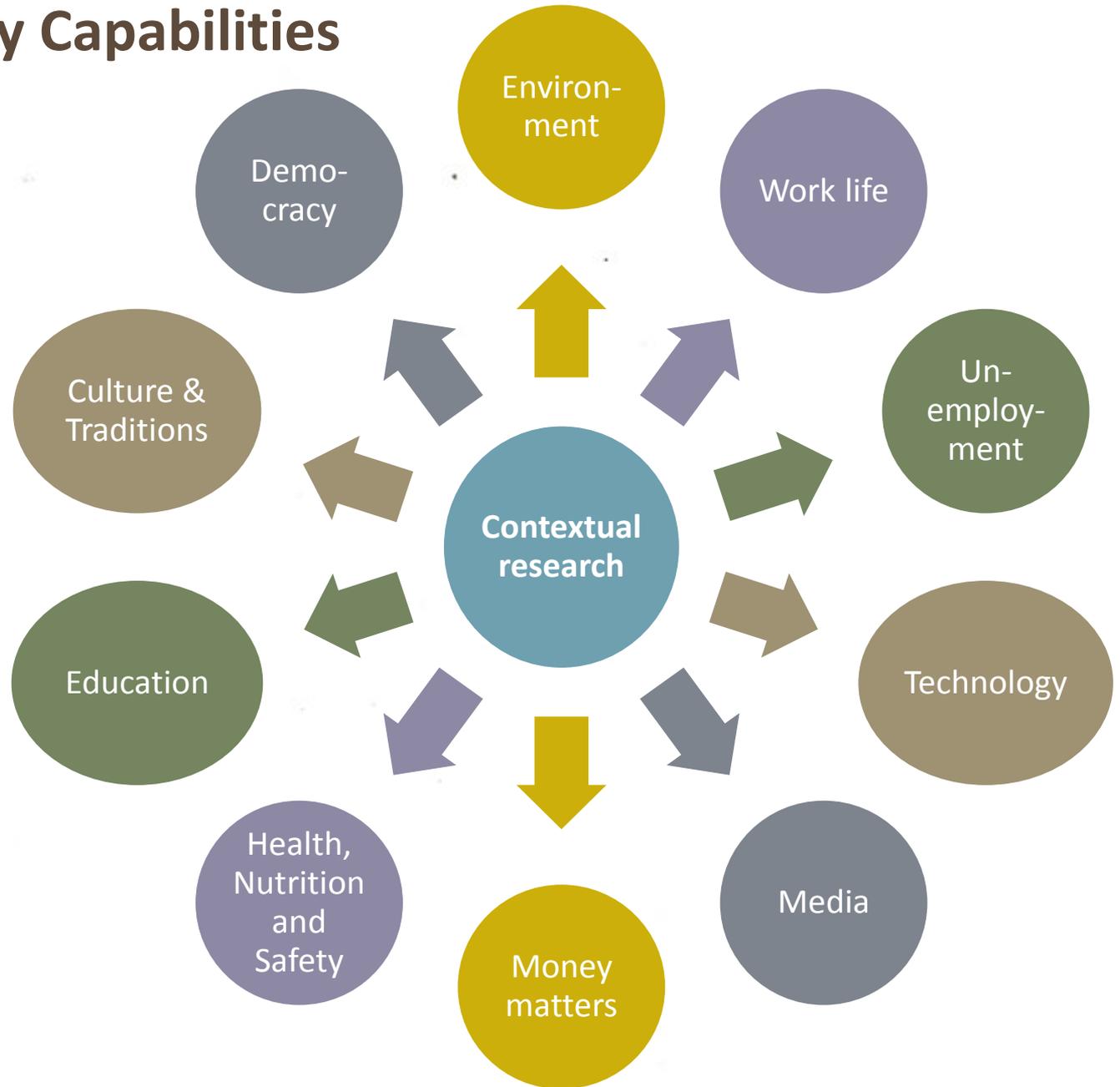# CENTRE FOR Democratising Information

The CDI Community Capabilities Study

How are poor communities building their own futures?
Barriers and triggers to participation

Community Capabilities Study

South African Community Capability Study

- **Time frame:** 1st half of 2012

- **Purpose:** A need to generate more holistic community-specific empirical information about more disadvantaged population groups who constitute a majority of the African sub-group in South Africa

- **Current project partners** including DST, DBE, TIPS/CWP, Limpopo local government, Kumba, SAP and Vodacom

- **Research methodology:** 190 community focus groups (36 CWP groups)

- **Population:** Randfontein in Gauteng; uMthwalume in KZN; Bushbuckridge in Mpumalanga; and Joe Morolong in Northern Cape

- **Sample:** Random selection of CWP participants from the programme database

- **Theoretical framework:** Capability Approach ('Development as FREEDOM')

- **Focus group style:** Open dialogue (themes therefore do not necessarily repeat across groups)

The Capability Approach

Utility / Value
The value that the commodity / resources, the capabilities and the functionings hold for the person
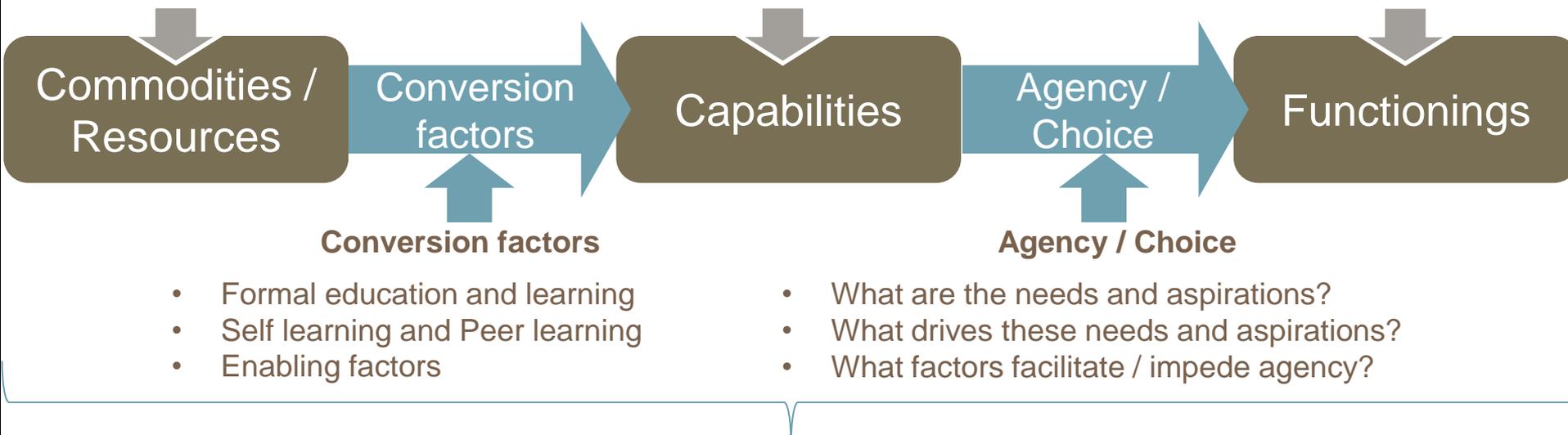
Goods & Services

- Possessions / Goods
- Access to goods
- Services around goods
- Access to services
- Facility to own
- Facility to access/use

Capabilities as the set of choices available to people

- Utilisation of goods and services
- Functionality
- Application contexts
- Expertise developed
- Opinion leadership

Functionings

- What are their achievements?
- What value accrues to quality of life?
- How is vulnerability impacted?
- What are the future possibilities?

Commodities / Resources → Conversion factors → Capabilities → Agency / Choice → Functionings

Conversion factors

- Formal education and learning
- Self learning and Peer learning
- Enabling factors

Agency / Choice

- What are the needs and aspirations?
- What drives these needs and aspirations?
- What factors facilitate / impede agency?

Well-being
The choices people are making relating to all the elements above affect their overall well-being – positive and negative
Evaluative in nature, i.e. a description of advantage and deprivation. How well is their quality of life. What are their advantages, i.e. their potential choices and what are their deprivation i.e. where there is absolute underdevelopment

CHARACTERISTICS OF POOR & UNDER-DEVELOPED COMMUNITIES

Access and ownership of commodities / resources
Deprivations
Conversion factors

Resources / Commodities
Available to Poor & Under-Developed Communities (including CWP)

- **Family & friends/community support**

  - Material, emotional and spiritual support with high dependency ratio

- **Civil & political rights**

  - Understand their political and civil rights - value equality, freedom of speech and freedom of movement

  - Give confidence to assert themselves and make demands on the state (mainly local)

- **Roll-out of socio-economic rights**

  - Aware of progress made in ensuring socio-economic rights and they use these

    - Particularly keeping children in school, accessing health services, applying for social grants, claiming RDP housing, enjoying the benefits of clean water on tap and electricity supply to homes

    - Feel safer with the installation of Apollo Lights.

- **Traditional** ceremonies

  - Observe and partake in traditional ceremonies (source of comfort and means of mitigating unfortunate incidences and celebrating achievements and asking for guidance

  - Practice Lobola and traditional wedding – helps cement familial relationships

Resources / Commodities
Available to Poor and Under-Developed Communities (including CWP)

- **Public broadcasting (TV and radio stations in all the official languages)**
  - Access radio stations and television programming
  - Increasing media access in multiple languages - Older people who are less proficient in English prefer listening to radio stations that broadcast in their respective home languages

- **Significant access to mobile phones**

- **Convergence of technology, i.e. smart phones**
  - Few have access to smart phones and logon to the internet (Google, Facebook, MXIT)
  - Access to information and keeping in touch with family and friends

- **Posters and pamphlets**
  - Means of communication, marketing products, services and events (including political party meetings and other community related meetings)

- **Department of Agriculture**
  - Community members access seeds, information, and related crop farming equipment to grow vegetable gardens in their yards.

- **Financial services e.g.** Funeral Cover, Stokvels (saving clubs), Debt (mostly informal)

Deprivations Suffered
by Poor and Under-Developed Communities (including CWP)

- **Joblessness**
  - Limited access to formal work opportunities, i.e. permanent and regular work

- **Limited work experience**
  - Young community members have mostly not experienced fulltime work; their work experience is casual work or short contract employment

- **Communities report a sharp increase in drug and alcohol abuse**

- **Slow pace of delivery on socio-economic rights**
  - Access to reliable supply of clean water and electricity, delivery on housing, quality education that ensures high national senior certificate pass rates, health services, and waste management services
  - Adversely affects community members from creating sustainable livelihoods or securing employment

- **Poor road infrastructure**
  - Constrained - maintenance of existing road infrastructure and creation of new quality transport infrastructure
  - Making access to markets and other services more difficult

Deprivations Suffered
by Poor and Under-Developed Communities (including CWP)

- **High costs of basic services**
  - Increasing costs of basic services such as water, electricity, telephony, data and banking fees adversely affecting socio-economic rights
  - High costs of services are negatively impacting on the opportunities to engage in alternative livelihoods

- **Lack of public further education and higher education institutions**
  - Especially young community members' value continuing their education - frustrated by lack of public further and higher education institutions in or near their communities

- **High levels of crime**
  - Suffer due to crime – also impacts adversely on their to create micro enterprises

- **Underdeveloped markets**
  - Available markets are poor and are price sensitive - difficult to secure a customer base

- **Low skills levels**
  - Low skills levels and very little opportunity to take part in skills intensive training

- **Corrupt and non-inclusive practices**
  - Routinely experience unethical practices, bribery or sexual favours for work, exclusion from powerful social networks, payment to chiefs for accessing their socio-economic rights, rudeness from civil servants and development agencies

Conversion Factors

that Allow Poor & Under-Developed Communities to Utilise Resources / Commodities

Category 1: Ubuntu or acceptance of high dependency ratio

- **People cannot make it on their own** - it's expected that family, friends, and neighbours will share their resources, be it information, food, shelter, etc. - powerful safety net

- Ubuntu = seen as extremely important community members report their concern that it is being eroded (e.g. poverty, unemployment, jealousy, bewitching, etc.)

- Burden of unemployment + weak service delivery = contribute to weakening household structures and reducing productive assets as well as basic commodities

  - Care and support being offered to family and community members, especially the most marginalised is **often too little or too late**, **necessitating state intervention**

- Ubuntu seems to **supersede** multiple values, political positions, religious and cultural practices

- Generally communities rely on the following **practices**:

  - Sharing of information
  - Sharing of knowledge and skills
  - Sharing of scarce resources

  - Caring for orphan and vulnerable children
  - Nursing the sick and old
  - Helping the destitute

Conversion Factors

that Allow Poor & Under-Developed Communities to Utilise Resources / Commodities

Category 2: Civil and political rights

- Right to equality + freedom of movement and speech = security that they are no different from people in the rest of the country and world

- Value the right to voice their opinions and to demand their socio-economic rights; and to form structures to work towards expanding these rights

- They also enjoy the right to movement to find new work and educational opportunities

Conversion Factors
that Allow Poor & Under-Developed Communities to Utilise Resources / Commodities

Category 3: Socio-economic rights and governments' pro-poor policies

- **Constitutional rights** give leverage to demand

- Government's **pro-poor policies** facilitate expansion of socio-economic rights

- **Public goods and services:**

  - Social grants
  - Community Work Programme
  - Universal access to basic education has improved functional literacy
  - No school fees, national school nutrition programme, free learner transport, and uniforms for vulnerable learners
  - Free health services
  - Communal lights
  - Community policing forums and patrols

  - Seed, information, and equipment by Department of Agriculture
  - Public broadcasting services
  - Electricity supply
  - Clean water supply
  - Improvement in basic financial literacy, inclusive banking policy, and saving mechanisms
  - Universal access to mobile telephony and penetration of smart phones

Conversion Factors
that Allow Poor & Under-Developed Communities to Utilise Resources / Commodities

Category 4: Seek work and livelihood opportunities

- Generally communities in the study **value financial independence**; hence finding work and engaging in survivalist enterprises are a means of gaining this freedom

  - Seeking work opportunities

  - Engaging in survivalist enterprises

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE CWP TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

-

EXPANSION OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

The subsections that follow discusses the nature of the opportunities offered by CWP that results in an expanded capability set, the facilitating and impeding factors facing communities in utilising and accessing CWP, the agency of CWP participants, and the improvement in their functionings (or shifts in their objective conditions)

CWP & Expansion of Capability Set
Regular basic income (money or cash in hand)

- Allows 'budgeting' and 'planning' - allocate resources according to individual and household priorities

- Helps purchase necessities (food, water, electricity) as well as invest in savings products and services (funeral and stokvel, paying fees for crèche and transport fares to school)

- Enables CWP participants to continue to seek work

- Provides 'capital' to purchase stock for hawking (chips, airtime, seeds for growing vegetables, fruits, sweets, etc.)

- Joblessness facing communities makes CWP a sought after resource

- CWP, like social grants, is the safety net against misery and hunger for the participants and their families

- *"We are able to get money at the end, about R500. We then buy Maize-meal, rice and oil then we are happy. The government helped us by giving us these jobs. Thank you."* (uMthwalume CWP)

- *"I'm fine with my job and it's better than being at home because you don't get anything at the end of the day and it helps, you can support the family, the children grow and you are able to pay for their crèche as well, even your mind as well you don't even get tempted to do crime because you spend a lot of your time working and not thinking other things."* (Bushbuckridge CWP)

- *"You can even participate in stokvel, so that you can buy big things that you need and even in December, you know you have money that you have saved for grocery and money. So you know you will get grocery and after that you are able to buy your children clothes."* (Randfontein CWP)

CWP & Expansion of Capability Set
Regular basic income (money or cash in hand)

- Despite the evidence that CWP makes an important contribution to income, the incomes are low and their impact on poverty constrained

- Many CWP participants complained at length about CWP's low pay and the limited number of working days (8 days per month)

- They would trade more days to increase their earnings, but ideally would prefer an increase in pay

- *"Zuma promised us a better life. But now we are unemployed. We are now engaged in projects where we are not working for anything. You have children but you earn R520. It does not mean that you are working. It is just a waste of time." (Joe Morolong CWP)*

- *"With the money we are earning you cannot even save." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*

- *"We would be happy if we get more money and not the R60 that we get from morning till the afternoon ploughing. It is very little. If we get a little raise we will be able to eat the foods that we should be eating." (uMthwalume CWP)*

- *"I work at CWP, I enjoy working there but the money that we receive isn't really enough but we are able to fulfil our needs that need to be done, we just wish they are able to give us a raise maybe, if they are able to." (Randfontein CWP)*

CWP & Expansion of Capability Set
Regular structured work

- 100 days per annum of structured work = safety-net + contributed to normalising or stabilising participants' lives

- Limited participants from alienation and social exclusion

- Organisational structure of CWP keeps participants in sync with the demands of employment, i.e. responsibilities, reporting requirements, grievance mechanisms, being on time for work, collegiality, etc.

- Offers young people an opportunity to experience the requirements of 'the world of work' as well as those who are new entrants to formal employment

- Collective/team work approach enables participants to extend their social networks & gain competencies to work in teams

- Leisure time is reduced to engage in risky social behaviour (alcohol and drug abuse)

- *"I also work at CWP, I like work, to keep busy. Also, it keeps you away from a lot of things and you know that, you are able to do certain things and it makes us to be open, to other things that we didn't know before." (Randfontein CWP)*

- *"I am happy for Seriti work, it found me when I was frustrated and it took away that frustration. I used to drink a lot. But after joining Seriti, I realised that God is good and he is alive and He loves me, this is the beginning." (Randfontein CWP)*

- *"It is good to have a job, it protects one from having anger in her heart and they start thinking bad things, like if I can rob someone, yet when you are working, you become loving, even at home you can support the kids at home." (Randfontein CWP)*

CWP & Expansion of Capability Set

Work experience

- Low entry requirements for participating in CWP are appreciated
- Youth in particular use this opportunity to gain much needed work experience
- Working in schools, clinics, and other public institutions through the programme gives them a competitive advantage when there are employment opportunities in these places
- Furthermore there appear to be some career opportunities within the implementing agencies that are contracted by CWP
- Participants do however aspire to more skilled work and to less monotony of work

- *"Yes, CWP improves. Like in our community there is this lady who used to be a co-ordinator, now she has a driving licence, she left co-ordinating and went inside the office, now she drives. So CWP has opportunities if you are learned." (uMthwalume CWP)*

- *"CWP also sent us to the training where we trained for basic and health care also and safety officers." (Randfontein CWP)*

- *"I can also say that I found my talent as a home based caregiver. This I found through working at CWP." (uMthwalume CWP)*

- *"People who worked in CWP before have been placed in the municipality. We are also on the lookout for something like that to happen to us as well. If for instance Umzumbe municipality is looking for cleaners, they will start looking here at the CWP for candidates." (uMthwalume CWP)*

- *"Maybe they should include other things like working in the office so that we can learn other skills." (Randfontein CWP)*

- *"We would like them to change us from only ploughing. Maybe do beads and sometimes do reed mats." (uMthwalume CWP)*

CWP & Expansion of Capability Set
Training and Skills Development

- Participants are 'learning by doing'

- Most frequent mentioned - production and maintenance of food gardens & community home-based care

- Some participants in the school support programme gained competence in using technology such as photocopiers

- Generally reported life skills training by loveLife and occupational health and safety workshops

- Respondents urged CWP to offer intensive training in skills that are in demand

- Sporadic mention of attending skills training in construction, community home-based care and management

- Majority reported receiving no formal skills development

- *"Yes, working for CWP is helping me, I'm in agriculture and now I know a lot of things which I didn't know then, even if I decided to start my own fields, I would know what to do because CWP has given me the skills I need for agriculture." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*

- *"They teach us that we can do co-operatives." (Randfontein CWP)*

- *"What encourages us is that we are working with people and learning about how to eat healthy and take care of the elderly and sick people. That is why it is important for us to know that, so and so, should eat this and, so and so, shouldn't eat certain foods. We are taught that and we also go and get their medication at the clinic if they do not have strength to go themselves." (uMthwalume CWP)*

- *"We are taught about these things (safe practices) as we are taught about taking care of our people as we are community workers. So, what we have been taught, we teach others." (Randfontein CWP)*

CWP & Expansion of Capability Set

Practice Ubuntu

- Terms 'useful work' /'meaningful work' did not emerge

- Valued CWP activities can be equated to Ubuntu

- Working in community home-based care has heightened CWP participants' awareness of Ubuntu and given them a sense of inner self-realisation

- Proud of work in food gardens (34% CWP participants have food gardens compared to 22% of other participants), school patrols, securing water through unblocking storm water drains, and cleaning public spaces, and they are keen on continuing their civic responsibilities and helping people

- *"We don't care for each other and we see this when we are helping communities, that if we didn't help them, some of the neighbours would not try and help."* (uMthwalume CWP)

- *"Sometimes at CWP we would use agriculture to help people do farming. We help them to plant lettuce, cabbage, and things like that and then, we clean yards for elderly people, and women do their washing and everything. And then, we have also built a house in extension 3 just for free volunteering."* (Randfontein CWP)

- *"We help many people in our area with the home-based care and without us the community would not help them. There is no 'Ubuntu' anymore everyone looks out for themselves."* (Bushbuckridge CWP)

- *"I sometimes also help out; especially those who are sickly with all these diseases that are now all over the place. I am able to start the process that will lead to the sick person being put on a treatment program. I have already done this for a number of people. I also go out to get knowledge and information from those who have the expertise in things like how to take care of a person who's chronically ill and is at home."* (uMthwalume CWP)

- *"I helped organize a soccer team and stopped doing all the bad things I used to do in the past like smoking dagga. Now we spend the better part of our time practicing for matches and getting better at playing soccer."* (Randfontein CWP)

CWP & Expansion of Capability Set
Improve and protect public goods, services and community assets

- Work directly contributes to state's delivery of socio-economic rights, which has created a greater awareness amongst CWP participants of their socio-economic rights than other respondents in the study

- More aware of the extent the state has met these rights and are conscious of their responsibility in protecting these gains

- See the harm and destruction in dumping, vandalism, and lack of routine maintenance on infrastructure and hence see these actions as compromising their socio-economic rights

- As such they are more likely to protect public goods and services and community assets than other respondents in the study

- *"I like to help my community by developing it. I don't like to look upon those people who are suffering without helping them."* (uMthwalume CWP)

- *"I work for CWP. I would like to have a clinic next to where I stay because there is no clinic. Also, for the sick people to go to the clinic so that they can feel better when they receive medication. I would also like it if youth can have piece jobs so that our youth will not do crime like stealing people's jobs and all sort of things. I would be happy if the government would create job opportunities."* (Bushbuckridge CWP)

- *"In my area I am assisting and involved in patrolling to stop crime, anti-crime patrol to fight crime."* (Randfontein CWP)

CWP & Expansion of Capability Set

Access to new social networks

- Social networks (family and friends) = most significant resources in the communities

- They provide skills, knowledge, values, information, support, money, food, home, and enable accessing opportunities - be it work, education, grants, etc.

- Individuals and CWP participants use these networks to access public and social goods

- CWP enabled participants to expand existing networks of family and friends - CWP colleagues & exposure to different workplaces

- Teamwork approach helps nurture collective agency, especially where the programme has been running for a long time

- Some CWP participants also mentioned the lack of support and trust in the community that, in some cases, prohibit people from moving forward

- *"But if the seeds don't come we sit together and discuss and then put money to buy the seeds." "And also the taxi fare of the person who are going to go and buy the seeds" "We tell the coordinator that we need seeds and they would say that they were told in their office that the seeds have not arrived yet so we figure out that we are running out of time. And where we have already ploughed the weeds will start growing so that is why we think we should just go buy the seeds ourselves."* (uMthwalume CWP)

- *"With the help of CWP we are able as women to be employed by CWP and we are able to talk about different things and we now have a stokvel as women so that we can buy things like building materials and get someone to build for us."* (uMthwalume CWP)

- "Another way could be getting involved in different projects but we do not have the means to group ourselves and do this so we can get extra money. We do not have the necessary information and we do not trust each other as people that are why we sometimes do not progress. Because there is a lot of corruption in this country and therefore we do not trust each other." (Bushbuckridge CWP)

CWP & Expansion of Capability Set
Work in teams and diverse workplaces that fosters social inclusion

- Team work approach and working in different places allows participants to get to know about events in their communities, work and educational opportunities, and new knowledge and skills

- Constant sharing of information, knowledge and skills (information from media or digital files or work opportunities)

- Prevents further marginalisation that faces many long-term unemployed people - CWP participants leave their homes and spend time with people in their community; this has exposed them to the struggles, challenges, trials and tribulations facing their communities

- Working in communities = source for inspiration and motivation - get to see and meet people who have overcome huge obstacles and see the indomitable spirit of their communities

- *"I work at CWP at the home based care, what I love doing during my spare time, is taking care of the community especially with orphans. I would love to be able to give them food parcels and shelter because most of them don't have homes. They just wake up and go to school." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*

CWP & Expansion of Capability Set
Access to information

- Access to information on public goods and services has given participants an information advantage

- CWP participants get to know of public interventions to further their socio-economic rights through their co-ordinators and their 'workplaces', such as the availability of learnerships

- Many young CWP participants have taken up learnerships

  - While they appreciate that learnerships are not the best means to securing full-time employment, they recognise other benefits, namely providing an opportunity to present themselves to prospective employers, acquiring work related skills, meeting new people, and receiving a stipend

- *"What I like about our jobs is that there are opportunities for learnerships. I understand that we get very little money but they use most of the money to provide people with learnerships. The key is to endure your work and at the end you will get something out of it." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*

- *"… when you are at the CWP you get opportunities. Like for example, I saw a print of recycling learnership." (Randfontein CWP)*

CWP & Expansion of Capability Set
Occupational health and safety rights in the workplace

- Training on occupational health and safety has increased CWP participants' awareness of occupational hazards and the need for safety gear

- Improved their ability to demand it

- Participants report that the programme has, in some cases, been unable to provide them with the necessary safety gear

- *"Like everyone must have his or her own PP, like overalls; dust masks; gloves, and the spades." (Joe Morolong CWP)*

- *"You need to have all the equipment when you are working. You need to make sure you are protected." (uMthwalume CWP)*

- *"Relating to work and since we work here for Works and we usually work at people's homes. Safety is an issue because sometimes you get to a person's house and you are there to help them. You find the person has dirtied themselves that you don't have things that you can use to protect you. We even use plastics but you ask yourself is this plastic as safe as I think it is?" (uMthwalume CWP)*

- *"I work well but there is not enough safety at work because sometimes when we are working with the grass we would just be wearing ordinary shoes when there are a lot of broken glass bottles on the ground." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*

- *"My kids often say, 'why don't you leave this job because it's seems as if CWP is making you to suffer even more. You come back home ice-cold from work in the winter months; they don't provide you with gas masks.' It's dusty right now and we have to sweep just as we are." (Randfontein CWP)*

CWP & Expansion of Capability Set
Increase household food security

- Working in food gardens has provided participants with technical knowledge of small scale crop farming

- Participants have used this knowledge and skills to create food gardens in their yards and have in many cases unselfishly shared their knowledge and skills with their family and neighbours

- Many CWP participants reported that they do sell their excess harvests

- Food gardens have prevented/limited hunger and in some cases the harvest is shared with family and community members in dire need

- A barrier to sustainable food gardens remains water and availability of quality seeds

- *"It helps because even when you don't have money for food you can come and plant and get vegetables and the kids and everyone else can eat." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*

- *"Like with CWP there's agriculture there and we plant and we give to the poor and to the sick." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*

- *"If you have a food garden you don't go out to buy spinach, you just go into your garden. If your neighbour doesn't have anything, you harvest some for them; and life goes on." (Randfontein CWP)*

- *"Yes, working for CWP is helping me, I'm in agriculture and now I know a lot of things which I didn't know then, even if I decided to start my own fields, I would know what to do because CWP has given me the skills I need for agriculture." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*

Facilitating Factors (in CWP)

- **High levels of unemployment in communities:** Persistent levels of unemployment in communities in the study makes CWP a valuable source of employment

- **Limited barriers to participation in CWP:** There are no recruitment criteria for participation in CWP, hence old people, youth, pregnant mothers, illiterate people, matriculants, etc. have the same chances of finding work at CWP

- **Universal access versus targeting:** All members of the community are allegeable for participation in CWP; however the "low status" of CWP amongst community members ensures that the programme reaches the most vulnerable individuals and households. In this regard, CWP is efficient in contributing to poverty alleviation as it is "not captured by wealthy individuals and households"

- **Work is in the community and hence reduction in transport costs:** Most of the CWP work is within walking distance of participants' homes, hence reducing transport costs

- **High penetration of banking services to poor communities**: Few participants (except Joe Morolong) complained about transport cost to banks, hence banking infrastructure helps to disburse funds efficiently

Impeding Factors (in CWP)

- **Late payments**
  - Fluctuating payment date & Inaccurate payment was also a concern for participants
    - *"Sometimes I am free and sometimes I am not free as such. I can work, I know that I am working this month, but I do not know when I am going to get paid at the end of the month. I do not know whether I get paid on the 30th or on the 1st or on the 15th. Sometimes." (Randfontein CWP*

- **Insufficient occupational health and safety gear and durability of such gear**
  - Participants raise concerns at insufficient occupational safety gear, particularly gear that is used frequently, like gloves and face masks. In some cases people mention the durability of the gear as well.

- **Insufficient consumables and equipment to effectively do their work**
  - Participants highlight instances in which consumables (such as soap), tools and equipment necessary for their work are unavailable
    - *"Right now, we are using our own equipment; we do not have equipment and we do not have tools." (Joe Morolong CWP)*

- **Unfair recruitment practices**
  - Participants perceive that nepotism is sometimes at play in the recruitment process
    - *"Sometimes you have skills but they will not hire you if you don't know anyone working there, or your family member - that is called nepotism." (Randfontein CWP)*
    - *"It depends whether you have contacts or not. Sometimes you have to bribe, if you don't have contacts or money you will have to forget it you won't get a job." (uMthwalume CWP)*
    - *"The other thing is that if you are not an ANC member they don't hire you." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*

- **Some co-ordinators are reported to have limited management and leadership skills**
  - Report instances in which co-ordinators are callous, rude, or assert their authority in inappropriate ways, including threatening CWP participants with expulsion from the programme to assert their authority

Community Work Programme Participants' Agency

- **Participate in the programme even though it is considered a low status work opportunity**

  - Some participants have been working for the CWP for longer than two years. These participants appear to have found a 'home' at CWP and hence are expecting a more formal work relationship with the programme such as a payslip, sick leave, career pathing, etc.

    - *"The only time I will stop working for CWP is only when I get a better job, a job which will pay me and where I can work every day of the month." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*

- **Allocate money earned according to individual and household priorities**

  - Choices with regards to purchases of products and services, savings and stock (microenterprise e.g. hawking and small scale crop farming)

    - *"People were lazy, in the past, to plant vegetables in the yard, but they are doing it now because they eat spinach to get vitamins." (Randfontein CWP)*

    - *"I work at CWP and on the days that I am not working there, I do door to door, I am selling." (Randfontein CWP)*

    - *"I would say I am a small business, I sell something small, so I cannot really say that I am a business person, it is just something to keep us going for taxi money or lunch money for the kids." (Randfontein CWP)*

    - *"Because we do farming where we live; so, if you are not going to work, you go to the garden and work there, we sell maize." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*

    - *"Even when I'm selling chips, I wish that I can succeed. That small thing that I'm doing to support my salary from CWP." (uMthwalume CWP)*

Community Work Programme Participants' Agency

- **Use of personal resources to enhance social services and community assets**

    - Participants have used personal resources (both consumables and equipment) to further CWP work in offering social services to their respective communities

        - *"It is much better we do have tools but we don't have cleaning stuff like mops, soaps and brooms. We end up taking our own brooms to clean." (uMthwalume CWP)*

        - *"CWP helped the community and unemployed people. We have physically challenged people that we assist as community workers, we clean and cook for them. The only problem we have is the wages they pay us. Because even if you go to the clinics to collect tablets for those who are sick, we use your own money." (uMthwalume CWP)*

        - *"Right now, we are using our own equipment; we do not have equipment and we do not have tools." (Joe Morolong CWP)*

- **Actively seeking for jobs/income opportunities**

    - Participants report to seek full-time employment or other opportunities to increase their income

        - *"I work at CWP and on the days that I am not working there, I do door to door, I am selling." (Randfontein CWP)*

        - *"I would say I am a small business, I sell something small, so I cannot really say that I am a business person, it is just something to keep us going for taxi money or lunch money for the kids." (Randfontein CWP)*

Community Work Programme Participants' Agency

- **Volunteer in projects and programmes in their respective communities that promote community wellbeing**

    - CWP participants were more likely to volunteer their time, resources, and expertise to programmes that enhance the wellbeing of their respective communities

        - *"We don't sell the vegetables so you decide that I can see the family is struggling let me give them some vegetables even though they have not asked for them." (uMthwalume CWP)*

        - *"I am compassionate, I am that kind of a person that will feel pain for the person in pain, feel more pain at times more than the person involved. I can easily put myself in the next person's shoes and that is why I can talk to a person in that situation. You visit a home and a person is in dire need of food and cannot come out to say I am short of this and that, yes, I am in that situation but I will always say my situation is not as bad as that of the person that I would be with at that particular time. I will then see what I can offer, take from my home to help the next person." (uMthwalume CWP)*

        - *"I also make sure that all the kids that I see in the community are safe. I ask the kid where they are from where his parents are and if he goes to school. I can take them to the police station or to social workers." (Randfontein CWP)*

- **Critically engage with traditional practices that adversely affect individual and community wellbeing**

    - For example, CWP participants are encouraging initiation masters and initiation schools to reduce their infection rate by linking them to formal health practitioners

Community Work Programme Participants' Agency

- **Living positive healthy lifestyles**

  - Through eating healthily, exercising, taking part in sports and recreation, reducing risky sexual behaviour, and abstaining from alcohol and drugs

    - *"I avoid drinking since most women drink nowadays. I avoid doing that because I set an example for the children I am raising since I am looking after them. I make sure that I prevent them from being lead into something that is bad." (uMthwalume CWP)*

    - *"I would like them to increase the sports because I would like to see the youth focusing more on sports. That helps a lot in health. They won't do bad things such as rape and other criminal activities." (uMthwalume CWP)*

    - *"Because we are active at all times, because we are working and we exercise; so, that is why we hardly go to the clinic." (Joe Morolong CWP)*

    - *"I tell them to gym and they will lose weight and their body will be strong and healthy." (Randfontein CWP)*

    - *"We want to be physically fit and healthy when we are looking for a job." (Joe Morolong CWP)*

Community Work Programme Participants' Agency

- **Asserting their rights to safe working conditions**

  - Keen to adhere to acceptable safety practices in the workplace - have internalised the risk of working in hazardous places or doing dangerous work

  - Generously share their knowledge of health and safety with their communities, family and friends

    - *"Like everyone must have his or her own pp, like overalls; dust masks; gloves, and the spades." (Joe Morolong CWP)*

    - *"You need to have all the equipment when you are working. You need to make sure you are protected." (uMthwalume CWP)*

- **Consuming media**

  - Seek out newspapers at great effort & keen users of television, radio, and second hand print

  - *"I buy [a newspaper] at month end when I'm paid and have to go to town to buy groceries then I will buy the newspaper and will read it for the whole month." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*

  - *"I bought [my television] on credit and that required me to pay more. It's not a complete loss to me, even though my TV is not fancy, I gain something from it. Information and knowledge. My children are able you learn and benefit from it as they like cartoons. I also get to choose what my children watch. My children can also learn about ways of communication. The media keeps my children off the streets. They are safe and secure because of TV." (Joe Morolong CWP)*

Community Work Programme – Improved Functionings

- **Improvement in nutritional intake**
  - *"It helps because even when you don't have money for food you can come and plant and get vegetables and the kids and everyone else can eat." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
  - *"And also the vegetable garden most people think that a person who has a garden is poor but if they would know why they should also have a garden themselves." (uMthwalume CWP)*

- **Active job seekers**
  - *"I do not work but I sometimes volunteer to give back to the community for example I clean at the graveyard, schools and help out with community work wherever I possibly can, alternatively I read so that I do not indulge in laziness and also to have references for the future when I'm looking for a job." (Joe Morolong CWP)*
  - *"The same with the Health Department, if they want people, they start here at the CWP if they are looking for cleaners because we already have the experience." (uMthwalume CWP)*

- **Capital / asset accumulation**
  - Investing in assets be it school and crèche, seeds, media products and services, white goods, mobile phones, etc.
  - Impacts positively on time saving, safety in home, information access and intergenerational mobility
    - *"But if the seeds don't come we sit together and discuss and then put money to buy the seeds." (uMthwalume CWP)*
    - *"I'm fine with my job and it's better than being at home because you don't get anything at the end of the day and it helps, you can support the family, the children grow and you are able to pay for their crèche as well…" (Bushbuckridge CWP)*

Community Work Programme – Improved Functionings

- **Increase in savings (secure funeral cover and stokvels)**
  - *"We don't earn much - we budget just for death, when I have paid the policy, I am left with R250. Food is expensive when I buy a 12,5kg of maize meal and meat it's all gone." (Randfontein CWP)*
  - *"You can even participate in stokvel, so that you can buy big things that you need and even in December, you know you have money that you have saved for grocery and money. So you know you will get grocery and after that you are able to buy your children clothes." (Randfontein CWP)*
  - *"It is sometimes R500 or more. In this, I have to pay for funeral insurance because one day we will die. I have 6 children and all of them are not working. They are telling me that I have to pay for my children as well. In this R520 I have to pay R198 for the funeral insurance and then I have R300 left. There is no money for groceries and I'm starting to buy the small parcels of food. Already there will be no money for me until the next pay cycle. I then go to the loan sharks because I'm hungry and the R300 is not enough to buy the whole month's grocery, which is why we are saying Seriti helped us a lot to chase away hunger but we are saying we wish they can increase our salaries because we have lots of responsibilities at home." (uMthwalume CWP)*

- **Engagement in micro and survivalists enterprises** (including food production in homes)
  - *"It helps because even when you don't have money for food you can come and plant and get vegetables and the kids and everyone else can eat." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
  - Also engage in hawking, waste picking, piece work and other forms of survivalist or microenterprises to increase their earning
    - *"I say, being self-employed is good because work is scarce these days so we cannot just sit and say the government will give us work, so at least so that the kids can have food, you can sell paraffin, crisp and tomatoes." (Randfontein CWP)*
    - *"I work at CWP and on the days that I am not working there, I do door to door, I am selling." (Randfontein CWP)*

Community Work Programme – Improved Functionings

- **Crime and bad debts = barriers to success of survivalists / micro enterprises**

  - Some participants were robbed of their stock or experienced bad debts. They have no means of mitigating against these shocks

    - *"We buy the chips and sell them but in the evening the criminals come to your home and ask you to give them the money that you made on that day. You get discouraged." (uMthwalume CWP)*

    - *"The following week the thieves come to your house and steal everything. They took 10 chickens when I was selling them. These dangerous boys come and rob you. You are at risk of losing your life and there is nobody to help you." (uMthwalume CWP)*

- **Improved community assets and social services through active citizenship**

  - **F**ood gardens, clean environment, support to vulnerable households and individuals

    - *"As a community we contributed to build more schools because we were short of schools here. (…) It was volunteering because all the children must go to school." (Joe Morolong CWP)*

    - *"When I know that there is someone who is not working, when I hear of a job vacancy for a domestic worker or a gardener I tell the person about the job." (Randfontein CWP)*

    - *"I do a lot of volunteer work. We go around homes where we know there is an elderly or sick, bedridden person or primarily disabled person (home based care). We then go to their home and bath and feed them. You will find that some do not have anyone, besides us, taking care of them. I love what I am doing; hence I am still doing it. However it would be lovely to actually get paid for it." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*

Community Work Programme – Improved Functionings

- **Improvement in education qualifications**

    - Participants registered in learnerships that were advertised through CWP

        - *"What I like about our jobs is that there are opportunities for learnerships. I understand that we get very little money but they use most of the money to provide people with learner ships. The key is to endure your work and at the end you will get something out of it" (Bushbuckridge CWP)*

        - *"According to me I would say it is not the same, when you are at the CWP you get opportunities. Like for example, I saw a print of recycling learnership." (Randfontein CWP)*

- **Reduction in alcohol intake**

    - CWP participants reported a reduction in their alcohol intake as a result of working for CWP

        - *"It has really helped me because I no longer drink that much, I am able to stay at work and keep myself busy." (Joe Morolong CWP)*

        - *"I stay away from funny things like taverns. In our community the youth is under pressure of getting drunk." (Joe Morolong CWP)*

        - *"I am happy for Seriti work, it found me when I was frustrated and it took away that frustration. I used to drink a lot. But after joining Seriti, I realised that God is good and he is alive and He loves me, this is the beginning." (Randfontein CWP)*

        - *"For instance, I cannot go to work drunk, I have to respect my job by not drinking when going to work, even if I drink, you will drink Saturday and Sunday, but not during the week." (Randfontein CWP)*

Community Perceptions about CWP

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- Randfontein and uMthwalume mentioned **positive contribution of CWP to community**
- Appreciated the home-based care, cleaning of public spaces, and the food gardens offered by the programme
- Perception that CWP participants are more likely to take part in community events:
  - *"When you have a sick person at home they come and help you with bathing the sick person."* (uMthwalume)
  - *"Whenever there's something happening here in the township, it's always the CWP that's involved."* (Randfontein)
  - *"The CWP is really helping our surroundings; they help keep the place clean... Even though they complain that the money is not enough, it's something and our townships are cleaner."* (Randfontein)
  - *"CWP helps in the community by cleaning, at schools and they even help the sickly by bathing them."* (Randfontein)
- Some participants from uMthwalume (but not in other sites) reported that they feel the programme is **not valued** and that they are not respected in their community.
  - *"They are also willing to do what we doing because they are tired of being without a job. But they used to laugh at us saying we walk up and down and we are stupid. Some were even calling us 'Kwanda'."* (uMthwalume CWP)
  - *"No, we are not treated with respect./ Like they look down on what we are doing at work./ Our work is not treated with respect./And especially with our uniform./ I think they don't respect our job because of our salary. Like if they ask us how much we earn when we told them they said there is nothing that we are doing there."* (uMthwalume CWP)
  - *"Since I work at CWP and I'm asked what I'm being paid and I tell them. They laugh at me, saying I might as well be unemployed. So that's why I say a job is a well-paying way."* (uMthwalume CWP)

Community Perceptions about CWP

- **Hiring practices** of CWP were questioned by some community members - Perception of nepotism and 'ghost workers'

- Perception is fuelled by an apparent **lack of on-going communication with communities**

  - *"The nice thing is that government brought the Community Work Programme Company but what's bad about it is that they hire and help their relatives. So if there is even a need for people they take those that they know or related it but the company helps with vegetables and bathing or assisting the sickly." (uMthwalume)*

  - *"The place that usually has people with 2 jobs is CWP because they just sign and go elsewhere and come month end they get paid twice." (uMthwalume)*

  - *"We were promised that the hiring at the CWP project will be based on giving everyone a chance to work. We are still hoping that they will hire us, and we can see that nothing is going to happen because all is just quiet now; no one is saying anything now. I feel so depressed because I was hoping that I will get a chance to earn some money. The unfulfilled promises are depressing because we were made to understand that we will soon be called to be the beneficiaries of the CWP project and nothing has happened till today." (Randfontein)*

Community Perceptions about CWP

- Some comments on **lack of respect** towards participants from professionals at clinics & schools

    - *"I think nurses should also treat us with respect because sometimes they don't value us and we are all doing this for the community, we are all helping each other." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*

- Perception among the respondents who participated in the unemployment focus group discussions of implementing agents as **'labour brokers' or 'tender work'**. It appears that using Implementing Agencies to carryout CWP can give the impression that implementing agencies are 'labour brokers' or doing 'tender work' resulting in 'trickle down economics' or high 'transactional costs' robbing them of earning more pay

    - *"Apart from the days and hours we work, I think if they can increase the days we work, then even the money will be better. Also, I think it would be better if this CWP was direct to the municipality because what makes our money little is if you can know how the money travels from one person to the next, then that is why we get small money. They shouldn't have done it as is, like the tender or NGO, which is given to an implementing agency, so it gets smaller when it gets to us. That is why there were projects like Vukuzenzele, from the municipality." (Randfontein CWP)*

    - *"I also am with the part-time CWP. The problem is that we really don't get much. I have children; the one is in grade 8 and the other grade 12. I think it's worsening the poverty, this programme. During the apartheid era things were not like this. So these labour brokers are not right because we are the hard workers and they get the bulk of the money and share it amongst themselves. These are the tender issues from the governments. It really doesn't sound ok." (Randfontein CWP)*

Unique Differences Between Community Work Programme Participants and Non-Participants

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- **Appreciation of the characteristics of formal work**
  - CWP participants appear to appreciate that formal work has numerous features and requirements
  - Listed the following attributes of formal employment: established hierarchy of reporting, rules and code of conduct, governed by contractual agreement, and task orientated

- **Awareness of the progress of the state in meeting socio-economic rights**
  - CWP participants appear to be more aware of the extent of progress made by the state in meeting their socio-economic rights
  - CWP participants may either have more information on state interventions in their respective communities or that they are in greater dialogue with local organs of the state

- **Information advantage with respect to learnerships**
  - CWP participants are provided with information on learnership opportunities

- **Enthusiasm to volunteer in community driven initiatives**
  - CWP participants are more likely to partake and volunteer in programmes to enhance their respective community's wellbeing

- **More compliant in adhering to occupational health and safety standards**
  - CWP participants appear to be more vigilant about safe workplace practices.

- **Conscientious about keeping their environment clean**
  - CWP participants are keen on maintaining a clean neighbourhood and local environment

Unique Differences Between Community Work Programme Participants and Non-Participants

- **Understand the risk of HIV/AIDS**
  - CWP participants appear to have internalised the risk of HIV/AIDS and hence report that they are more likely to practice safe sex

- **Advocates for safer initiation practices**
  - CWP participants through experience in community home based care advocates for collaboration between medical practitioners and initiation schools or 'initiation masters' to improve the safety of young initiates

- **Judicious in savings**
  - CWP participants engage in micro-enterprises to complement their income in order to save and to participate in savings products
  - In the main CWP participants use funeral plans/burial society and stokvels to save

- **Greater utilisation of credit facilities**
  - CWP participants due to access to regular income are more likely to utilise credit facilities, including high cost lending services

- **Keen media consumers**
  - CWP participants seek out media products at great costs compared including travelling long distance to purchase newspapers to spending significant income to buy a television set

- **Technology artefact / product savvy**
  - CWP participants appear to be aware of technological artefacts / products on the market and feel confident in using them

Democratising information: A prerequisite for the future

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