled them or others to access highly desired consumer commodities.

Yes we have bought many things using CWP. This year I bought a plasma flat TV screen and sound system worth R6,000 and I am paying a monthly instalment of R250. I am happy because we can now to buy things that we could not afford before. I mean before one needed to have hard cash to make a purchase but now if you are working for CWP you can take a three-month bank statement and purchase something on credit. They need bank statements because the CWP does not give us a payslip but we have no problem buying something on credit because they do a credit check on you to see if you are earning something.²⁴⁴

CWP coordinators receive higher incomes than ordinary participants and also work a five-day week. As a result, they are better able to purchase goods of this kind

That money is assisting us a lot ... The coordinator of [one Kagiso ward], she bought a fridge. She bought a brand new fridge with the money she earns from the CWP. She also bought a washing machine six weeks or seven weeks back from the money that she is getting from CWP. I can even take you to her house right now. CWP people that know how to save are improving their lives a lot.²⁴⁵

The significance of the CWP income varied for different participants depending on their backgrounds and circumstances. For instance, participants who had never been employed before joining the CWP had different experiences to those who were retired and receiving pension money, as did participants who were the sole breadwinners in the family compared to those with partners in formal jobs. However, regardless of their social and

economic standing, participants felt economically and socially better integrated. For some people, the benefit of the CWP was in supplementing other less reliable sources of income

Before the CWP was introduced life was difficult because as someone who is unemployed it is not easy to look after children with no money. Life was tough because this business that I am doing here is not reliable. On good days I get about R500 to R700 a day and on other days I get R50 to R150 a day. If I include the money that I get from CWP I am able to feed my family and pay rent. I have also opened a spaza there so that my wife does not stay at home but is able to do something and contribute towards raising our children. Although the money I get from CWP is very small it helps supplement our income, especially on days when our spaza business is not doing well. My view of money is that money is never enough because even people we think have lots of money have financial problems. My view is that it's really about how you use the money that really matters. With my R530 per month income from CWP I am able to buy a few things to stock for my wife and we earn a profit. We have never slept without eating because we use our money wisely. My children don't dress up in expensive clothes but are happy with what we give them.²⁴⁶

When the income from the CWP is not the sole source of income in the family, relatively large amounts can be dedicated to a savings scheme rather than being spent on the costs of daily survival.

Yes, I belong to a stokvel²⁴⁷ in my area with 12 other women. Some of the women are in the CWP but other are just friends in the community. We all pay each other R300 which means that each member gets R3 300 when it is her turn ... last year I was able to buy a set pots and cutlery and other household goods. I don't think I would have afforded the things that I bought if it was not for CWP. The money is helping us a lot to be independent. Although my husband is

²⁴⁴ Personal interview, CWP participant.

²⁴⁵ Personal interview, CWP coordinator.

²⁴⁶ Personal interview, CWP participant.

²⁴⁷ 'Stokvels are invitation only clubs of twelve or more people serving as rotating credit unions or saving scheme in South Africa where members contribute fixed sums of money to a central fund on a weekly, fortnightly or monthly basis.' See, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stokvel> (accessed 3 April 2016).

working, I am financially independent and buy things that we need in our home.²⁴⁸

There is little doubt that a benefit of the CWP is that it enables many people and their families to be more self-sufficient. This in turn leads to greater self-respect, with people feeling that they deserve to be regarded as equals and are worthy of respect from fellow community members.

At the same time it should be emphasised that the nature of the economic and social inclusion that people are able to achieve through participation in the CWP is qualified. This is firstly because, as noted, the monthly income that ordinary participants receive is relatively modest. This was something that many participants were keenly aware of.

Please you must be make recommendation for these people to increase our payment. We have been earning the same amount of money since 2009.²⁴⁹

You must ask government after this research to increase our stipend so that our lives can change better and better.²⁵⁰

Government is helping us but they must increase our stipend to make our lives better.²⁵¹

So they feel like somewhere, somehow the money that they are getting is little for the work they do because the work they do is too much. So, if the government, or the top whoever can maybe increase [the payment].²⁵²

A second reason why inclusion is qualified is related to skills development. The CWP is considered to have the potential to provide people with skills, thus enhancing their potential to transition to more formal employment, where this is available, or to develop their own small-scale enterprises. However, the level of training and skills

transfer within the CWP is not optimum.

Currently they take two people from each ward for skills training. If there is a training for plumbing they would take two per ward. So they must increase the number of training areas. They might tell you that there is such and such training, but then you discover that they've chosen certain training only. So they must increase training areas for people who prefer certain training areas.²⁵³

Some CWP participants expect that, because of their CWP work, they should be considered for new posts that arise within the municipality or within state-owned companies such as Pikitup. However, it seems that they are not generally considered for such positions.

Yes, they are supposed to recommend us. Posts come up but we do not know what eventually happens. They end up saying the posts have been frozen. But at the end of the day you'd see other people being employed. They do not recruit anyone from the CWP. But when there is a shortage at the municipality they come to the CWP ... So we would just see new people being employed, but when they have a shortage of people they'd call you and say please prepare 10 people for us, transport is coming to take them. So they go and work there. The next day they call you and say prepare us such a number of people. But when posts come up the people who've been working there are not considered for those posts. I am speaking on my behalf as well as that of my colleagues. I've worked at refuse removal at Pikitup as a CWP participant. And mind you CWP does not work when it is raining, but at Pikitup we run and take dustbins even if it is raining. But when they employ people they do not take people who have experience in refuse collection.²⁵⁴

On the other hand, it has been argued that 'the team work approach and working in different places allows participants to get to know about

²⁴⁸ Personal interview, CWP coordinator.

²⁴⁹ Group interview, CWP participant. See footnote 5 regarding daily payments.

²⁵⁰ Group interview, CWP participant.

²⁵¹ Personal interview, CWP participant.

²⁵² Personal interview, coordinator.

²⁵³ Personal interview, coordinator.

²⁵⁴ Personal interview, coordinator.

events in their communities, work and educational opportunities, and new knowledge and skills'.²⁵⁵ Even though government agencies may fail to provide access to work opportunities to CWP participants, the nature of the CWP may facilitate some participants' access to information about work opportunities. In assessing these issues, one needs to be wary of applying a framework in terms of which

anything less than a transition into a full-time job counts as a failure of the public employment programme ... Instead, a more nuanced understanding of changes in economic inclusion is needed, with recognition of the more incremental shifts that participation in public employment may enable and with value placed on all of them.²⁵⁶

Changes in subsistence activity, as reflected in increased participation in savings clubs such as stokvels, need to be recognised as an advancement in economic inclusion.²⁵⁷

Finally, despite the fact that CWP participants earn regular incomes, make a substantial contribution to the quality of life of the residents of Kagiso, and provide direct assistance to institutions such as schools and to individuals in need of care, all the residents of Kagiso do not necessarily regard them as worthy of respect. Instead, some residents, notably the youth, go out of their way to ridicule CWP participants. Given that many young people are highly status conscious, some may see ridiculing the CWP as a way of affirming themselves as 'superior' and therefore worthy of better things. For some Kagiso residents, even those who are unemployed, what the CWP offers is not 'good enough' and cannot be seen as a marker of 'inclusion' against their own personal benchmarks. Assessing questions about economic inclusion is therefore partly subjective.

The 'low status' of CWP among some community

members is not entirely negative, as it 'ensures that the programme reaches the most vulnerable individuals and households' and limits the risk that it will be 'captured by wealthy individuals and households'.²⁵⁸ Nevertheless, an impact of this low status is that it inhibits the potential of the CWP to promote the inclusion of certain groups. In Kagiso, for instance, the CWP has a limited impact in promoting the social and economic inclusion of unemployed and marginalised young men.

Tolerance

Studies of social cohesion sometimes identify 'common values' as attributes of communities or societies that are cohesive. However, communities may be cohesive and intolerant. 'Cohesion' is a different subject in the context of a culturally, ethnically and racially homogeneous community as compared to one that is multicultural. In the context of contemporary multicultural societies and the concern with human rights, literature on social cohesion identifies tolerance as a value that is a necessary component of social cohesion. For instance, one report states that,

Tolerance and respect for other people, along with peace and security, are hallmarks of a stable and harmonious urban society. The opposite is lack of acceptance of social and cultural differences, along with conflict and crime, hence stress, insecurity and instability.²⁵⁹

The research revealed that people in Kagiso, and in the CWP in particular, generally demonstrate attitudes that are tolerant of differences. As is characteristic of many townships in the area surrounding Johannesburg, Kagiso is ethnically fairly diverse. Linked to its proximity to areas of the country that are predominantly Setswana speaking, almost half of the population speak Setswana as a first language. However, there are people among the Kagiso population who speak each of South Africa's official languages as a first language. It would

²⁵⁵ Centre for Democratising Information, *supra* n 37 at 65.

²⁵⁶ Philip, 2013, *The Transformative Potential of Public Employment Programmes*. TIPS, 2013. 29, and 28.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Figure 1, 29.

²⁵⁸ Centre for Democratising Information, *supra* n 37 at 67.

²⁵⁹ I. Turok, A. Kearns, D. Fitch, J. Flint, C. McKenzie and J. Abbotts, *State of the English Cities: Social Cohesion* (London: Department for Communities and Local Government, 2006), 7.

appear that ethnicity is not a significant source of division within the township and is in many ways a 'non-issue'.

There is no discrimination in the CWP based on language or culture. We work well together and people respect me as a coordinator. I have never felt that people have a problem with me ... The majority of my participants are Tswana [speaking] people because this is a [predominantly] Tswana [ward]. Tswanas are the majority in this ward. But, we are all living peacefully in this ward and there are no problems. I am a coordinator although I am Xhosa-speaking person. The issue of culture and language is not really an issue in the CWP. I have never heard anyone complain that they are having problems with someone because of language. Besides, people speak Nguni and Tswana here.²⁶⁰

Interviewees, particularly those in the CWP, also generally expressed tolerant attitudes about the participation of people with different political attitudes, as well as gay people, in the CWP. For instance, one respondent said,

We take gay people [in the CWP]. We accommodate them as long as they are South Africans. No one gets discriminated because of their sexual orientation. Besides, we don't ask participants about those things, they are personal.²⁶¹

In relation to the participation of people of foreign origin in the CWP, interviewees emphasised that, in order to participate, they would need to be lawfully in South Africa, a view that is consistent with legal requirements.²⁶²

However, there were cases where intolerance was evident. For instance, at an initial coordinator meeting attended by the researchers, one coordinator reported that she had a problem

working with DA councillors in the ward. She was clear that she was not going to work with a DA ward councillor and would work only with the ANC.²⁶³

As residents of an area traditionally dominated by the ANC, it would therefore not be accurate to assume that every resident of Kagiso is open to the presence of other political parties in the area. Furthermore, there were interviewees who expressed opposition to the participation of gays and foreigners, and even of people who had recently arrived from other parts of South Africa, in the programme.

Despite the fact that the CWP appears to be characterised by relatively tolerant attitudes, it is not clear that tolerance is strengthened as a result of the CWP. As an official programme, which to a significant degree operates in line with South African law and the South African constitution, the CWP is not permitted to practise unfair discrimination. At the very least, it would appear that the CWP in Kagiso practises the principle of tolerance. Furthermore, in so far as it provides a reliable income to participants, the CWP removes a level of insecurity about obtaining a livelihood. By providing modest but stable incomes to a substantial number of people in Kagiso, the CWP may limit the potential for xenophobic attitudes to flourish as these are often driven, at least in part, by feelings of insecurity.

Social bonds and networks

The Kagiso CWP mobilises people into work teams that are based in each ward. It thereby creates a situation where people who live in close proximity to each other also engage in work together on a routine basis. As a result, the CWP creates and strengthens social networks and bonds among the participants in Kagiso. Participants spoke about a sense of oneness among them, which involved

²⁶⁰ Personal interview, female CWP coordinator.

²⁶¹ Personal interview, female CWP coordinator.

²⁶² From a legal point of view, the basic principle is that it is not valid to include people in the CWP unless they are South African nationals (either by birth or naturalisation), have permanent residence status, or have been granted status either as asylum seekers or as refugees in South Africa and who are therefore entitled to seek employment. Chris Watters, <http://www.roylaw.co.za/home/article/1188051/pageid/5887034> (accessed, 18 february 2014)

²⁶³ Notes from coordinator meeting, 16 August 2013.

singing and praying together every day in the morning before doing any CWP work. There was also a sense of community, evident in the formation of stokvels and burial societies.

And comparing from when we started in 2010 up to now, our participants they really know their ward. They really know people. Usually I talk with community on some Fridays²⁶⁴ that some of us we stay in Kagiso but we didn't know each other. But thank God that we have met through CWP. And we know each other's ward [and] what is happening. And we even share ideas, how can we help you to move forward with what you are doing in your ward. To give support as community members to say – not saying that ward is doing its own thing so I am doing my own thing.²⁶⁵

We are like a family here. Every day before we go to work we meet here and pray as a group.²⁶⁶

We had a choir as a group and used to sing and attend functions as a group.²⁶⁷

The CWP has not only increased the ability of community members to participate in stokvels and burial societies but has also enhanced the likelihood that people will form these associations with others who stay in their wards. Stokvels and burial societies create a strong social bond among participants. They also support one another during funerals, weddings and functions such as parties.

Right now I am involved in a stokvel where we buy groceries. Every month we contribute money and then at the end of the year we buy groceries and share. The other society is when you have any celebration, you ask us to buy something for you – we then buy it for you. They bring you things that you need.²⁶⁸

And to a large extent this money also assists them in so far as your burial societies are concerned and so on.²⁶⁹

These conclusions are consistent with those of another study, which claims that 'participating in CWP has enabled participants to expand their existing networks of family and friends ... in the form of CWP colleagues'.²⁷⁰ The study also notes that their exposure to different workplaces serves to expand their range of networks. The CWP brings people together in work settings which are highly egalitarian and in working relationships which emphasise cooperation. By its nature, therefore, the CWP appears to promote social relationships, above all between participants, which are conducive to solidarity rather than competition.

Social capital and collective efficacy

Social disorganisation 'refers to the inability of a community to realize common goals and solve chronic problems'.²⁷¹ It can be juxtaposed with social capital and collective efficacy, which are concepts relevant to evaluating the type of social resources that a community has to respond to collective problems. In this report, the concern with social capital and collective efficacy refers principally to:

- the presence of networks or social bonds or ties that are characterised by relationships of trust;²⁷²
- the degree to which these networks or ties facilitate action for 'collective'²⁷³ mutual benefit.

In trying to understand issues to do with social capital and collective efficacy, this study explored questions related to the role of the CWP in bringing about a paradigm shift in the manner in which the community deals with community challenges. Given the role of the CWP in addressing some of the social and developmental challenges in the

²⁶⁴ Coordinators have a meeting every Friday.

²⁶⁵ Personal interview, Kagiso CWP representative.

²⁶⁶ Group interview, CWP participant.

²⁶⁷ Group interview, CWP participants.

²⁶⁸ Group interview, CWP participants.

²⁶⁹ Group interview, CWP participants.

²⁷⁰ Centre for Democratising Information, *supra* n 37 at 64.

²⁷¹ C.E. Kubrin and R. Weitzer, 'New Directions in Social Disorganization Theory,' *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 40(4) (2003): 374.

²⁷² 'Social capital' therefore overlaps with certain dimensions of social cohesion (i.e. social bonds and trust).

²⁷³ Note that in terms of some definitions, collective efficacy is concerned with the willingness of individuals in a community to intervene for the common good. See, R.J. Sampson, S.W. Raudenbush and F. Earls, 'Neighborhoods and Violent Crime: A Multilevel Study of Collective Efficacy,' *Science* 277(5328) (1997): 918–924.

community, has the programme brought about changes in the capacity of the *community* to deal with such challenges in Kagiso? Questions explored the impact of the CWP on the community's ability to use local resources to address crime or other local challenges.

As noted, there was considerable evidence that the CWP in Kagiso has contributed to expanding the degree to which residents are involved in social networks with each other. Furthermore, the income that participants receive has increased their ability to participate in savings schemes like stokvels and burial societies. The CWP has also activated a spirit of civic duty among participants. Civic duty can be understood as a quality that is latent in communities and that usually does not find an adequate avenue to express itself. This sense of civic duty is demonstrated in participants' commitment to their community work, as well as in participants sometimes using their own resources to deal with community challenges.

This was a desperate situation and when we heard about the plight of this woman we came together and decided to assist. We went there, bathed the lady while others cleaned the house inside and outside. We could not do all this and just leave because there was no food for this woman. We all came together and donated R50 each bought food for this woman. We have reported this to our councillor because this woman will die if she is not assisted by the councillor. We had to assist although we do not get a lot of money at least we are getting something. I hope that even the local churches can assist so that we can assist by cleaning because we also don't have money to buy food. ²⁷⁴

Speaking about an incident of crime in the neighbourhood, a coordinator also suggested that CWP participants are willing to intervene in the community's interest.

That person was killed between my house and the neighbour's. At that time CWP was off duty. It was on a Friday. But the CWP participants were the first to go there even if they were off duty. And they were the first to call the police. And they were the first to call the ambulance, because they did not know that he was dead already. ²⁷⁵

Many South African communities, including Kagiso, have structures such as ward committees and CPFs that are supposed to facilitate community responses to crime and other social problems. However, questions have been raised about the effectiveness of CPFs in engaging with problems of crime and community order in a purposeful way. Some have resulted in the emergence of types of community patrol systems,²⁷⁶ though there is also evidence that forms of vigilantism are sometimes practised by structures which describe themselves as CPFs.

Although the CWP has promoted the range of social networks in Kagiso, increased the ability of residents to participate in stokvels and other savings clubs and activated a latent spirit of mutual responsibility, it appears that actions taken by participants remain very much within the framework of the CWP. For instance, the CWP may have shifted relationships in Kagiso regarding the provision of care for people who are unable to look after themselves due to sickness or age. However, in so far as collective efficacy is understood to involve 'collective' action for mutual benefit, it was not apparent in this study that the CWP had encouraged Kagiso residents to take autonomous collective steps to further community interests.

An earlier study of the CWP concluded that 'CWP participants were more likely to volunteer their time, resources, and expertise to programmes that enhance the wellbeing of their respective

²⁷⁴ Personal interview, CWP coordinator.

²⁷⁵ Personal interview, CWP coordinator.

²⁷⁶ A. Harber, *Diepsloot* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2011); J. Steinberg, *Thin Blue: The Unwritten Rules of Policing South Africa* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2008).

communities²⁷⁷ and that ‘the teamwork approach adopted by CWP helps to nurture collective agency amongst CWP participants, especially where the programme has been running for a long time’.²⁷⁸

However, it would appear that many of the participants in the CWP in Kagiso are drawn from a stratum within Kagiso society that has historically been subordinated. In so far as an investment has been made in the additional ‘social capital’ acquired through participation in the CWP, this has been through the more basic forms of mutual support that are provided by stokvels. In Bokfontein, the combination of the Organisational Workshop (OW) approach and the CWP facilitated the emergence of a community leadership with a strong orientation towards promoting community agency and self-reliance. To the extent that the CWP in Kagiso may be seen to have promoted collective efficacy, this has been in a much more modest sense.

Does the CWP in Kagiso advance civic cohesion?

In focusing on civic cohesion, this report is concerned principally with the following issues:

- trust or other issues of state legitimacy;
- treating people equally – this may be juxtaposed with questions of patronage or other forms of favouritism;
- participation;
- accessibility and responsiveness, in particular whether there are processes through which people feel that they can engage with public institutions;
- transparency.

Unlike social cohesion which is in some ways primarily concerned with relationships between community members, civic cohesion is concerned with the relationship between community members and government. Where there is civic cohesion, community members have a high level of trust in government and other institutions.

The way in which the state acts is central to defining the quality of civic cohesion but also plays a profound role in defining the nature of social cohesion. Where the state is involved in ‘ensuring that public services are provided fairly and efficiently (i.e. treating all citizens equally)’ and ‘actively redressing overt forms of discrimination and other social barriers’,²⁷⁹ there is less likely to be social conflict as a result of attempts to obtain preferential access to resources and privileges.

A further dimension of civic cohesion is transparency. Transparency may help to reassure people that government is treating everyone equally (fairly) and contribute to promoting trust in the legitimacy of government. Transparency may also be aligned with participation, as participatory processes are likely to involve demands on government for greater accountability and transparency.

However, while the assessment of civic cohesion in many respects is concerned with the behaviour of public actors (whether they treat people equally, are accessible, responsive and transparent), questions of civic cohesion ultimately require a reciprocal two-way relationship in which institutions or mechanisms (of which the CWP may be one) serve as a vehicle for interaction between communities and public institutions. Civic cohesion is not only made possible by an orientation towards accountability and fairness on the part of the personnel of public institutions, but also by an active and participatory civic culture through which the community’s ‘voice’ can be heard. The nature of collective efficacy and the typical forms of political activity and organisation within a community (discussed above) are an important contributory factor to the quality of social cohesion.

A dimension of the CWP that needs to be taken into account in evaluating civic cohesion is that the programme is managed by implementing agents rather than the municipality. As a result, questions about accountability are in some ways complicated. For instance, during the initial stages

²⁷⁷ Centre for Democratising Information, *supra* n 37 at 171.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 64.

²⁷⁹ Quoted in J. Jenson and Commonwealth Secretariat, *Defining and Measuring Social Cohesion* (London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 2010), 13.

²⁸⁰ See the discussion in the introductory section of this report.

of the programme, when there were problems with the timeous release of payments by government, the implementing agents were sometimes regarded as responsible. In at least one case, disgruntled CWP participants, who had not been paid, held staff of an implementing agency hostage. This kind of situation creates a need for clarity around the different roles played by the various agencies responsible for the financing, management and accountability of the programme.

The reality is that when people hear that this is a government programme, their instant reaction is that we will make money like people who get government tenders. They do get disappointed and at times discouraged when they get to know about the programme. Some people leave the programme but come back when they see what the programme is achieving and that you are not getting any better jobs. Also, people have perception that maybe we [the implementing agent] are getting more money but we have learnt to be transparent and do show people documents to show that it's a government decision to pay them the money we pay. At times we do travel with government officials to explain to people the issue of payment.²⁸¹

As illustrated here, the CWP's potential to shift the way in which participants and other community members see government is limited by the amount paid to participants. Other aspects of their working conditions are also sometimes a source of complaint, such as the fact that each participant is provided with only one CWP overall.

On the other hand, the stability of the CWP income may encourage greater trust and confidence in government.

And then because in his IDP campaigns, the mayor said that EPWP would bring more work to the people. But people were saying other projects would come to an end, we are fine with the CWP. Because CWP is prolonged, it's going on and they are able to plan that in such a year I want to do this. Unlike with the EPWP programmes that only take six months

and so on. So people's perception has changed a lot about the government as a result of the CWP.²⁸²

In the Kagiso CWP, the principal face of government is that of the politicians, especially ward councillors, who are in many cases closely connected to the programme, play a role in identifying people to be recruited and sometimes help to identify the work that the CWP should do in the ward. Though there is some evidence that forms of favouritism have at times impacted on recruitment, there did not seem to be significant dissatisfaction about this. There also did not seem to be awareness of instances where politicians sought to use the CWP as a type of 'rapid response' resource or to boost numbers at a meeting. Displeasure at this was therefore confined to one or two individuals.

The absence of a reference committee means that there is no central organ that can serve as a voice for the community in shaping the direction of the CWP. The failure to implement a consultative and participatory process when the CWP was established and a mechanism of accountability has resulted in a lack of community ownership and management of the programme, as well as community understanding of what the government is trying to do through the CWP and how it does and should operate.

We are choosing words very carefully again. I think it isolates other people, it is not open. It is not something which is transparent, if we use that word. Because I believe even if it was an initiative by the Mogale City or whatever, or the government – it is something that needed to be publicised [to the community]. Because you do not know what criteria they used to choose who over who, because you still find there are people who are unemployed, and yet there is CWP. Meaning that there are people who get chosen and there are people who do not get chosen. Hence I am saying, it was not transparent or open.²⁸³

While there are militant elements within the Kagiso community, the constituency from which the CWP

²⁸¹ Personal interview, Seriti representative, Johannesburg.

²⁸² Personal interview, Kagiso CWP representative.

²⁸³ Personal interview, local priest.

is constituted is one that has, due to its social and economic position, occupied a subordinate position within the community and tends to be relatively docile and submissive.

In the bigger scheme of things, these people [CWP participants] who are participating don't care about politics because they are more concerned with meeting basic necessities. So if they can be afforded an opportunity to also participate in a programme that provides some income they will be happy.²⁸⁴

Nevertheless, one respondent indicated that there may be some potential for change in this situation:

I think it has improved. They view government in a clearer view now, that is, government has managed to do this; it means we need to expect more. And as I have said, they are starting to make demands that we need this. You see that they are starting to trust that we can get this. If we have pushed this project for this long, they are beginning to trust and to have hope that there would be more in the pipeline.²⁸⁵

In Bokfontein, the CWP did not necessarily specifically advance civic cohesion but it did promote a spirit of self-reliance within the community. Rather than consolidating its relationship with the state, an entrepreneurial approach was taken in trying to establish relationships that were beneficial to the community with a diverse set of private and public actors.

In Kagiso, on the other hand, participants' attitudes to the CWP combine a measure of gratitude qualified by dissatisfaction with the payments received. Though the CWP has activated a spirit of civic duty, participants and other community members do not seem to believe that local government should be called on to more actively involve itself in ensuring that the community achieves its developmental objectives.

Although there is some appreciation of the work done by the CWP, the community generally does not regard the CWP as a vehicle of government committed to responsiveness and transparency. Overall, then, the CWP has not substantially improved the legitimacy of government in the broader Kagiso community. An underperforming municipality that tried to use the CWP as a mechanism for damage control has also contributed to the CWP being underappreciated as a community resource.

Does the CWP impact on violence in Kagiso?

Violent crime is a serious problem in Kagiso. Though police statistics suggest that overall levels of violence may have declined somewhat in recent years, it is not possible to say whether or to what degree the CWP may have contributed to this.

In its conception, the CWP was developed as an 'employment safety net' and not as a violence prevention initiative. Nevertheless, it appears that there are several ways in which the CWP may potentially contribute to preventing violence.

Addressing poverty and unemployment

It is possible that the CWP contributes to reducing violence by reducing unemployment and poverty and therefore impacting on the 'root causes' of violence.²⁸⁶ A World Bank report found poverty and unemployment to be two major risk factors in putting young people (mainly young men) at risk of being perpetrators as well as victims of urban violence.²⁸⁷ In Kagiso, poverty and unemployment are major concerns and increase the risk of young people using drugs, especially *nyaope*, which in turn leads them to commit petty crimes such as housebreakings and muggings.

²⁸⁴ Personal interview, former ward councillor.

²⁸⁵ Personal interview, Kagiso CWP representative.

²⁸⁶ C. Cramer, 'Unemployment and Participation in Violence,' World Development Report 2011: Background Paper, 16 November 2010, https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/9247/WDOR2011_0022.pdf?sequence=1 (accessed 3 April 2016).

²⁸⁷ World Bank, Violence in the City: Understanding and Supporting Community Responses to Urban Violence (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2010/2011).

However, it not only the incomes earned but participation in work itself that potentially has transformative and beneficial impacts for individuals. Some work provides not only material rewards in the form of an income but also non-material rewards such as norms of fairness, 'ideas of status, and the value derived from belonging to groups and forging social ties through a variety of interactions'.²⁸⁸ Related to this, the relationship between unemployment and violence is not necessarily a linear one. Research suggests that 'unemployment ... has a statistically significant correlation with property crime but not with violent crime'.²⁸⁹ Violence may, for instance, in some cases be a response to work that is experienced as demeaning.²⁹⁰ The potential of the CWP to directly contribute to preventing violence may thus partly depend on the degree to which the work that is done by participants is acknowledged and valued by other community members, or at least by the CWP participants themselves. Though the work done by the CWP is valued by some community members in Kagiso and elsewhere,²⁹¹ it also invites ridicule, particularly from young men in the community.

Considering that the vast majority of CWP participants in Kagiso and elsewhere are women, many of them mothers, the CWP may be understood as elevating the position and resources of women, thus strengthening their ability to care for their children. The fact that the CWP is community based also means that women (and men) who are involved in caring for children can work in relative proximity to their homes. This in itself is potentially likely to have crime prevention benefits, as children from stable home environments in which their parents are attentive to them are less likely to engage in crime.

The literature shows that crime and violent activities tend to be committed by young males,²⁹² many of whom are unemployed and living in poverty-stricken homes. Their involvement in crime is often understood as a response to feelings of emasculation, disempowerment, marginalisation and economic exclusion.²⁹³ Studies have therefore argued that creating job opportunities for these young men may help to reduce violent crime in communities.²⁹⁴ However, it seems that in Kagiso there has not been a concerted effort to recruit young men into the CWP. Furthermore, many young men interviewed for the study did not regard the CWP as an option given the low status they attached to participation in the programme. Involvement in criminal activities was considered an alternative means of accumulating wealth. Research shows that many young men who engage in criminal activities enjoy a kind of guarded respect and status. They are often seen as role models due to their ability to achieve some of the ideals of hegemonic masculinity, such as owning a car, wearing expensive clothes and having multiple girlfriends.²⁹⁵ It is therefore important that creative means are explored to make the CWP more appealing to young men who are at risk of engaging in violent or other criminal behaviour. In turn, this may help improve the CWP's effectiveness in reducing urban violence.

Work intended to address crime

The 'useful work' that some CWPs engage in includes activities that can directly contribute to addressing crime. In some communities, for instance, the CWP is involved in community patrols or clearing bushes and long grass in crime hotspots.²⁹⁶ In fact, in the Kagiso ward of Swanieville, a cleaning project was put in place before the CWP was implemented in 2009. It

²⁸⁸ Cramer, *supra* n 288 at 6.

²⁸⁹ Quoted in *ibid.*, 12.

²⁹⁰ Cramer, *supra* n 288 states that, 'There is a strong view in both Padilla (1992) and Bourgeois (2003) that what labour market opportunities *do* exist are commonly demeaning, insecure and exploitative.'

²⁹¹ Centre for Democratizing Information, *supra* n 37.

²⁹² C. Glaser, *Bo-Tsotsi: The Youth Gangs of Soweto 1935–1976* (Oxford: James Currey, 2000); E. Salo, 'Social Constructions of Masculinity on the Racial and Gendered Margins of Cape Town,' in T. Shefer, K. Ratele, A. Strebel, N. Shabalal and R. Buikema (eds) *From Boys to Men: Social Constructions of Masculinity in Contemporary Society* (Cape Town: UCT Press, 2007).

²⁹³ G.T. Barker, *Dying to Be Men: Youth, Masculinity and Social Exclusion* (London: Routledge, 2005); S. Jensen, *Gangs, Politics and Dignity in Cape Town* (Johannesburg: Wits Press, 2008); I. Kinnes, 'From Urban Street Gangs to Criminal Empires: The Changing Face of Gangs in the Western Cape,' Monograph No. 48, Institute for Security Studies, 2000.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁵ Barker, *supra* n 295; Jensen, *supra* n 295; M. Langa, *Exploring Experiences of Torture and CIDT that Occurred in South Africa Amongst Non-Nationals Living in Johannesburg* (Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2012).

²⁹⁶ DCoG and CWP, *supra* n 33.

involved cutting long grass and was initiated as a community response to the increasing levels of crime in the area. However, the link between cleaning the environment as a crime prevention strategy disappeared immediately after the CWP was implemented. CWP participants did not see their cleaning work or involvement in schools as crime prevention strategies. They tended to reject the idea that the CWP should play a role in addressing crime, partly because they assumed this would require the CWP to participate in patrols or other policing-type activities, such as carrying out arrests.

No, CWP does not deal with crime. This is something beyond CWP. We only clean streets. Crime is the responsibility of police and not CWP.²⁹⁷

I do not think that CWP people can deal with drugs. I mean let's face it, the police are failing and the government is failing. It will be unwise to get CWP on this issue because they will be killed by people pushing drugs in Kagiso. I would say leave the issue of drugs outside of the CWP and let the police deal with it. CWP people are old women and often poor people who are simply working in order to have little bit of money to look after their families and asking them to police drugs will be dangerous because they will be regarded as informers. You know how people deal with informers.²⁹⁸

I do not think that we can play any meaningful role in addressing crime unless we are given firearms and training to deal with crime. As CWP we cannot confront criminals because they will kill us. People who are involved in crime are dangerous and if we got involved in preventing criminals from crime they will kill us as we walk about cleaning the streets and doing our work. If they want us to address crime then they must give us guns but that is not possible because most people in the CWP are women and they are old. I will not be involved in crime issue and I don't think it is our responsibility to deal with crime.

We should leave the issue of crime outside of the CWP and leave the CPF and the police to deal with. If you want to see CWP participants getting killed, make them deal with criminals and that will be end of this programme in Kagiso.²⁹⁹

These kinds of views were echoed by many participants interviewed in the study. However, this does not necessarily mean the participants were opposed to being involved in programmes aimed at reducing violence and crime in their communities. Their main concern was lack of skills and training to deal with the problem of violent crime in the area. Some CWP participants were eager to be organised and trained in possible violence prevention interventions as part of the CWP.

However, an issue that needs to be taken into account is the 'criminalisation of social policy' or turning all social policies into violence prevention initiatives. Bill Dixon argues that

crime prevention may indeed be a legitimate goal of social policy, but that a principled approach to deciding its relative priority in the development process is needed if crime is not to be allowed to trump all other social problems.³⁰⁰

It is therefore important when exploring issues around the CWP's potential to reduce urban violence that we do not allow the focus on violence to exclude other social problems that the CWP is able to address. As Dixon argues,

wherever and whenever crime is identified as an unavoidable priority, the nature of the measures (social and/or situational) taken to reduce it should also be taken with the ultimate goals of development in mind.³⁰¹

Rather than forms of policing, it may be the CWP's involvement in activities that are essentially

²⁹⁷ Personal interview, coordinator.

²⁹⁸ Personal interview, youth.

²⁹⁹ Personal interview, CWP participant.

³⁰⁰ B. Dixon, 'Development, Crime Prevention and Social Policy in Post-Apartheid South Africa,' *Critical Social Policy* 26(1) (2006): 169.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 186.

developmental but that also constitute forms of social crime prevention that should be regarded as the CWP work that is most relevant to addressing crime. Thus, some of the home-based care work, such as support to child-headed households, as well as work undertaken in schools, should be recognised as potentially beneficial in terms of crime prevention. If the contribution of the CWP to addressing crime and violence is to be strengthened, it may be most appropriate to focus on supporting CWP participants to strengthen their social crime prevention role.

Promoting community resilience against violence through social and civic cohesion

In line with the focus of this research, a third 'route' by means of which the CWP may prevent violence concerns the programme's impact on 'proximate causes of violence'.³⁰² This project was primarily concerned with exploring the possibility that the CWP may contribute to promoting community resilience against violence through promoting social and civic cohesion. Civic cohesion implies trust between community members and public (and other) institutions. There is an active and reciprocal relationship between them that takes place through various institutions in which values of accountability and transparency are emphasised. Social cohesion implies social and economic inclusion, trust between community members and tolerance of differences, as well as the potential for the social capital of community networks and bonds to be translated into a greater capacity on the part of communities to take purposeful action to advance their collective interests. In Kagiso, the

CWP has clearly contributed to the multiplication of social networks and appears to support attitudes of tolerance within the Kagiso community. It also appears to have promoted a level of economic inclusion.

In Bokfontein, the CWP was initiated through the process of OW, a powerful tool for addressing potential sources of conflict within a community and for building a common vision around development and the role of the CWP. In addition, OW helped to bring to the fore credible community leaders who have played a profound role in shaping the character and direction of the CWP and who have turned the CWP into a vehicle of collective efficacy.

However, in Kagiso the CWP was implemented in a hasty manner with participants being recruited by ward councillors. Rather than community members being involved in identifying priority areas of work for the CWP, cleaning work was prioritised by the politicians who had the most influence over the programme. Kagiso was strewn with litter and informal rubbish dumps and the politicians were concerned about the potential for community mobilisation around these issues. The absence of a proper inception process and the inadequacies of systems of governance led to the CWP in Kagiso failing to realise its full potential as a vehicle for mobilising the Kagiso community and local government around achieving its developmental objectives.

³⁰² Bandeira and Higson-Smith, *supra* n 34 at 14, understand these as 'medium term situational causes' that are 'often linked to the behaviours of different actors, the relationships between these, and the nature of the conflict situation'.

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