

CSVR SAFE AND INCLUSIVE CITIES RESEARCH PROJECT

The Community Work Programme in Grabouw

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

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Abbreviations and acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
COGTA	Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
CPF	Community Police Forum
CSO	Community Safety Organization
CSVR	Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
CWP	Community Work Programme
DA	Democratic Alliance
DLoG	Department of Local Government
ECD	early childhood development
LRC	Local Reference Committee
NGO	nongovernmental organization
TWK	Theewaterskloof

Introduction

In May 2014 I was contracted by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) as one of the four field researchers on the Urban Violence Programme to conduct field research in Grabouw. Grabouw is one of two sites in the Western Cape selected for this study, the other being Manenberg.

Sophia Axelsson, a CSVR intern, started the groundwork, introducing the research and establishing contacts with the Dhladhla Foundation¹ office for the Western Cape, the site management and some host organizations. The research in Grabouw officially started in June 2014.

My first interaction with participants was at an induction meeting where they were signing their contracts with Dhladhla Foundation. I could pick up the dynamics – skilled workers felt out of place and supervisors felt disgruntled that they were left out of the process. At this meeting I interacted with Manelisi Sogwagwa, the assistant director at the Department of Local Government (DLoG), and Emily Fairbairn, the area manager for the Dhladhla Foundation. They also noticed that things were not running smoothly and put time aside to meet with supervisors to hear their concerns. The decision was made to set up a meeting with Dhladhla, DLoG and the CWP Grabouw site in the next three weeks. This meeting never happened and has been a point of contention for supervisors, who feel that they are

taken for granted. They continued trying to secure this meeting throughout the research process.

I spent approximately two days a week for five months in the community, interacting with different stakeholders from local politicians to the youth. I spent time with different working groups and host organizations, and attended community meetings and weekly supervisor meetings.

The data were collected through formal and informal meetings, one-on-one interviews, observations and focus group meetings. The following were interviewed:

- CWP participants
- CWP supervisors
- CWP coordinators
- site management
- workers at host organizations
- host organization managers
- local politicians
- community leaders
- community members.

This report covers an overview of Grabouw, the development of the CWP, challenges faced by the CWP and implementation of the CWP in Grabouw. It also covers findings on the impact of the CWP on social cohesion, social capital, gender and power relations in Grabouw.

¹ Dhladhla Foundation is the implementing agent appointed by the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA) to implement the CWP in the Western Cape.

Overview of Grabouw

Grabouw is one of eight towns within the Theewaterskloof (TWK) District Municipality in the Western Cape. It is situated approximately 65 kilometres east of Cape Town, on the N2 national road. According to the 2011 census, Grabouw has a population of 30 337, of which 56% are coloureds, 38% black Africans and 5% white.² Due to the influx of migrant workers, predominantly from the Eastern Cape, in recent years, the black share of the population has altered the town's racial make-up. Some of the defining features of Grabouw are reflected in the excerpt (see the text box) from a case study of Grabouw produced by the Sustainability Institute.³

The poverty in Grabouw is multidimensional. High unemployment rates, limited access to housing and sanitation as well as basic education are coupled with alarming rates of HIV/AIDS – making potential investors reluctant to engage in businesses located outside the fruit-producing industry. As demand for labour is seasonal and scarce, unemployment is rife. Housing and sanitation remain pressing issues and the number of informal dwellings is increasing as the population is growing rapidly. Employment is largely seasonal, with around 80% of the population employed in season for picking and packing; most people are unemployed out of season. Outside of the deciduous fruit industry, the wine and tourism industries are also seasonal. The season is limited to around four months a year, resulting in huge problems in the remaining eight months when work is hard to find.⁴

Violent protest in Grabouw

In recent years, several more or less violent conflicts have erupted in Grabouw, all of which seem to be linked to (lack of) service provision and political power struggles. Grabouw was not severely affected by the xenophobia that broke out in South Africa, predominantly in 2008 and 2009. However, xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals are not unusual and in 2010 a foreign national's shop was closed down as a result of looting.

Grabouw case study extract

(From Grabouw Case Study by the Sustainability Institute, 2010)

The population is significantly influenced by the dependence of the local economy on agriculture and manufacturing, especially the deciduous fruit and timber industries. Seasonal workers, largely from the Eastern Cape province, provide much of the labour needed to support the agricultural activities.

....

Grabouw continues to be divided along racial lines. White, wealthy farmers live mainly in the Elgin Valley, some housing a number of farm workers, whilst middle- and lower-income groups live in the town of Grabouw. The increase in population in recent years has not matched economic growth, with little new business being established. Low economic growth rates combined with a lack of economic diversity and the seasonal nature of the economy has led to high rates of unemployment. There is also an acute housing shortage in the Grabouw area, contributing to the growing numbers of informal settlements on the outskirts of the town. ... High unemployment, low income rates and a lack of high-school education combine to aggravate the social problems in the area, including domestic violence, crime as well as alcohol and drug abuse. HIV/AIDS infections are very high in Grabouw, particularly in the informal settlements.

² 'Grabouw,' <http://census2011.adrianfrith.com/place/171009> (accessed 21 October 2015).

³ Sustainability Institute, 'Grabouw Case Study: A Narrative,' 2010, <http://www.sustainabilityinstitute.net/>.

⁴ Grabouw - Sustainable Development Initiative, 2006, Chapter Five, Economic Development, compiled by NM & Associates Planners and Designers.

Overview of the site

In February and March 2012, violent protests erupted outside the Umyezo Wama Apile Combined School over cutbacks in education, involving some 3 000 residents of the town.⁵ The conflict quickly escalated and ended up involving not only the provincial minister of education but also the Presidency, which sent representatives from Pretoria to negotiate with local stakeholders in the town.⁶ Schooling has long been an issue of concern for Grabouw residents and a reason for racial mobilization. Schools are overcrowded, under-resourced and divided along racial lines. Although there are different accounts of the conflict regarding what happened and why, it is evident that the needs of the growing population in Grabouw have not been given sufficient attention from any government department. It was also reported that the protests were spearheaded by local African National Congress (ANC) supporters seeking an opportunity to discredit the Democratic Alliance (DA) just before the by-election. The DA accused John Michaels, chairman of the Elgin Grabouw Civic Organization and a prominent ANC member, of instigating the conflict and of being a source of instability in the town.⁷ Tensions between Africans and coloureds in the area are often brought to the fore during these periods of conflict and were particularly prominent during this episode.⁸

At the beginning of 2013 violent protests erupted once more, this time as a result of ongoing farm strikes demanding an increase of the daily wage from

the then R69 to R150. Protesters barricaded parts of the N2 highway next to Grabouw and threw stones at vehicles on the road as well as at the police. The protests formed a part of a larger pattern of strikes and demonstrations all over the Western Cape.⁹ During the period when the research for this report was being conducted in 2014, violent protest erupted once more, this time linked to service delivery. On 20 August, about 1 000 community members in Grabouw handed a memorandum to a TWK representative at the municipal offices. Some of the community's grievances included lack of housing, poor and expensive electricity supply and bad roads. The community members gave the municipality 20 days to respond. The municipality failed to respond to the grievances and a follow-up march was organized for 16 September.

The same number of community members participated in the peaceful follow-up march. A memorandum with the same grievances as those handed over on 20 August was handed to Chris Punt, TWK mayor.¹⁰ Punt addressed the community members, citing lack of budget and resources as a problem in meeting their demands. He said that about 56 000 people live in Grabouw. Of these, only 48% pay rates and taxes. As a result, the budget is tight and it is impossible to meet everyone's needs. He urged the residents to meet the municipality halfway and to pay their rates.¹¹ This request was not well received by the marchers. They considered it arrogant and a lack of respect by the state official

⁵ Lauren Isaacs, 'Violent Protest over School in Grabouw,' *IOL News*, 6 March 2012, <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/western-cape/violent-protest-over-school-in-grabouw-1.1249863#> (accessed 21 October 2015).

⁶ Kwanele Butana, 'Presidency Offers to Find Solutions to Grabouw Crisis,' *IOL News*, 27 March 2012, <http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/presidency-offers-to-find-solutions-to-grabouw-crisis-1.1264788#> (accessed 21 October 2015).

⁷ DA, 'Grabouw: Renewed Threats of Violent Protest,' 18 February 2013, <https://www.da.org.za/archive/grabouw-renewed-threats-of-violent-protest/> (accessed 21 October 2015).

⁸ Carol Paton, 'Grabouw's Seasonal Fruit-Pickers Reap Bitter Harvest of Discontent,' *Business Day*, 30 March 2012, <http://www.bdlive.co.za/articles/2012/03/30/grabouw-s-seasonal-fruit-pickers-reap-bitter-harvest-of-discontent> (accessed 21 October 2015).

⁹ Rebecca Davis, 'Western Cape Farm Strikes: One Year on, Still a Political Football,' *Daily Maverick*, 28 October 2013, <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2013-10-28-western-cape-farm-strikes-one-year-on-still-a-political-football/#.Vich7m4oQwA> (accessed 21 October 2015).

¹⁰ Lauren Isaacs, 'Grabouw Residents Vow to Continue Fight for Basic Services,' *Eyewitness News*, 15 September 2014, <http://ewn.co.za/2014/09/15/Grabouw-resident-vows-to-continue-protest> (accessed 21 October 2015).

¹¹ Lauren Isaacs, 'Tight Budget Affects Service Delivery in Grabouw,' *Eyewitness News*, 16 September 2014, <http://ewn.co.za/2014/09/16/Theewaterskloof-Mayor-says-resident-dont-pay-rates> (accessed 21 October 2015).

¹² Other stories related to this episode include: 'Grabouw Meeting Comes to an Agreement,' *news24*, 22 September 2014, <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Grabouw-meeting-comes-to-an-agreement-20140922>; Chanel September, 'Police Monitor Grabouw after Violent Protests,' *Eyewitness News*, 17 September 2014, <http://ewn.co.za/2014/09/17/Police-monitor-Grabouw-to-halt-violent-protests>; Shamiela Fisher and Lauren Isaacs, 'Cops Fire Rubber Bullets at Protesting Grabouw Residents,' *Eyewitness News*, 17 September 2014, <http://ewn.co.za/2014/09/17/Grabouw-protests-Cops-fire-rubber-bullets>; Shamiela Fisher, 'Grabouw: Municipality, Community Leaders to Meet,' *Eyewitness News*, 18 September 2014, <http://ewn.co.za/2014/09/18/Grabouw-municipality-and-community-leaders-to-meet> (all accessed 21 October 2015).

Overview of the site

towards the aggrieved residents. This aggravated the situation and the peaceful march turned violent – people started burning tyres, barricading roads and throwing stones. Schools were closed and residents stayed away from work for the whole week. There was no public transport as it was not safe for drivers. Grabouw came to standstill for a week.

The protest was organized by Grabouw Civic Organization, with claims by some that the ANC was also involved.¹³ On the third day the organizers did not arrive. This angered the community as they had decided to strike until their grievances were attended to. Protesters accused politicians of using them to serve their own agendas. Interviewees said that the instigators and organizers of the march, who called for the community to stay away from work, were now believed to have gone to work. Protesters went to their homes to demand answers. Interviewees claimed that the same people encouraging them to demand houses were themselves staying in good houses or out of Grabouw, and their children attended decent schools (mostly in Cape Town) so were not affected by the closure of schools in Grabouw. This was one of the rare occasions when the community, both African and coloured, stood together. A community member said,

You know these politicians are taking advantage of us, yes we don't have houses, roads are bad, actually service delivery sucks but is this the way we want to deal with it, no. Ask anyone in the community if they are happy to stay at home not to be at work, the answer would be no. The politicians who live in beautiful houses are not doing this for us. This is about them. They are fighting their own battles. I am sick and tired of being pawn in their dirty game.¹⁴

The media's and state's response to the 2012 violent protest reinforced the community's, particularly the youth's, view that in order to get noticed in South Africa you have to be violent. Because they had managed to get the president and the minister of education to pay attention in 2012, they felt that if they employed the same strategy again they would be noticed. Schoolchildren thus took over the protest and even the organizers could not control it.

The only language this government understand is violence, look at what we, as young people, achieved in 2012. They need to know when Grabouw has spoken they must take notice. This is a small town so our only chance to be seen or heard is at times like these, peaceful protest do not make a difference, the media only comes when it is violent.¹⁵

¹³ Fisher, supra n 12; Niki Moore, 'Grabouw: Growing Hooliganism for the Sake of Hooliganism,' *Daily Maverick*, 22 September 2014, <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2014-09-22-grabouw-growing-hooliganism-for-the-sake-of-hooliganism/#> (accessed 21 October 2015).

¹⁴ Personal interview, male community member, 18 September 2014.

¹⁵ Personal interview, learner, 18 September 2014.

Recent crime statistics for Grabouw

Selected crime statistics for the area covered by the Grabouw police station are provided in Table 1. The crimes reflected in the table include violent ('contact') crime and crimes related to alcohol and drug possession and use, described by police as 'dependent on police action for detection'. The crime statistics show fluctuations in various categories. During the five-year period there were overall increases in murder, with both 'total sexual offences' and attempted murder reaching a peak in 2013/2014. Assault with intent to inflict grievous bodily harm reached a peak the year before that. Statistics for both common assault and aggravated robbery increased over the five-year period, with recorded common assault almost doubling.

Table 1: Crime statistics for Grabouw, April 2010–March 2015

Crime category	April 2010 to March 2011	April 2011 to March 2012	April 2012 to March 2013	April 2013 to March 2014	April 2014 to March 2015
Murder	14	27	23	39	32
Total sexual offences	56	65	65	72	62
Attempted murder	9	9	12	31	11
Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm	155	157	193	191	180
Common assault	169	190	204	260	311
Common robbery	47	58	61	61	55
Robbery with aggravating circumstances	57	45	60	61	133
Drug-related crime	260	259	236	238	319
Driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs	100	97	50	42	94

The high rate of crime is attributed to unemployment, drugs and alcohol consumption. An October 2014 press report quoted Grabouw youth leader Enrico Oosthuizen as saying that, 'Crime in Grabouw is spiralling out of control. Every day we feel that we are losing the battle against crime.'¹⁶ According to Oosthuizen, the University of the Western Cape recently did a study to uncover the factors driving high levels of substance abuse in the area. The study found that children as young as eight years old in Grabouw use drugs and alcohol. They do it to escape circumstances characterized by poverty and social problems, including absentee parents, domestic violence, crime and high rates of HIV. Crime is also seen as a quick way to success and youths are easily enticed into criminal activities. Drug lords use them to sell drugs.

Local government and politics

The party in control in TWK is the DA, led by Mayor Punt. The political composition of the council is 11 ANC members (9 wards, 2 reps), 16 DA members

(13 wards, 3 reps), one member of the Congress of the People, one National People's Party member and one Independent Civic Organisation member.¹⁷ TWK consists of 13 wards, of which Grabouw makes up wards 8, 10, 11, 12 and 13. Wards 8 and 12 belong to the ANC and wards 10, 11 and 13 to the DA. In terms of party politics, Grabouw remains a site of contestation both within and between various political levels (national, provincial, local).

At the local level, particularly strong tensions exist between the DA and the ANC, where political opportunism and conflict cause people to jump ship between parties. In April 2012, by-elections were held in TWK to fill the councillor position in ward 11 after DA councillor Cathy Booyesen-Neftd resigned and joined the ANC, accusing the DA of tolerating racism. The DA won the by-election, with candidate Martin Matthews receiving 103 more votes than the ANC candidate. In October 2014 Matthews resigned and new by-elections were called.¹⁸

¹⁶ SAPA, 'IPID Ordered to Probe into Grabouw Crime,' *Citizen*, 22 October 2014, <http://citizen.co.za/262439/ipid-ordered-probe-grabouw-crime/> (accessed 21 October 2015).

¹⁷ Political composition of councils, June 2013, Western Cape Government.

¹⁸ SAPA, 'Grabouw Ward Councillor Resigns,' *IOI News*, 3 October 2014, <http://www.ioi.co.za/news/politics/grabouw-ward-councillor-resigns-1.1759949#> (accessed 21 October 2015).

Overview of CWP site

The two parties are always at loggerheads, with the ANC blaming the DA for poor service delivery and for pushing people into violent protests. The DA claims that the ANC wants to gain the coloured voters by claiming that the latter have a home in the ANC. It is also believed that the parties are divided along racial lines, with coloureds supporting the DA and Africans supporting the ANC. One coloured community member said:

Coloured people in Grabouw are not supporting the ANC because they think the DA serve the people better than the ANC but the reality is that they feel excluded by the ANC. If you remember before 1994 Grabouw mostly supported the ANC but we can

no longer support the organization that does not care about our needs. They promote divisions in the area, you would think they will heed Madiba's [Nelson Mandela's] call for unity. They will call for unity when it suits them. I decided to leave politics because of that. You know when a person comes with something that is going to benefit the community, there are gatekeepers who want to be bribed and if you bribe your business will never happen. Here we are talking about powerful people who are well respected by the community. The DA is actually using the ANC's weak points to win voters and not only coloureds; their support is growing among the blacks.¹⁹

¹⁹ Personal interview, community leader, September 2014.

Overview of CWP site

The Grabouw site is in fact a sub-site within the overall TWK CWP site. As noted, Grabouw is made up of wards 8, 10, 11, 12 and 13. The Grabouw site office is located in Pineview (Ward 12) and consists of five staff members currently employed by the Dhladhla Foundation: Stanley Shuma, TWK area manager; Leonard Noyiya, site facilitator; Annabell Jonas, administrator; office assistant Ntombi Ntlabathi and a storekeeper. To date, TWK municipality has 1 200 participants, 750 of whom are located in Grabouw.²⁰ A breakdown of CWP participants in late 2014 is reflected in Tables 2 and 3:

Table 2: Number of participants in Grabouw by age and gender, October 2014

	Female	Male	Total
Youth (35 and under 21)	213	41	254
Non-youth	421	75	496
Total	634	116	750

Table 3: Percentage participants in Grabouw by age and gender, October 2014

	Female %	Male %	Total %
Youth (35 and under 21)	28.4	5.5	33.9
Non-youth	56.1	10.0	66.1
Total	84.5	15.5	100

The majority of CWP participants (84.5%) in Grabouw are women. Many are of Xhosa origin and are migrants from the Eastern Cape. Just under 3% (22) of Grabouw's participants are disabled.

Development of the CWP in Grabouw

The Grabouw site has been in place since January 2010. It was introduced to the TWK municipalities by the Elgin Foundation under Malcolm Abrahams.

Since Mr Malcolm knew the rate of unemployment in Grabouw so when he heard about this programme from national government that is meant to eradicate unemployment he saw an opportunity to help the Grabouw community.²¹

The Elgin Foundation then acted as the local implementing agent. The programme was introduced to community structures and leaders. No community meeting was called to introduce the programme so it depended on the ward committee members to spread the word.

We were told that there is employment we must get 25 people who are going to work under you. It was difficult to get these 25 so we took our family members.²²

Three months after its inception, the programme was filled with problems and as a result had to be closed for a month.

I think the ward committees and councillors failed the community. They should have called a public meeting and introduced the programme. It was not the role of Mr Malcolm to call the community. He introduced the programme to community structures. In a community like Grabouw where there is no employment and you don't create a proper way to recruit people there is bound to be problems. I was not surprised to see it closing down. There was no direction.²³

TEBA Development took over from the Elgin Foundation and was replaced by Mfesane in 2012. Mfesane won the 2013/2014 tender as provincial implementing agent. Interesting to note is that most of the Mfesane staff in Strand (Mfesane's head office) and Grabouw were previously employed by the Elgin Learning Foundation. Mfesane did not win the 2014/2017 tender; instead, Dhladhla Foundation took over the responsibility, being appointed as the sole implementing agent for the CWP in the Western Cape. Mfesane staff all over the Western Cape have been incorporated into the structure of Dhladhla.

The bulk of the work is considered to be unskilled and the programme is concentrated in three of the most marginalized areas of the town, namely, Roodakkie, Siteview and Pineview. These areas

²⁰ Personal interview, representative of site management, 20 October 2014.

²¹ Personal interview, representative of site management, 19 October 2014.

²² Focus group interview, female participant, 22 August 2014.

²³ Personal interview, community leader, October 2014.

are most concerned with the environmental and agricultural sectors, as well as community safety (cleaning and greening, food gardens, cooperatives, neighbourhood watch). A significant number of participants are employed by host organizations in the town, such as schools, hospitals, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), community-based organizations and early childhood development (ECD) centres (crèches).

According to the CWP guidelines, a work group must consist of at least 25 participants to qualify for a supervisor. Since the participants employed within host organizations do not have a supervisor (the host organization takes on that role), most supervisors and coordinators are located within the environment sector (cleaning and greening). In total, Grabouw has four coordinators and nine supervisors within cleaning and greening in four wards (8, 11, 12 and 13), one supervisor in food gardens and cooperatives, and one supervisor in community safety organizations.

Recruitment into and participation in the CWP

Selection of participants is done by the site management together with people in the area and local leaders. The CWP guidelines state that this process should be transparent and apolitical. Community leaders, including councillors, traditional leaders, schools, faith-based organizations and community organizations can be asked to recommend people who want to apply.²⁴ According to interviewees, however, when the CWP was introduced in Grabouw, ward councillors and ward committee members used their networks and political associates to recruit participants for the environmental sector. Those people who were active and known in the community stood a better chance of being recruited in the process. That is mainly how the supervisors and coordinators were recruited. Those who were not connected were left out of the process.

I was approached by somebody from the ward committee who told me that they are offering employment so I must go and collect 25 people who will be working under me. So I started with my family then my close friends.²⁵

I was told that the ANC is bringing work to the people so I must get my ID to the ANC councillor for me to get this work.²⁶

When it comes to host organizations, they do their own recruiting, taking mostly volunteers and then approaching the CWP for support.

We don't have any say when it comes to the recruitment of participants in host organizations. They do their own thing we just support them by paying their stipend if that is what they need, meaning they are also responsible for their supervision.²⁷

Currently the supervisors of the environmental and safety sectors submit a list of names of potential CWP participants to the site management. When the municipal council and DLoG have approved another intake, the site management approves the names, depending on the available space.

Interviewees complained about delays in the recruitment process that they believed were created by the site management.

This is a very frustrating situation as there is a long queue of people wanting to join CWP. What happened they came to us asking for jobs because they heard that CWP is recruiting. As a supervisor we took their names and forwarded them to the office. Desperate people would come to you and you would try to help because you see that the person is really having problems. People who are coming forward are people who really telling themselves that if one can get that R550 that R550 would make a difference. But the site office is taking long then. People really need this job.²⁸

²⁴ CWP manual, 2011.

²⁵ Personal interview, female participant, July 2014.

²⁶ Personal interview, male participant, August 2014.

²⁷ Personal interview, site management representative, October 2014.

²⁸ Focus group interview, female supervisor, 22 August 2014.

Another argued that more attention should be paid to recruitment in the coloured parts of Grabouw. Some feel that the process leaves certain people behind.

Where I stay at Snake Park coloureds are the most disadvantaged, you would think they will grab any opportunity for work they see, it's where there's crime. If I think there was a person like us because we're also disadvantaged, take a coloured person to collect other coloureds to reach that 25 they would stand up. When I look for people I am collecting black. Maybe if it was explained what it is about coloured would join. Maybe even get another coloured to supervise them they would be able to follow.²⁹

Governance of the CWP in Grabouw

The Local Reference Committee (LRC) oversees the running of the site, with the site manager overseeing the operations of the site and a facilitator, who is more on the ground, liaising with host organizations and overseeing work groups. The coordinators oversee the supervisors, who have a direct link to the participants.

When the CWP was introduced, there was a reference group made up mostly of representatives of NGOs, faith-based organizations and site management. However, the DLoG disbanded it, saying it was not properly constituted.³⁰ In the absence of the LRC, the area manager, site facilitator and community liaison officer were the decision-makers. Concerns were raised by some interviewees about the influence of people aligned with the ANC over the CWP. Some felt that management had too much power, that there was a lack of accountability and a vulnerability to favouritism and nepotism.³¹

Concerns were also raised about the previous site management's lack of responsiveness, with accusations being made that the programme was run 'as a factory' or family business.

We could not suggest that a certain place needs to be cleaned. You know when we saw him we will be nervous like school kids. You would swear that we were working in a factory.³²

One respondent asserted that the CWP in Grabouw needs a more open type of leadership:

I think a programme like this needs people who are rooted in the community; if not you need to be humble and be open to suggestions ... Even if you think as a leader you are on the right you do need to listen, he [site facilitator] did not listen.³³

Supervisors and coordinators expressed that they felt disempowered under the previous site facilitator. They felt that they could not take decisions that they believed would benefit the community but instead had to wait for approval. If they disagreed with the site facilitator's decision, they did not feel confident to speak to the area manager, who was his brother.

I could not tell my group to go and clean in that street because I see it is dirty. I have to see if the facilitator is okay with that. I felt that my leadership skills were not taken into consideration. Those are simple things that one as leader can make a decision without waiting for someone from the office to do it. We did not take pride in our job because we had no say. We only signed registers that's all.³⁴

During the course of 2014, Dhladhla Foundation moved the previous site facilitator to another site and brought back Leonard Noyiya, who had worked at the Grabouw site before.

²⁹ Personal interview, female participant, October 2014.

³⁰ Personal interview, representative of site management, May 2014.

³¹ Personal interview, local politician, 20 June 2013.

³² Personal interview, female participant, July 2014.

³³ Personal interview, male participant, 20 October 2014.

³⁴ Focus group interview, female participant, August 2014.

The CWP in Grabouw works in four sectors: environment, health, education and security. Work is also done through cooperatives as well as through supporting the work of NGOs and faith-based organizations.

Environmental sector

As noted, the bulk of the CWP's work is in the environmental sector. It is unskilled work and is mostly concentrated in the three marginalized areas. Related to the visibility of this aspect of the CWP's work, the programme tends to be seen as a street-cleaning programme. If you speak to ordinary community members and ask them about CWP, they do not understand what you are talking about until you mention the street sweepers.

I don't know CWP but I know those people who wear colourful overalls and clean the streets.³⁵

Grabouw has about 40 food gardens, of which 11 are supported by the CWP. All the food gardens are supported by the National Development Agency. They operate as businesses, with the owners selling their produce and pocketing the profit. The CWP's role is to pay for the labour at the 11 gardens, as well as for tools and uniforms for the labourers. This has disgruntled many CWP participants.

My understanding is that CWP is for poor people in the community, whatever you do must also be of benefit to the community. I don't understand how a businessman is supported to grow his business. This is not fair to those who are not working. These food gardens are doing well, that means they can hire their own labour. It would have been better if they take some of their produce and give it to the community but no they don't. This is not fair to the community.³⁶

It seems that this is a case of patronage because when I spoke to the owners they were upfront about their intentions, stating that they are in the business of making money. They apparently did not ask for CWP to intervene so feel that if people see it as unfair, they should take it up with site management.

I was running my business and did not ask to be supported; if it is seen as if I am abusing resources ask the higher ups.³⁷

Cooperatives

There are five cooperatives in the Grabouw sites: Lizalise, Phambili, Biokobetso and Khukusa, which all do sewing, and Siviwe, which does recycling. Cooperatives operate the same way as the food gardens. They are businesses owned by individuals who make profits out of their creations. The CWP supports them with money to buy materials. Unlike the food garden owners, however, these owners feel that their businesses are not flourishing. There are times when they don't make profit at all and the stipend from CWP is useful to keep the business going.

We might not be contributing to the community but what we do help to put some food in some of the families who otherwise would have gone hungry.³⁸

NGOs and faith-based organizations

Some NGOs and faith-based organizations in Grabouw are CWP beneficiaries as they are regarded as host organizations: 27 participants are placed at Grabouw Welfare, 15 at Vivian Multi-Purpose Centre, 10 at Welfare Disability, six at Rise in Faith and four at the Anglican Church Feeding Scheme.³⁹ These are mostly Afrikaans-speaking, skilled workers. The work done ranges from home-based caring for the elderly and the sick, to HIV and aids education, and nutrition.

Education sector

Twelve ECD centres are CWP beneficiaries: Ncedo Educare (4 participants), Hope for Life (4 participants), Masiphumelele (2), Kabourtland (4), Ikhwezi (3), Landulwazi (4), Little Rascals (3), Jack and Jill (2), New Beginnings (3), Eluxolweni (6), Vivian Multipurpose (12) and Agape (3).⁴⁰ The centres are spread across the four wards and participants are mostly classroom assistants, thus classified as skilled workers. Twenty-three participants are Afrikaans speaking and 31 are

³⁵ Personal interview, community member, August 2014.

³⁶ Personal interview, male participant, September 2014.

³⁷ Personal interview, food garden owner, October 2014.

³⁸ Personal interview, member of a cooperative, June 2014.

³⁹ Monthly Municipal reports.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

Xhosa speaking. CWP supports them with stipends.

Seven schools are CWP beneficiaries: Pineview Primary has 12 participants; Grabouw High School has five teacher assistants, one security guard and four cleaning staff; Groenenberg Senior Secondary School has four teacher assistants, four security guards, four feeding scheme staff, two cleaners and one maintenance person. The school has about 1 500 learners. KMP has four teacher assistants, one security guard and four cleaning staff. Umyezo WamaApile Primary School has three teacher assistants, one security guard and one person working in the feeding scheme. Umyezo wamaApile Senior Secondary has three teacher assistants, one security guard, five feeding scheme staff and one cleaner. St Michaels Primary has six teacher assistants, two feeding scheme staff, one gardener and two cleaners.⁴¹ The schools are spread across the wards and, depending on the location, have either Afrikaans-speaking or Xhosa-speaking participants.

Security sector

The CWP has also been involved in patrolling the streets of Grabouw. The Community Safety Organization (CSO) was established in 2011 and at the time had up to 50 young people, men and women, patrolling the streets and guarding the crime hotspots in Grabouw. CSO worked with the police and the Community Police Forum (CPF) to fight crime. Some reported that people trusted the CSO more than they trusted the police so would easily approach CSO members to share their problems.

According to interviewees, the CSO was not only involved in 'law enforcement' but also worked with the community to find solutions to help 'problem' youths, like those using drugs. The supervisor of the CSO used to be a policeman and understood law enforcement. He was well known in the community and understood the difficulty that people had in trusting the police. When parents encountered

problems with their kids around drugs and crime, they called him to intervene.

It is easy for mothers to come to us and share their problems with us, I would go to their houses and speak to the youngsters. As a former policeman myself I understood how they feel about not involving the police and I respected that. I will speak to the youth about dangers of drugs and even recruit them to help us fight crime.⁴²

The programme worked for a while but numbers started going down because participants were under the impression that if they served on the CSO they would be the first to be considered when the South African Police Service was hiring. When that did not happen, the organization lost participants. When I met with them in August 2014, there were only four participants left and they were also contemplating leaving the programme.

One interviewee spoke with appreciation of the work previously done by the CSO.

We had a group of young men and women who used to patrol all over Grabouw and that helped in fighting crime. Criminals were scared because they looked fit. They would not dare do any funny business. I don't know why they no longer do that.⁴³

However, it is not only CWP work that is directly targeted at improving safety that makes a difference. Some feel that CWP's visibility in the streets and their clearing of bushes help to fight crime.

I can easily leave my house for a day and I know that there won't be any break-ins because *onomtshayelo* [sweepers] are always around. No *skollie* [criminal] in his right mind can break in any house with a group of people working in the street.⁴⁴

Those bushes were dangerous, that's where the criminals would wait for you but now that they are clear, you can see everything. The criminals do not have a place to hide.⁴⁵

³⁵ Personal interview, community member, August 2014.

³⁶ Personal interview, male participant, September 2014.

³⁷ Personal interview, food garden owner, October 2014.

³⁸ Personal interview, member of a cooperative, June 2014.

³⁹ Monthly Municipal reports.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Personal interview, supervisor of the CSO, August 2014.

⁴³ Personal interview, female participant, September 2014.

⁴⁴ Personal interview, community member, August 2014.

⁴⁵ Personal interview, male participant, August 2014.

Positive attitudes towards the CWP

The cleaning service provided by CWP is widely appreciated for its impact on the environment.

Before CWP the streets were very dirty, there were papers all over the place. Now you look at our communities and you see that they are well taken care of. Even those who want to throw papers they think twice before they do that because they know there are people cleaning and they are being watched.⁴⁶

We had a high level of TB because of the dirty environment and pollution but now it has decreased I can say it's because our environment is cleaner.⁴⁷

It was not only CWP participants who expressed appreciation, but community members as well.

It is good that we have people who love their community, when I look back how dirty this area was before the street sweepers were available.⁴⁸

The participants in the programme are generally appreciative of the opportunities offered by the CWP.

Without CWP I will be sitting at home doing nothing, now I am able to do my own groceries, pay my children's school fees at the end of the month. So I am grateful to CWP for giving me an opportunity.⁴⁹

Many participants, especially women, feel empowered and financially independent as a result of their work with the CWP.

The first thing that CWP has help me with is as a housewife I can stand on my own I can stand as a woman, my husband would hear that I have stokvels [savings club] sometimes unlike before where I used to say my husband, I am asking for this. So it has helped us, we are involved in stokvels a lot.⁵⁰

Participants feel that the CWP provides an alternative to those who are not physically well enough to do hard labour but who have to work to support their families.

You see I am a sickly person, I can wake up in the morning and work in the farms the whole day but I cannot sit at home and do nothing. I need to work and support my children. So I am grateful to CWP for providing the opportunity.⁵¹

All the participants agreed that CWP plays a vital role in fighting poverty in the community.

Some of the people did not have any means of income. Now that they work at CWP they are like any other community members, they can put on their table at the end of the day.⁵²

The CWP has also provided an opportunity for networking. Through the programme, participants know what organization is doing what and where to refer others for different services.

We also have built a lot of relationships with organizations working here, organization that we did not know existed and what they do. We had a situation where we caught young boys with stolen goods. They were very young for reporting to the police so we have referred them to other organizations. We met with Themba Care, Themba Care sent us to the Village of Hope. One man would collect them in the afternoons, more especially kids who are not going to school.⁵³

Participants are appreciative of the training opportunities provided by CWP.

When I joined CWP it was like going back to school, we are taught how to be good leaders. I am confident now through the training I attended from CWP.⁵⁴

Although participants are appreciative of the programme, they generally hope for improvements in the stipends paid to them, or at least a greater number of working days, as well as benefits such as protective clothing.

We don't want to sound ungrateful, we appreciate that government has created this work for us but if she [government] can increase the money that we are getting, it is not enough.⁵⁷

What is disappointing is that you cannot take even a sick leave, if you are sick you have to force yourself to work otherwise you are going to lose your days. These days are few, so if government can increase the days.⁵⁸

Negative attitudes towards the CWP

CWP participants raised the negative attitudes of some community members. Participants said that they feel disrespected and that some community members sometimes litter deliberately in order to insult them.

You know the coloured people call this work 'kak werk'. They don't respect what we are doing, we would clean the street and they will throw papers on the street and call you to clean up after them, that's disrespectful man.⁵⁹

Young unemployed people tend to ridicule the programme.

I would not be seen dead in that orange uniform, it's like you are a prisoner. I would rather starve to death than work for that programme, it's a joke.⁶⁰

Men in general, including those who are unemployed, have negative attitudes towards the programme.

You cannot expect me to go and work for that. What will people see me doing that kind of work, the money is very little, it is okay for women because they have their husbands looking after them. I cannot support my family on the small money.⁶¹

Challenges faced by the Grabouw CWP

Participants feel that there is a lack of understanding of what the programme is about. The community does not know about the programme; even participants themselves are not clear that it is a safety net rather than formal employment. This had led to participants demanding benefits like maternity leave. This lack of understanding has led to CWP participants in Grabouw marching to the CWP offices to demand a raise, an increase in the number of working days a month and other benefits.

If we are working for government why don't we get other benefits like other government employees? We should be secure in our jobs.⁶²

The management acknowledges that there was no community consultation when CWP was introduced.

I think as leadership we have failed the participants. It was never explained to them that this is not employment; as a result people are not ready to move, they have a sense that they are permanently employed. We should try and create an exit plan where people move on and leave space for others to come in. I think a strategic planning with all stakeholders is needed. The kind of training that we provide does not prepare participants for the job market. Yes there are those that are not marketable, that's fine, but we should be looking into a situation where every year we have a group leaving the programme.⁶³

Some participants feel that the programme has focused too much on cleaning and needs to come up with projects that will entice the youth to participate. Grabouw has a high rate of unemployment, with youth seeing crime as an alternative. Some feel that CWP needs to introduce sports programme to draw young people in.

CWP needs to think out of the box, all over the country when you hear about CWP you think about women sweeping the streets, that is useful but not critical. We need to look at the needs of the community. Grabouw needs programmes that are going to engage youth. The young people needs to take ownership of this programmes and feel that they belong but with the programmes that

are currently running there is no chance of that happening.⁶⁴

Participants feel that although the CWP does good work, it is not coordinated. They also feel that there is a repetition of work because there are no spaces and forums to look at what all the stakeholders are doing. Even if there are meetings, they are exclusionary; the environmental sector is dealt with separately, and the same applies to other sectors.

In order for us to see the impact of what we are doing we need to work together. At the moment we are all working in our separate corners not knowing what Tom is doing. The CWP office needs to coordinate all the stakeholders.⁶⁵

There is a feeling that it is difficult to monitor the programme, therefore opening up opportunities for corruption. It is alleged that some participants work on the farms during the picking season while they are still on the CWP payroll. They have their friends sign the register for them.

We are aware that there are those things happening, one signing for their friends, but our hands are tied, if the supervisors are not willing to come forward and tell us about this. There is nothing we can do. We will need to have evidence which is hard to get. We will have to introduce a monitoring system not spy but monitor.⁶⁶

Some participants also expressed concern about the perception that the programme was politically aligned and felt that leaders should not be associated with any political party.

If we want the community's buy-in in this programme, we need someone who is going to serve the community of Grabouw without being associated with any political party, otherwise we will always question his integrity.

Race and language as sources of division

Grabouw is racially divided, with coloureds in the majority. Coloureds are also in the majority in formal employment, as office workers and as shop assistants. Africans work as labourers on farms and as domestic workers. These divisions are reflected

⁶² Focus group interview, female participant, August 2014.

⁶³ Personal interview, site management representative, September 2014.

⁶⁴ Personal interview, local politician, August 2014.

⁶⁵ Personal interview, female participant, November 2014.

⁶⁶ Personal interview, site management representative, 29 May 2014.

⁶⁷ Personal interview, community leader, October 2014.

Challenges faced by the Grabouw CWP

in the CWP, with the majority of Africans working in the environmental sector as cleaners. Coloureds, on the other hand, are largely placed at host organizations doing skilled jobs. This has created tension amongst the participants.

This is the story of our lives, we have matric and work in the clean and green sector sweeping the streets but we are not seen as skilled workers. Then you will find a coloured with no matric working for an NGO and that person is skilled worker. This is not fair. We did not even know that there were coloured people working for the programme until we were called in for induction. Then boom, the house is full of coloureds. We started asking question and we were told that they are also employed by CWP. We were hurt because we are the one who are called names by some members of the community because of the kind of job we do.

Site management does not play a role in the recruitment of participants placed in the host organizations; the organizations recruit people that have been volunteering for them, taking into consideration the language used in the organization. The dominance of Afrikaans in the area also contributes to coloureds being given preference.

The issue of language has presented some challenges in communicating with the site office. Before June, the site manager, site facilitator and administrator were all Afrikaans speaking. This made it very difficult for African participants, whose English and Afrikaans is minimal, to effectively communicate their grievances to management.

You will come to the office with a serious problem, sometimes there is death in your family and you want time off. Because they don't understand what you are saying you will label them as insensitive whereas if there was a Xhosa-speaking person in the office they would understand your problem. It was not working.

The language issue was also part of the reason why the participants felt that the previous facilitator should be moved and replaced with a Xhosa-speaking facilitator. The facilitator interacts with participants and the community on a daily basis and if he or she cannot speak the language that is spoken by the majority in the community, there is going to be a communication breakdown. The participants went as far as requesting that there should be an office assistant who is also Xhosa speaking, as the facilitator is not always at the office to translate.

⁶⁸ Personal interview, female participant, October 2014.

⁶⁹ Personal interview, female participant, September 2014.

Implementation of CWP in Grabouw

In 2009, Elgin Foundation introduced the CWP to Grabouw. As an organization that works in community development, the Foundation had been looking at ways to eradicate poverty in Grabouw. When it heard about this national programme that works with municipalities to provide jobs for the community, it saw this as an opportunity to fight the high rate on unemployment and uplift the community of Grabouw. Malcolm followed the necessary steps by introducing the programme to the municipality and ward committees. The programme started in 2010, with the Foundation as the implementing agent.

When the programme was introduced to the ward committees, the expectation was that they would introduce it to the community. However, what happened was that they told their networks who in turn told their networks. This opened up the space for exclusion because if you were not connected you were left behind. For example, in the environment sector, the ward councillors approached those who were going to be supervisors, who in turn recruited their families and friends. Recruitment currently still depends on who the supervisors think is eligible for a job. The supervisors will forward the name to the site management, which has final say on who works for CWP. Most of the time this process is transparent but there are times when nepotism creeps in. Some of the people feel that supervisors use this opportunity to create jobs for their families.

The supervisors are manipulating the programme. They chose who to employ. Instead of giving work to people sometimes they bring their family members from the Eastern Cape.⁷⁰

When asked, site management said that the priority when recruiting is given to households that are indigent, especially those with no income at all. But it is alleged that this is not always the case, as there are people who work elsewhere during the week and at CWP on the weekends.

You know you will never know with these people. There is someone I know who is not poor, she works during the week and over the weekend she is at CWP. I find that very much unfair because there

are families we know that are struggling and could not get into CWP.⁷¹

There are no clear guidelines on how the skilled workers are allocated and how the host organizations are identified. When the site management was asked about their criteria for supporting host organizations, they said that host organizations approach CWP for assistance. If CWP is able to provide assistance then the relationship begins. Some of the organizations, especially the educare centres, claim that they were approached by Shuma, a CWP area manager, and asked if they need any assistance. This makes sense as there are so many small children roaming the street that CWP plays an important role in ensuring that they are safe, irrespective of whether their parents can pay the small amount charged at the pre-school. CWP has helped these crèches to register with the Department of Social Development.

The food gardeners, however, feel that they did not ask for help from CWP so they should be left alone to carry on with their business.

I don't think it's fair for CWP to support people who are making a profit. My feeling is that it's unfair, they get money from what they sell and are in a position to employ their own people. These are the kinds of things that causes divisions in a community, a group of people are favoured among those who are poor and have no means to make a living.⁷²

This has been a cause of tension in the community and amongst CWP participants, with some being concerned that food gardens and cooperatives benefit specific individuals rather than the community.

The municipality has been distant from the CWP and is content just getting monthly reports. This has resulted in tensions, with participants begrudging the municipality for not taking responsibility for the development of the community. If the municipality was more actively involved, there would be a more coordinated way of empowering the community. For instance, when opportunities open up at the municipality, those with experience could take

⁷⁰ Personal interview, female participant, October 2014.

⁷¹ Personal interview, female participant, August 2014.

⁷² Personal interview, community leader, September 2014.

them, so opening up space for new people to join the CWP.

This would also help with the sharing of resources.

In the beginning CWP was seen as a stepping stone to greater opportunities. It was thought that if you had worked for CWP and gathered skills and work experience, you would be considered for opportunities in the municipality. However, this has never been discussed formally with the municipality, leaving people frustrated. As indicated, many of those working at the CSO had thought they would get preference when opportunities became available in the police service. When this did not happen, they were disillusioned and lost trust in CWP. Some are concerned that CWP management seems to have no exit plan in place. On the other hand, many of those working in the environment sector see this as permanent employment and have no desire to leave the programme.

Given the issues highlighted above, it is clear that the community of Grabouw does not understand what the CWP is and how the programme can be used to address the community's issues. CWP is not used as a resource that can benefit the community as a whole, it does not operate in a coordinated way and the community has not taken ownership of the programme.

At the same time, coloureds feel left out in any development work that happens in Grabouw. They feel that councillors allocate jobs to African people, mostly ANC councillors to their members to create patronage. The councillors justify this by saying that they are levelling the playing fields as coloureds in Grabouw are privileged and get preferential treatment when it comes to formal employment. As a result, Africans get preference for any kind of unskilled jobs that come with infrastructure development. However, another aspect is that these opportunities are discussed at community meetings, which coloureds generally do not attend.

Impact of the CWP in the community

In a community like Grabouw where the major source of employment is seasonal work, any

work opportunities are appreciated. Even though there is some negativity around the programme, the community appreciates the work that CWP offers. It is seen as providing livelihood support to community members, and the stipend that is received by participants has played a role in fighting poverty, as little as it is. Participants are able to put food on the table, pay for their children's school fees and participate in the community economy.

The cleaning of the streets is seen as useful work that benefits the community. There have been testimonies that the clean environment has contributed to a decrease in the high rate of TB. The environment is clean and the community is more conscious of dumping.

The clearing of bushes and the CSO patrols are seen to have played a role in promoting the safety of the community. It is said that the community has more confidence in the CSO than in the police. The CSO has won the community's trust and people can easily speak to the supervisor. There is an ad hoc rather than a formalized working relationship with the police and the CPF. When CSO needs the back-up of the police, they sometimes get it and sometimes don't. This is a relationship that needs to be formalized so that it can benefit the community.

Some participants identified the CWP as an opportunity to contribute to the community. They feel it is their duty to serve the community. They take up issues that affect the community, such as crime, and address unemployment by getting and sharing information about where there are employment opportunities, training opportunities and so forth. Some feel that their participation has developed their leadership skills. The supervisors feel more responsible for the community and take their role as leaders seriously, feeling that it extends beyond the CWP.

My community looks up to me, I have to set an example and that means sourcing information to benefit other people. I am not only here for myself but the community at large.⁷³

As noted, even though the community appreciates

the work of CWP there is generally a lack of understanding about the programme. There is also distrust among community members and even among participants. The fact that coloureds are seen as receiving preferential treatment, and that the leadership has not made a conscious decision to address the matter, has contributed to this distrust. CWP has not made a concerted effort to bridge the historic divides that exist in Grabouw. For example, at supervisor meetings in the environmental sector, African supervisors attend meetings without the coloured supervisors. The latter hold their meetings one on one with the site management, discussing the same issues that are discussed at the Friday meetings. This promotes exclusion.

Impact of the CWP on 'social capital'

The nature of CWP's work brings people together. Participants work in teams that get together on a daily basis, starting with a morning prayer. This has strengthened bonds that already existed. Participants talk about a sense of oneness and feeling 'at home' when at work.

You know sometimes with the stresses that one has at home I can't wait to get to work, where I know I will have the support and understanding of other workers. It is not always about money but the opportunity to speak to others and get advice and be referred where your problem is solved. This has got us closer. I know I can rely on my colleagues for support.⁷⁴

The support does not end in the CWP. Participants extend it to the community. For example, if a community member dies, CWP members are there to support the family. They clean the family's house and collect money if the family is not part of a burial society. CWP participants also participate in other networks involving community members, such as stokvels, burial clubs and savings clubs. The purpose of each network is to improve the livelihood of all those participating. Members of the stokvels or social clubs come together to save money that is distributed equally, sometimes after six months or a year. This helps participants to buy goods that they were not able to.

These social bonds happen among the participants and their immediate networks. But as an institution,

CWP has not been able to form networks that work together to address the social and developmental challenges faced by the community of Grabouw. A number of NGOs and faith-based organizations are beneficiaries of CWP but they rarely get together to look at the work they are doing and how they can come together for the benefit of the community. There was an understanding that the host organizations would get together quarterly for networking and forging partnerships where necessary, but during the period of this research no meeting of this nature took place. There are no formal networking structures working together to facilitate collective action for the benefit of the community. It appears CWP's role is to support these institutions to carry on with their day-to-day job, which is providing services to the community but not actively working together to influence change.

Power relations in Grabouw and how they impact on the CWP

CWP is a national programme that was initiated by the national government working with provincial and local governments. In Grabouw, when the programme was introduced there was a local reference group made up of mostly NGOs but no community structures. The LRC was disbanded, leaving the running of the programme and critical decisions in the hands of the site management. Over the years, the municipality has not played an active role in the CWP.

The history of the site management and the prominence of ANC members have caused some suspicions in the community. There have been allegations of nepotism, patronage and political manipulation of the CWP. Some community members see the programme as politically aligned.

Those who are lucky to get support from [the CWP] are those connected to him. Like he [area manager] serves on the board of one of the organizations and that organization is supported by CWP.⁷⁵

The supervisors and coordinators do not play an active role in shaping CWP in Grabouw. They meet on a weekly basis but their meetings have been about human resources, not about the programme and how it can effect change in the community.

⁷⁴ Personal interview, female supervisor, October 2014.

⁷⁵ Personal interview, local politician, August 2014.

Even ward councillors and ward committees don't have a clear understanding of what CWP is. As a result, they don't play a critical role in shaping CWP. Up until the election of the LRC, the site management had been deciding what needs to be done by whom and when.

Political parties have been accused of using CWP participants for electioneering during elections.

It is sad to see government employees being used by political parties when they will do their job. You will see those people in their orange uniform distributing pamphlets, it is not fair. They are supposed to serve the community not one party.⁷⁶

The community has also lost faith in CWP leadership. They feel that CWP is not making an effort to get community buy-in for the programme. Also, the fact that it is perceived as politically aligned is seen to compromise the programme.⁷⁷

Gender

In October 2014, just over 84% of CWP participants in Grabouw were women. Many are semi-literate with no employable skills and they will not necessarily get other employment. CWP provides a 'safe' space for participants, especially women. The stipend, even though very little, helps to put food on the table. Women in particular feel empowered by their 'employment' on the programme. Many have expressed how happy they are to be working and earning an income. The fact that they don't have to ask their partners for everything is empowering. Their participation in the programme has increased their social standing in the community and in their families. They are more respected and are able to provide for their families; some are single mothers. Many women feel that through their participation in the programme they are more loved, respected and appreciated by their partners. They feel independent as they don't rely on their partners to provide for them. They can pay school fees, buy things for their children and even participate in social clubs and stokvels.

However, some women have been subjected to violence because of their participation in the programme. Their partners see them as

disrespectful now that they are earning an income. They beat them, take their money to buy alcohol and return home afterwards to abuse them.

If it was not because of my children I would have stopped working here a long time, I listen to other women and how this has brought joy in their homes. For me it has brought misery. When its pay day I fear for my life because I know it is going to be difficult at home. My husband is not working, he feels that I undermine him now that I have an income. He takes the money and does as he likes.⁷⁸

There are very few male participants in the programme, despite the fact that many men are unemployed. They undermine the kind of work that is done by CWP. They feel that sweeping the streets is not a man's job and will lower their status in the community and their families. They don't mind doing maintenance work at schools and working as security guards, but sweeping the streets is beneath them.

The women feel that at CWP they have found a home, solidarity with others in a similar position and they draw strength and support from one another. So CWP is a space to share and get support from other women about the day-to-day issues that they are dealing with.

Impact of the CWP on collective action and civic cohesion in Grabouw

Even though CWP has promoted trust and working together among participants, this has not brought about a paradigm shift in the community towards dealing with community challenges collectively. CWP has ignited a sense of civic duty among participants but has a limited impact more broadly in the community. Whatever sense of cohesion there is in the community has nothing to do with CWP, but is largely because of structures that already exist, like the Grabouw Civic Organization. As noted, what we have seen about institutions working with CWP is that they work in isolation. Facilitating collective action is therefore difficult.

Twice in the history of CWP in Grabouw the participants organized themselves in collective

⁷⁶ Personal interview, community member, October 2014.

⁷⁷ Personal interview, politician, October 2014.

⁷⁸ Personal interview, female participant, August 2014.

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action against the organization. CWP has not managed to bring the community to trust government institutions, as CWP itself is seen as a state organ and has not won the trust of the community.

Conclusion

When I started the research in Grabouw things looked very negative, with participants not believing in the programme. However, with the replacement of the site facilitator things have improved. The new manager immediately noticed the community's and participants' anxieties. He started using the weekly Friday meeting as a space to listen to their grievances and address them one by one. He collected materials on the CWP and shared them with supervisors and also ran leadership training with them. Slowly these meetings transformed into vibrant meetings and supervisors started taking

ownership of the programme. What they learned in the space, they shared with participants.

He also began engaging the ward committees about the programme and the importance of their active participation. The municipal council passed a resolution on a new LRC that represents all the critical stakeholders. Before the end of the fieldwork, the reference group had held two meetings and the feedback from site management was that the meetings were vibrant. All involved want CWP to benefit the community in a meaningful way.