

A CASE STUDY OF THE IVORY PARK COMMUNITY WORK PROGRAMME



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

Themba Masuku – Senior Researcher
August 2015

This report is based on research carried out in Ivory Park in 2014. I would like to thank the many people, including staff and participants within the Community Work Programme and others, who contributed to the research by participating in interviews and focus groups and in other ways.

The research was also supported by feedback from members of the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSV) Urban Violence Study Group, including Hugo van der Merwe, Malose Langa, Jasmina Brankovic, Kindisa Ngubeni and David Bruce. Many others at CSV also assisted with this work in one way or another. David Bruce assisted with the editing of the report.

© September 2015, Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
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>

This work was carried out with financial support from the UK Government's Department for International Development and the International Development Research Centre, Canada. The opinions expressed in this work do not necessarily reflect those of DFID or IDRC.

Table of Contents

Introduction	3	Contestation by political parties regarding the Ivory Park CWP	31
Methodology	4	Work done by the CWP in Ivory Park	33
Literature review	5	Infrastructure projects	34
In-depth interviews	5	Environment projects	34
Focus groups	7	Social projects	35
Other research methods	7	Crime prevention as a focus of the social programme	37
Description and overview of Ivory Park	8	Economic projects	38
Brief history	8	Issues concerning the CWP in Ivory Park emerging from the research	40
Demographics of Ivory Park	8	Attitudes towards the CWP	40
Language profile for Ivory Park	9	Challenges facing the CWP in Ivory Park	41
Local government and politics in Ivory Park	10	Internal challenges	41
Local government	10	External challenges	42
Political control	10	Views of interviewees about the role of the CWP in addressing crime	43
Political developments	11	Impact of CWP work on the Ivory Park community	43
Challenges facing Ivory Park	13	Impact of the CWP on the lives of participants	45
Crime and violence	13	Absence of gender discrimination in the CWP	46
Drugs as an issue in Ivory Park	15	Impact of the CWP on social capital in Ivory Park	47
Respondents' observations about crime	17	Analysis and conclusion	48
History, development and characteristics of the CWP at site	18	General position of the CWP in Ivory Park	49
Overview of the Ivory Park site	18	Work ethic and commitment	50
What is the aim of the programme?	18	Leadership	50
Key focus areas of the CWP programme in Ivory Park	19	Fairness in the allocation of jobs	50
Profile of participants	19	Awareness and understanding in Ivory Park about the CWP	
Reasons for predominance of women in the CWP	21	Role of the CWP in addressing crime and violence	
Young women in the CWP	23	References	51
Ex-offenders in the CWP	24		
Development of the CWP in Ivory Park	25		
Inception	25		
Governance of the CWP in Ivory Park	25		
Local reference committee	25		
Recruitment and selection	25		
Fairness of the selection and recruitment	27		
The Ivory Park CWP task team	29		

Abbreviations and acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
APC	African People's Convention
ARV	antiretroviral
CBO	community-based organization
COGTA	Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
COPE	Congress of the People
CPF	community police forums
CWP	Community Work Programme
DA	Democratic Alliance
ECD	early childhood development
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
HBC	home-based care
IA	implementation agent
ID	identity document
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
LIA	local implementation agent
LRC	local reference committee
NFP	National Freedom Party
NGO	nongovernmental organization
PAC	Pan African Congress
PIA	provincial implementation agent
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SANCA	South African National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence
SANCO	South African National Civic Organization
SAPS	South African Police Service
Stats SA	Statistics South Africa
UIF	unemployment insurance fund
Unisa	University of South Africa

Introduction

The Community Work Programme (CWP) is a government programme within the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional affairs (COGTA) whose aim is to provide an employment safety net to unemployed people of working age.¹ The CWP provides two days of work per week (up to 100 days per year) to unemployed people who have been enrolled into the programme. This enables participants to use the other three days to look for long-term employment and other opportunities.

Another purpose of the CWP is to enable participants to contribute to the development of public assets and services in poor communities, and to improve the quality of life of people in marginalized economic areas by providing work experiences, enhancing dignity and promoting social and economic inclusion.²

Once enrolled into the programme, participants perform a variety of tasks which are deemed useful to the community, such as cleaning the environment (sweeping the streets, clearing dumps and cutting long grass); working in schools as teacher assistants and career guidance teachers; looking after child-

headed households, the sick and the elderly who have no family support; and growing vegetables and supplying them to early development centres, school feeding schemes and poor households.

This report is based on a research study which was conducted in Ivory Park between June and September 2014. The research was part of a study also conducted in six other communities: three in the Gauteng,³ two in the Western Cape⁴ and one in the North West province.⁵ The research in Bokfontein, conducted in 2009, indicated that the CWP potentially had a significant impact on positive social cohesion and building relationships among a range of stakeholders in the community, including integrating foreign nationals and preventing violence. The findings in the Bokfontein study raised a number of questions around the role of the CWP in violence prevention and creating safe and inclusive cities which needed to be tested.⁶

The aim of the research in Ivory Park was therefore to investigate the impact of the CWP on violence prevention and creating safer and more inclusive communities.

¹ In Kagiso and Ivory Park there was evidence of a few pensioners enrolled in the CWP.

² See, http://www.cogta.gov.za/cwp/?page_id=31.

³ The research was conducted in Kagiso and Orange Farm.

⁴ The study was conducted in Manenberg and Grabouw.

⁵ The research was conducted in Bokfontein.

⁶ 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).

Methodology

The methodological approach was multidisciplinary and cross-sectional and made use of a variety of methods to gather data. Also, the approach was participatory in that it allowed the researcher to spend three months in the company of CWP participants, facilitators, coordinators and site management while conducting fieldwork.

The fieldwork, which started on 2 June 2014, was preceded by a series of consultation meetings with the site manager. The aim of the consultation meetings was to explain the research and get buy-in from the site manager, facilitators and coordinators. These meetings were also important to allay any fears that people might have regarding the research. I met the site manager twice during May. In the first meeting, which lasted for almost two hours, the research was explained in detail. In the second meeting, a proposal of how the research would be rolled out was outlined and discussed with the site manager. I was then invited to present the research proposal during the coordinators meeting on 16 May 2014. Once I had completed my presentation, I was asked to leave the meeting to allow the group to discuss the proposal on their own.

I attended another coordinators meeting on 23 May to further outline the role-out and deal with questions that coordinators and facilitators had regarding the research, ranging from whether this was research or an investigation; whether people would be guaranteed anonymity; what benefits the research was likely to have for the CWP; anxiety around whether the research could result in the closure of the CWP in Ivory Park; who was funding the research and whether CoGTA and Seriti had sanctioned the research. After dealing with the questions I was again asked to leave, despite having requested permission to remain in the meeting as an observer. It was only in the meeting of 30 May that I was invited to stay and observe the meeting after a brief presentation. In that meeting I also outlined my fieldwork plan and identified coordinators that I would work with.

The fieldwork, which started in Ivory Park on 2 June 2014, lasted until 14 September 2014. Table 1 shows a breakdown of the number of people interviewed and the methods used to collect the data.

Table 1: Breakdown of methods used and number of people interviewed

Method used	Target group	No. of events or respondents
Focus groups	CWP participants Community police forum (CPF) members	15 (estimated 130 participants altogether)
Face-to-face interviews	Coordinators Facilitators CWP site staff Councillors Police officers Social workers CPF chairperson Local community-based organizations (CBOs) and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)	44
Informal interviews	CWP participants	11
Face-to-face interviews	Beneficiaries of CWP	3
CWP meetings	Site staff CWP facilitators CWP skilled participants* CWP coordinators	8
CWP imbizo	Meeting by CoGTA and Seriti	1
Community meeting	Community crime prevention meetings	2
Community outreach programmes	CWP programmes: aerobics, soccer and netball	3

Note: *Skilled participants' refers to participants who are employed based on their qualification and skills. The minimum qualification is a matric certificate, which then entitles the participant to receive training in a particular area, for example home-based care, career guidance or agriculture.

In addition to these methods, I also used participant observation. For instance, I visited participants as they swept the streets; removed debris from drainage systems; cleaned taxi ranks, community halls and schools; played soccer and netball; and visited and assisted families facing crisis.⁷

Literature review

A small-scale literature review was undertaken on the history of Ivory Park and its demographic features.

In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted with a cross-

section of individuals, including ward councillors, police officers, CPF leaders, a school principal, NGO representatives and CWP representatives (participants, coordinators, facilitators, site staff, skilled participants). Forty-four formal in-depth interviews were conducted, of which 38 were voice recorded. Where voice recording was not used, detailed notes were taken during the interview. Table 2 shows the breakdown of formal interviews conducted. All interviews were conducted in Ivory Park.

In addition to exploring issues relating to the CWP, the interviews also explored challenges facing Ivory Park, including the issue of crime.

Table 2: List of interviews

Interview	Organization	Position	Gender	Date
Interview	African National Congress (ANC)	Ward councillor	Male	9 June 2014
Interview	ANC	Ward councillor	Male	5 August 2014
Interview	African People's Convention	PR councillor	Male	23 July 2014
Interview	South African Police Services (SAPS)	Station commander	Male	4 June 2014
Interview	SAPS	Sector commander	Male	4 June 2014
Interview	CPF	Chairperson	Male	10 July 2013
Interview	CPF	Secretary	Male	5 June 2014
Group interview	CPF	Members of the CPF	2 Females, 1 Male	3 June 2014
Interview	CPF	Patroller	Male	2 June 2014
Interview	CPF	Patroller	Female	2 June 2014
Interview	Nokukhanya Early Childhood Development (ECD) Centre	Founder/Principal	Female	18 June 2014
Interview	ECD centre	Founder/Principal	Female	18 June 2014
Interview	Eco-City Social Development	Social worker	Female	2 June 2014
Interview	Primary School	Principal	Male	15 June 2014
Interview	Ivory Park Community Hall	Manager	Female	3 June 2014
Interview	Johannesburg Municipality	Community development worker	Male	3 June 2014

⁷ I accompanied the CWP participants when they visited three families that were facing a crisis. One family's shack had burnt to the ground. Another family's belongings were destroyed by a fire caused by an electrical fault, although the house survived. I also accompanied the home-based care team when they assisted the elderly, the sick and child-headed households.

Table 2: List of interviews

Interview	Organization	Position	Gender	Date
Interview	Ivory Park Fire Station	Acting commander	Female	3 June 2014
Interview	Ivory Park Fire station	Clerk	Male	4 June 2014
Interview	Thiba Nyaope	Founder	Male	10 June 2014
Interview	Thiba Nyaope	Programme manager	Male	10 June 2014
Interview	Church	Social worker	Female	11 June 2014
Interview	Community member	CWP beneficiary	Female	11 June 2014
Interview	Community member	CWP beneficiary	Female	30 July 2014
Interview	CWP	Site manager	Male	16 July 2014
Interview	CWP	Safety officer	Male	10 September 2014
Interview	CWP	Senior administrator	Female	9 September 2014
Interview	CWP	Inspector	Male	9 September 2014
Interview	CWP	Facilitator	Female	2 September 2014
Interview	CWP	Facilitator	Female	2 September 2014
Interview	CWP	Facilitator	Female	23 July 2014
Interview	CWP	Coordinator	Female	11 July 2014
Interview	CWP	Coordinator	Female	11 July 2014
Interview	CWP	Coordinator	Female	15 July 2014
Interview	CWP	Coordinator	Female	23 July 2014
Interview	CWP	Coordinator	Female	23 July 2014
Interview	CWP	Coordinator	Female	24 July 2014
Interview	CWP	Sports coordinator	Female	24 July 2014
Interview	CWP	Sports trainer	Female	22 August 2014
Interview	CWP	Aerobics trainer	Female	24 August 2014
Interview	CWP	Participant	Female	25 August 2014
Interview	CWP	Participant	Male	20 August 2014
Interview	CWP	Ex-offender	Male	20 August 2014
Interview	CWP	Ex-offender	Male	20 August 2014
Interview	CWP	Ex-offender	Male	20 August 2014
Interview	CWP	Home-based care (HBC)	Female	11 July 2014
Interview	CWP	HBC	Female	11 July 2014

Focus groups

Fifteen focus group discussions involving about 130 participants were conducted. Focus groups were held in each ward visited (wards 77, 78, 79

and 80). Two of the focus groups were held with skilled coordinators and facilitators who were not interviewed (see Table 3).

Table 3: List of focus groups conducted

Organization	Position	Gender	Date
CWP	Coordinators	2 males 8 females	2 June 2014
CWP	Ward 77 participants	5 males 5 females	5 June 2014
CWP	Ward 77 participants	10 females	5 June 2014
CWP	Ward 78 participants	2 males 8 females	8 June 2014
CWP	Ward 78 participants	1 male 9 females	8 June 2014
CWP	Ward 79 participants	3 males 7 females	3 July 2014
CWP	Ward 79 participants	1 male 9 females	3 July 2014
CWP	Ward 80 participants	10 females	4 August 2014
CWP	Ward 80 participants	2 males 8 females	4 August 2014
CWP	HBC	6 females	22 August 2014
CWP	HBC	5 females	24 August 2014
Social Development	Elderly people	6 females	10 September 2014
Community people	Soccer players (ex-convicts)	5 males	11 September 2014
Eco-city – Social Development	The elderly playing soccer	2 males 9 females	12 September 2014

Other research methods

I also attended two CWP meetings. The first dealt with labour-related issues, grievances, working conditions, uniforms, tools and equipment as well as other CWP-related issues. The second meeting was about the re-registration of CWP participants. Both meetings were highly charged, with participants demanding better working conditions. In addition, I attended two community-wide crime prevention meetings. The meetings were called by local activists who were mobilizing community members to organize themselves and address the problem of crime in their community. These meetings were also highly charged as community members differed about whether to make financial

contributions and exclude the police in the administration of the neighbourhood watch. There were also questions around the role of the CPF in the suggested neighbourhood watch initiative. As noted earlier, I accompanied CWP coordinators when they visited two families who had lost their homes due to fire. One family was left destitute as everything that was inside the shack was burnt to ashes. The other family lost some of their belongings but their brick house was strong enough to prevent the fire from spreading throughout the house. I used participant observation methods, and observed as the CWP coordinators called ANC officials, councillors and ward leaders requesting support on behalf of the affected families.

Description and overview of Ivory Park

Brief history

Ivory Park is a high-density residential area situated in the north-east of the City of Johannesburg in Region A.⁸ It was established in the 1990s by the Transvaal Provincial Administration to accommodate informal settlers and backyard shack dwellers from the nearby townships of Tembisa and Alexandra.⁹ However, it was only in 1997 that the City of Johannesburg established stands and began servicing them, laying out road infrastructure, social amenities, sanitation, clean water and government Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) houses. Despite these interventions, Lesego Maduna observes that,

Most people live in a state of dire poverty. The area is geographically remote from the stronger economic nodes in the city centre, and the settlement is plagued by myriad socio-economic challenges, including illiteracy, child-headed households and hopelessness. There is a battery of social ills, like drug and alcohol abuse, peer pressure and petty crime.¹⁰

Maduna argues that, as a result, 'from a distance Ivory Park can be easily mistaken for a slum yet it is a habitable place with an urban design' in which the high proportion of shack-type dwellings intermingle with RDP structures and 'clean streets intersect untidy ones, pot-holed roads cross tarred ones.'¹¹ Also, streets are sometimes flooded with effluent as a result of poorly maintained water and sewage infrastructure combined with overpopulation.¹²

The growth of Ivory Park has created other social problems, such as the growth of informal settlements, backroom shacks, poverty and unemployment. Ivory Park is characterized by high levels of unemployment, low annual household income, inadequate access to housing and basic services and the proliferation of informal settlements. As a result, 'many residents are unemployed and some depend on informal businesses like carpentry, car mechanics and shoe repairs.'¹³ Also, 'some households lack sufficient water for family use, access to improved sanitation, security of tenure and housing in a permanent and adequate structure in a non-hazardous location.'¹⁴

Demographics of Ivory Park

Since the 1990s, Ivory Park has seen tremendous population growth. For instance, between 2001 and 2011, the population of the Ivory Park area grew by 36% from 135 528 to 184 383 people.¹⁵ A number of factors have been advanced to explain this growth. The economic factors include the fact that Ivory Park is strategically located between the major economic nodal points of Pretoria, Midrand, Kempton Park and Johannesburg.¹⁶ The economic opportunities in this corridor are considered a major factor in attracting people from across South Africa as well as migrants from southern African countries. In 2008, about 20% of the population in Ivory Park were foreign nationals.¹⁷

⁸ The City of Johannesburg has seven administrative regions. Ivory Park falls under Region A, which also includes Midrand and Diepsloot.

⁹ Nechama Brodie, *The Joburg Book: A Guide to the City's History, People and Places* (Johannesburg: Pan Macmillan and Sharp Sharp Media, 2008). Some sources say it was 1991. See, for instance, A. Omenya, 'Towards Effective Self-Help Housing Delivery: Contributions through Network Analysis in Nairobi, Kenya and Johannesburg, South Africa' (PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2007).

¹⁰ L. Maduna, 'Hope and Heart in Ivory Park,' 18 October 2010, http://www.southafrica.info/about/people/ivory-park.htm#.VcG3G_m912C#ixzz3hvGbgS2B (accessed 1 September 2015).

¹¹ Ibid., 4.

¹² See, 'Sewage Problem Still Plaguing Family,' *Thembisa*, 19 February 2014, <http://tembisa.co.za/13509/sewage-problem-still-plaguing-family/> (accessed 1 September 2015). Also see, Andrew Charman, 'Photovoice: Street Life in Ivory Park,' <http://www.participate2015.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/SLF-Photovoice-Street-Life-Publication-.pdf> (accessed 1 September 2015).

¹³ Maduna, *supra* n 10 at 4.

¹⁴ Ibid., 5.

¹⁵ Analysis of 2001 and 2011 Stats SA census results for Ivory Park. See, Stats SA, 'Statistical Release (Revised) P0301.4, Census 2011,' <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P03014/P030142011.pdf> (accessed 8 September 2015); Stats SA, 'Census 2001: Stages in the Life Cycle of South Africans,' <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/C2001Stages/C2001Stages.pdf> (accessed 8 September 2015).

¹⁶ See, City of Johannesburg, 'The 2008-2013 Region A Economic Development Plan,' <http://www.joburg.org.za/images/stories/2012/Sept/regiona.pdf> (accessed 1 September 2015).

¹⁷ Centre for Social Development in Africa, University of Johannesburg, 'Johannesburg Poverty and Livelihoods study,' http://www.ncr.org.za/pdfs/Research_Reports/Livelihoods%20study.pdf (accessed 1 September 2015).

Description and overview of Ivory Park

Language profile for Ivory Park

Table 4 shows the language profile of the community of Ivory Park.

Table 4: First language spoken in Ivory Park

Language	Percentage
Sepedi	23.29
Xitsonga	22.45
IsiZulu	21.39
IsiXhosa	7.43
IsiNdebele	5.25
SeSotho	4.56
Tshivenda	3.02
SeTswana	2.64
SiSwati	2.12
English	1.71
Afrikaans	0.40
Sign Language	0.31

Source: Stats SA, Census 2011-

The languages spoken in Ivory Park give some sense of the provinces where many people came from as well as their ethnicity. This is so because the population of South Africa is to some degree distributed across different provinces along language and ethnic lines. Table 4 shows that, according to the 2011 census, almost half of the population in Ivory Park speak Sepedi, Xitsonga and Tshivenda and it is likely that many of these people have come from, or have historical links to, the Limpopo province area. In addition to isiZulu-, isiXhosa- and Sesotho-speaking residents there are also residents who identified isiNdebele and isiSwati as their main language. It is possible that these groups have links with Mpumalanga province or Swaziland in the case of isiSwati speakers and Zimbabwe in the case of isiNdebele speakers. There are also English and Afrikaans speakers. Typically, these languages are spread across South Africa and spoken largely by white, Indian, coloured and Asian foreign nationals.

Local government and politics in Ivory Park

Local government

Ivory Park falls under the City of Johannesburg. Section 152 of the constitution enumerates a number of objectives of local government, including establishing representative and participatory democracy, addressing poverty and inequality, and promoting local economic and social development. Municipalities are required to ensure that scarce resources are allocated and spent effectively and that all citizens have access to at least a minimum level of basic services. Municipalities must also structure and manage their administration, budget and planning processes to give priority to the basic needs of the community, and to promote the social and economic development of the community.¹⁸

In order to ensure that government services are accessible to the residents in Ivory Park, the government launched a Thusong Service Centre. These centres are aimed at providing comprehensive government services to communities.¹⁹ The services include municipal services as well as services provided by national and provincial departments. In Ivory Park, the Lord Khanyile Thusong Service Centre houses national departments such as the Department of Home Affairs, the Department of Labour, the Department of Social Development, the South African Social Security Agency and the office of the Public Protector. It also houses the provincial Department of Local Government, Department of Sports and Recreation and Department of Housing.

Municipality offices housed at this centre include the fire department, local clinic, social service department, municipal revenue, metro police, municipality community hall and a variety of offices offering services for the youth, the elderly and the unemployed. The CWP offices are also located within the Lord Khanyile precinct.

In addition to the Thusong Service Centre the City of Johannesburg has also established the Ivory Park Multi-Purpose Community Centre. It provides a multifunctional mix of sporting, cultural and economic activities. Also, the centre offers a community library, a senior citizens service centre, a youth centre, a Council pay point and transport facilities.²⁰

Political control

With regards to local party politics, Ivory Park can be regarded as a stronghold of the ANC if one considers the 2011 municipal elections. However, in the 2014 general election, although the ANC drew a lot of votes from the four voting stations in Ivory Park, its support was reduced compared to in the 2011 municipal elections. The new Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) and the Democratic Alliance (DA) had more votes in 2014, which reduced the ANC's overwhelming majority in the 2011 elections. Tables 5 and 6 show the voting patterns in Ivory Park in the 2011 municipal elections and 2014 general elections, respectively.

Table 5: Municipal voting results for wards 77 and 78 in Ivory Park, 2011

Ward 77 municipal results			Ward 78 municipal results	
Party	No. of votes	Percentage	No. of votes	Percentage
ANC	7 165	89.20	15 261	88.15
DA	283	3.31	820	4.74
African People's Convention (APC)	327	3.52	373	2.15
Pan African Congress (PAC)	42	0.66	347	2.00
Congress of the People (COPE)	146	1.58	142	0.82
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	49	0.49	74	0.43

¹⁸ Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996), sec. 153(a).

¹⁹ For information about services provided by Ivory Park's Lord Khanyile Thusong Service Centre, see, http://www.thusong.gov.za/provincial_maps/gauteng/lord_khanyile.htm (accessed 1 September 2015).

²⁰ The Thusong Service Centre (formerly Multi-Purpose Community Centre/MPCC) programme of government was initiated in 1999 as a primary vehicle for the implementation of development communication and information, to integrate government services into primarily rural communities. This was done to address historical, social and economic factors which limited access to information, services and participation by citizens, as they had to travel long distances to access these services. See, <http://www.thusong.gov.za/>.

Table 5: Municipal voting results for wards 79 and 80 in Ivory Park, 2011

Ward 79 municipal results			Ward 80 municipal results	
Party	No. of votes	Percentage	No. of votes	Percentage
ANC	13 302	86.14	7 954	84.65
DA	692	2.31	1 117	11.89
APC	274	1.77	62	0.66
PAC	299	1.94		
COPE			151	0.87
NFP	61	0.40	24	0.26

Source: Independent Electoral Commission, 2011²¹

Table 5 shows that the ANC has the largest support in all four wards in Ivory Park. This means that all four wards are under the political authority of ANC councillors. Ward councillors are political heads in their wards and perform their duties with the assistance of ward committees. Wards are administered through ward committees, which are represented by democratically elected community members. Though ward committees are supposed to be non-partisan, this is not always the case as they are vulnerable to being dominated by the locally dominant political party.²² Ward committees may be involved in social and political roles in the administration of the services provided in the ward. Committee members may be allocated portfolios (e.g. transport, housing, health, education, policing) to fulfil. Members who are allocated such portfolios are required to address issues in their own wards. Wards are further divided into different sections but it is not clear how sectional committee members are chosen or what their role is in relation to the ward committees.²³

Political developments

Since the 2011 municipal election, there have been changes in the politics of Ivory Park with the formation of the EFF. In 2014, the EFF was a very new party and the impact of the EFF will be tested more fully in the municipal elections in 2016. Table 6 shows the election results from four voting stations in Ivory Park. When compared with the 2011 municipal election results they appear to show a significant decline in the percentage of votes gained by the ANC which is offset by the significant percentage of votes obtained by the EFF, which did not exist in 2011 and was only established in 2013. Although caution should be exercised in comparing municipal and general election results in an area, and the two tables are not directly comparable due to the fact that Table 5 uses overall results in each of four wards, while Table 6 only reflects votes at four voting stations the two sets of results show a distinct shift in voting behaviour in the area. It can be argued that the emergence of the EFF may be a game changer in the politics of Ivory Park given the party's appeal to poor and unemployed young people.

²¹ See, <http://www.elections.org.za/content/Elections/Municipal-elections-results/>.

²² Laurence Piper and Roger Deacon, 'Too Dependent to Participate: Ward Committees and Local Democratisation in South Africa,' *Local Government Studies* 35(4) (2009): 415–433.

²³ For the confusing role of the sectional committees, see, Bheki Simelane, 'Discontent Brews in Ivory Park, Thembisa,' *Daily Vox*, 30 July 2014, <http://www.thedailyvox.co.za/discontent-brews-in-ivory-park-thembisa/> (accessed 1 September 2015).

Local government and politics in Ivory Park

Table 6: General election results at four voting stations in Ivory Park, 2014

	Ivory Park Community Hall		Ivory Park Secondary School	
Party	No. of votes	Percentage	No. of votes	Percentage
ANC	2 260	74	2 400	72.84
EFF	613	20.07	675	20.49
DA	95	3.11	131	3.98
COPE	14	0.14	22	0.67
IFP	11	0.36	11	0.33
PAC	12	0.39	6	0.18
	Ivory Park Primary School		Ivory Park North Community Hall	
Party	No. of votes	Percentage	No. of votes	Percentage
ANC	2 323	67.43	1 928	69.45
EFF	828	24.03	669	24.10
DA	170	24.03	91	3.28
APC	3	0.09	8	0.29
IFP	18	0.52	-	-
National Freedom Party	11	0.32	-	-

Source: Independent Electoral Commission, 2014²⁴

Table 6 shows the national general election results for 2014 in the four voting areas in the four wards in Ivory Park.

Table 6 shows that the ANC received between 69.45% and 74% of votes in the four voting stations in the four wards in Ivory Park. When these figures are compared to the 2011 municipal election results, this is a marked decline of support. The decline of ANC support, although outside the scope

of this research, can be attributed to the emergence of the EFF who achieved between 20.07% and 24.10% of the votes in these four wards. It is believed that the decline of ANC dominance in Ivory Park will also transform democratic institutions there, such as ward and sectional committees. These committees, although in principle meant to be apolitical, are dominated by ANC supporters and members.

²⁴ See, <http://www.elections.org.za/content/elections/results/2014-national-and-provincial-elections--national-results/>.

Challenges facing Ivory Park

Ivory Park, just like many other townships in South Africa, faces a number of challenges. The most visible challenges that one is confronted with when entering the township are unemployment, overcrowding and lack of adequate housing and amenities. Many unemployed people roam the streets or sit on street corners doing nothing. In my experience of walking the streets of Ivory Park, there is no difference between a weekday and a weekend, or mornings, afternoons and evenings. The streets are busy and crowded with people all the time. There are also many informal settlements and backroom shacks that have completely saturated the area with houses. They are very few empty spaces without shacks or formal housing.

Without any doubt, Ivory Park is facing many problems. There is no doubt about that. It's a problem that is beyond the municipality. A lot of development is required in this area but the problem is too much. In the past 10 years we have seen many people come to live in our area. We have people coming from all over South Africa and southern African countries such as Mozambique and Zimbabwe. A lot people benefited from this influx because when these people came here they were desperate for accommodation. People who owned houses and had land started building backroom houses and shacks to make money out

of these people. I think as councillors we failed to deal with that situation because when you allow people to do as they please without following bylaws it is difficult to enforce them later on. Back rooms were built illegally without the municipality approval and shacks were built where land was earmarked for other developments. As a result, when one shack caught fire engines cannot come in to quickly put out the fire because these trucks cannot go through. You then find people losing a lot of things because of that. Fire brigades use water bombs to stop the fire from spreading; that is not always effective. I really don't know how we will deal with these problems because there is no land to resettle people. Ivory Park has reached a saturation point because all the land has been taken for housing purposes.²⁵

Crime and violence

Ivory Park experiences high crime levels, like many South African townships with slum areas, high unemployment and lack of delivery of basic services. As people become desperate to make ends meet, some resort to criminal activities. However, there are a myriad of reasons why people resort to crime, a subject outside the scope of this research. A review of the crime statistics for Ivory Park between 2010 and 2014 shows that overall crime has increased from 5 243 cases in 2010 to 6 297 in 2014.

²⁵ See, <http://www.elections.org.za/content/elections/results/2014-national-and-provincial-elections--national-results/>.

Challenges facing Ivory Park

Table 7: Crime statistics for Ivory Park, 2010–2014

Crime category	Years				
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Total crimes	5 243	5 095	5 353	5 629	6 297
Murder	70	78	83	71	80
Sexual crimes	171	176	173	146	164
Attempted murder	87	61	72	97	73
Assault GBH	594	546	504	599	590
Common assault	301	321	281	301	335
Common robbery	164	123	105	114	97
Robbery aggravating	478	512	558	512	407
Public violence	2	2	4	1	0
Kidnapping	33	24	28	67	37
Robbery residential	100	163	209	158	76
Car hijacking	48	76	81	85	72
Shoplifting	87	108	96	108	128
Theft	460	396	370	368	477
Drug-related crimes	166	245	391	491	1 110
Driving under the influence	189	234	318	409	450
Unlawful possession of firearm	71	54	100	84	46
Burglary non-residential	74	85	65	75	108
Burglary residential	951	899	946	864	920
Theft of motor vehicle	108	134	105	152	193
Theft out of motor vehicle	440	358	368	426	397

Source: Crime Statistics SA, 2010–2014²⁶

Table 7 shows the crime statistics for Ivory Park over the last five years. It is not entirely clear how to interpret these statistics. Though there are overall increases in nine of the categories during the five-year period, the overall increase from 5 243 to 6 297 in the total number of cases can be attributed almost exclusively to the increase of almost 1 000 cases of ‘drug-related crimes’ (from 166 to 1 110). Other categories that have increased are property crime, including shoplifting (from 87 in 2010 to 128 in 2014) and ‘burglary non-residential.’ Car hijackings (from 48 to 72) and theft of motor vehicles (from 108 to 193) are also property crimes that have increased.²⁷ Burglary of residential properties has remained high as illustrated by

the fact that there were 864 to 951 burglaries in residential properties between 2010 and 2014. Theft has also remained high. Murder showed an increase between 2010 and 2014 (from 70 to 80).

Drug-related crime is one of the categories of crime that SAPS describes as ‘dependent on police action for detection.’ This means that the increase in cases could in theory be exclusively the result of more enforcement activity, though it is also possible that higher levels of enforcement might be affected by evidence of higher levels of drug use, or greater public pressure to address the problem. Also note that ‘driving under the influence,’ which is also a crime ‘dependent on police action for detection,’

²⁶ Crime Stats, ‘Ivory Park,’ <http://www.crimestatssa.com/precinct.php?id=212> (accessed 1 September 2015).

²⁷ Car hijacking would be classified as a ‘violent property crime.’

Challenges facing Ivory Park

is the only other crime to increase by more than 100 cases (from 189 to 450). In other words, the increase in the statistics is mainly shaped by more enforcement activity.

Drugs as an issue in Ivory Park

As reflected above, the biggest increase in the Ivory Park crime statistics was in 'drug-related crimes,' which increased from 166 in 2010 to 1 110 in 2014 (see Photo 1). Like many other townships in South Africa, Ivory Park is deeply affected by drugs, especially cheap but very addictive drugs such as *nyaope* (also known as 'wunga' or 'whoonga'). Omphemetse Molopyane and Peter Ramothwala²⁸ illustrate the devastating impact of drugs in many townships in their article titled 'Nyaope Rules Townships.' Operation Thiba Nyaope, an Ivory Park-based NGO working for a drug free South Africa, described the problem of drugs as 'a national problem.'²⁹

The *nyaope* drug is a cocktail drug mixed together to produce a super-drug. The main ingredients of *nyaope* are heroin and dagga. These illegal drugs are then mixed with other drugs which can include antiretrovirals (ARVs), rat poison, pool cleaner, milk powder and bicarbonate of soda.³⁰ The cocktails of *nyaope* differ from area to area. The president of Operation Thiba Nyaope, Terrance Dzele, stated that, 'People who smoke *nyaope* will sell anything to feed their addiction including pots, blankets, clothes, shoes, television sets, electric irons and kettles. This also leads to addicts stealing anything they can get in exchange for money to sustain their addiction.'³¹

When the problem of drugs and the social and economic conditions which produce the drug problem are not dealt with effectively, it may result in an increase in other crime categories. One reason for increases in crimes related to theft of goods may be to do with the involvement of drug addicts who need to find a way of paying for the drugs that they use. There is pressure on people addicted to drugs to acquire cash in order to purchase drugs. As a

result, goods such as cell phones and motor vehicles are preferred objects to steal because they can be easily converted into cash.

In response to the drug issue, a number of NGOs and CBOs operate in Ivory Park with a specific focus on raising awareness about the dangers of abusing drugs and alcohol. Organizations such as the South African National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence (SANCA) and Thiba Nyaope conduct awareness programmes and campaigns in the community and provide counselling services for those already addicted to drugs and alcohol. The following quote illustrates the extent of the problem in Ivory Park.

Ivory Park is not winning the war on drugs and I can say the problem is bigger than we can manage. The problem is compounded by the fact that we have no funding to implement our programmes. We have now shifted our strategy now to address this problem in schools. Unfortunately, drug dealers have infiltrated our schools and many children in schools are dealing and using drugs. However, we think that it is an area worth focusing on given the resources we have. Besides, if we lose this fight in school we would have lost the whole generation to drugs and alcohol. Our campaign in schools is supported by the CPF and the police.³²

Another respondent concurred and also demonstrated the extent of the problem of drug and alcohol abuse in Ivory Park.

The biggest challenge we have now in fighting the abuse of drugs and alcohol is that these things are easily available and are cheap. I mean even school-going children can easily afford the nyaope or marijuana drugs. Also, many people grow marijuana drugs in their homes and people manufacture the nyaope drug. The nyaope drug is a concoction of many drugs mixed together. Depending on the concoction it can be very addictive and lethal.

²⁸ Omphemetse Molopyane and Peter Ramothwala, 'Nyaope Rules Townships,' *New Age*, 20 November 2012, <http://www.thenewage.co.za/mobi/Detail.aspx?NewsID=70707&CatID=1008> (accessed 1 September 2015).

²⁹ Malebo Debeila, 'Group Tackles Nyaope,' *Tembisan*, 4 February 2014, <http://tembisan.co.za/13183/group-tackles-nyaope/> (accessed 1 September 2015).

³⁰ health24, 'Is Nyaope South Africa's Worst Drug?' <http://www.health24.com/Lifestyle/Street-drugs/News/Street-drug-nyaope-classified-as-illegal-20140403> (accessed 1 September 2015).

³¹ Molopyane and Ramothwala, *supra* n 28.

³² Personal interview, male from CBO, 18 June 2014.

Challenges facing Ivory Park

Other drug users mix rat poison with ARVs and marijuana while others mix ARVs, marijuana with cheap heroin. Other concoctions are a combination of crack mixed with detergents. These drugs are very addictive and many young people have died because of overdose. When someone comes to us with this problem it takes a lot of time to rehabilitate him and in most cases we fail. We fail because we rehabilitate people while living in the same conditions which led them to use drugs. We do not have rehabilitation centres where we can remove people for months while they remove drugs from their system.³³

Some residents believe that the abuse of drugs such as *nyaope* is also linked to satanism (see Photo 2). One respondent described satanism as follows: 'Satanism is a religion of devil worshipers. The followers of satanism are taught to cause harm to innocent people, creatures and animals.'³⁴ Another respondent said, 'Satanism is premised on doing

bad things instead of good things.'³⁵ There was a widespread view amongst participants that satanism as a religion is growing in Ivory Park. The growth of satanism is alleged to be 'due to rich people who target poor people and vulnerable people to practise it.'³⁶ There was also a strong view that this new form of religion was spreading in schools.

We are living in very difficult times now because satanism is destroying our children. Satanists are targeting our children and teaching them all these bad things. There is nothing that satanism teaches one except to kill and destroy lives. Unfortunately this problem is also getting into schools. In the school across there we have found strange things there including dead animals brutally killed as sacrifices. I mean let me go with you to show you some of the things that we have seen recently done by satanists. It is horrific and this community needs to do something about it, otherwise we will all perish.³⁷



Photo 1: A car arrives where young men were seen gambling, allegedly to deliver drugs to the gamblers.



Photo 2: An alleged satanic ritual in which a chicken was hanged alive and left to die. On the ground there are signs of burning candles and muti, evidence that some kind of ritual was performed.

³³ Personal interview, male, 18 June 2014.

³⁴ Personal interview, male, 4 June 2014.

³⁵ Personal interview, female, 11 June 2014.

³⁶ Personal interview, male, 26 July 2014.

³⁷ Personal interview, male focus group participant, 5 June 2014.

Challenges facing Ivory Park

Respondents' observations about crime

The issue of crime and corruption was explored with many respondents in the study. Respondents were asked to outline the crime problems that the community of Ivory Park was experiencing and also to share their views on whether the CWP had any role to play in mitigating this problem. Many respondents identified crime and corruption as the biggest problem impacting on development in their community.

I believe that crime in Ivory Park is out of control because it is not safe as a woman to walk alone at night. Women in this community are victims of rape and domestic violence. In my street, in May alone two women who stay in my streets were raped on two different occasions. Where were the police when these things happened and why are perpetrators not arrested? This place is definitely not safe for women because we live in fear that one day someone will attack and rape you.³⁸

Housebreaking and robberies were other crimes that were also mentioned by many respondents.

Housebreaking is a serious problem; these days people break into the house during daylight. Thieves are no longer deterred by light or people around because when they have targeted your house and want to break in they will do so whether it is in the evening or during broad daylight. There are also a number of robberies that have been reported where people are attacked in their

homes and people robbed of their possessions. The problem as I see it is related to the *nyaope* drugs. When someone is under the influence of *nyaope* everything is easy because that person has no conscious at the time he commits a crime. House robberies were not common in the township but were something common in the suburbs. The security has been tightened in the suburbs by bringing in private security and installing alarm systems. We do not have those things here hence criminals are now targeting us for [house] robberies.³⁹

Corruption was also a recurring theme alongside crime. There was a view that some of the crime problems were a result of corrupt police officers.

I believe that if the police could clamp down on their members who are corrupt the crime problem will disappear. Police officers are taking bribes from criminals and letting them go scot free. How do you explain that someone is arrested and there are witnesses and evidence but the case is thrown out of court because of insufficient evidence? Known criminals roam the streets terrorizing communities and the police are doing nothing about it. I really think that perhaps if we removed all the police officers at this police station and bring new police officers the situation will change until they get corrupted. I don't think the current police are able to deal with the crime situation in Ivory Park.⁴⁰

³³ Personal interview, male, 18 June 2014.

³⁴ Personal interview, male, 4 June 2014.

³⁵ Personal interview, female, 11 June 2014.

³⁶ Personal interview, male, 26 July 2014.

³⁷ Personal interview, male focus group participant, 5 June 2014.

History, development and characteristics of the CWP at site

Overview of the Ivory Park site

The CWP was introduced on 12 April 2010 in Ivory Park under the auspices of the Seriti Institute.⁴¹ As noted, the Ivory Park site is in fact a 'sub-site' in the overall Region A, with the other parts of the site being Diepsloot and Midrand. Ivory Park comprises four wards (77, 78, 79 and 80). The Ivory Park sub-site also includes adjacent townships such as Ebony Park, Kaalfontein and Rabie Ridge. However, although interviews were conducted in Ebony Park and Kaalfontein as part of the bigger Ivory Park site, the primary focus was on Ivory Park township.

Since the site was established in 2010, the implementation agent (IA) for Region A has changed twice. In 2012 the site was awarded to Dhladhla Foundation until April 2014, when it reverted back to the Seriti Institute. At the time of the research, Seriti had just taken over the Region A site. A number of processes, partly related to the transition back to Seriti, were still under way, including a skills audit of all participants and the re-registration of participants. The skills audit was conducted to plan for training and skills development of participants. The re-registration was done to get rid of ghost participants and people who have since left the CWP programme, either through death or voluntarily. Also, this exercise was designed to establish the correct number of participants in the CWP programme. The Seriti Institute was concerned that Region A had more participants than the budget allowed for.

What is the aim of the programme?

The aims of the CWP are defined at national level by COGTA. However, sites are also expected to develop annual plans and may also define specific aims or objectives in these plans. For instance, the Region

A annual plan, developed in 2014, provides that the aims of the CWP in the region are:

- ◆ to grow and develop social life, local economic structures and increase working skills in this region; and
- ◆ to reduce crime and substance abuse by applying the social activities and economic contributions as transforming tools.⁴²

The plan states that the purpose of the programme is to help alleviate poverty and assist the community to come together and participate in various programme activities which are aimed at providing useful work in exchange for payment of stipends.⁴³ By doing so, it is hoped that unemployed people will become less dependent on government social security systems and grants. The plan states that the objectives of the CWP in Region A are:

- ◆ to uplift the CWP brand by ensuring that community members have improved access to social services;
- ◆ to provide participants with training and opportunities for skills development, which will improve their opportunities for getting employed by big businesses and industries;
- ◆ to improve sports and arts in schools, and encourage competition amongst schools in the same districts;
- ◆ to promote health in communities by promoting healthy living and lifestyles;
- ◆ to grow the local economy and improve the relationship as well as cooperation between the businesses sector and the CWP;
- ◆ to encourage cooperation and oneness amongst different stakeholders; and
- ◆ to increase staff performance and promote teamwork in the workplace.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Personal interview, Seriti manager, 4 August 2014.

⁴² Author copy of the CWP document, Region A, Annual Plan, 2014.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

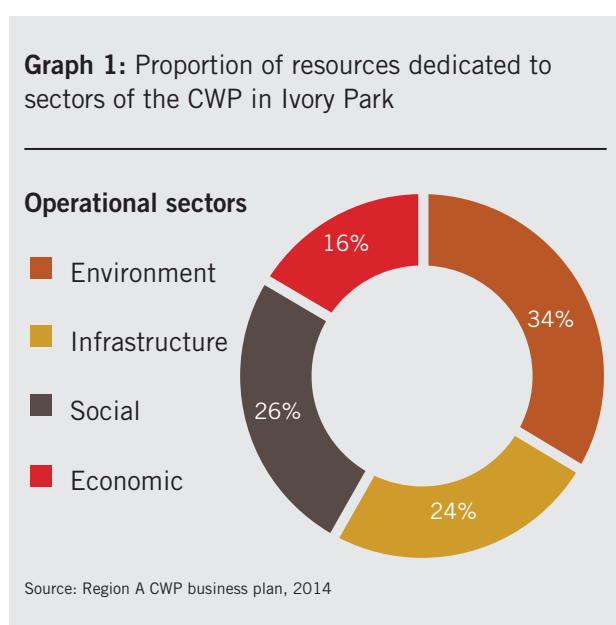
History, development and characteristics of the CWP at site

Key focus areas of the CWP programme in Ivory Park

Within the CWP, work is usually broadly defined as falling into a number of key 'sectors.' In Ivory Park these sectors are defined as Environment, Infrastructure, Social and Economic. In terms of the business plan for 2014, 34% of work will be in the environment sector, including:

- ◆ removing illegal dumps;
- ◆ maintaining food gardens;
- ◆ cutting long grass and trees;
- ◆ cleaning public parks, schools and churches.

Home visits and care to chronic and home-bound sick community members who are unable to be cared for in a hospice or at home are defined as part of the social sector in Ivory Park



The social sector is allocated 26% of the programme in the CWP. A total of 182 CWP participants were earmarked to implement programmes in schools and early childhood development (ECD) centres, as well as community campaigns aimed at reducing

alcohol and drug abuse, in particular by young and unemployed youths.

With regards to the infrastructure programmes, 144 participants in Ivory Park were earmarked to be part of the programme, which was allocated 24% of the resources in Ivory Park. Projects in the programme include assisting local schools with minor electric repairs; fixing broken windows, doors and leaking pipes; improving paving in public buildings; and assisting the municipality infrastructure department with water drainage and building houses for indigent families.

The economic sector is the fourth identified sector to initiate projects for CWP participants. It was allocated only 16% of CWP resources. This is despite the business plan recognizing this sector as one of the most important, particularly as it involves providing young people in the CWP with entrepreneurial skills to start cooperatives and businesses. Eighty-nine CWP participants were earmarked to participate in the Economic sector programmes.

Profile of participants

As at 30 September 2014, there were 743 CWP participants in Ivory Park, of which 141 were males and 602 were females (Table 8). The number of participants in September 2014 was significantly lower than in December 2013, when there were 881 participants.

After the Seriti Institute took over the Region A site in April 2014, a moratorium was placed on recruitment of new participants because the site has more participants than provided for in the budget. One interviewee said the inflated number of participants was related to political pressure on the programme.

⁴¹ Personal interview, Seriti manager, 4 August 2014.

⁴² Author copy of the CWP document, Region A, Annual Plan, 2014.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

History, development and characteristics of the CWP at site

The numbers of CWP participants was forced onto the programme by the government towards the 2014 general elections. The implementation agent ... was told to recruit more participants than was budgeted for and resulted in 600 more people being recruited above the threshold budgeted for. In December 2013 there were 1 680 CWP in Region A, more than 600 people than required. This created a number of challenges including the budget for stipends, safety equipment and the procurement for doing the work. This is why when we took over the site we placed a moratorium on recruitment because we cannot provide resources for all the people in the CWP because of the limitation in the budget.⁴⁵

As a result, the interviewee said:

We are sitting with a problem now because we have more people in the programme that we can afford. Right now as we are procuring uniform, only 1 000 participants from Region A will be given new uniforms and the rest will not because that is the budget we have. Region A has too many participants than budgeted for because the IA was literally forced to bring more people into the CWP by politicians. It's a problem when that happens because it appears as if the IA is the one refusing to employ people and that may create problems for the IA.

Declining numbers could also be related to the fact that while the moratorium has been in place, participants have left the programme for a variety of reasons, including taking up formal employment elsewhere, maternity, becoming self-employed and as a result of sickness or death.

Table 8: Profile of CWP participants in Ivory Park

Period	Males	Females	Total
December 2013	171	710	881
%	19.4	80.6	100
September 2014	141	602	743
%	18.9	81.1	100

Source: Region A business plan, 2014

Notwithstanding the challenge of over-recruitment of participants, Table 8 shows that the CWP in Ivory Park is more attractive to female than male participants. As at September 2014, there were 602 females (81%) compared to 141 males (19%). The high levels of representation of women are reflected in every part of the CWP except for office staff members. The site staff constitute the top management structure in the site and are employed on a full-time basis by the IA. Table 9 shows the distribution of office staff as well as coordinators according to gender in Ivory Park.

Table 9: Distribution of site staff and coordinators according to gender

	Gender	
	Male	Female
Office staff	3	2
Coordinators (including facilitators and skilled workers)	5	17

There are five office staff in the Ivory Park CWP, commonly referred to as the 'top five.' Two females occupy the positions of administrator and of skilled worker responsible for agriculture, respectively.

⁴⁵ Personal interview, male, 16 July 2014.

History, development and characteristics of the CWP at site

Three males occupy the positions of site manager, safety officer and storeman. The second-highest tier in the site is that of coordinators. Coordinators include facilitators, the site inspector, physical trainers and skilled staff members implementing HBC programmes. Of the 22 coordinators, five are males and 17 are females.

Reasons for predominance of women in the CWP

A number of reasons were advanced to explain why there are fewer men in the CWP programme than women. Reasons provided included the issue of male pride and differences in the approaches that men and women have to the low wages that are paid by the CWP.

A lot of men refuse to join the CWP because they say that the money is too little. However, for most women even if the money is little we are able to persevere and make it work. Other men are full of pride and refuse to work for little money or be associated with a poverty relief project. I really think that most of the men might have pride issue but most of them are discouraged by the little stipend.⁴⁶

This is a very difficult job for many men to do. It is not easy for a man to be seen working in a poverty relief project and earn the kind of money than we earn. Men are not like women; they have too much pride. Men would rather try other means like looking for piece jobs and marketing themselves elsewhere in order to get better-paying jobs. Just look at my group here – I have only three men out of 30 people. As you can see the men that are working are very old and no longer have stamina to take on difficult jobs. I suppose it's easy for older men to join the CWP because they no longer have pride and have older children who are probably living away from them. It's difficult for unemployed younger men who still have school-going children to enrol in the programme also because money will definitely not be enough to sustain the family.⁴⁷

Another respondent concurred and argued that most men are not resilient and hardworking, an important attribute to survive in the CWP. There was also an

overwhelming view that most men did not want to work hard for very little money, contrary to most women who are willing to work hard for little money in order to feed their children.

There are more women than men in this project because women are used to working hard at many times without getting paid or paid very little. I mean if you can think of the kind of hard work women do in their homes, cleaning, cooking and looking after children and this work is rarely paid for. So women are used to working hard for nothing. A chance for many women to work and get paid is a luxury most women rarely experience. The experience is totally different from men. Men are generally used to working and getting paid. Many men also have the luxury of changing [and] choosing jobs that pay better. Men are very few in this project because of their pride. Men have pride even when they are unemployed and living in poverty. Men will be very shy to work the kind of work we do in the CWP like cleaning the streets, unblocking the drainage system, doing gardens 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 many responsibilities at home to feed their children and at times their unemployed husbands. When a child tries for food he does not call his father he calls his mother. No mother can allow her children to starve and will do any work to earn some income to provide food security to her family.⁴⁸

Interviews with male participants provided a different set of reasons why so few men join the CWP programme despite the fact that many are unemployed. The most common reason given was lack of financial security in the CWP.

It's difficult for unemployed young men to join the CWP because the money we get is pathetic. Not many men who have huge responsibilities of raising children would be keen to work for R71 per day. Most men believe that working for CWP is a waste of their time because they can make more money per day than CWP participants make in a month. I mean it's easier to say men don't want to work hard

⁴⁶ Personal interview, female facilitator, 23 July 2014.

⁴⁷ Personal interview, female facilitator, 15 July 2014.

⁴⁸ Personal interview, female coordinator, 23 June 2014.

History, development and characteristics of the CWP at site

but the reality is that the CWP income is very little if you have responsibilities of raising children. It's easier for me to work in the CWP because I do not have school-going children. The little money that I get from CWP and the pension money we get is enough [to] get us through the month. At times our children also give money but we don't want to depend on them for money because they also have their responsibilities to deal with.⁴⁹

Another male respondent concurred and reasoned as follows:

I personally think that it is not that men are lazy or don't want to work hard, it is because the money is very little. Remember that when this project was introduced, we were the first people to join the CWP and there were many men who joined the programme but left because we were promised permanent jobs but that never happened. Most men suffered during that time because we were not paid on time and many families had their electricity cut because there was no money. As a result, some men preferred to look for piece jobs in order to make ends meet. It's better if a man looks for a piece job and a woman works in the CWP because in that way both will be able to contribute towards living expenses.⁵⁰

The reasons for women joining the CWP were generally different from those of men, although both emphasized the issue of providing food security to their families. Many women who were interviewed had never worked before and had opened a bank account for the first time when they joined the CWP. For these women, being part of the CWP provides them with income which ensures that they are able to raise their children and be financially independent of their partners.

It was difficult for me to just sit at home and just wait for my husband to do everything for me. In many cases he could not do the things that I would want because he does not earn a lot of money ... I had not worked before the CWP and when the opportunity came by I did not look back because it's important for women to contribute something

to the home. I am fortunate in that my husband works somewhere and he does not want me to use this money in our home. He says, this is my money to buy things that I want and I use the money to pay for my accounts and stokvel. I can say that I am financially independent now because I do not depend entirely on the income of my husband to do my hair or make-up; I use my own income.⁵¹

Many women in the CWP have young children and some receive a children's grant from the government. When CWP participants also receive grants, it clearly improves their income security.

I have two children who receive government grants. The money that we earn from the CWP together with the grant money helps us a lot because we are able to do many things that we would not be able to do. For example, we are able to pay school fees, give children money to carry to school, buy furniture and household necessities. Also, every month, I am able to meet my payment obligations for funeral policy and stokvels that I am part of.⁵²

One interviewee suggested that, given the predominance of women in the Ivory Park CWP, when positions became available more women than men were likely to apply for them. She also suggested that for many young women, participating in the CWP was seen as a way of getting ahead.

I don't think men are discriminated [against] at all because when there is a position people apply and go through the interview process and get appointed after that. There is no favouritism or preference given to women because they go through [the] same process that everyone goes through. The biggest problem is that the CWP in Ivory Park has more women than men, so when opportunities to become a coordinator come more women than men will apply. I mean in many instances it is just women who apply for these positions because the majority of men in the CWP are old and are happy just being participants. The other issue that is worth mentioning is that there are many women in the CWP who are young and ambitious. Some of them have matric certificates and could not continue

⁴⁹ Personal interview, male focus group participant, 2 June 2014.

⁵⁰ Personal interview, male focus group participant, 2 June 2014..

⁵¹ Personal interview, female focus group participant, 4 August 2014.

⁵² Personal interview, female participant, 8 July 2014.

History, development and characteristics of the CWP at site

with their studies because they got pregnant or did not have money to proceed further. We have women in the programme that are studying part-time with Unisa [University of South Africa] who will be competitive if positions appear. I don't think it is possible to appoint someone simply because

they are men or women because the selection and appointment of coordinators also involves coordinators and facilitators. You will have to bribe everyone in the panel to be appointed based on gender without qualifications.⁵³

Young women in the CWP

Table 10 shows a breakdown of participants according to age and gender.

Table 10: Ivory Park CWP participants according to age and gender					
Period	Age cohort (Years)	Male	Female	Total	% of all participants
September 2014	20–30	30	127	157	21
	31–40	38	207	245	33
	41–50	17	173	190	26
	51–60	40	79	119	16
	61 years and above	16	13	29	4
		141	599	740	100

The majority of participants in all age cohorts are females, except for participants above age 61. In this age cohort, 16 of the 29 (55%) participants are male. The oldest participant in Ivory Park was born on 1 January 1933 and is 81 years old, while the youngest was born on 17 August 1992 and is 22 years old.

The official approach in South Africa is that youth include people from 18 to 35 years of age. Table 10 shows that about 157 (21%) CWP participants are between 20 and 30 years of age. These participants, and some in the 31–40 age category, are classified as 'youth.' This suggests that the proportion of participants in the CWP in the under-35 age category is somewhere in the region of 35%. Notable, however, is that 81% of participants in the 20–30-year-old age category, and 85% of those in the 31–40-year age category are women. It is mainly young women in Ivory Park who are motivated to join the CWP with a notable absence of young men. Young women provide different reasons for joining the CWP. However, the most common reasons were

pregnancy and lack of financial support to continue with further studies.

The biggest problem is that there are no jobs and many young people come from school and find out they cannot proceed to universities because of lack of funding. As you can see, all these young people have matric certificates but cannot find a decent job. Also, many young people in the project have children to support. When you have children, as a mother you will do everything in your power to make sure that your children do not go to school hungry. Also, when children require food or something they call upon their mothers to assist. Yes, we have few men because most men would rather go and look for better-paying jobs.⁵⁴

I completed my matric in 2011 and got pregnant in the same year of my matric. Although I passed I could not proceed further with my studies because of lack of financial support. Although I live with the father of my daughter, it's not easy because he is also unemployed and my parents do not have

⁵³ Personal interview, female coordinator, 23 July 2014.

⁵⁴ Personal interview, female focus group facilitator, 2 June 2014.

means to support me. I am still young and when my daughter is five years or so I intend going back to further my studies. I have learnt a hard lesson in life and I am much wiser than before. I know the only way to give my child a decent life is if I further my studies and get a qualification which will in turn give me an opportunity to get a better-paying job.⁵⁵

When I completed my matric in 2010 I was frustrated because although I obtained a college entrance qualification, I could not proceed further. This was a very difficult time for me and in 2011 I got pregnant. The pregnancy was not planned at all but I perhaps got pregnant out of frustration thinking that things will be better. This became worse hence I joined the CWP in 2012 to support myself and my child. Things have been slightly better now because I also bake fat cooks [*amagwinya* or *vetkoek*] and sell to school children. I also sell a lot of frozen drinks in summer. In winter now very few children like drinking frozen drinks. The money that I get from CWP helps me buy ingredients and supplies for my business. I am full time in the business when I am not working in the CWP.⁵⁶

One interviewee reiterated that for many young women participating in the CWP was seen as a way of getting ahead rather than as merely a response to difficulties.

The other issue that is worth mentioning is that there are many women in the CWP who are young and ambitious. Some of them have matric certificates and could not continue with their studies because they got pregnant or did not have money to proceed further. We have women in the programme that are studying part-time with Unisa who will be competitive if positions appear.⁵⁷

Ex-offenders in the CWP

A few of the young people in the CWP are ex-offenders. Four young ex-offenders were interviewed and a common thread was that they all joined

the programme to do something useful for the community and to stay away from crime.

I am glad I am alive and able to tell the story because the life that I used to live was dangerous. We used to rob people and also break into their houses to steal goods to resell ... We used money to buy drugs, clothes and spend on women. It was a fast life on the fast lane. One day a friend of mine stole a cell phone from my neighbour and I was not even around when it happened. But, because I was known as a criminal in our section, the community pounced on me and gave us a real hiding. As you can see, my hand is almost paralyzed because of that beating. I am not angry at all because I know that I have wronged the community and when I came out of jail I joined the CWP in 2012 and have not looked back. Together with my friends, we have also started a car-wash business and we work there especially on weekends. The CWP money helps us to be busy and not loiter in the streets doing nothing.⁵⁸

Another ex-offender concurred:

My brother, going [to] prison was easy than coming out of prison. In prison there are many programmes that are provided and I am glad that I received a lot of training while in prison. I am now a qualified chef and can prepare a variety of dishes and menus. The biggest problem is finding a job with a criminal record, it's not easy my brother. However, I have learnt not to take easy short cuts to success because that gets people into trouble. I have learnt my lesson and now prepared to take the long and hard road to success. I am lucky to be in the CWP soon after coming from prison because many people also want to join the CWP but the CWP is no longer recruiting. I volunteer my cooking skills when there are weddings or funerals as a way of marketing myself. When I do that people give me some money afterwards and I am happy with that. One day someone will recognize me and offer me a decent job to be a chef in a restaurant or hotel.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Personal interview, female focus group participant, 8 June 2014.

⁵⁶ Personal interview, female focus group participant, 5 June 2014.

⁵⁷ Personal interview, female coordinator, 23 July 2014.

⁵⁸ Personal interview, male focus group participant, 14 July 2014.

⁵⁹ Personal interview, male focus group participant, 14 July 2014.

Development of the CWP in Ivory Park

Inception

A proposal to develop the CWP in Ivory Park was first introduced to the Johannesburg city council in 2009.⁶⁰ The councillors accepted the programme but before it was implemented in Region A, consultations took place with the ward councillors for Ivory Park and Diepsloot. Regional officials were also consulted to ensure support for the programme during implementation. Consultations also dealt with the issue of the roll-out of the programme, projects that would be implemented, the implementation process, wards where the programme would be implemented and the number of participants to be recruited into the programme. Consultations were also held with community structures such as ward committees and sectional committees, in particular around the recruitment of participants.⁶¹

Community meetings in all four wards in Ivory Park were conducted in 2010 with community members. Unemployed and interested people were asked to submit their names and provide banking details as well as copies of their identity documents to ward offices.⁶²

Governance of the CWP in Ivory Park

The primary governance structure in the Ivory Park site is the local reference committee (LRC). Other entities which exercise oversight of the site include COGTA, the IA and the Auditor General.

Local reference committee

LRCs are supposed to be established at all CWP sites and made up of local community stakeholders, respected community leaders and people from local government.⁶³ These may include officials from the local municipality, such as regional managers and ward councillors; officials from provincial government departments, such as Social Development, Health, Education and Agriculture; community leaders in the NGO sector and faith-based organizations.⁶⁴ In practice, the composition

of these structures varies from one site to another. As the CWP in Ivory Park is part of the overall Region A site, the LRC which has been established is one for the entire site and is also responsible for the CWP in Diepsloot. The LRC comprises stakeholders from the local authority and civil society organizations operating in the area. Other stakeholders within the sphere of local government who participate in the Region A LRC include the regional director for Region A and ward councillors. Participants from civil society come from NGOs operating in the community.

It was reported that in Region A, the LRC meets once a month at the local municipality offices in Midrand.⁶⁵ The primary responsibility of the LRC is to provide advice and to support the implementation of the CWP. It is also tasked with approving and monitoring the implementation of CWP participants' work plans. It also deals with challenges and problems which impact on the proper implementation and functioning of the CWP in the site. The LRC works closely with the IAs in implementing and supporting the programme.

The LRC for Region A has been called upon to deal with conflicts in Ivory Park involving the IA and site staff. According to one interviewee, for instance, in 2012 the LRC became involved in a dispute over the appointment of the site manager.⁶⁶ Allegedly preference had been given to a candidate who had not even applied for the position or been part of the interviewing process. The applicant lodged a complaint with the LRC, which reversed the irregular appointment and appointed the candidate who had been successful in the initial interview process.

Recruitment and selection

According to some interviews, the main method of recruiting CWP participants is through a structure referred to as the labour desk. The labour desk is a ward committee structure responsible for allocating employment opportunities to community members

⁶⁰ Personal interview, IA representative, 16 October 2015.

⁶¹ Personal interview, IA representative, 16 October 2015.

⁶² Personal interview, IA representative, 16 October 2015.

⁶³ Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, 'Terms of Reference. Frequently Asked Questions,' http://www.cogta.gov.za/cwp_new/?page_id=142 (accessed 14 February 2015).

⁶⁴ Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs, *Community Work Programme Implementation Manual* (July 2011).

⁶⁵ Personal interview, CWP male participant, 25 August 2014.

⁶⁶ Personal interview, male participant, 16 July 2014.

Development of the CWP in Ivory Park

in that particular ward. Research indicated that the labour desk system was operating fairly in each of the four wards in Ivory Park. The intention is that unemployed people who are looking for employment will go and register their names with the labour desk. Weekly, those still looking for employment are required to visit the labour desk to mark the register. This process is referred to locally as 'marketing.' When an employment opportunity comes into the ward through a private contractor or government project, people who have 'marketed' themselves the most (proved by the number of ticks) are elevated to the front of the list, which may result in employment.

The recruitment was done through labour desks in our ward. People interested were asked to go and register their names with the labour desk. Once selected, people were then asked to bring all the required documentation which was then submitted to the site manager. At the start they wanted about 500 people to join and the labour desks were consulted and from the lists, people were recruited into the project. We had five wards in Ivory Park which means that 100 people were recruited in each ward. If you were not on the list and marketing yourself you could not join the CWP even if you were unemployed and looking for employment.⁶⁷

This recruitment procedure was also referred to by the convenor of the labour desk:

As a labour desk in this ward we are tasked with the responsibility of coordinating employment opportunities that come into our ward so that our people can get employed. This generally means that no contractor or anyone for that matter can just introduce a project into this ward without consulting with the ward committee and the labour desk. When a project is being introduced into the ward, the contractor will consult with us and let us know what the project is about, how long is the project, who is financing the project, the number of people required and the money they will be paid. We also require to know whether skilled or

non-skilled people will be required. For us it is important that our people are not exploited by the contractor; at the same time we do not want to be a stumbling block to people getting jobs and working because many are starving. Once we know the criteria and the number of people, we will also consult with sectional committees so that we provide the right people required for a particular job. It is the same with government projects that come into our ward. When the consultation is over we check our registers to see who is looking for a job and if they have the correct qualification they are recommended for employment. The same applies for the recruitment of CWP participants. When there is a requirement to recruit more people, the site manager will contact us and request that we send the number that is required and people are employed in the CWP in that way.⁶⁸

Other interviewees indicated that the labour desk had not always been the main mechanism of recruitment into the CWP.

I attended a community meeting called by the ward councillor in which this programme was explained. We were told what this programme was about and what projects we will be doing. The meeting I attended was at the North Community hall and there were a lot of people who attended.⁶⁹

Another interviewee referred to a recruitment drive that had taken place during the early days of the CWP in Ivory Park. Community leaders in the ward committees, sectional committee members, community developmental workers and interested people went out into the community on a recruitment drive. Once the programme became better known, more people joined. However, some continued to reject the CWP due to the low wages paid, despite the fact that they were unemployed.

Initially the response of the people was very negative because from our ward very few people registered to join the CWP. People complained that R50 for two days was very little since they will be made to perform hard work. We had to go out there

⁶⁷ Personal interview, female coordinator, 8 July 2014.

⁶⁸ Personal interview, male from Ward 77 labour desk, 22 July 2014.

⁶⁹ Personal interview, female focus group participant, 12 July 2014.

Development of the CWP in Ivory Park

into the community to explain the programme. For someone who is unemployed and doing nothing, the programme give that person an opportunity to work, attend trainings that are provided and on other days look for employment or do other works. We promoted the programme by also targeting people in the ward that we knew were experiencing economic hardships. Together with our councillor we also targeted people in the indigent register to get involved. We were able to get the required number in our ward, which was 100 at the time.⁷⁰

Another respondent concurred:

Let the truth be told that when the CWP started many people were hesitant to join it because of the two days that people were required to work and the R50 stipend that was paid. In order to get people into [the] project, me and other coordinators that were already in the project had to go into the community and explain to people what the project was about and how they will benefit being in the project. People did not want to join the CWP and volunteer. Most of here are used to doing volunteer work. People were discouraged about the two days because they were looking for jobs that they could do for five days.⁷¹

Other recruitment methods were also evident from the interviews. Some participants were absorbed into the CWP from other programmes in Ivory Park. A few participants confirmed that they had been part of the 'river project' which had come to an end when the CWP was being introduced. Participants in the project were recruited into the CWP; some became site staff while others became coordinators. Participants who came from the river project were generally young people who had been recruited into the project to clean the rivers around Ivory Park.

I was recruited into the CWP in 2011 through the Youth Unit which is part of the City of Johannesburg Youth Desk. The project that I was recruited for was responsible for cleaning the rivers around Ivory Park. They were very strict with the age and only recruited people below the age of 35.

At the time we were working side by side with the CWP but we concentrated on different things. Our primary focus was on cleaning the rivers while the CWP performed a variety of other community projects, like cleaning schools, streets, HBC and working in the field doing agricultural projects. We started in March and ended in August in 2011. The project ran out of money and we could not continue. We were under Khethiwe foundation at the time. In September 2011 we were told that the river project will be absorbed by the CWP and that is how some of us got into the CWP.⁷²

Some CWP participants were recruited through their association with the ANC:

I seriously think that the process was fair because the majority of people were recruited from the labour desk. In other words, all people that were registered with the labour desk had an equal chance of being recruited into the CWP. Only 10 people were recruited from the ANC Women's League and the rest from the labour desk. The ANC Women's League in Ivory Park made a plea to the ward councillor to bring on board 10 ANC Youth League members into the CWP programme. Should we then discredit the entire process because just a few people were not recruited from the labour desk? Besides, the ANC Women's League is also a structure in this community that is playing a role in community development. Other people were not with that but really, we are talking only 10 people here not everyone.⁷³

Fairness of the selection and recruitment

When respondents were asked how they viewed recruitment and selection into the CWP, many indicated that it was fair. This included participants who had been recruited through the labour desk as well as those who had joined the CWP through other means. Those who thought that the method of selection and recruitment was fair also thought that the system was transparent.

I think the recruitment of CWP is fair because it is very transparent. When you register your name

⁷⁰ Personal interview, female coordinator, 3 July 2014.

⁷¹ Personal interview, female focus group coordinator, 2 July 2014.

⁷² Personal interview, female participant, 24 August 2014.

⁷³ Personal interview, female facilitator, 23 July 2014.

at the labour desk we don't ask your political affiliation. This means that it is unlikely that we can discriminate [against] someone on political grounds. Every Thursday in this ward people go to Eco city to market themselves. If you go on Thursday in the morning you will see many people marketing themselves. Those that market themselves every week increase their chances of being employed in the CWP because its people who market themselves regularly that are prioritized. [When people] market themselves at the labour desk it is not possible to discriminate [against] someone on political grounds unless you know that person. But you must remember that the labour desk is an apolitical structure which exists to service all community members in our ward. In other words, at the labour desk we don't care which political party you belong to; you will be treated just like everybody who is also looking for work.⁷⁴

Many CWP participants as well as respondents outside of the CWP concurred about the fairness and transparency of the recruitment process. Another participant expressed the view that the recruitment system, through the labour desk, provided each community member with an equal chance to be recruited into the CWP.

The advantage of using the labour desk is that it provides an equal chance for anyone, regardless of political affiliation, to be recruited into the CWP. The difficulty with the labour desk is not its fairness because I think it is very fair and transparent, but it is the requirement that one has to physically present himself every Thursday of every week to mark the register. For me that was the difficult part. This means whether it rains and it's cold before you go anywhere and do anything you have to go and market yourself. But it's only fair that if you and many other people are looking for jobs that you market yourself. That is how I was recruited to the CWP. I marketed myself for at least three solid months by making sure that I visit the labour desk every Thursday to mark the register. I felt the system was fair when I was told

to bring my ID and bank statement and present myself at the CWP offices. As you can see I am young and I am aware that there are older people and more deserving people with lots of children who have no jobs. All I wanted to do was to assist my mother who, although working, does not earn a lot of money. The money that I contribute helps the family a lot. At home I am responsible for buying electricity.⁷⁵

However, a few interviewees did not think that the selection and recruitment process was fair. A number of allegations were made that people who are not ANC members or supporters were ignored during the recruitment process. A participant who identified herself as an IFP member shared her experiences during the recruitment process:

I totally and completely disagree with what some of the participants are saying because I was victimized for being an active Inkatha member until I joined the ANC and the ANC Youth League. It was very clear that unless I do that I will starve until I die because I was told that this was an ANC government programme for ANC members and supporters. I had to join the ANC and the ANC Youth League for me to be in the CWP. Although I go to ANC meetings I have never supported the ANC or voted for them. I am a member of IFP but had to take the membership of the ANC in order to survive.⁷⁶

Similarly, another CWP participant alleged that:

I don't think it's something the ANC would confirm that we are only recruiting members and supporters of the ANC because this is a government programme not ANC programme. I remember that when I joined the CWP in 2012, I had to join the ANC and present myself to the labour desk as an ANC member. This was easy to do because I am not an active member of any political party. When I produced my membership card I was pushed right in front of the list. When they were recruiting I was one of the people who are recruited.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Personal interview, male from Ward 77 labour desk, 22 July 2014.

⁷⁵ Personal interview, male participant, 3 July 2014.

⁷⁶ Personal interview, female focus group participant, 13 August 2014.

⁷⁷ Personal interview, female focus group participant, 13 August 2014.

Development of the CWP in Ivory Park

However, the same interviewee observed that:

It's not entirely true that political affiliation does not matter although it will be difficult to prove because other people who are from other political parties are also in the programme. There are many participants who belong to APC ... who are in the programme. I don't know if they were known to be APC members when they joined because when in the programme it is not easy to be fired unless you do something really bad.⁷⁸

Another allegation made by one respondent was with regards to corruption in the recruitment process. Typically, when a vacancy exists because a participant has left the programme, the coordinator will report that to the site manager. The site manager, through consultation with the IA, decides to replace the participant who has departed. The site manager can use his or her discretion and consult with the ward councillor where the replacement is required, contact the labour desk or allow the coordinator to recommend a suitable replacement. The allegation made was that some coordinators request money from prospective participants in order to be recruited into the CWP.

There is corruption in the recruitment process and I don't think the recruitment process is transparent. I don't think the problem is widespread but there are coordinators and facilitators who are bringing their own people into the programme in exchange for money. These people are exploiting very poor people who are desperate for jobs. I was one such victim because the facilitator who brought me into the CWP demanded money for cooldrink in order for her to get me into the CWP. I was desperate to get into the CWP and I gave her money for a cooldrink. I think it is wrong to demand money because we are all in the CWP because we are desperate for money. I am not proud of how I got into the CWP but I don't think the recruitment process is fair from that perspective because it can be manipulated by people.⁷⁹

The Ivory Park CWP task team

In 2013 and the early parts of 2014 the Ivory Park site was the location of a fair amount of

conflict around various grievances. A key role player in the conflict was a group who identified themselves as part of the task team. The task team was initially established in the Region E site and apparently tried to mobilize participants at other sites in Johannesburg around the issues that it was addressing. The key issue that was identified as a concern by the task team was the 'three-tier' IA system that was in operation in the CWP until it was replaced by a single-tier system in April 2014.⁸⁰ The task team identified their key purpose as being to lobby government to reduce the number of agencies involved in the implementation of the CWP. Related to the IA system, it was believed that the various agencies employed to implement the programme were using up funds that could better be distributed to staff and participants at the various CWP sites. Another grievance was the fact that CWP participants were not provided with permanent jobs after working in the CWP for an extended period of time, despite promises to this effect allegedly having been made when the CWP was established. The value of the stipend provided was also identified as a concern. Members argued that the stipend fell below the minimum earned by workers doing similar work for the municipality or Pikitup.

The task team had hoped that if the number of agencies was reduced this would result in an improvement in the stipend paid to CWP participants.

The task team was started in 2013. The main aim was to lobby government to get rid of too many layers of agencies in the CWP. We had realized that too much money was going to these agencies and the participants were left with little money to share amongst themselves. Our campaign was to ensure that most of the money goes towards paying better wages to participants. Remember that there were three agencies; there was LIA, PIA and IAs. Our agenda why we formed the task team was to get rid of the LIA and PIA and remain only with the IA so that most [of] the budget can go to participants. We were unhappy because we felt that most of these agents are earning a lot of money for doing nothing and they don't even know the project.

⁷⁸ Personal interview, female coordinator, 20 August 2014.

⁷⁹ Personal interview, male opposition PR councillor, 23 July 2014.

⁸⁰ The three-tier system provided for there to be lead agents, provincial implementing agents (PIAs) and local implementing agents (LIAs).

Development of the CWP in Ivory Park

Another thing that made us unhappy is that they were not appointing local organizations as implementation agents. They would appoint someone from Tembisa to work in Ivory Park or some from Soweto to work in Alexandra. This meant that local people were reduced only to become participants and could not become part of the site management. We discussed that we needed to lobby government to get rid of the LIA and PIA so that the bulk of the budget is allocated to participants. This also meant that a place like Ivory Park will not develop its economy as jobs are taken by people who do not reside in the township. The task team approached the government on many occasions and I can say that we succeeded getting government to cut down the number of agencies but the unfortunate part is the money that the participants are getting didn't change. We had asked government to improve the conditions of participants but we are yet to see any changes. There is only the IA at the moment and where is the money that was paid to the PIA and the LIA?⁸¹

Many participants who were part of the CWP when it was launched in 2010 allege that participants were promised that they would be employed on a permanent basis after five years in the CWP. Accordingly, many argued that this had to happen in 2014.

The task team has decided to wait and see how the government restructures the programme going forward. I think it is important to also give government time to settle down since they have been busy with this restricting of the CWP to see how this ends. You must remember that when the CWP was introduced in 2010 in Ivory Park we were promised that in 2014 the CWP volunteers will be made permanent jobs. We have not seen that happening yet and no one from government is talking about it. The problem if these promises are not documented, the people that make them will deny because the issue is not documented ... It is for this reason that the task team was formed ahead of 2014 to follow up on these matters before

in 2014 we were expecting the CWP to provide permanent jobs with benefits.⁸²

Similarly, another participant stated:

When the programme was launched in 2010 we were told that the programme will run for five years and after that improvements with regards to payments will be done although we were not told exactly what improvements will be done. We are now in 2014 and we are now waiting to hear what improvements will be done. We have been patient for 2014 to arrive and we are now waiting patiently to hear what improvements will be made for us.⁸³

The three-tier system was replaced by a single-tier system within the CWP in April 2014. This was done throughout South Africa and was not a change restricted to any region. Nevertheless, many people associated with the task team believed that the change was a result of the pressure that they had placed on COGTA to do this.

Although the task team started in Alexandra, it became very active in Ivory Park. We embraced it because it was a way of organizing ourselves as workers and lobbying government to improve the working conditions, the stipends and get rid of agencies who were getting paid for doing nothing. We wanted that money paid to agents to be paid to participants instead because they were the one doing the work. Organizing ourselves in this way gave us a voice because when we met COGTA they listened to us. COGTA also agreed with us on many issues; that is why today there is only the IA and others layers have been removed. This is an achievement for the task team.

The issues on our agenda were regarding the issue of permanent jobs, to remove the PIA and the LIA and to lobby government to improve the stipend that is paid to participants. Those were our three main issues that resulted in the formation of the task team. Only the second proposal was accepted by government and we were instrumental in the removal of the two agencies. Government

81 Personal interview, female facilitator, 23 July 2013.

82 Personal interview, female facilitator, 23 July 2014.

83 Personal interview, female focus group facilitator, 2 June 2014.

is refusing to create permanent employment for participants but we will soldier on.⁸⁴

The task team also contested other issues, including working hours, sick leave and the lack of accreditation of the training provided to CWP participants. When training is not accredited, it is generally difficult to use such training to seek employment. The task team is regarded as having been successful in focusing on the training issue.

In the past year the quality of training provided to participants has changed because we are now provided accredited training. In the past, anyone wanting to make money from CWP would come here and say we want to provide training and they would just print useless certificates. The task team changed all that because now anyone who wants to provide participant training, that training needs to be accredited. We will not accept training that is not accredited to be provided to participants because service providers used to exploit CWP participants and make money from providing useless training.⁸⁵

From the evidence, the most active people in the task team were mostly younger people who clearly wanted to gain more from the programme. More generally, young people in the CWP programme are often at the forefront of expressing dissatisfaction about issues such as job security and demanding that participants be employed on a permanent basis and given the benefits that are enjoyed by other workers in government employment.

Contestation by political parties regarding the Ivory Park CWP

The CWP as a captured 'market' attracts a lot of interest from political parties who have on a number of occasions tried to mobilize around perceived grievances relating to the CWP. Different political parties have tried to influence the CWP as part of their efforts to mobilize support from participants and the community. The attempts used include petitions, demands for participants to be employed on a full-time basis and demanding better wages for

participants. As one interviewee put it:

There is too much interference by political parties in the Ivory Park CWP. Every political party want to gain some mileage from the programme to a point that the programme is not functioning well. It's difficult for the programme to focus on its key mandate when political parties are making false accusations about the programme and its management. Right now people are refusing to register because people are told not to register. Others are told to demand permanent employment in the CWP, something that will never happen because we know how the programme works. This is creating a lot of unnecessary conflict because participants are no longer working but go to work just to sign the register.⁸⁶

One focus of political parties has been to demand that more participants be employed in the CWP, a demand that disregards the CWP's budget. As indicated earlier, whether because of the activities of opposition parties or the ruling party's own initiative, more participants were allegedly employed in the CWP at the time of the 2014 elections on the instruction of politicians.

One of the more active and visible opposition parties in Ivory Park is the APC. In 2013, the APC, together with its supporters in and out of the CWP, marched and presented a petition to COGTA. In the petition, they made the following four demands:

- ◆ 'The [CWP] programme should be implemented by COGTA and not private agencies. [We] demand that participants should receive their stipend directly from COGTA and not from the Implementing agents to avoid delays in processing payments for participants;
- ◆ 'Operational systems should be reviewed so that the programme can benefit all stakeholders. [We] demand that the management of the CWP should work in a transparent manner – two-way process⁸⁷ – and be accountable to its employees;
- ◆ '[The CWP should] create employment that will be of good value and that is sustainable; and

⁸⁴ Personal interview, male participant, 16 July 2014.

⁸⁵ Personal interview, female focus group participant, 17 July 2014.

⁸⁶ Personal interview, male CPF representative, 10 July 2014.

⁸⁷ There was a sense that the CWP management does not consult and take the views of stakeholders on board. The demand for a two-way process was designed to ensure that stakeholders, including participants, have a voice in the CWP.

Development of the CWP in Ivory Park

- ◆ '[The CWP should] create [real] employment by employing CWP participants on a full time basis in the programme.'⁸⁸

As noted, an issue that has been a major source of dissatisfaction concerns allegations that when the CWP was first established in Ivory Park in 2010, people who joined were told that they would eventually be made permanent in the CWP and also get permanent jobs in the municipality as a result of working in the CWP. This issue has continued to be a source of dissent in the Ivory Park CWP, and one which political parties have focused on.

We don't understand why [as] participants we [are] being made to re-register as volunteers and not employed full time. We really don't understand that, because when this project was launched in 2010 people were made to believe that they will be employed full time. These people have been waiting for five years to be employed full time and now they are told to register again as volunteers. This is very unfair on our people because it can no longer be [a] question of money since two layers were removed and now there is only one agent. Someone needs to explain, where is the money? And, what happened to the money that was paid to agencies? We want to know because it cannot be that in 2014 people are still getting paid R68 per day. This is wrong ...⁸⁹

In the run-up to the registration of the CWP participants in August 2014, I attended a number of meetings involving representatives from different political parties, such as the ANC, the EFF, the APC as well as the ANC-aligned South African National Civic Organization (SANCO). At the centre of the conflict was the re-registration of participants. Different political parties held different views, with some encouraging and others dissuading their supporters from re-registering. The APC and the EFF in particular demanded that participants

be employed on a permanent basis rather than as volunteers. Their argument was partly that this had been an undertaking by government in 2010 when the CWP was introduced. The ANC and SANCO, on the other hand, encouraged participants to register, as failure to re-register would disqualify them from the CWP. The lobbying of participants took about two months to resolve. During these meetings a number of other issues emerged which contributed to the conflict in Ivory Park.

Another controversial issue that site management had struggled to explain clearly was the unemployment insurance fund (UIF) to which CWP participants were contributing, as well as their employment status. Some political parties claimed that in law volunteers are not required to register for UIF. They argued that the fact that the CWP was contributing towards UIF implied that participants were regarded as workers and not volunteers. The following quote from a participant at a meeting with the site management shows how the issue of UIF created mistrust, which also resulted in participants refusing to re-register for CWP.

Since you have been refusing to meet with us and explain to us why we are paying the UIF money we went to the Labour Department in Kempton and we got printouts which show that we are registered as employees at Ithembaletu. If we are employed by Ithembaletu, why are we not getting pay slips so that we can see for ourselves what we are earning from government and not what the IA pays us? The figure that reflects at the Labour Department shows that we [are] earning R120 per month but we only get R68, so where is the other money going to. We just want you to explain to us instead of accusing us of creating problems in the CWP. This is our money that gets deducted and we deserve an explanation. We have been trying to get answers from you, but you have been refusing to meet with us.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ African People's Convention petition dated 2 July 2013 (verbatim).

⁸⁹ Personal interview, male political party representative, 5 August 2014.

⁹⁰ Personal interview, male participant, 25 August 2014.

Work done by the CWP in Ivory Park

The CWP in Ivory Park performs a variety of tasks within the four sectors (infrastructure, environment, social, economic) that are considered ‘useful work.’ Generally, the work done by the CWP is aimed at benefiting the entire community but it can also be targeted to benefit ‘deserving’ individuals, families or groups of people. The beneficiaries are people who have no means or are unable to help themselves because of illness, age, disability or lack of resources.

Infrastructure projects

When respondents were asked what infrastructure projects they were involved in, the following were identified:

- ♦ fixing potholes on public roads and filling them with sand;
- ♦ unblocking stormwater drainage systems (see Photo 3);
- ♦ assisting with rebuilding burnt-out shacks in informal settlements (see Photos 4 and 5);
- ♦ painting houses for indigent families;
- ♦ repairing schools vandalized by thieves or damaged by school pupils.

The following quote provides a summary of the infrastructure projects that are undertaken by the CWP.

We have our hands full during summer when it rains because a lot of the infrastructure is destroyed by the rains. You will see that during summer our focus shifts to repairing roads damaged by the rains, filling potholes caused by flooding and repairing homes of people and rebuilding shacks. The other infrastructure-related problems that we deal with include clearing stormwater drains of rubble. As you can see, this week we will be clearing the stormwater drains [of] dirt and rubble so that when it rains later in the year water can flow into the river. As you can see the challenge is big because the community is not cooperating. Our community is not cooperating well with us because if you come tomorrow you will [see] rubble or rubbish thrown back into the stormwater drain. It's a problem when there is flooding because water cannot flow properly; it is the same people that will be taking to the streets



Photo 3: The CWP in Ivory Park clearing rubble and dirt from the stormwater drainage system.



Photo 4: CWP participants repair, clean and paint a house damaged by fire.



Photo 5: The CWP facilitator, a participant and the home owner assess the fire damage to a shack. The CWP rebuilt the shack and mobilized the community to donate paint, electrical appliances, clothes, blankets and food to the affected family.

demanding services. Other community members [are] doing these things deliberately. For example, you will hear them say they are doing us a favour by throwing dirt into the stormwater drainage system because they are creating work for us. It's not fair because it means that we will not develop as a community because we will keep on doing the same work instead of attending to other pressing needs in [the] community.⁹¹

Other infrastructure-related projects include assisting indigent families to rebuild homes that have been destroyed by fire or heavy rains. As noted earlier, during the fieldwork two homes were destroyed by fire and the CWP responded by rebuilding the damaged homes.

As CWP we are ready to assist community members whenever we can. The only criteria that we use is whether someone has the resources to rebuild his home that has been destroyed by fire or rains. As you can see now, it's winter and it's very cold, which means that someone who has no resources to rebuild his shack will freeze to death if we do not assist. What we normally do when a shack has been damaged or destroyed, we communicate that to the ward committee or to the councillor. In the ward committee we have someone responsible for housing. We will inform that person about the disaster that has taken place. At times we also inform the ANC branch committee about the disaster. It is important for us to inform as many people as possible so that any person whose shack has been destroyed can rebuild his life and get back to his feet as quickly as possible ... In this shack here we are now waiting for material to arrive so that we can rebuild this shack. If we receive the material today, we will finish rebuilding the shack today. I will bring the whole team to this place so that we have enough manpower to finish the job today ... Our guys are very [skilled] in building shacks. We have been doing it for many years now. All we need is material to arrive and the shack will be up in no time ... Many times we rarely do this alone. Neighbours and community

members also come and volunteer their services. You will see, other will come and donate clothes, pots, windows and toys for children. When these things happen the community really comes together. Ours is really to coordinate all these efforts and make sure that the family has shelter over its head.⁹²

Environment projects

Environment-related projects constitute the largest projects in the Ivory Park CWP. When participants were asked what projects they embarked on, the following were the most common projects undertaken:

- ◆ sweeping the roads (see Photos 6 and 7);
- ◆ maintaining parks;
- ◆ cutting or trimming trees;
- ◆ clearing bushes and cutting long grass;
- ◆ removing rubble and clearing illegal dump sites; and
- ◆ planting trees.

Sweeping the streets constitutes the biggest proportion of environmental work done by the CWP.

We definitely concentrate more on cleaning the streets because that is where there is the greatest demand. These roads used to be very dirty and we have tried our best to keep them clean but [it] is not easy because [people] just throw papers and rubbish without considering the environment. What we normally do is that on Mondays we mainly focus on sweeping the streets because this place is very busy over the weekend with funerals, parties and people doing their business. When we come on Monday the streets are littered with dirt, bottles, condoms, papers and everything you can think of. As you can see, when participants came today I gave them the task to clean the community hall precinct because there was a function this weekend. As you can see there are bottles and papers all over the place. The other group is outside cleaning the streets because there is litter everywhere. We are really trying our best to keep our community clean so that our children can play in a safe environment.⁹³

⁹¹ Personal interview, male coordinator, 9 July 2014.

⁹² Personal interview, female facilitator, 30 July 2014.

⁹³ Personal interview, female focus group facilitator, 2 July 2014.

Work done by the CWP in Ivory Park

The focus on sweeping the streets and cleaning the environment was a recurring theme in many interviews.

I am sure that you would have noticed that we are not the only ones cleaning the streets. Pikitup has also employed people to clean the streets because we are not coping because the demand for cleaning the streets is high. I remember that before the CWP was introduced in Ivory Park, the streets were filthy with dirt. There were papers, rubble and dirt everywhere. The hawkers just threw their rubbish everywhere but things are better now because we have met with hawkers and made them to understand that it is important for their businesses to keep the street clean. Surely, who wants to buy vegetables from a vendor who is selling from a filthy street? Together with Pikitup we assist street hawkers with refuse bags to deposit their dirt and we come and collect it. Things are much better now although the problem is still big. We also have people in the informal settlement who also throw dirt without due regard for the environment. There the problem is bigger because when we talk to them they say they have not been given rubbish bins to deposit their dirt. It's a problem that we have reported to the councillor because unless we provide people in the informal settlement with rubbish bins they will continue to deposit dirt in the drainage system or along the road [see Photo 8].⁹⁴

Social projects

CWP participants in Ivory Park undertake a number of social programmes aimed at addressing social problems and uplifting the standard of living of struggling community members. When respondents were asked what social projects they embarked on, the following were mentioned:

- ◆ HBC and support work in which the sick, disabled, elderly and children who do not have parental support are visited in their homes, washed, given medication and fed (see Photos 9 and 10);
- ◆ assisting with the distribution of food parcels to indigent families;



Photo 6: The CWP sweeping the streets in Ivory Park.



Photo 7: CWP participants clean the streets close to a school in Ivory Park.



Photo 8: When no cleaning of the environment takes place in Ivory Park, litter washes into the nearby stormwater drains.

⁹⁴ Personal interview, female coordinator, 10 July 2014.

Work done by the CWP in Ivory Park

- ◆ assisting with the washing of clothes and blankets in crèches and ECD learning centres;
- ◆ providing physical training to the elderly. In Ivory Park, soccer and aerobics are provided to elderly people (see Photos 11, 12 and 13);
- ◆ providing physical training and sports to the unemployed, in particular to ex-offenders. In Ivory Park, soccer, netball and indigenous games are offered and include people both from within and outside of the CWP programme.

We have many social projects that we have embarked on in the past few years aimed at assisting targeted group. We have within our social programme the Home Based Care ... which comprises of skilled workers in the CWP who provide a number of services to the community. As HBC workers we visit the elderly people who have no family support and we become their families because we go there and assist them. The assistance is based on the needs of that person. You may find that an elderly person is also sick, hence cannot cook or clean his/her house and when we go there we clean and cook for that person. Other people have no families in Ivory Park to look after them and others are staying with young grandchildren who are still at primary school. With those we also assist the children. If for example they have no IDs [identity documents], we take them to Home Affairs and assist them [to] apply for ID cards. We also assist them [to] get their medication from clinics. Other are HIV positive and others are on chronic medication, so we get medication for them. [Some] patients are very sick and unable to do anything and we come and clean, cook and bath them. The demand for HBC services is high and we do our best to assist members of the community who require our assistance ... We also have community members with no families to support them and these people sometime die alone and we assist with funeral arrangements and make sure that these people have dignified funerals. As CWP we have buried many people without families and we became families to them and we buried them. Often when someone with no family dies, the ward councillor will be informed and the municipality is often willing to support with funeral arrangements.⁹⁵



Photo 9: A skilled CWP participant spring-cleans the home of an elderly person in Ivory Park.



Photo 10: A CWP facilitator monitors the work of the participants providing HBC support.



Photo 11: Elderly people in Ivory Park play soccer under the guidance of a CWP participant.

⁹⁵ Personal interview, female CWP skilled worker, 3 July 2014.

Work done by the CWP in Ivory Park

The CWP has also partnered with the Department of Social Development to provide physical training (soccer and aerobics) to elderly people. In an interview with a social worker, the work of the CWP with the elderly was confirmed.

The CWP assist us a lot in our physical programme for the elderly. As you can see today, we have the elderly people in our programme playing soccer. It helps them not only physically but with boredom. We bring the elderly into the centre so that they can socialize with other elderly people. Besides playing soccer which obviously helps them physically, they also sing and they also share bible verses. When some of the elderly joined the programme they were sick and in pain but since they started physical training most of them are looking healthy and happy. We are happy with the partnership that we have with the CWP because these people are very patient and know how to deal with the elderly.⁹⁶

Another respondent also described the CWP's work with the elderly.

I come to this particular hall on Mondays and go to other centres in other wards to train the elderly people. This is an important partnership that we have with the Department of Social Development because I am doing what I enjoy doing, which is to keep people fit. I am glad that the elderly people that I train look forward to these training sessions and that makes me very happy. As you can see, I will spend about 30 to 45 minutes today with this group doing physical training and the social worker will take them for other planned activities. At times they complain that I am pushing them too hard but I always say that they must do the exercises in their own pace because their physical endurance is different from each other. I really enjoy the work that I am doing.⁹⁷

Crime prevention as a focus of the social programme

In order to keep unemployed youths away from gambling, drugs and crime, the CWP has soccer teams for both males and females as well as netball teams which bring together unemployed youths, sex-offenders from the community and CWP



Photo 12: Elderly people with their aerobics trainer, getting ready for their physical training.



Photo 13: Elderly people going through their physical training with their aerobics instructor.



Photo 14: Unemployed youths gamble as CWP coordinators look on.

⁹⁶ Personal interview, female social worker, 15 July 2014.

⁹⁷ Personal interview, female skilled CWP worker, 18 August 2014.

Work done by the CWP in Ivory Park

participants (see Photos 15, 16 and 17). At the time of the study there were four ex-offenders in the CWP. The quote below describes this work and some of the challenges involved in it.

As you can see, Ivory Park has many people who are unemployed and have nothing else to do. These young people end up committing crimes because they are also bored. This programme aims to bring together all these young people and keep them occupied with sports. Initially, we only allowed CWP participants to play sports but we have since opened this up to also include members of the community. In our teams we have ex-offenders who are still on probation and people who are unemployed. We do try to organize them games but it is a challenge because we do not have the resources to support this programme properly. We do not have the kit to supply, sponsorship to transport participants to play games and first aid kit to assist with minor injuries on the field. However, despite the challenges, I think the risk of not having this programme up and running is very high. As you can see across the field, we have so many unemployed boys gambling and getting high on drugs [see Photo 14]. It is these people that we want to attract to this programme so that we can also contribute towards reducing crime and related problems.⁹⁸

Economic projects

The CWP engages in economic projects aimed at uplifting members of the community who have no economic means to support themselves. The most popular economic project in Ivory Park is food gardens (see Photos 18a and b). At the time of the research, very few gardens were functioning and most had been destroyed by the cold weather. Other challenges mentioned were that changeovers of IAs impacted on the supply of seeds and seedlings for the gardens. However, in spite of the difficulties, respondents identified gardens as amongst their flagship projects in Ivory Park.

We have established food gardens in every ward for a reason. As I mentioned to you, we started food gardens to support also our social projects. We supply fresh vegetables to non-school-fee paying



Photo 15: Young people at soccer training. The soccer coaches include unemployed people from the surrounding



Photo 15: Women in the CWP and community members practise soccer in Ivory Park.



Photo 17: A women's netball team gets final instructions from the CWP before a match. The players include CWP participants as well as members of the community.

⁹⁸ Personal interview, female coordinator, 24 July 2014.

Work done by the CWP in Ivory Park

crèches, to our HBC to cook for the elderly and the sick and we also give people who are starving and do not have food. If a community member comes here and pleads his or her case we are obliged to harvest and give that person vegetables from our gardens. Just yesterday a woman came to me said she had nothing to eat and requested vegetables and we gave her enough to last at least two or three days.⁹⁹

An interview with an owner of a crèche confirmed the supply of fresh vegetables by the CWP.

We do receive vegetable supplies from the CWP whenever they harvest. They never forget us because they know that we do not have money to feed these children. It's a struggle keeping these children because we are [a] community crèche and we don't charge exorbitant amounts. Children here pay only R100 per month, which assists us [to] buy bare minimums just to ensure that children have something to eat during the day ... Besides food gardens, as you can see we have CWP at the centre assisting in looking after the children. They also help with washing blankets and keeping the centre clean and tidy.¹⁰⁰



Photo 18a: Food garden in Ivory Park.



Photo 18b: Food garden in Ivory Park.

¹⁰⁰ Personal interview, female crèche owner, 16 July 2014.

Issues concerning the CWP in Ivory Park emerging from the research

Attitudes towards the CWP

From the interviews with CWP participants and stakeholders it appears that the CWP has been well received and appreciated by the majority of community members in Ivory Park. The work that the CWP does in the community (sweeping the streets, caring for the elderly and the sick, cleaning schools, conducting community outreach programmes, etc.) is appreciated by many members of the community. When the police in Ivory Park were asked about the usefulness of the CWP, the following was their response:

The CWP plays an important role in the community and at this station. They have taken over the cleaning of our lawns and flower gardens. As you can see our gardens are well manicured and maintained by them. They don't clean our offices because we have cleaners to do that but we don't mind them assisting outside.¹⁰¹

The usefulness of the CWP was also confirmed in an interview with a school principal.

Since we have been joined by the CWP at this school the school has been clean. The CWP has kept this school clean and learners and educators are happy learning and teaching in a clean environment. If you have an opportunity, walk around the school you will see what I am talking about, the school is very clean. We have also provided the CWP with land from which to do their gardening. As you know this is a non-paying school and we have a feeding scheme. Although the SGB [school governing body] cook for the children I have seen CWP assisting as well. I am very happy with the assistance that the CWP is providing to the school. Last week when they came to me and told me of [a] child who was not attending school because his parents had died I immediately made sure that we take the child in. Learning is a right for every child not for some children. If it was not for the CWP we would not have known that. Extra teaching has been organized for the child because he is still dealing with the trauma of losing his parents.¹⁰²

An interview with the opposition political parties in Ivory Park also confirmed the usefulness and role of the CWP as a vehicle for community development and the creation of employment. Notwithstanding the fact that opposition parties are critical of the payment offered and the working conditions of the CWP, some representatives interviewed agreed that it was a useful project.

When we petition COGTA and marched against the site manager we are not saying the project must be scratched; we are calling for necessary improvements in the programme. We don't want a government programme hijacked by political parties and serving political interests. We want a programme to benefit the entire community, not just individuals. I have no doubt that the CWP is a good programme which needs to be supported. I mean, if you look at our streets, schools and open spaces they are clean because of the CWP. When there are disasters in the community it is the CWP that come to assist community members affected. We definitely want more support and money to be given to the CWP because they are doing a better job than Pikitup. Why are CWP paid so little money when they are doing so much for our community? It is a struggle that we are now taking to parliament because we think that the CWP will better serve our communities if participants are paid better and are employed on a permanent basis, not as volunteers.¹⁰³

The CWP is also useful to ward councillor in a variety of ways. Ward councillors often pass on messages to community members via the CWP. When ward councillor want to call community members for a community meeting or distribute flyers, they use the CWP participants.

There is very little we can do on our own without the support of the CWP. The good thing about the CWP is that community members trust them. When community members have problems, they are likely to ask for assistance from a person in the CWP. We have seen that as councillors that if we want

¹⁰¹ Personal interview, male police officer, 3 July 2014.

¹⁰² Personal interview, male school principal, 23 July 2014.

¹⁰³ Personal interview, male PR councillor, 23 July 2014.

to reach out to the community we can do that by getting CWP involved. They assist us to pass on useful information to members of the community. They also assist us when we want to call *izimbizos* [community meetings] because we do not have enough people to do that. When we ask the CWP to assist with that, they are always willing to assist. We work very well with the CWP and when they also have challenges they also come to me and if I am able to help I am always willing to help.¹⁰⁴

However, not everyone interviewed was appreciative of the work done by the CWP. One respondent was critical of the work ethic, lack of supervision and poor quality of the work done by the CWP.

When the CWP came to assist us we were happy to have them in. The station commander used to give them tea and bread in the morning just to encourage them. The station commander has stopped giving them food because he thought that the CWP working at this station are lazy. Just to pick [up] papers and clean this place it takes them the whole day. I mean, this is a very small place for three to four people to take the whole day. I know that the station commander tried to stop them from coming to work here but the management decided that since the station was not paying them anything they might as well leave [them] to do their job. We, however, stopped them from cleaning our offices and we hired our own staff to clean our offices. There is a huge difference between where a CWP has cleaned and where this old lady who cleans offices clean. These guys are lazy and spend most of their time chatting under the shade or busy on their cell phone. Just now they have gone for lunch and the only place that they have cleaned is only the front and not at the back. I mean what do you call that? It's crazy! If I was their manager, I would fire the entire team working at this station.¹⁰⁵

Challenges facing the CWP in Ivory Park

Respondents identified many challenges that impact on the proper functioning of the CWP in Ivory Park. Some are located within the CWP while others are outside of the CWP.

Internal challenges

Internal challenges to the CWP include:

- ◆ a perceived or real conflict within the site staff, referred to in Ivory Park as the 'top five';
- ◆ mistrust which often results in conflict between the site management and the some of the participants;
- ◆ perceived or real favouritism towards some participants by coordinators and site management;
- ◆ perceived or real lack of transparency on various issues related to payments and benefits;
- ◆ perceived weak leadership by the site manager;
- ◆ the role of the task team.

The CWP employs people on a full-time basis to manage the Ivory Park site. The full-time employees are the site manager, administrator, safety officer, storekeeper and the skilled person responsible for agriculture. The roles of the site management staff are distinct although they are all accountable to the site manager. As indicated in the earlier discussion of the LRC, there was a dispute between the site manager and the previous IA. It would appear that this conflict also manifested itself in the form of a conflict within the site management team. There was a strong view that this conflict was having a negative impact on the site and causing division within the programme.

There were also differences in opinion about the role played by the task team (discussed earlier) at the Ivory Park site. Some viewed it in a negative light while others felt it had value in advancing the rights of CWP participants. Those who were critical of the task team criticized it for spreading incorrect information and inciting participants. However, those who supported the initiatives of the task team applauded it for bringing significant changes to the project in Ivory Park. As indicated, the activities of the task team led to a reduction of working hours from eight to six hours, including a one-hour lunch break. This meant that participants worked for only five hours instead of the seven stipulated in the CWP manual. However, the reduction of working hours was reversed, albeit with a lot of resistance,

¹⁰⁴ Personal interview, male ward councillor, 22 July 2014.

¹⁰⁵ Personal interview, female supervisor, Ivory Park Fire Station, 4 June 2014.

Issues concerning the CWP in Ivory Park emerging from the research

when Seriti was reappointed as the IA for Ivory Park. The following quote provides a perspective on the role of the task team in heightening tension in the CWP in Ivory Park.

The CWP does not provide for the creation of a union but the task team behaved like a union. You must remember that the members of the task team were also CWP coordinators. This created a problem because coordinators play an important management role on site. Coordinators are powerful because they interface with participants on a daily basis. It was therefore easy to mobilize participants to support the task team because the issues that the task team was campaigning for were meant to benefit them. For example, instead of working, task team members would hold meeting with participants during working hours. It was very difficult those days ... What the task team did, which I would say was unintended consequences, was that it attracted the attention of opposition political leaders who also got involved. The site management became the enemy and this resulted in [the site manager] being arrested on false allegations. Participants made a number of false allegations including that the manager was misappropriating money and that the money that they were being paid was less than the money that COGTA was actually paying them. These allegations resulted in participants toyi-toying and demanding [the site manager] to be removed as the site manager. Things were very bad in 2012.¹⁰⁶

External challenges

External factors identified include political parties' interference in the project, lack of support by ward councillors and change of IAs.

The foremost challenge externally to the CWP in Ivory Park was related to political parties interfering in the running of the site. As described, political parties in Ivory Park have been involved in conflict related to the site, with the site manager being personally targeted in one instance. The next quote describes the activities of opposition political parties in Ivory Park CWP.

Yes, they used this thing that I am a Zulu man and I will use my fellow brothers to kill them. What is wrong with being a Zulu man? The reasons why they said so it was because there were a lot of strikes that were formed against me and I destroyed them very easily. When I speak in front [of] them I want to invite you on Tuesday because Tuesday is going to be mammoth task. As I am speaking now, I know the set-up for Tuesday and I know what is going to happen. When I speak to them it is going to be loud and clear and nothing but straight truth. You see, I went there to the police station and made my statement and the matter came before the magistrate, said the guy has no case to answer because I presented the nature of the problem. I said to the police officer, you might be a policeman but I can see that you don't know the nature of the problem. The same people that are bringing political parties into the programme, are the same people that are going to suffer the consequences when the programme is closed ... My brother, all these things are happening to me because I am resisting political influence and participation in the programme. I have still got newspaper articles scanned and saved in my computer where Themba Godi¹⁰⁷ was speaking and that PR councillor and some of my junior staff were present in that meeting. So I am resisting and I stand boldly in front of the masses and say one of the things that I know about us black people is that if I can stand in front of you and tell you lies, you will be clapping hands but if I tell you the truth, you will be unhappy. Flattery makes friendship but the truth is resisted. Lies make friends and that is the truth. I am trying to comply with the rules and regulations as well as the mission and vision of the programme set by the government in trying to uplift our communities.¹⁰⁸

The march by the APC in Ivory Park was also reported in an article in *New Age*.¹⁰⁹ In the article, the APC is reported to have met with about 600 of its supporters in the CWP and demanded the removal of the site manager, the appointment of CWP participants on a full-time basis and an increase in their salaries.

¹⁰⁶ Personal interview, male CWP participant, 22 August 2014.

¹⁰⁷ Themba Godi is the president of the African People's Convention (APC) and a member of parliament.

¹⁰⁸ Personal interview, male CWP participant, 31 July 2014.

¹⁰⁹ Omphemetse Molopyane, 'People Used for Personal Gain,' *New Age*, 18 February 2013, http://www.thenewage.co.za/83417-1008-53-People_used_for_personal_gain (accessed 1 September 2015).

Issues concerning the CWP in Ivory Park emerging from the research

Views of interviewees about the role of the CWP in addressing crime

On whether the CWP has a role to play in crime prevention, many respondents thought that it had no role while a few thought that everyone had a role to play. Participants said things like ‘we don’t have training’ or we ‘don’t have firearms’ to undertake crime prevention. A particular concern was that ‘crime prevention’ was assumed to refer to work that would expose CWP participants to danger.

I don’t think we should get involved in crime prevention because that is the responsibility of the police. Besides, police are trained to do this work and they are given resources to perform their work. In the CWP we are issued with brooms to clean the streets. If we were asked to do crime prevention work, I will definitely leave unless we are trained and provided [with] resources. Fighting crime is dangerous and you cannot do it carrying a broom.¹¹⁰

Another recurring point was that if the CWP was going to be involved in addressing crime, then it should do so in cooperation with the CPF.

I think that if the CWP want to be involved in crime prevention they must join the CPF. The CPF is a community structure that is recognized in the constitution and Police Act with fighting crime. Besides, we cannot accept every community structure or organization to fight crime outside of the CPF. We will organize a meeting between the CPF and the CWP to make sure that if the CWP is getting involved in crime prevention, they must do it under the auspices of the police and the CPF.¹¹¹

An interview with the CPF also reflected resistance to the idea of the CWP being involved in addressing crime and violence.

We do not associate the CWP with crime prevention. In fact, I have known the CWP now for a long time but I have never heard that they are involved in crime prevention. As far as we know, the CWP are involved in community development work. We see them cleaning the streets, schools

and they also clean the grounds here at this police station. I will be lying really if I had to say that the CWP is playing any role in crime prevention. What we need to do in order not to confuse the community we want to see the constitution of the CWP and see what it says because as far as we know the community structure responsible for crime prevention is the CPF. We are here as members of the community to receive and deal with complaints against the police and support policing efforts in the community. I am not sure exactly what information you have that can maybe assist us because as far as I know only the CPF is tasked with working with the police to fight crime.¹¹²

Although the CWP does not associate its efforts and work with crime prevention, it clearly does things that may be of benefit in addressing crime. This includes work undertaken with the direct intention of addressing crime, specifically the social projects aimed at providing recreation for young people and the inclusion of ex-offenders in the CWP. Another form of work that is specifically intended to address crime is the cutting of long grass. Although this may be part of the work done in the environmental sector, in some cases it is done in places where the long grass is regarded as a hiding place for criminals, making community members vulnerable to attack.

Other work that the CWP does that may have crime prevention benefits includes house-to-house visits to identify vulnerable groups who require care and support, such as young children who are not enrolled in school or crèche and victims of domestic violence.

Impact of CWP work on the Ivory Park community

The CWP provides a number of important services which have a positive impact on the community. In some instances, it has taken over the services that are supposed to be provided by the local municipality. For instance, CWP participants sweep the streets, clean the environment, remove dirt from the stormwater drainage system and in some cases unblock the stormwater drainage system and remove illegal dump sites. At times the CWP works side by

¹¹⁰ Personal interview, female focus group participant, 4 June 2014.

¹¹¹ Personal interview, male police officer, 3 July 2014.

¹¹² Personal interview, male CPF member, 3 July 2014.

Issues concerning the CWP in Ivory Park emerging from the research

side with municipal services such as Pikitup and City Park to provide these services.

The CWP also provides cleaning and maintenance services in schools and public places such as police stations, community halls, fire stations, taxi ranks, shopping centres and clinics. This has ensured that public places in Ivory Park are clean and maintained. Given the local authorities' lack of capacity to adequately provide these services to the community, the CWP plays a critical role in closing that gap.

Arguably, improving the provision of services to a community also impacts positively on the quality of life of that community. For instance, the CWP contributes to the health of the Ivory Park community by cleaning the environment and cleaning and unblocking stormwater drainage systems. This ensures that water flows away and prevents water stagnating, which may cause diseases.

Another significant impact of the CWP is through its infrastructure projects. The CWP has implemented infrastructure projects that are ordinarily in the domain of the local municipality, such as repairing roads, fixing potholes, repairing broken windows in public buildings and assisting in maintaining public buildings.

The CWP social programmes also have a significant impact. Through HBC, services are provided to people who are sick, elderly or disabled. Assistance is given to people whose homes or shacks have been destroyed by fire or weather. As a result, CWP participants have earned the respect of the community. They are generally trusted and consulted by community members for assistance and for information.

Other CWP social projects that are having a significant impact include physical training for the elderly as well as sports targeted at the unemployed and ex-offenders. My estimate is that approximately 500 elderly people are part of the physical training programme provided in partnership with the Department of Social Development.¹¹³ Also, there

are over 100 unemployed youths and ex-offenders playing soccer and netball in the CWP. Often, these initiatives are accomplished with very few resources and little support from the CWP or stakeholders in the community. These programmes are successful because of individuals who are committed to them and who in some instances use their own resources to implement them.

The CWP is also impacting positively on children by supporting ECD centres or crèches. CWP provides staff to keep these centres clean, wash blankets and cook for the children and in some cases also supplies them with fresh vegetables from CWP gardens. The CWP also conducts door-to-door visits in the informal settlements in order to identify problems and either deal with them or refer community members to appropriate government departments. These door-to-door visits are important as they have assisted in identifying children who are not enrolled in schools or who are not in ECD centres when they are supposed to be. The CWP has ensured that these children are helped to enrol in schools and ECD centres.

The door-to-door visits have also been important in identifying other challenges that affect community members. For example, the CWP has assisted people in obtaining services and applying for social grants, IDs, houses and services such as water and sanitation. Also, the CWP has been important in providing ward councillors with critical information regarding the delivery of services in their wards. When councillors receive this information, they generally act on it, which may help to explain why there have not been violent service delivery protests in Ivory Park. The only recorded violent service delivery protest in Ivory Park was in 2011. While there have been protests, they have been peaceful and confined to specific sections on specific issues.

As noted, one of the biggest challenges facing Ivory Park is unemployment. About 70% of community members are unemployed and actively looking for employment. This is an extremely high figure. The CWP has been welcomed by many people who are employed by it. In Ivory Park, there are currently 743 people employed in the CWP. Although this

¹¹³ My estimation is based purely on my visits to the facilities at the Department of Social Development where the elderly did their physical training.

Issues concerning the CWP in Ivory Park emerging from the research

is a small number in the context of unemployment in Ivory Park, it is a significant contribution towards addressing the problem of unemployment. Notwithstanding the low wages paid by CWP, participants generally indicated that 'half a loaf is better than nothing.'

Impact of the CWP on the lives of participants

It is important to underline the fact that generally the CWP employs unemployed people who are considered unemployable because they lack skills and qualifications. However, due to the high rate of unemployment in the country, the CWP also attracts unemployed people who have formal education and qualifications, although they are in the minority. The CWP attracts people of all ages, including young people, elderly people and women. The latter are the groups that are generally worst impacted by unemployment.

The CWP impacts positively on participants in a number of significant ways. Many participants indicated that being part of the CWP has given them their dignity back because it has enabled them to feed their families, send their children to school, buy clothes and furniture and generally live normal lives.

Before I joined the CWP in 2010, life was not easy, it was difficult. I had left home in 2008 after finishing school and lived [with] my boyfriend. In fact, my parents chased me away from home because I fell pregnant soon after my matric and my parents did not want anything to do with me. I moved in with my boyfriend and my life was a nightmare. I even tried to commit suicide because I felt alone and useless. My boyfriend is very supportive and he is really a gentleman. He has done everything that he needs to do like pay for damages and the lobola negotiations started in this year in February and they are ongoing. Things are much better and I am happy where I am in life. The toughest time was soon after my matric and getting pregnant. You can never be prepared for that and to [leave] home was very difficult. In 2010 I joined the CWP and being in the CWP was almost being given a second chance in life. In the CWP I met many people who had similar and even more tragic

stories and that made me realize that what I was going through was not abnormal. We are like family in the CWP because we talk and support each other. For instance, when one of us gets married we all go to support that person. We would clean the yard and wash everything that needs to be washed before and after the wedding ... I am trying to emphasize the fact that CWP is my life because without it I probably would have killed myself. I am now independent and also contribute something in the house. It's nice not to be too dependent on your partner. He is also happy when one day you also come home carrying a bag full of food.'¹¹⁴

The other theme that the research explored was whether the position of participants at home and in the community had changed because of being in the CWP. While the experiences of individuals were markedly different, most participants indicated that their position at home and in the community had improved because of being in the CWP. Women in particular indicated that since making a financial contribution in their families, their homes were more loving.

My life had definitely changed because I am now able to do most things that I was not able to do. I am now able to contribute food and pay for expenses at home. My husband appreciates that, although my financial contribution is little. Since I started working in 2012 my home has become more peaceful because we both wake up every day and go to work. My husband respects and loves me more than before. Before he used to shout at me, especially when I ask for money, because it was heavy for him.'¹¹⁵

A male CWP participant expressed similar sentiments.

If you are man and you can't look after your family you think you are a failure. I had to send my family back home because at home they can live in land and can slaughter an animal if things become difficult. It is not easy staying away from your family and since I joined the CWP my family is happy now and they have come back. With the little

¹¹⁴ Personal interview, female participant, 18 June 2014.

¹¹⁵ Personal interview, female focus group participant, 3 June 2014.

money that I get we managed to build rooms that we rent out and I also do piece jobs when I am not working in the CWP. The good thing about the CWP is that you are guaranteed payment, although at times we are paid late, and that helps with planning your budget. My children are going to school just like any children in the township and I am happy with the opportunity to work in the CWP.¹¹⁶

Another theme that emerged was the fact that the wages received from the CWP allowed many participants to join social clubs, savings clubs and funeral clubs, which in turn increased their range of social networks. Some of these clubs are composed exclusively of CWP participants but others include non-participants too. CWP participants join many different kinds of clubs, including *umasiholisane*,¹¹⁷ a type of savings club in which participants pay each other money in a round-robin manner. Every month all participants pay one person the agreed amount and this is done until everyone in the club has received his or her share of the money. In another popular savings club, members deposit an agreed amount of money into a savings account. Club members are permitted to borrow the money and pay it back with interest. Non-members are also allowed to borrow, but generally the interest they pay is much higher than that paid by members. The money is shared equally amongst the members at the end of the year, in December. In other clubs participants buy each other household goods, or contribute money to buy groceries in bulk, which they share amongst themselves. Being part of the CWP has enabled many participants to join these savings clubs.

I have joined three stokvels since joining the CWP. In one stokvel we contribute R150 per month towards buying groceries, which we share in December. The food that we buy is in bulk and it lasts up to six months or so. I have also joined a burial society club and I contribute R100 per month for me and my family. I have also joined a savings club and contribute R300 per month. Although the money from CWP is little it helps a lot because we are now able to do all these things ... I don't

rely only on CWP money because I have a tuck shop at home and I also sell old clothes in the community.¹¹⁸

The CWP has given marginalized people in the community who had no voice a platform to work and to influence the direction and content of the programme. Some occupy important and better-paying positions in the CWP as facilitators and coordinators.

Absence of gender discrimination in the CWP

A large majority of CWP participants in Ivory Park, as well as those at the coordinator level, are women. When respondents were asked if males were discriminated against in the CWP, the overwhelming majority said no. When asked about the working conditions between men and women, the general view was that everyone in the CWP was treated equally and was subject to the same conditions of employment in terms of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act and the Labour Relations Act. For instance, women are guaranteed maternity leave of up to four months, although such leave is not paid, and participants can take up to 12 days a year of sick leave.

Everyone in the CWP is treated equally in terms of the labour legislations in this country. There is absolutely no discrimination based on gender. When a woman is pregnant she is entitled to maternity leave and can take up to four months and she will not be removed from the CWP. The only difference is that the CWP pays people for work done because it is not employment in the sense of conventional employment where someone who goes to maternity leave is paid for three months. In the CWP if a woman goes to maternity she is not paid and she is not removed from the CWP. During that time she is entitled to the UIF and the amount is determined by the Department of Labour because it is based on one's contribution to the fund.¹¹⁹

A similar observation was made about the appointment of coordinators in Ivory Park.

¹¹⁶ Personal interview, male focus group participant, 11 June 2014.

¹¹⁷ *Umasiholisane* is a Nguni word meaning 'let's pay each other.'

¹¹⁸ Personal interview, female focus group participant, 17 June 2014.

¹¹⁹ Personal interview, male, CWP Ivory Park, 16 October 2014.

Issues concerning the CWP in Ivory Park emerging from the research

I don't think it is possible to appoint someone simply because they are men or women because the selection and appointment of coordinators also involves coordinators and facilitators. You will have to bribe everyone in the panel to be appointed based on gender without qualifications.¹²⁰

Interview respondents confirmed that men and women in the CWP received the same treatment.

We are treated the same in the CWP. In this programme there is no man or woman because we do the same work because we are paid the same amount. As you can see today we are unblocking this stormwater drainage system and no one is lazing around. Maybe it's because we are mostly women in the group. The guys in our group treat us well because if there is something that is very heavy that we need to remove they prefer to do it. I mean we are not that strong to carry heavy things but we do 99% of the work that needs to be done. We all wear the same colour of the overall and safety shoes, so why should people [be] treated different in the programme. Fortunately, we are all treated the same.¹²¹

Impact of the CWP on social capital in Ivory Park

As reflected above, the CWP in Ivory Park appears to contribute to participants' ability to participate in savings clubs, which in turn expands and deepens the range of social ties between people within the Ivory Park community. In addition, participation in the CWP is likely to expand the range of social networks that people in Ivory Park are part of, as people in the CWP work alongside other community members.

Besides expanding the range of networks between members of the community, the CWP also promotes the formation of, and is at the centre of, a web of networks between organizations and institutions in Ivory Park. The CWP in Ivory Park has partnered with a number of stakeholders such as government departments, NGOs and CBOs in order to advance social causes. For example, the CWP has partnered with the Department of Social Welfare

in a programme aimed at keeping elderly people physically healthy and active. The programme brings together the elderly every week to exercise, pray together, eat and socialize with each other. The CWP provides trainers to conduct the physical training.

The CWP also supports NGOs and CBOs involved in campaigns against drug and alcohol abuse. The CWP regularly supports organizations such as SANCA and Thiba Nyaope in their community campaigns and awareness programmes. CWP involvement varies depending on the campaign and may include distributing pamphlets, putting up posters and mobilizing community members to attend awareness programmes.

Yes we have worked and supported SANCA many times in their awareness campaigns because drug and alcohol abuse are a serious problem in our community. We support them by going with them to the community and distribute pamphlets and put up posters. SANCA had a programme which we were part of called Phuza Wise. This programme was targeted at women who drink while they are pregnant, at children who drink while at school and people who abuse alcohol.¹²²

This year alone we had been involved in two campaigns initiated by Thiba Nyaope. We went to raise awareness in school during assembly and spoke to schoolchildren about the dangers of using drugs and getting involved in sexual activities at an early age. We assisted with distributing pamphlets and putting up posters in schools and public places.¹²³

The CWP also supports community initiatives aimed at crime prevention and public safety. In June I attended two crime meetings in Ward 77 which were aimed at mobilizing community members to contribute money to hire people to conduct night patrols in the ward. Both community meetings were attended and supported by the CWP but the initiative failed to take off because community members did not commit to contributing money to the proposal.

¹²⁰ Personal interview, female coordinator, 23 July 2014.

¹²¹ Personal interview, female focus group participant, 9 June 2014.

¹²² Phuza Wise is in fact a programme of the NGO Soul City, although SANCA may also be a participant in it.

¹²³ Personal interview, female focus group participant, 24 June 2014.

Analysis and conclusion

General position of the CWP in Ivory Park

During the time of research, the Ivory Park site was characterized by a fair amount of dissent. The research was conducted during the transition from one IA to another and this may have contributed to some of the instability, in part as a result of the re-registration process. The re-registration and re-advertising of positions for site staff contributed to instability in the programme. The site staff appeared demotivated and deflated and unable to provide leadership during the transition because their own positions were not guaranteed. Consequently, the lack of leadership opened the door for internal conflicts and external interference to further destabilize the CWP.

Other challenges include participants failing to adapt to Seriti's way of working. For instance, participants are refusing to revert to working eight hours and to adopt the new calendar. Positions have been created in the Ivory Park CWP that are not in the CWP manual, which Seriti is considering phasing out. These include the position of a site inspector and facilitators. It is not clear why these positions were created or how their performance is measured. The transition has introduced a lot of instability into the CWP as participants are anxious about what is going on and what other changes Seriti will bring into the programme.

However, many of the issues that appeared to be a source of unhappiness, such as the late payment of wages, originated well before the transition and are a source of dissatisfaction at many sites. As noted, though, the Ivory Park site is one of the sites in which the task team, initially established in the adjacent Region E, became very active in contributing to a heightened sense of conflict.

Despite the contestation, conflict and many challenges facing the CWP, partly arising from the role played by opposition parties, it nevertheless continues to maintain a certain level of effectiveness and plays an important role in the community of Ivory Park. The CWP offers valuable benefits in terms of the work that it does in the Ivory

Park community, and the consequent improvements in the quality of life and services that flow from this. In addition, it enriches the lives of participants, not only through the modest wages that it pays, but also through enhancing their access to social networks in the community. Participants spoke highly of the CWP and the significant impact it was having in their lives. They spoke of their dignity being restored and being able to look after their families. Also, respondents spoke of being able to live normal lives, participate in community networks and form social bonds with other community members. The CWP also appears to make a qualitative difference to the social capital in the community, partly through its role as an intermediary, agent and provider of services to many other governmental and nongovernmental institutions in Ivory Park.

Due to the high rate of unemployment in Ivory Park, the CWP provides important relief to some community members and families facing acute poverty. The high unemployment rate makes the CWP an attractive place for community members to look for employment and, judging by the long lists at labour desks, it is clear that many unemployed people look forward to being employed by the CWP one day. This is despite the negative views and comments from some community members in Ivory Park, who, for example, refer to CWP participants as *amabantinti*, loosely translated as 'prisoners,' because of the colour of their uniform and the low stipends they receive. These negative views did not appear to be shared by many respondents interviewed for this research. Instead, a positive view emerged in which CWP participants were seen to be respected and appreciated by community members. It would appear that the CWP is having a positive impact in the community of Ivory Park in many areas, including providing participants with access to training and skills development and ensuring that community members take ownership of and champion the development of their own community.

Hopefully, the successful re-registration of the CWP after many weeks of lobbying participants to

Analysis and conclusion

General position of the CWP in Ivory Park

During the time of research, the Ivory Park site was characterized by a fair amount of dissent. The research was conducted during the transition from one IA to another and this may have contributed to some of the instability, in part as a result of the re-registration process. The re-registration and re-advertising of positions for site staff contributed to instability in the programme. The site staff appeared demotivated and deflated and unable to provide leadership during the transition because their own positions were not guaranteed. Consequently, the lack of leadership opened the door for internal conflicts and external interference to further destabilize the CWP.

Other challenges include participants failing to adapt to Seriti's way of working. For instance, participants are refusing to revert to working eight hours and to adopt the new calendar. Positions have been created in the Ivory Park CWP that are not in the CWP manual, which Seriti is considering phasing out. These include the position of a site inspector and facilitators. It is not clear why these positions were created or how their performance is measured. The transition has introduced a lot of instability into the CWP as participants are anxious about what is going on and what other changes Seriti will bring into the programme.

However, many of the issues that appeared to be a source of unhappiness, such as the late payment of wages, originated well before the transition and are a source of dissatisfaction at many sites. As noted, though, the Ivory Park site is one of the sites in which the task team, initially established in the adjacent Region E, became very active in contributing to a heightened sense of conflict.

Despite the contestation, conflict and many challenges facing the CWP, partly arising from the role played by opposition parties, it nevertheless continues to maintain a certain level of effectiveness and plays an important role in the community of Ivory Park. The CWP offers valuable benefits in terms of the work that it does in the Ivory Park community, and the consequent improvements in the quality of life and services

that flow from this. In addition, it enriches the lives of participants, not only through the modest wages that it pays, but also through enhancing their access to social networks in the community. Participants spoke highly of the CWP and the significant impact it was having in their lives. They spoke of their dignity being restored and being able to look after their families. Also, respondents spoke of being able to live normal lives, participate in community networks and form social bonds with other community members. The CWP also appears to make a qualitative difference to the social capital in the community, partly through its role as an intermediary, agent and provider of services to many other governmental and nongovernmental institutions in Ivory Park.

Due to the high rate of unemployment in Ivory Park, the CWP provides important relief to some community members and families facing acute poverty. The high unemployment rate makes the CWP an attractive place for community members to look for employment and, judging by the long lists at labour desks, it is clear that many unemployed people look forward to being employed by the CWP one day. This is despite the negative views and comments from some community members in Ivory Park, who, for example, refer to CWP participants as *amabantinti*, loosely translated as 'prisoners,' because of the colour of their uniform and the low stipends they receive. These negative views did not appear to be shared by many respondents interviewed for this research. Instead, a positive view emerged in which CWP participants were seen to be respected and appreciated by community members. It would appear that the CWP is having a positive impact in the community of Ivory Park in many areas, including providing participants with access to training and skills development and ensuring that community members take ownership of and champion the development of their own community.

Hopefully, the successful re-registration of the CWP after many weeks of lobbying participants to re-register marks a new era in which the CWP will continue to have a marked impact on a community which clearly needs it.

Work ethic and commitment

Many participants demonstrated commitment to the CWP in various ways. For example, participants brought their own equipment to implement CWP projects, or spent their own money to procure equipment and seeds in order to plant vegetables. Even when they had used their own money to buy seeds or seedlings, they continued to supply community members and community crèches with vegetables to feed children.

However, in some cases it appeared that participants lacked a positive work ethic. It is not easy to comment decisively on this because of the many other challenges participants raised during the interviews. Both Seriti and COGTA have acknowledged some of the issues that participants raised as impacting on their work ethic and commitment to the CWP. For instance, during the period when the research was conducted the CWP in Ivory Park was facing an acute shortage of basic equipment to implement their projects, such as brooms, dust masks, refuse bags, shovels, seeds and seedlings. As a result, it is not clear whether the lack of basic equipment is the reason for participants loitering around during working hours. Although there are many elderly people in the CWP who cannot stand for the whole day without taking a rest, many younger participants were observed napping during working hours or resting in groups under trees.

Leadership

Issues with the management and leadership of the site, including conflict within the management team, may have weakened the extent of the CWP's impact in Ivory Park. It appeared that the Ivory Park CWP leadership and management did not have a clear vision for how to develop the CWP. This appeared to be related to a lack of planning to guide the work of the CWP. For example, while the research was taking place, there was an attempt to focus on crime prevention programmes using sports, although these projects were not part of the business plan for 2014. Similarly, some participants started recycling projects although they were not identified in the business plan.

The need for more purposeful management was also evident during coordinator meetings on Fridays. The meetings were generally focused on dealing with crises in the CWP, with less focus on its development and growth. Coordinators were not asked to account for their work in the week unless there was a crisis which needed to be discussed. Very often, there was too much focus on the code of conduct, how the CWP calendar differed from the Seriti and COGTA calendars and the issue of delays in the payment of wages. These meetings also dealt with complaints and problems facing the CWP. While discussing crises is inevitable given the nature of the programme, too much focus on the negatives and failure to recognize the good work being done may have discouraged hard-working participants.

Fairness in the allocation of jobs

Most respondents were of the view that the selection and recruitment of participants into the CWP was fair, transparent and free of corruption. As described, the ward labour desks and sectional committees are tasked with the recruitment of participants. A register system of people looking for employment is kept by the labour desk as well as by sectional committee members. People looking for employment are required to register with the labour centres and 'market' themselves every week by signing the register. Failure to sign the register weekly disadvantages that person as recruitment is done on the basis of work seekers' commitment to 'marketing' themselves weekly. However, it appears that a register of this kind can easily be manipulated.

Various people – one who said they were unaffiliated and one who identified themselves as an opposition party member – alleged that questions about their political affiliation were raised when they wanted to join the CWP. Allegations of corruption and favouritism came mostly from opposition political parties, who described the system as unfair and politically biased against their supporters. As a result, the issue of transparency and accountability in the CWP was one of the issues that the APC highlighted when they marched against the site manager.

The problem of unfairness in the recruitment process came through from a few participants not aligned with the APC. This suggests that the issue is real, although it is not clear how extensive its impact is on the recruitment process. The research was focused on participants and stakeholders in the CWP and did not seek to gauge general community perceptions. As a result, it is not clear to what degree the wider community might share perceptions that the CWP is implemented unfairly. One respondent also alleged that coordinators demanded ‘cooldrink’ money from participants they had assisted to get into the CWP. When a reference is made that ‘cooldrink’ money was requested, this generally means that someone asked for a bribe. It is not clear whether this is a substantial problem in the CWP in Ivory Park.

Awareness and understanding in Ivory Park about the CWP

It was clear from the interviews that although many people in Ivory Park know about the CWP and are able to identify participants by their orange overalls, many also lack a basic understanding of what the programme is about and what benefit they can

derive from it. The inadequacy of communication relating to the CWP in Ivory Park was one of the major findings of this research. There is clearly a need for much better communication by COGTA and site management with CWP participants. There would also be great value in improving knowledge of the CWP in the Ivory Park community more generally.

Role of the CWP in addressing crime and violence

At present there is not broad consensus within Ivory Park around whether the CWP has a role to play in addressing crime and violence. At the same time, some of the work done by the programme, notably the recreational activities for unemployed people, is understood as having a crime prevention role. In addition, the incorporation of former convicts into the Ivory Park CWP is done with a view to facilitating re-integration and supporting them in re-establishing themselves as law-abiding members of the community. Nevertheless, the research suggests that there is considerable space for further engagement within the Ivory Park CWP around questions of strengthening the CWP’s impact on crime and violence.

References

- Brodie, N. (2008) *The Joburg Book: A Guide to the City's History, People and Places* (Johannesburg: Pan Macmillan and Sharp Sharp Media)
- Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (2011) *Community Work Programme Implementation Manual*
- Langa, M. (2011) 'Bokfontein: The Nations Are Amazed,' in *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*, K. von Holdt, M. Langa, S. Molapo, N. Mogapi, K. Ngubeni, J. Dlamini & A. Kirsten (Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation and Society, Work and Development Institute)
- Omenya, A. (2007) 'Towards Effective Self-Help Housing Delivery: Contributions through Network Analysis in Nairobi, Kenya and Johannesburg, South Africa' (PhD diss., University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg)
- Piper, L. & Deacon, R. (2009) 'Too Dependent to Participate: Ward Committees and Local Democratisation in South Africa,' *Local Government Studies* 35(4): 415–433