CSVR SAFE AND INCLUSIVE CITIES RESEARCH PROJECT

A follow-up report on the Community Work Programme in Bokfontein

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

Malose Langa
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CSVR
The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation

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

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Introduction

This report provides an update about my follow-up interviews in Bokfontein conducted in May 2014. The main aim of the three days visit in Bokfontein was to check how things have changed or not since my field work in 2010. Our research in this community (see Langa, 2011[1]; Langa & von Holdt, 2011)[2] has served as a springboard for the focus of the current research on the impact of CWP and its potential to prevent or reduce violence in communities.

My earlier work in Bokfontein concluded that CWP played a key role in preventing ongoing intra-community violence as well as violence related to community protests and xenophobic attacks (Langa & von Holdt, 2011). In this community, people worked in various projects such as road maintenance, gardening, home-based care, after-school care, cutting grass, installing pipes for water, and working on the park. All these projects were also found to be effective in facilitating peace, reconciliation and healing amongst community members.

It is against this backdrop that we were interested to explore the long-term impact of CWP and its related benefits. One of the major questions that we had in 2010 was that the community of Bokfontein was fairly new and that the positive impact of CWP observed during that period was temporary. We had this view that once this new enthusiasm about the benefits of CWP subsides, new forms of tension and power struggles may emerge amongst community members. As a result of this, we predicted at that time that new forms of violence may also erupt. Our view at that time was that the CWP might also bring new problems and challenges, such as contestation over power amongst community leaders, allegations of corruption, nepotism and dissatisfaction over the stipend and that this might lead to conflict and possibly violence. This is because some literature makes the point that development initiatives in poor communities may also exacerbate violence due to the influx of new resources and opportunities which may destabilise existing social hierarchies, and may also intensify competition over the control of such resources and projects.

The other aim with follow-up interviews was to also assess the long-term potential of the CWP and its sustainability in facilitating social cohesion over a period of time, and changing power dynamics due to changes in local politics (e.g. the emergence of Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) in Bokfontein). Furthermore, we were also interested to assess the impact of changes in CWP management systems and other changes related to the formalization of the CWP as a programme of national government. At the time when the original research on the CWP was done Bokfontein was one of a limited number of sites at which the CWP was being piloted. Changes that have happened since then have included the formalization of the CWP as a programme of government based in the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA), the implementation of a three tier management system in April 2012[3], and the move back to a single tier management system as from April 2014

[1] Malose Langa. "Bokfontein: The Nations Are Amazed." In *Karl von Holdt, Malose Langa, Sepetla Molapo, Nomfundo Mogapi, Kindiza Ngubeni, Jacob Dlamini and Adele Kirsten *eds), The Smoke That Calls - Insurgent Citizenship, Collective Violence and the Struggle for a Place in the New South Africa.* Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation & Society Work and Development Institute, 2011.

[2] Malose Langa, and Karl von Holdt. "Bokfontein Amazes the Nations: Community Work Programme (CWP) Heals a Traumatised Community." *In Devan Pillay, John Daniel, Prishani Naidoo and Roger Southall (eds), New South African Review 2.* Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2011.

[3] The agencies appointed in each of these tiers were referred to as the Lead Agent (LA), the Provincial Implementing Agent (PIA) and the Local Implementing Agency (LIA).

Methodology

The research for this report involved in-depth interviews with key informants such as community leaders, CWP participants and political representatives in Bokfontein. In 2010, the research in this community was conducted over a period of two months. During this period, the researcher stayed in the area every weekend, attending meetings and soccer matches, accompanying participants in the CWP on their work rounds, chatting to residents on street corners, and interviewing them in their homes about the impact of OW and CWP on their community.

For the purpose of this report the researcher spent three days in Bokfontein in May 2014. A profile of the respondents is given in the following table.

Table 1: Profile of research respondents

Individual Or Focus Group	Organization	Position	Gender
Individual interview	CWP	Manager	Male
Individual interview	CWP	Coordinator	Male
Individual interview	Bokfontein	Community leader and ANC member	Male
Individual interview	African National Congress (ANC)	Representative	Male
Individual interview	EFF (Economic Freedom Fighters)	Representative	Male
Focus group	CWP	CWP participants	2 Males and 4 females
Individual interview	CWP	CWP school assistant teacher	Female

Due to time constraints, only a few CWP participants were interviewed as compared to the research in 2010. Nevertheless the interviewees and focus group participants were able to update me about developments in the Bokfontein CWP since my last visit in 2010.

Bokfontein

See Langa and von Holdt (2011) for more information about the history of Bokfontein, which developed as a result of the forced removals of two communities from the vicinity of Hartebeespoort. The community of Bokfontein is situated near Hartebeespoort Dam in the North-West province. It is estimated that more 5000 residents live in this area.

In terms of access to basic services, nothing much has changed in Bokfontein since my last visit in 2010. People in Bokfontein still live in shacks, despite the promise in 2012 by the Mayor[4] (Poppy Magongwa) of Madibeng to build RDP houses for them after their peaceful march to the municipality offices. The memorandum which was submitted to the municipality included demands such as the provision of housing, water, electricity, roads and toilets as well as houses.[5] The area still does not have proper roads, except the main road which was done by community members as part of the CWP. The community has also grown since my last visit. I observed that some shacks are not accessible due to a lack of roads. During the rainy seasons, it is difficult for people who live in these shacks to move in and out of the area. It is also difficult for vehicles to move in and out of this area, including emergency vehicles such as ambulances and police vans, a key concern raised by community leaders interviewed in this study. Many people still do not have access to basic sanitation services. Still there is no police station or clinic in the area. People travel as far as Brits or Hartebeespoort to access any health services. There is still no school in the area, except the two crèches run by CWP participants. The nearest school is more than 30 km away. Only children whose parents can afford to pay the transport fee of R250 to R300 per month can go to school. Community leaders interviewed in the study mentioned that many parents do not have money to afford this transport fee due to being unemployed. The CWP still remains the main source of income for many people living in the area. They complained about increasing levels of drug use amongst the youth due to lack of education or having dropped out of school as their parents were not able to pay for their transport fee. As mentioned earlier, in 2012 the community organised a non-violent protest to submit their memorandum to the municipality but many of their demands have not been met.

However, it is important to mention that all was not doom and gloom. During my visit in 2014, the process of electrifying the place had already started. All the key leaders I have spoken to were happy about this new development because they have not had electricity since they started living in the area in 2006. Some leaders were hopeful about the possibility of getting RDP houses as promised by the Mayor in 2012. However, other leaders expressed their doubts about this possibility of Madibeng municipality building houses for them as the municipality has been declared bankrupt due to corruption. A Special Investigating Unit (SIU) investigation covering the period 2005 to 2009 found that during this period:

- He said “83 payments of more than R10,3 million were made to two companies using the same invoice number for the installation of high mast lights by Madibeng municipality”.
- 341 Madibeng officials had business interest in at least eight of the contracts valued at R21,7 million in the municipality.
- Companies doing business with Madibeng owed it more than R10,2 million for services;
- Banks rejected 310 cheque payments for services valued at more than R2,4million rendered to the municipality because there were no funds in the accounts.
- The municipality had 10 ghost employees who were receiving monthly salaries;[6]

Furthermore, an Internal Audit Report for the Madibeng Municipality revealed various corrupt activities of defrauding the municipality of millions of rands. The Audit Report cites examples in which various companies were paid money for services not rendered. In other instances, one company was

[4] http://www.kormorant.co.za/2014/03/bokfontein-still-left-out-in-the-cold/
[5] Ibid
[6] North West councils probed over R30m fraud http://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2010/10/11/north-west-councils-probed-over-r30m-fraud

using different names to submit invoices to the municipality. The report goes further to cite other incidents in which municipality officials were also submitting fraudulent travel claims.[7]

The alleged corruption and other mismanagement is likely to be linked to problems of service delivery by the municipality. For example, in 2014 four protestors were killed by the police during the protest against lack of water in Mothutlong in which in 2014. In January 2015, there were violent protests in Majakaneng which also falls under this municipality against lack of water in their community.[8] All these violent community protests are attributed to lack of basic services due to allegations of corruption in the municipality. It is alleged that some municipality officials have been intentionally tampering with water supply so that their trucks could be hired to supply water to affected places.[9]

Given all these problems with the Madibeng municipality, some leaders stated that "the people of Bokfontein are less likely to get all the basic services". One community leader mentioned that "things will never change in this place until Jesus Christ comes". This feeling of hopelessness was shared by some of the leaders I interviewed during my field work in 2014. It is possible that this sense of hopelessness may lead the people of Bokfontein to resort to a violent service delivery protest as their peaceful march in 2012 has not yielded any positive results. This possibility will be in consistent with our findings in the *Smoke that Calls* that more often communities explore non-violent methods of submitting memos to relevant government officials before resorting to more violent means of protest such as burning clinics, libraries and schools (see, von Holdt et al., 2011).[10] However, the CWP manager reiterated his views which he expressed during my field work in 2010 that "people need to learn how to do things for themselves than to wait for government". He went on to say "the people[11] went and marched to the municipality in 2012 to demand houses and the mayor came here and made promises and promises but till to date we still do not have houses". His view is that CWP needs to be supported so that people can do things for themselves.[12] I will return to all his views later in the report about lack of support for CWP and the issues related to the introduction of the three-tier CWP management system.

It may be noted that, contrary to the CWP manager's views, other leaders expressed the view that their march in 2012 did yield some positive results because they now have electricity. Interestingly, the EFF interviewee was vocal in expressing his views about the need to mobilise and galvanize the poor of the poorest in Bokfontein to violently protest against the Madibeng municipality, especially if the municipality continues to take them for granted by ignoring their plight and poor living conditions.

7 Madibeng a corrupt 'tragedy' – R2.2 million gone in 16 minutes. http://www.kormorant.co.za/2014/10/madibeng-a-corrupt-tragedy-R2-2-million-gone-in-16-minutes

8 http://mg.co.za/article/2015-02-04-situation-in-majakaneng-remains-tense-after-protests

9 Madibeng mayor resigns after Mothutlong mess. http://mg.co.za/article/2014-01-21-madibeng-mayor-resigns-after-mothotlung-mess

10 Karl von Holdt, Malose Langa, Sepetla Malopo, Nomfundo Mogapi, Kindiza Ngubeni, Jacob Dlamini, and Adele Kirsten. "The Smoke That Calls: Insurgent Citizenship and the Struggle for a Place in the New South Africa." Centre for the Study of Violence and Society, Work and Development Institute, 2011. http://www.csvr.org.za/docs/thesmokethatcalls.pdf.

11 He did not go because he does not believe in marches but in dialogues to resolve community problems.

12 The two CWP leaders, Mr Mohlala and Mr Ledikwa, both gave permission to use their real names as they want their views to be known rather than to remain anonymous.

In the local government elections of 2011 more than 96% of the vote in Madibeng was taken by the three leading parties with the African National Congress (ANC) the overwhelmingly most widely supported party in the area.

Table 2: Results of 2011 local government elections in Madibeng.

	Votes				Seats		
Party	**Ward**	**List**	**Total**	**%**	**Ward**	**List**	**Total**
African National Congress	78,052	79,553	157,605	74.7	31	23	54
Democratic Alliance	20,923	20,440	41,363	19.6	5	9	14
Congress of the People	2,036	1,965	4,001	1.9	0	1	1
Freedom Front Plus	921	760	1,681	0.8	0	1	1
African Christian Democratic Party	661	583	1,244	0.6	0	1	1
African People's Convention	441	776	1,217	0.6	0	1	1
United Christian Democratic Party	525	548	1,073	0.5	0	0	0
Azanian People's Organisation	248	380	628	0.3	0	0	0
Independent	578	–	578	0.3	0	–	0
United Independent Front	290	212	502	0.2	0	0	0
Pan Africanist Congress	310	164	474	0.2	0	0	0
Movement Democratic Party	350	117	467	0.2	0	0	0
National Freedom Party	25	137	162	0.1	0	0	0
Total	**105,360**	**105,635**	**210,995**	**100.0**	**36**	**36**	**72**

Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Local_Municipality_of_Madibeng

The figures above show that majority of councilors in the municipality of Madibeng are ANC members. The ward councilor in Bokfontein which falls under ward 25 is also an ANC member. During my field work in 2010, many people were not happy that Bokfontein was not regarded as a ward on its own. Currently, it is under ward 25 which includes well-established communities of Majakaneng and Sonop which are 30 KM away. Due to this distance, there was a feeling that the ward councilor in 2010 was not representing their needs and interests as he was not living in the area. Again during my field work in 2014, the same view was expressed that the current councilor elected in 2011 local elections was not representing their issues in the municipality council as she is also not living in the area. All leaders agreed that Bokfontein needs to be recognized as a ward on its own so that a local person who lives in the area can be voted as a ward councilor.[13]

The emergence of EFF in Bokfontein seems to have introduced a new dynamic in the community. The EFF representative was unapologetic in my interview with him about the need for people of Bokfontein to rise and challenge the ANC-led government for neglecting the people of this community. It is reported that many current leaders of EFF[14] in Bokfontein were in the forefront of the march to the municipality in 2012. The EFF representative spoke about his party's plan to organize another march of this nature soon.[15]

[13] For instance violent community protest in Malamulele in Limpopo in early 2015 centred on the municipality boundary issues. Similarly, the people of Bokfontein feel that they need their own ward but they have not yet resorted to protesting violently.

[14] The march to the municipality was organized by the Concerned Group before the EFF was formed.

[15] Not sure about the current state of politics in Bokfontein since my visit in May 2014. It is possible that some of these issues may become central during local elections in 2016.

Implementation of CWP in Bokfontein

Bokfontein is one of the sites which was chosen in the period of 2007 and 2008 to pilot CWP. The Seriti Institute was the implementing agency before the introduction of the three tier system in 2012. As part of introducing the CWP in Bokfontein the Seriti Institute used a unique approach, called Organisational Workshop (OW), inspired by the work of Paulo Freire, and developed by the Brazilian sociologist and activist, Clodomir Santos de Morais (Langa & von Holdt, 2011). The OW process extended over several weeks and brought community members together to work through subjects like 'dealing with the past, helping community members to see their community with new eyes and imagining the future' as well as 'practical skills ranging from community mapping, models of development, and how to deal with the problem of crime, alcohol abuse, xenophobia and violence'.[17] On the whole, many participants reflected positively on how the combination of OW and CWP helped this community to deal with its history of collective violence, trauma and healing (see Langa & von Holdt, 2011, for details). The key projects were undertaken by CWP at that time included road construction, food gardening, home-based care and early childhood services.

[17] As indicated the agencies appointed were referred to as the Lead Agent (LA), the Provincial Implementing Agent (PIA) and the Local Implementing Agency (LIA).

Three-tier system in the CWP management

In 2012, COGTA introduced the three tier management system for the CWP.[18] In Bokfontein, the agencies appointed were LIMA as the Lead Agent (LA), Leseding as the Provincial Implementing Agent (PIA) and Bokfontein Development Forum (BDF) was the Local Implementing Agent (LIA). My impression is that the appointment of BDF as the local implementing agent was a positive step. BDF was formed by CWP leaders in Bokfontein in 2009 as an independent business entity to help create opportunities for the people of Bokfontein as part of the exit strategy out of CWP. During that period, BDF was also trying to negotiate business opportunities for the people of Bokfontein as well as coordinating fundraising campaigns for businesses and companies to assist the people of Bokfontein with basic services as well as finding job opportunities to permanently exit CWP. CWP leaders mentioned that the appointment of BDF as the local implementing agency did help the forum financially in pursuing some of its economic programmes and hiring more staff members. However, the three-tier system was changed in April 2014 with the return to a single tier system by COGTA. As a result, BDF lost its major source of income as the local implementing agency. The CWP leaders were not happy with this change as the money that BDF was getting was used to pursue income-generating projects.

However, it is important to mention that the three-tier system also had so many problems which motivated COGTA to change it. Some of the problems with the three-tier system included too many responsibilities for PIAs to implement projects without any financial support to do so and delays with payments of CWP participants which in some communities resulted in protests and violence against agencies' staff. However, CWP leader mentioned that CWP participants in Bokfontein did not protest for not being paid:

> **We had a crisis in Madibeng that CWP participants in the whole region, including Bokfontein were never paid. Some of them had complaints and they phoned Motsweding FM about the issue of salaries, but in Bokfontein it never got to a point where they decided to down the tools. All the wards went to strike in Hebron and Majakaneng, except Bokfontein.**

It is reported that some agencies staff were neglecting their duties but blaming staff of other agencies for problems and delays in payment. Furthermore, it is also reported that COGTA was also late in paying Lead Agents and as a result payments to PIAs and LIAs as well as CWP participants were often delayed.

For CWP leaders in Bokfontein, the three-tier system was described as highly frustrating and unproductive due to the red tape that was associated with it. For example, the local implementing agent needed to consult with the PIA which needed to consult with the lead agency before any decision could be made. As a result, many projects were delayed or postponed indefinitely as some managers were too slow to respond to messages or deliver the tools and other equipment necessary for CWP participants to do their work. It is reported that some participants in Bokfontein got despondent and disillusioned with all these delays. It is reported that the morale was also low. Some lost hope. The CWP leaders also felt powerless with the three-tier system, given the hierarchical nature of the structure. They (CWP leaders) also felt PIA and the Lead agency were not community-orientated and committed to issues of community development and participation as compared to Seriti Institute. One CWP leader in Bokfontein asserted that their success which was achieved under Seriti was "undone during the period". He described the period between 2012 to March 2014 until the three-tier system was cancelled as the "dry period". However, CWP leaders in this community were happy that Seriti has been re-appointed to be the implementing agency again. One CWP leader said:

> **If Seriti operated from the beginning we believe that we could have been far. … We do not know what the problem was at that time for them to take Seriti away.**

On the whole, the dominant feeling amongst the CWP leaders interviewed (including CWP participants as well) is that the changes in the management system, particularly the introduction of the three-tier system in 2012, had negatively affected the CWP in Bokfontein.
Since the formalization of the CWP under COGTA

[18] As indicated the agencies appointed were referred to as the Lead Agent (LA), the Provincial Implementing Agent (PIA) and the Local Implementing Agency (LIA).

Local Reference Committee

Bokfontein is no longer a site on its own but is part of a site situated in the overall Madibeng local municipal area in North West province. The Local Reference Committee[19] (LRC) for the site was formed in 2012 when the three-tier system was formed. It had representatives from the lead agent, PIA, BDF as well as municipality officials from the Local Department of Social Development, Economic Development and Agriculture. It is reported that the Department of Social Development from the local Madibeng Municipality was actively involved in CWP. Social workers from this municipality department regularly attended LRC meetings as well as assisting community members who were identified by CWP participants for social services, such as application for grants and IDs.

On the whole, the LRC was described as functional and useful due to the active involvement of social workers to assist community members with their needs. Like in Orange Farm,[20] it seems social workers in Madibeng municipality were also working closely with CWP to provide essential social services. CWP work often involves addressing issues of care, such as care for children and elderly people, and as a result the work done by the CWP often addresses issues that are also of concern to social workers falling under municipalities. Both in Orange Farm and Bokfontein, CWP participants seem to playing an important role to connect people with relevant government social services, which is the domain of social workers. As a result, both social workers and CWP participants are more likely to invest in such working relationship as it is beneficial for all the parties involved.

Allegations of corruption

It is reported that a Concerned Group was formed in 2012 which organized a peaceful march to Madibeng municipality to demand basic services such as water, electricity and housing. The two prominent leaders of CWP[21] in Bokfontein were excluded from the Concerned Group's committee. Some community members accused these two prominent CWP leaders of being a stumbling block for the people of Bokfontein to also toyi-toyi like many other communities that have done so. In talking to these two CWP leaders in 2010 about why they did not protest like other communities covered in the *Smoke that Calls* their response was that they were opposed to service delivery protests because they create "a culture of violence in communities". The CWP manager argued toyi-toying teaches people to be violent. He said, "Today people see leaders as people that shout and use violence". He argued that there was a need to teach children good manners, and that violence did not solve problems. He further said, 'Children need good role models. So when we toyi-toyi we become violent. What are we teaching our children? Are we not teaching them to also be violent?'.

The two CWP leaders asserted that service delivery protests do not help to deal with community problems, but they just destroy the public property.[22] The two CWP leaders mentioned that they believe in negotiations to solve community problems though they have had countless meetings with Madibeng municipality since 2007 with little benefit.

It is reported that during the protest in 2012, allegations of corruption were also made against the two CWP leaders for being in cahoots with the municipality officials to delay development in the area.[23] The accusation was that CWP leaders did not want to see changes in the community for sake of keeping their jobs by asking people to continue cleaning streets and building the road.

I want to tell you something. When a person is desperate for a job, he does exactly what these people are doing. A certain white guy came with a truck and wanted to assist CWP participants to construct their road, but CWP stopped him. They chased that guy away and they said our people have jobs. This is a community project; we are going to do our own hands. They used picks to dig up the road. These people (referring to CWP leaders) chased away good projects that were going to bring about good things (EFF representative).

Furthermore, it was alleged that the two CWP leaders were getting bribes and extra money from the municipality to keep people quite in the community. However, during my research in 2014, it was contended that all these allegations of corruption were used by the protest leaders in 2012 to delegitimize CWP leaders as authentic community leaders. I spoke with one of the protest leaders who accepted that all these allegations were made in order to turn the community against the two CWP leaders who are highly respected in the community of Bokfontein for being 'real' champions of development. The protest leader in fact argued that CWP should be suspended to encourage people to support mass action against the municipality and that the CWP was an obstacle to mobilising people against the municipality. Furthermore, he asserted that the CWP pacifies people not to challenge things and demand access to basic services:

Yes, in my opinion I think CWP should be stopped for a while so that we can be able to engage with the municipality without any excuses. Because when you go to the municipality they will tell you about CWP that it is making a difference. This thing must be stopped

[21] As indicated above Mr Mohlala and Mr Ledikwa gave me permission to use their real names as they want their views to be known rather than to remain anonymous sources. Brief biographical information about these two leaders will be given later in the report.[21]

[22] Malose Langa. "Bokfontein: The Nations Are Amazed." In *Karl von Holdt, Malose Langa, Sepetla Molapo, Nomfundo Mogapi, Kindiza Ngubeni, Jacob Dlamini and Adele Kirsten *eds), The Smoke That Calls - Insurgent Citizenship, Collective Violence and the Struggle for a Place in the New South Africa.* Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation & Society Work and Development Institute, 2011.

[23] One of the main accusations was that the two leaders were allowed in 2011 to stay with their families in the two houses in an old farm near Bokfontein which the municipality has bought with an intention to build promised RDP houses. The two leaders were accused of being sell-outs to stay in those two houses, while they stayed in the shacks with no access to electricity while they had access to electricity. During the march in 2012, the community also requested the municipality and ESKOM to go to Mr Ledikwa and Mr. Mohlala's houses to switch off their electricity, and this was done as the community was threatening to burn the two houses so that their leaders can also live in the shacks and feel the pain that they feel on a daily basis. However, this was longer an issue of contention because when I went for follow-up interviews in May 2014, Eskom was busy electrifying all the shacks in Bokfontein. I suspect community members must be happy with this new development because the issue of electricity was one of the major concerns that they raised in the interviews in 2010.

for a while so that we can look at the issue of service delivery by the municipality (EFF representative).

As mentioned earlier, allegations of corruption were also leveled against the two CWP leaders. In the next section I discuss how Mr Ledikwa and Mr Mohlala responded to allegations of them being 'corrupt' and 'stealing government's money to enrich themselves'. It is important to note that community members were divided on this issue of allegations of corruption against community leaders. Some community members felt that the two CWP leaders were working very hard to uplift this community. They asserted that the development happening in Bokfontein would not have been possible if it was not for Ledikwa and Mohlala's dedication and commitment to see positive changes in this community. Some community members recounted that these two community leaders work very hard to assist everyone in the community. It was reported that people would often go to their houses to ask for personal advices about marital problems, family conflicts or job opportunities in the mine and other surrounding areas. They had also negotiated with shops in Brits to allow Bokfontein residents to open accounts without any proof of residence.
In the three days when I was in Bokfontein in May 2014, Mr. Ledikwa invited me to go with him to a meeting with a group of disgruntled workers who worked for a factory near Bokfontein but were never paid their salaries and pension money when the firm was sold to the current owner. Mr Ledikwa was asked by the workers living in Bokfontein to represent them in the meeting. The new owner agreed in the meeting to consult with the previous owner and assist all the affected workers to get their unpaid salaries and pensions. I asked some of the workers why they had asked Mr. Ledikwa to represent them. Many responded by saying Mr. Ledikwa and Mr. Mohlala are the most trusted leaders in this community. People rely on them when they have problems.

Does the success of CWP in each community depend on the nature its leadership?

Our findings in Orange Farm raise this question whether the success of CWP in each community depends on the dedication and commitment of its local leaders. It was evident that CWP management in Orange Farm was assertive in dealing with attempts by local political elites to politicize CWP and use it to pursue their political goals. It was my interest to also explore the same question whether the success of CWP in Bokfontein can also be attributed to its two local leaders (Mr Mohlala and Mr Ledikwa) or not. In total (including my interviews in 2010 and 2014), I have had six individual interviews[24] with Mr. Ledikwa and Mr Mohlala respectively, and three focus group meetings with both of them. Based on all these interviews, I wish to provide some brief biographical information[25] about these two CWP leaders to understand their views about leadership, hopes about CWP and how they responded to allegations of corruption against them.

Mr Ledikwa – the CWP project manager in Bokfontein

Mr Lediwa is in his late forties. He mentioned that he was born and brought up in Zeerust, next to the Botswana border. He went to live with his grandfather, who was a leader in the local tribal council when he was young. He thinks he has inherited some of his leadership qualities from his grandfather.

He studied up to Grade 11. He said, 'Some of us are not educated. You see, I grew up on a farm and the only dream I had was to drive a tractor. This is the only thing I knew, but now we do not want our children to be like us. We want them to go to school. We wanted to be educated like you people (referring to the researcher).' Mr Ledikwa is married and is a father of two children. In terms of his work in the CWP, Mr. Ledikwa said, 'I feel good to help other people. I don't sleep at night because people come to my house to tell me their problems.' He went further to say, 'I see my community as my bosses. There is no Mr Ledikwa without this community. Rhetorically, he asked me, who would I be interviewing if it was not this community. He said "I'm who I am because of this community" It was clear in my many interviews with Mr Ledikwa that he was highly invested in helping other people. He said, "I won't rest until we have houses and development in this community". It seems helping people bring joy and happiness in him. He attributed this to his religious beliefs as a Christian.[26] He believes "that as a Christian you must help other people". He said, "Jesus died for our sins and we must help others"

In some of the interviews, he spoke about the importance of good community leadership. He said "as a community leader you should take criticisms against you personally, but should use them to build ourselves. To add to this, Mr. Ledikwa said:

> **You must be a role model to our community. You must also be a role model to your family. How do you treat your wife? How do you treat your children? You must come to my house and see how I relate with my family. You will see they are free. I play with my kids. I play with my wife. I play with everyone**

The quote above remained with me for many weeks. I think this is one of the most powerful quotes about being a leader. Does being a leader only end in the office? Mr Ledikwa seems to challenge this notion. He argued that being a leader should go beyond our work in public spaces to private spaces in the home on how we relate with our partners and loved ones. He went further to express his views about current leaders (mainly political) that "leaders of today don't care. The leaders that we have are selfish. They only think of themselves and their families".

On this point, we also spoke about allegations that have levelled against him and Mr. Mohlala about being corrupt. He responded by saying "I'm not bothered by all these rumours my brother because people talk and as a leader you must always expect that people will talk and talk badly about you. So I'm fine and not worried about these rumours because I did not steal any money. I could have gone to Botswana if I had that money. People talk my brother".

[24] I also had countless phone conversations and informal meetings with them.
[25] Permission to write this biographical information was provided by the two leaders.
[26] He mentioned that he does not drink or smoke.

Mr Mohlala - the CWP Manager in Bokfontein

He is also in his late forties as well. Mr Mohlala was born in Burgersfort in Limpopo. He is also married and has four kids. Mr Mohlala mentioned that he came to Johannesburg in 1996 to look for a job after he completed matric. He worked as a security guard in one of the farms at Hartebeespoort Dam where he was living until they were forcefully evicted in 2005 and dumped in Bokfontein. He also worked at the mine before he was hired as a manager for CWP in 2008. Many community members as well as CWP participants described Mr Mohlala as a hard-working person. He said it is difficult for him to rest while knowing there are so many problems in his community. Like Mr Ledikwa, he spoke about not sleeping well at night as he often finds himself thinking about ways and things that they need to do to deal with problems that their community faces.

Like Mr Ledikwa, he says he also does not take many of the criticisms personally. He said that he is not bothered about allegations that he is 'corrupt' because he knows that he is not corrupt. He responded by saying

> **God helped us not to be in [denial]. When people criticize us we just turn a blind eye and deaf ears and pretend not to hear. Some leaders of the concerned groups have been spreading rumours and lies about us. They were trying to impress people. We did explain to them that we will not get involved in toyi-toyi. We believe in sitting around the table and discussing issues and if we do not reach an agreement that would be it.**

One of the allegations was that they (the two CWP leaders) stole R80 million which was meant for road construction in Bokfontein. Both Mr. Ledikwa and Mr. Mohlala asserted that they laughed when they heard about this allegation. They insisted that the protest leaders who were making these allegations should go to the municipality and ask the mayor about this stolen R80 million for road construction. It is reported that the mayor also laughed when she heard about these allegations. The mayor told the protest leaders that there is no government that can give a community leaders R80 million.

Responding to allegations of being corrupt, Mr. Mohlala said that, 'being a leader is a thankless job'. He mentioned that at one point he wanted to resign and leave his CWP job because of these unfounded allegations. He said some of these allegations were personally affecting him. Mr Ledikwa mentioned that he managed to persuade Mr. Mohlala not to resign. Mr Mohlala mentioned that Mr. Ledikwa was his source of support when he was feeling down and discouraged by some of the criticisms that they were 'corrupt'. He says his consolation was also when he saw people being happy for working in the CWP.

The two CWP leaders appeared to be still working hard, despite all the allegations that they were corrupt. It seems their spirituality (they both said that they are Christians) plays a significant role in helping them cope with all challenges of being a community leader. It seems the fact that they are also both married also seemed to play a positive role. They both mentioned that their wives were also their source of support when they were feeling down and demotivated. They both concluded that being a community leader is not easy as they are expected to deal with a lot of criticisms, but the support by Seriti Institute in the past in the early days of the Bokfontein site has helped to develop better conflict management skills.

Specific projects of CWP in Bokfontein

The same projects as it was found in 2010 are still being implemented, including home-based care, gardening, early childhood services (see the Smoke that Calls for more details about these projects). However, some CWP participants mentioned that their levels of commitment and dedication dropped due to problems that they regarded as being associated with the three-tier system, such as lack of tools (e.g. protective gears, spades for manual labour etc), delayed payments and lack of vision about the future of CWP. All the participants were happy that Seriti Institute has been re-appointed as the implementing agent for the Madibeng site of which Bokfontein is a part in March 2014. The dominant feeling was that Seriti knows the community of Bokfontein very well and is therefore well placed to provide them with some guidance on how to strengthen the CWP.

Reduction of number of participants allocated to the site and other changes in working

In 2010, we found that close to 800 participants were working in the CWP in Bokfontein.[27] The recruitment process at that time happened after the OW process. The recruitment was open to everyone, including foreign nationals who were also allowed to join CWP as long they had necessary asylum papers. Those who did not have relevant papers were assisted to apply for them in Home Affairs offices in Pretoria. In 2008, the residents of Bokfontein mobilized against xenophobic violence which gripped the country at that time. Many residents at that time cited OW as an intervention that helped to challenge their attitudes and stereotypes about foreign nationals (see Langa & von Holdt, 2011, for detailed discussion of this point).

However, the status of the CWP in Bokfontein changed with the beginning of the new financial year in April 2012. Prior to this Bokfontein was a stand-alone site, one of five sites in North West.[28] But in 2012 the Bokfontein site became part of the overall Madibeng site. This meant Bokfontein was no longer allowed to have 800 participants as it had been up to this point. Instead it was instructed to reduce the number of participants to 100, with the other 900 participants in the Madibeng site allocated to other parts of the municipality. Bokfontein CWP leaders stated that this was one the things that negatively affected participants' morale as CWP was seen as the main source of employment for many people living in this community. However, an agreement was reached that the site must at least keep its number at 300 participants with the aim of still reducing the number to 100 in the long-term.

> **They told us to keep it at 300 participants. It means if people exit we are not supposed to increase the number until we become 100. The problem is that they only allocated 1000 participants for Madibeng Municipality. So all those other wards need to be covered. Each and every ward must have 100 participants (CWP Leader).**

At the time of the interview (May 2014), the site had 280 participants. Some participants have exited the project. It is reported that some people managed to get better paying jobs, while others decided to leave the programme due to problems associated with changes in the implementation of CWP since 2012. Prior to 2012, CWP participants were easily able to leave CWP temporarily to work on farms during the harvest period to earn more money and when this ends come back and re-join CWP. However, it is no longer possible for people to rejoin CWP related to the restrictions on how many people can be taken by each ward.

> **The new system gives us problems, because you know that our people here work in the farms. Like we told you that they work in strawberry farms. Strawberry is a seasonal product, so it means it is busy now for three to four months. After that then it is a problem. When that person comes back he no longer has a job (CWP leader).**

It is also reported that before the 2007-2012 period people were able to work somewhere else during the week while still working in the CWP on weekends (Saturday and Sunday) to cover their two-days of work as per CWP requirement. As a result, the CWP income was used to supplement their other income. However, it is now difficult for them to work somewhere else during the week while still working in the CWP. These changes have created unhappiness due to the fact that the CWP in Bokfontein can no longer accommodate the same number of people and no longer has the flexibility that it used to have in recruiting participants:

> **Yes, you then compare that if I leave I would not be allowed back. And you must remember that the mines are closed down due to strike. Many people are unemployed. So it causes problems in the community. They are complaining that we are no longer employing. It is only the same people who work for CWP.**[29]

[27] Malose Langa. "Bokfontein: The Nations Are Amazed." In *Karl von Holdt, Malose Langa, Sepetla Molapo, Nomfundo Mogapi, Kindiza Ngubeni, Jacob Dlamini and Adele Kirsten *eds), The Smoke That Calls - Insurgent Citizenship, Collective Violence and the Struggle for a Place in the New South Africa.* Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation & Society Work and Development Institute, 2011.

[28] Department of Cooperative Governance. "Communities at Work: Community Work Programme 2010/2011." Department of Cooperative Governance, 2011, 11. http://www.tips.org.za/files/cwp_report_2010_2011_downsized_for_emailing.pdf.

[29] Source?

Given the above quote, CWP leaders took an initiative to consult with COGTA to raise their concerns about limiting the number of participants to 100 per community:

> **Yes in the last reference meeting we requested that COGTA should increase the numbers in Madibeng because really Madibeng is largely rural. We really need this programme. If they would increase the numbers for certain wards then CWP would have an impact (EFF representative).**

Feedback from COGTA had not yet been given at the time the interview was conducted in May 2014. However, CWP leaders are still hopeful about the possibility of COGTA allowing Bokfontein, which is heavily dependent on the CWP, to hire more than 100 participants.

Recruitment of foreign nationals in CWP

In 2010, we found that foreign nationals were allowed to work in the CWP.[30] The CWP leader maintained in my interview in 2014 that foreign nationals are still allowed to work, provided they have all the necessary asylum papers. One community leader emphasized that they do not discriminate with people in Bokfontein on the basis of their nationality:

> **In our community we are trying to protect each other. Xenophobic violence happens all over South Africa, but in our community we've tried to promote cooperation, even if there are tensions here and there. I do not remember experiencing any situations where a South African and a Zimbabwean would be in loggerheads. I see everything running smoothly between us and them.**[31]

This community leader went further to dismiss the view that foreign nationals take South Africans' jobs in the extract below:

> **As the leadership we do not influence people to embark on acts of xenophobic violence. If we do not have water, it is not because we have too many Zimbabweans. We are the only ones who vote, they are not going to vote. We do not have jobs and it is not because of the Zimbabweans. So we try to make them see that what is being said is not the truth, like for instance people would be complaining about jobs that the Zimbabweans are taking the jobs. So we had to talk to them and say that there are no jobs in South Africa and so in your personal capacity just try something to put something on the table. Do not just think the next person is the one who is preventing you from earning an income. They also came here because they are looking for job opportunities. So let us work together so that we can all progress. So we were trying to make sure that people are not preoccupied with that.**[31]

Again all these progressive non-xenophobic voices in the quote above were attributed to the OW process that took place in 2007 which motivated people to embrace and accept each other irrespective of their nationality. It was mentioned in the interviews that community leaders have a role to play in discouraging community members to blame all their problems on foreign nationals. Despite all these progressive non-xenophobic views, some community members privately shared their views which were xenophobic in nature. The dominant feeling amongst community members was that "they were too many foreign nationals living in Bokfontein". Some community leaders (especially the EFF representative) spoke about the possibility of xenophobic violence erupting in Bokfontein, especially when RDP houses that have been promised get built as people are more likely to fight over who must get a house or not.

> **The South African law says they won't give you a house when you do not have a green ID Book. We did talk about it on Tuesday last week. I was at a meeting with the municipality together with Ledikwa. They told us they will see where they can put them. We have not discussed that issue. but I think those are the things that we are going to talk about when they start building that how would it be if they could give people title deeds for the places they stay in (EFF representative).**

> **It gives us problems because they said to us that if they bring electricity – because they said they were going to be able to electrify 270 households. So they said what about the foreigners? We want to make sure that we do not give electricity to the foreigners. We said you should know how to deal with that because those people are not brought here by us. So we do not know how they came here…So it is going to be a problem.**[33]

Is lack of xenophobic attitudes in Bokfontein as a result of lack of resources to fight over? It sounds as if the proposed development (e.g. building of RDP houses if it happens) may be a source of tensions amongst the people of Bokfontein in the future. The quotes above show that xenophobic attitudes are existent in Bokfontein, but the difference is that community members have not yet acted violently against foreign nationals as has happened in many other communities across South Africa.

31 Source?
32 Source?
33 Source?

Interestingly, some community members in 2010 mentioned that xenophobic attacks would not happen in this community because their leaders are against them. I remember one participant in 2010 telling me that "there is no one to instigate it (xenophobic violence)". This quote reflects the fact that community leadership can play a prominent role in preventing xenophobic attitudes from turning into full-blown violence. The CWP leaders in Bokfontein have been in the forefront to mobilise community members against xenophobic violence. Again the CWP leaders reiterated an example how in April 2008 they prevented xenophobic attacks in Bokfontein when attacks against foreigners were spreading in various communities across Gauteng and the rest of South Africa. They reported that some members of a nearby community came to Bokfontein at that time in an attempt to mobilise against foreigners, but the leaders in Bokfontein stopped them:

> **They wanted us to expel the foreigners living amongst us, as they had done in their community. We called the whole community to confront them (CWP Leader)**

Interviewees told us that it would not have been possible to prevent xenophobic attacks without the experience of the OW process. Since numerous foreigners live in the community, it was argued that they should be included in the OW and CWP related projects. According to Ledikwa, 'We're all people of Bokfontein. We don't use words and categories such as Tswana, Zulu, or Zimbabweans. We are just Africans. We are one. We are all human beings.' This view that 'we are all Africans' was shared by many people we interviewed. The impact of OW was reinforced by the access to jobs and incomes provided by CWP, through which foreign nationals and South Africans worked side by side.

However, it is important to acknowledge that xenophobic is not just a hatred of foreign nationals, but it is also power struggle for access to limited basic resources. For example, this was evident in 2010 when the Local Business Forum (LBF) was opposed to Somali shop owners operating their shops in Bokfontein. A meeting was held at that time between Somali shop owners and local businessmen to resolve the issue non-violently (see Lange, 2011, for a detailed discussion of this incident). It is evident from this incident and the proposed RDP housing project that xenophobic attitudes are often tied to material interests, which remain a source of tension in the community and frequently result in problems being blamed on foreign nationals.

Concluding remarks

It is evident that CWP has been effective in transforming the impoverished community of Bokfontein. CWP has also significantly transformed this community's sense of itself, facilitating the formation of strong community, increased social cohesion, and a collective approach to problem-solving. A sense of solidarity was also fostered amongst community members in breaking divisions and bringing peace and unity in Bokfontein as well as mobilising against xenophobic attacks. However, it is clear that despite this sense of cohesiveness, xenophobic tensions still persists. So far these tensions seem to be well-contained, but they are more likely to intensify over access of resources (e.g. proposed RDP houses will possibly lead to tensions between South African citizens and foreign nations). In other words, the potential for xenophobic and other forms of conflict remains in this community, but Bokfontein also shows the positive role that community leaders can play in preventing xenophobic attitudes in turning into collective violence.

The community leaders in this community were opposed to violent service delivery protests. However, this view was not shared by everyone, given the peaceful march that was organized in 2012 which excluded the two CWP leaders (Mr. Ledikwa and Mr. Mohlala). The failure of Madibeng municipality to deal with all basic service delivery issues will possibly lead into open violent protest in the long run. In the period of my fieldwork, such possibility remained high with EFF agitating to mobilise community members against the municipality. Things seem to be fragile at this point, especially if this community continues to feel marginalised and live in abject poverty with no access to basic services. Community leaders may not be able to continue to be a container of people's frustration while the municipality fails to provide basic services. Despite our argument about OW and CWP being protective factors against collective violence (Langa & von Holdt, 2011) things are likely to explode if things do not change.

Evidently the success of the Bokfontein CWP also depends on its leadership. In this case study, Mr Ledikwa and Mr Mohlala exemplify a kind of independent and visionary leadership in working with the community, as well as networking with various companies, NGOs and state departments (especially Social Development) to initiate projects and create job opportunities to enable CWP participants to take up opportunities outside of the CWP. As in Orange Farm the CWP in Bokfontein was also seen as a temporary poverty-alleviating measure, which provides a platform for some participants to access opportunities outside of the CWP. CWP also played a crucial role in transforming community relations and providing a material basis for the vision of an alternative future for the people of Bokfontein. This is despite some of the problems encountered after the introduction of the three-tier system. On the whole, CWP-related work created new networks and social interactions which strengthened community solidarity, provided forums for discussion (through weekly meetings) and decision-making, established accountable local leadership, and generated a vibrant sense of community. All these benefits provide a social resiliency against various forms of violence, including xenophobic attacks as it was observed in Bokfontein. Similar benefits were also observed in Orange Farm (Langa, 2015).

In Bokfontein, OW and CWP played complimentary roles in empowering and transforming the community. Mr. Mohlala still reiterated his view from 2010 that without OW, CWP would have failed in Bokfontein, as various leaders in the community, including themselves, would have approached it with the aim of benefiting themselves rather than the community. He still asserted that OW and the continuous support from Seriti prepared them to deal with the responsibilities of being community leaders and the challenges that come with these leadership position. This was evident in how they dealt with allegations of corruption. Without these two leaders, it is possible that CWP may have been hijacked by local political elites (e.g. members of the Concerned Group) or used as part of the political patronage system as has been reported in other communities. CWP leaders in Orange Farm also resisted similar attempts by local politicians to politicize it. It is clear at the end that the success and sustainability of CWP depends on an empowered, well-organized and visionary leadership to push the community towards long-term sustainable development.