

BUILDING A GOOD NATION IN MANENBERG: A case study of the Manenberg Community Work Programme



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

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**CWP is like a family that stands together
and building a good nation in Manenberg.¹**

**Because the people from the area know CWP,
they know the colour orange ... So I think the public knows that already.
When they see a community work programme t-shirt
they know now that this person is here either to beautify
or they are coming to make a difference.
I am not gonna push the community down.²**

¹ Personal interview, CWP participant, 14 May 2014.

² Personal interview, CWP participant, 6 May 2014.

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Abbreviations and acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
CBO	community-based organization
CPF	Community Police Forum
CSVR	Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
CWP	Community Work Programme
DA	Democratic Alliance
DoCS	Department of Community Safety (Western Cape Provincial Government)
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
IDT	Independent Development Trust
LIA	local implementing agent
MAC	Manenberg Action Committee
MPC	Manenberg People's Centre
NGO	nongovernmental organization
NLO	non-profit organization
PM	Proudly Manenberg
SAPS	South African Police Service
TAMA	Tambo Square-Manenberg Community Development
TBOS	Take Back Our Streets
WCRLF	Western Cape Religious Leaders Forum

Introduction

Efforts have been made to capture how effective government-sponsored work programmes are at alleviating poverty. However, much less effort has been made to understand how poverty relief programmes impact violence, specifically urban violence.

The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation's (CSVR) study of the Community Work Programme (CWP) set out to unpack this largely unexplored relationship. The 2011 study into community protest and xenophobic violence found that, in contrast to the seven other case studies, Bokfontein had not been affected by either service delivery protest or xenophobic violence 'despite a lack of basic services.'³ The study links the absence of violence in the area to a public employment programme, the CWP, undertaken in the community, and suggests that its impact in preventing violence in Bokfontein is partly a consequence of providing 'livelihood support' to community members. In addition to its economic

benefits, Bokfontein's resilience against violence is seen to be the result of the impact of the CWP in promoting leadership structures and social capital.

This report on the Manenberg CWP is one of six community case studies forming part of a CSVR study that builds on the Bokfontein analysis. The study is essentially interested in the potential of the CWP to bring about positive changes in the relationships between community members, as well as between communities and governance structures.

It is hoped that the findings in this report will make it possible to identify more clearly the circumstances under which the CWP is best able to promote 'social and civic cohesion' and therefore contribute to optimizing the resilience of poorer communities against violence. In so doing, theory can be developed about the circumstances in which poverty alleviation programmes can contribute to reductions in violence.

³ See, M. Langa, 'Bokfontein: The Nations Are Amazed,' in Karl von Holdt, Malose Langa, Sepetla Molapo, Nomfundo Mogapi, Kindiza Ngubeni, Jacob Dlamini and Adele Kirsten, *The Smoke that Calls: Insurgent Citizenship, Collective Violence and the Struggle for a Place in the New South Africa. Eight Case Studies of Community Protest and Xenophobic Violence* (Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation and Society, Work and Development Institute, 2011).

Methodology

The fieldwork for this study took place in early 2014. The main focus of the data collection was on how the CWP impacted on relationships between community members, as well as between communities and governance structures. The data collection was guided by a set of data-collection instruments which were refined as the research process unfolded.

Around 50 people, mostly CWP participants, were involved in the study. Data were obtained through individual interviews, focus groups, observations and meetings. The research also included a focus group of the CWP Manenberg site leadership, held at and

facilitated by the District Six Museum. The Museum is a contemplative public space which memorializes the legacy of socially cohesive communities destroyed by apartheid forced removals. All interviews were done in Manenberg.

It is of utmost importance to note that the CWP participant information and input provided the essential data for this study. Participants shared their knowledge freely with the understanding that the research sought to establish the impact of the CWP and the extent to which it seems to be contributing positively to building constructive social relations and reducing violence in Manenberg.

Manenberg: Description of the area

Manenberg is a depressed community on the Cape Flats, where gangsters roam, drugs are readily available and unemployment is high.⁴

Manenberg was a special case where the prevalence of gangs, poverty, crime and overcrowding, went hand in hand with a civil society in sharp opposition to state agencies.⁵

Strictly speaking, Manenberg is the name of a suburb located approximately 20 kilometres from the Cape Town central business district.⁶

The coloured township of Manenberg was established in 1966 at the height of the apartheid regime's forced removal programme ... Residents of the new, raw and dusty Manenberg came from Constantia, District Six, Cape Town, the Bo-Kaap, Wynberg, Crawford, Sea Point, and Lansdowne areas.

However, 'Manenberg' is sometimes used to describe a broader area that includes adjacent areas like Heideveld and Surrey Estate.⁷ For example, the Manenberg police station's area of jurisdiction, and thus crime statistics for 'Manenberg,' includes the Heideveld area.⁸

According to the 2001 census, within this broad area, Manenberg and Heideveld (north of Manenberg) are poorer areas, while Surrey Estate (west of Manenberg), Vanguard Estate and particularly Welcome Estate (west of Heideveld) have higher average incomes.⁹

Manenberg remains a marginal and marginalized area within Greater Cape Town. In the words of

Elaine Salo, 'The physical boundaries that apartheid architecture set in place to anchor and constrain artificially created racial communities in the urban landscape still endure in the post-apartheid context.' According to Steven Robins:¹⁰

Spatial governance in places like Manenberg will continue to be relatively ineffectual given existing levels of social inequality and racial polarization. Such processes are reproduced by massive unemployment and racialised poverty resulting from socio-spatial legacies of apartheid and Cape Town's shift from a manufacturing to a tourist, IT [information technology] and financial services economy.¹¹

My impression on initial contact was that Manenberg could be described as unequivocally dysfunctional as in the definition 'characterized by a breakdown of normal or beneficial relationships between members of the group.'¹²

More than 60 000 people live in Manenberg. The place is bursting at the seams, with people oozing out of every crevice. Everyone is doing 'something' and the place bustles with activity.

Socially, the community is a hub of artists, youth activists, and sports clubs – a veritable melting pot of different religious persuasions, cultural groups and unemployed makeshift entrepreneurs. In Manenberg, anything is possible and possibility is everywhere.¹³

Like the people in the 'occupied territories' of the leafy suburbs of Claremont, Wynberg and Lansdowne, the people of Manenberg also eat, drink, laugh, cry – the normal things that all people do.

⁴ Lynnette Johns, 'Made in Manenberg,' *Cape Argus*, 5 September 2012.

⁵ Steffen Jensen, *Gangs, Politics and Dignity in Cape Town* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2008), 116.

⁶ South African History Online (SAHO), 'Manenberg,' <http://www.sahistory.org.za/place/manenberg> (accessed 27 September 2015).

⁷ Unit for Religion and Development Research, University of Stellenbosch, in partnership with Transformation Africa, 'Manenberg Area: Transformation Research Project,' <http://stbweb02.stb.sun.ac.za/urdr/downloads/Manenberg.pdf> (accessed 28 September 2015).

⁸ Ted Leggett, 'No One to Trust: Preliminary Results from a Manenberg Crime Survey,' *South African Crime Quarterly* 9 (2004): 31–36.

⁹ Unit for Religion and Development Research, supra n 7; Jensen, supra n 5.

¹⁰ Elaine Salo, 'Coconuts Do Not Live in Townships: Cosmopolitanism and Its Failures in the Urban Peripheries of Cape Town,' *Feminist Africa* 13 (2009): 11–21.

¹¹ Steven Robins, 'At the Limits of Spatial Governmentality: A Message from the Tip of Africa,' *Third World Quarterly* 23(4) (2002): 665.

¹² See, <http://dictionary.reverso.net/english-definition/dysfunctional>.

¹³ Irvin Kinnes, 'Urban Violence, Community Social Mobilization and Crime: The Case of proudly Manenberg,' Centre of Criminology, University of Cape Town, 2009.

Manenberg: Description of the area

Socioeconomic profile

Data on Manenberg from the 2011 census, as summarized in an information sheet published by the City of Cape Town, is presented in Box 1, Table 1 and Figure 1. The data show that, at the time of the 2011 census:

61 000

- Manenberg had a population of over 61 000 people, of whom **85%** were identified as 'coloured' and **10%** as African.

40 452

- Of this population, 40 452 fell into the 'working-age' (15–64) category. Amongst this group, **35%** (13 962) were classified as employed, **20%** (7 923) as unemployed and **46%** (18 567) as 'not economically active.'

Size of population: **61 614**. Number of households **12 834**.

The population is predominantly coloured (**85%**).

26% of those aged 20 years and older have completed Grade 12 or higher.

64% of the labour force (aged 15 to 64) is employed.

61% of households have a monthly income of R3 200 or less and

38% have a monthly income of R1 600 or less.

90% of households live in formal dwellings.

98% of households have access to piped water in their dwelling or inside their yard.

94% of households have access to a flush toilet connected to the public sewer system.

99.7% of households have their refuse removed at least once a week.

99% of households use electricity for lighting in their dwelling.

Source: City of Cape Town, 2011 census, Manenberg, July 2013

Reflection on being in Manenberg

On a Friday morning walk through the streets of Manenberg with the CWP site manager and a former City of Cape Town community development official who was deployed in Manenberg and is active in a structure called ACT [what does ACT do?], we stopped to chat with CWP work groups in a precinct which was a no-go zone when I started the project about two and a half months before. People inside and outside Manenberg warned me not to enter through the access road into this precinct as it was notorious for running gun battles. On the day the pictures in this report were taken, I walked in this street. It was pretty scary, knowing that this space had just emerged from the grip of violent terror; a space which I would have been too afraid to enter alone, even if I were driving.

What was different? Why was I able to walk, almost without fear, through these brutal and brutalized streets? I could do so because I felt safe in the presence of the CWPs. – *Researcher*

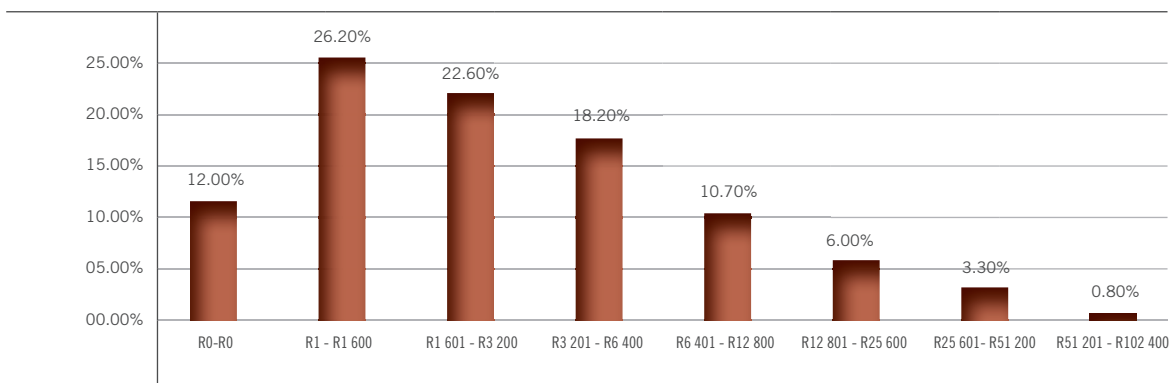
Manenberg: Description of the area

Table 1: Manenberg population by race and gender

Manenberg population	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Black African	3 234	5.2	3 159	5.1	6 393	10.4
Coloured	24 565	39.9	27 503	44.6	52 068	84.5
Asian	486	0.8	434	0.7	920	1.5
White	48	0.1	44	0.1	92	0.1
Other	1 127	1.8	1 014	1.6	2 141	3.5
Total	29 460	47.8	32 154	52.2	61 614	100.0

Source: City of Cape Town, 2011 census, Manenberg, July 2013

Figure 1: Monthly household income in Manenberg



Source: City of Cape Town, 2011 Census, Manenberg, July 2013

Table 2 compares employment figures from the 2011 census for Manenberg with those from the *Quarterly Labour Force Survey* for the period October–December 2014 for both the Western Cape and the national coloured population. The labour force constitutes 67% of the working-age population nationally and in the Western Cape. In

contrast, Manenberg has relatively low labour force participation at only 54%, with 46% described as ‘not economically active.’ In addition, the percentage that is actually employed is much lower in Manenberg (35%) as compared to the working-age population in the Western Cape (51%) and nationally (49%).

Manenberg: Description of the area

Table 2: Employment and unemployment in Manenberg

	Manenberg ¹⁴		Western Cape ¹⁵		Coloured (National) ¹⁶	
Labour-force segment	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Population aged 15 to 64 years	40 452	100	4 223 000	100	3 304 000	100
Labour force (economically active)	21 885	54	2 813 000	67	2 230 000	67
Employed	13 962	35	2 170 000	51	1 632 000	49
Unemployed	7 923	20	643 000	15	598 000	18
Not economically active	18 567	46	1 411 000	33	1 074 000	33
Discouraged work seekers	2 148	5	22 000	1	-	-
Other not economically active	16 419	41	1 388 000	33	-	-

Source: City of Cape Town and Statistics South Africa

According to a 2013 statement by the Department of Social Development, most households in Manenberg are dependent on government support, via the child support grants, old age pensions, and disability grants. They also rent their homes from the local government. An average of R1 200 000 is paid out in government grants on a monthly basis in Manenberg.¹⁷

There are three high schools and 14 primary schools in Manenberg as well as 27 early childhood development centres.¹⁸ This is besides other government departments, facilities and services. Provincial and government websites also list a number of non-profit organizations (NPOs), including community-based organizations (CBOs) and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in the area.¹⁹

Local political affiliations

As indicated in Table 3, out of 31 337 votes cast in Manenberg in the 2014 national election, the Democratic Alliance (DA) obtained 57%, the African National Congress (ANC) 36%, Al Jama-ah 3.4%

and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) 2.9%. An issue that was of some interest in the build-up to the election was the future of the Patriotic Alliance, a party formed by two prominent ex-convicts, Gayton McKenzie and Kenny Kunene (aka the 'Sushi King'). McKenzie had connections with Rashied Staggie,²⁰ a leader of the Hard Livings gang which had its origins in Manenberg.²¹ Some in Manenberg believed 'the DA to be the dominant party in Manenberg, followed by the ANC while the Patriotic Alliance was expected to have to prove itself in the election.'²²

The top four political parties accounted for about 95% of the total vote in Manenberg. The Patriotic Alliance garnered 0.8% (about 250 votes) of the vote, making it the fifth most successful party in Manenberg. The Alliance, which sought to mobilize around the interests of coloured voters, obtained 13 263 votes nationally, with 8 510 (64%) from the Western Cape. This placed it 10th overall in the Western Cape, giving it 0.4% of the overall poll in the province.²³ It was also 10th in the Northern Cape.

¹⁴ 'City of Cape Town – 2011 Census Suburb Manenberg,' July 2013, https://www.capetown.gov.za/en/stats/2011CensusSuburbs/2011_Census_CT_Suburb_Manenberg_Profile.pdf (accessed 27 September 2015).

¹⁵ Statistics South Africa, 'Quarterly Labour Force Survey, Quarter 4, 2014,' Statistical release P0211, <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0211/P02114thQuarter2014.pdf> (accessed 27 September 2015).

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Department of Social Development, 'Help for Athlone, Hanover Park and Manenberg communities,' 24 August 2013, http://www.dsd.gov.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=522&Itemid=106 (accessed 27 September 2015).

¹⁸ Helen Zille and Patricia de Lille, 'Our Plans for the Urban Transformation of Manenberg,' *Politicsweb*, <http://www.politicsweb.co.za/politics/our-plans-for-the-urban-transformation-of-menenber> (accessed 27 September 2015).

¹⁹ See, e.g., the community-based organizations listed on the City of Cape Town webpage, <https://www.capetown.gov.za/en/subcouncils/Pages/CBOs.aspx?abc=M> (accessed 27 September 2015). See also the list of non-profit organizations in the Western Cape, <https://www.westerncape.gov.za/topics/1398> (accessed 27 September 2015).

²⁰ Glynnis Underhill, 'No Sushi for Kenny Kunene's New Party,' *Mail & Guardian*, 29 November 2013, <http://mg.co.za/article/2013-11-28-no-sushi-for-kennys-new-party> (accessed 27 September 2015).

²¹ See, [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hard_Livings_\(gang\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hard_Livings_(gang)).

²² Personal interview, CWP participant, 20 August 2014.

²³ See, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_provincial_results_of_the_South_African_general_election,_2014#Western_Cape.

Manenberg: Description of the area

Table 3: National election results for top four parties in Manenberg, 2014

	Total votes received	
	No.	%
DA	17 945	57.3
ANC	11 421	36.4
Al Jama-ah	1 076	3.4
EFF	895	2.9
Total (of votes cast for four most successful parties)	31 337	100

Source: NPE election results 2014 ²⁴

Tradition of activism in Manenberg

Manenberg has a long-standing tradition of vibrant and assertive political and social activism which is ongoing²⁵ and as varied and colourful as the place itself. From the 1970s into the 1990s, numerous community and civic movements and organizations were established with the aim of improving living conditions. Activism in Manenberg was nurtured in the 1980s at the three high schools in the area²⁶. This was a period of intense resistance to the apartheid regime, with high levels of mobilization of local communities through a myriad of local formations.

However, alongside the strong tradition of social activism, Manenberg is also characterized by a widespread gang culture (discussed later). In the past, when gang wars broke out and casualties started escalating, community activists in the area approached the gangs to attempt a mediation process, sometimes culminating in the signing of peace pledges.²⁷ Peace brokering became a key feature of activism in the area and a time-consuming process which seemed like 'nothing more than placating the gangs for fear of the brazen attacks being re-ignited with serious casualties.'²⁸

The violent death of Cheslyn Jones, a local high-school learner, in 2005 saw activists embarking on a different approach to dealing with the problem of gang violence. Instead of engaging the gangs, there was a shift towards engaging the community by mobilizing ordinary people to take control of their own social conditions.²⁹ At the heart of the approach was an appeal to the morality of everyone that people in Manenberg mattered, that they were also part of the South African social fabric and could in some way contribute to their own development and safety. Thus, Proudly Manenberg (PM) was started in July 2005 as a social movement with the vision of 'building a vibrant, proud and dignified Manenberg through creating opportunity.'³⁰ According to Irvin Kinnes, 'This qualitatively changed the focus of the organization from one responding to gang violence to one that was focused on building a collective peaceful future through reclaiming and rebuilding people's dignity.'³¹ As discussed further below, PM initially played a central role in the development of the CWP in Manenberg.

Gangs in Manenberg

Manenberg is notorious for its high levels of gang violence and the impunity with which gangs operate. News stories from the time when the initial draft of this report was being completed, for instance, describe an attack, apparently by gang members, on the Manenberg home of a policeman involved in an anti-gang task team. The policeman's mother was killed and brother seriously injured in the attack.³²

Though violence in Manenberg is not only related to the gangs,³³ violence involving gangs, including conflict between gangs, is a defining feature of life in Manenberg, where violence and fights between gangsters are viewed as normal.³⁴

²³ See, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_provincial_results_of_the_South_African_general_election,_2014#Western_Cape.

²⁴ See, <http://www.elections.org.za/content/About-Us/News/Announcement-of-Final-Results--2014-NPE--10-May-2014-18h00-/>.

²⁵ Authors that have covered this include Kinnes, supra n 13; Julian Jacobs, 'Then and Now: Activism in Manenberg, 1980–2010' (MA diss., University of the Western Cape, 2010).

²⁶ SAHO, supra n 6.

²⁷ Kinnes, supra n 13.

²⁸ Ibid., 8.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid., 16.

³¹ Ibid., 16.

³² Shaun Swingler, 'Collateral Damage: Gang Officer's Family Shot in "Home Invasion" Attack,' *Daily Maverick*, 14 October 2014, <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2014-10-14-collateral-damage-gang-officers-family-shot-in-home-invasion-attack/#> (accessed 27 September 2015); Murray Williams, 'Hitmen Kill Mom of Anti-Gang Cop,' *IOLnews*, 15 October 2014, <http://www.iol.co.za/news/crime-courts/hitmen-kill-mom-of-anti-gang-cop-1.1765148#> (accessed 27 September 2015). An incident was reported in *The Argus*, 15 October 2014, in which an elderly woman was gunned down, apparently for being the mother of a police detective.

³³ Andre Standing, 'The Threat of Gangs and Anti-Gangs Policy,' Institute for Security Studies Paper 116, 2005.

³⁴ Kinnes, supra n 13.

Manenberg: Description of the area

The Hard Livings and Americans gangs are most strongly associated not only with Manenberg but broadly with the Cape Flats, both having been prominent for some time.³⁵ Of the two, the Hard Livings may be the slightly older gang. According to one press report, it was founded in 1971.³⁶ In a book published in 1984,³⁷ the Hard Livings gang is identified as one of more than 20 gangs in Manenberg and other neighbourhoods on the Cape Flats. However, according to an interview with a South African Police Service (SAPS) gang expert, both gangs originated in the mid-1980s.³⁸ Other gangs that had some visibility in the early 1980s and who appear to still have a presence in Manenberg include the Junky Funky Kids and the Jesters.³⁹

A May 2001 press report identifies the Clever Kids, Dixie Boys and Hard Livings gangs as having joined forces against the Americans in a gang war raging at that time.⁴⁰ When asked to identify the names of gangs in their area, respondents to a 2003 survey in the greater Manenberg areas mentioned the Americans (57% of mentions) and Hard Livings (29%) as well as Junky Funky Kids (22%), Dixie Boys (17%), Clever Kids (12%), Jesters (8%) and Cat Pounds (10%). It was suggested at the time that these figures pointed to a possible 'decline in the fortunes of the Hard Livings, who formerly dominated the area.' 'The "Cat Pounds" were described as 'an upstart school gang, comprised mainly of school-age members, especially prevalent in Heideveld.'⁴¹

In an interview in early 2014 the dominant gangs operating in Manenberg were identified as the Hard Livings, the Americans, the Jesters, the Clever Kids and the Ghetto Kids. According to the interviewee, gangs also include 'junior gangs' whose membership tends to be younger (9–15 years) and who are sometimes linked to the more established gangs.⁴² In July 2015, an online article referred to a peace meeting between the Hard Livings, Americans, Dixie Boys and Clever Kids.⁴³ A May 2015 article also referred to the Dixie Boys, along with the Hard Livings, as being one of Manenberg's main gangs,⁴⁴ while another article in the same month referred to the police arresting members of a number of gangs including the Clever Kids, Dixie Boys, Hard Livings and Americans.⁴⁵

Criminal gangs in Manenberg wield enormous power over the community and their presence is widely felt. They are an integral part of the community. Their centrality to the social life of Manenberg is illustrated in a 2005 book on gangs on the Cape Flats.

This point was raised succinctly by a community worker in Manenberg: They talk about a war on gangs which makes my life very difficult. How can I do my job in this area if my department has declared war against them? What they don't understand is that you can't work in these areas without working with the gangsters, the gang members are the community, you can't just remove them from here like that.⁴⁶

³⁵ Irvin Kinnes, 'From Urban Street Gangs to Criminal Empires: The Changing Face of Gangs in the Western Cape,' Monograph No. 48, Institute for Security Studies, 2000.

³⁶ Bob Drogin, 'Anti-Gang Fury Roils S. Africa,' *Los Angeles Times*, 13 August 1996, http://articles.latimes.com/1996-08-13/news/mn-33888_1_south-africa (accessed 27 September 2015).

³⁷ Don Pinnock, *The Brotherhoods: Street Gangs and State Control in Cape Town* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1984). It is assumed here that the HL\$ graffiti is a reference to the Hard Livings.

³⁸ See, 'Raw Transcript of the Jeremy Vearey Interview,' *Amandla* 32, 18 November 2013, <http://amandla.org.za/raw-transcript-of-the-jeremy-vearey-interview/> (accessed 27 September 2015). See also, Andre Standing, *Organised Crime: A Study from the Cape Flats* (Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2006); Jacobs, *supra* n 25.

³⁹ Pinnock, *supra* n 37, identifies the Jesters as being present in a number of areas including Manenberg. The 'Junkie Funkies' are identified by him as a gang in Bo-Kaap though not in other areas at that time.

⁴⁰ 'Gang War Kills Five in Manenberg Streets,' *IOLnews*, 28 May 2001, <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/gang-wars-kill-five-in-manenberg-streets-1.67159#> (accessed 28 September 2015).

⁴¹ Leggett, *supra* n 8 at 33–34.

⁴² Personal interview, NGO operations manager, 14 March 2014.

⁴³ Shamiela Fisher, 'Manenberg Gangs Call a Truce,' *Eyewitness News*, 6 July 2015, <http://ewn.co.za/2015/07/06/Manenberg-rival-gangs-make-peace> (accessed 28 September 2015).

⁴⁴ Xolani Koyana, 'Streets Deserted after Manenberg Lockdown,' *Eyewitness News*, 21 May 2015, <http://ewn.co.za/2015/05/21/Streets-deserted-in-Manenberg-after-anti-crime-operation> (accessed 28 September 2015).

⁴⁵ SAPS Journal Online, 'Manenberg: Operation Nets 14 Suspects,' 25 May 2015, http://www.sapsjournalonline.gov.za/dynamic/journal_dynamic.aspx?pageid=414&jid=49635 (accessed 28 September 2015).

⁴⁶ Standing, *supra* n 33 at 22.

Manenberg: Description of the area

The gangs also hold talks with one another, negotiate and enter into alliances, much like political parties do. Divisions among gangs may also be interconnected with political divisions, with some alleging that political parties often depend on gangs to mobilize support. In the words of a 2001 report,

it is hard to see how any political organisation could have hoped to operate in places like Manenberg without the acquiescence of leading gangsters as the area's de facto civil authority. Nor were the former liberation movements unsympathetic to those gangsters eager to play a more active political role by joining their ranks as party members. Thus, one respondent with some personal knowledge of the affair told us that, when several members of one of the most notorious Cape Flats gangs (including its then leader) tried to join the ANC [African National Congress], their applications were rejected by the local party branch only to be approved at provincial level. Meanwhile other gangsters were cementing old alliances by pledging their support to the National Party in the forthcoming elections.⁴⁷

Similarly, it was alleged that in the run-up to the 1994 elections, the Americans held an imbizo in a public park on the Cape Flats where they pledged support for the ANC.⁴⁸

Respondents consistently indicated that drugs and gangs are major contributors to violence.

Drugs and reputation are the biggest problems with violence in Manenberg. Say for instance we are a gang ... and we stay in this area. Say that school is our area; if other gang come on these grounds; and they do their own thing here, they don't respect us – So by making our reputation stronger we will

shoot them. And we get a reputation ... Now you know from next time you won't come because we are here, and our reputation says that – this is what happens when people start with the gang violence. Do you know why? Because everybody wants to sell drugs. You get money in your own area. So where there is money there is power!⁴⁹

Gang violence has far-reaching implications for community life:

From the community side they are mostly concerned about their children. Because I mean the shooting is not only affecting them, but now it is prohibiting your child to go and play. It is prohibiting your child going to school. Homework in the evening, can't do homework because he hears gunshots or whatever.⁵⁰

The 'culture of silence' within the community about the atrocities committed by the gangs posed a significant hurdle to breaking their grip over the community.⁵¹ The police seem unable to contain the gang war and have had to rely on community leaders to bring the situation under control. It is known who the gang leaders are but it is unclear to community members why they are not apprehended by the police. When violent outbreaks reach boiling point, community leaders approach gang leaders to request that they cease the violence.

The criminal activity has become institutionalized and many people believe that the police are unable to deal with it. As a result, many in Manenberg feel unprotected and live in fear. The view that police are out of their depth is also supported by statistics indicating that less than one-third of the 95 murder cases opened in Manenberg between 2007 and 2011 resulted in convictions.⁵²

⁴⁷ Bill Dixon and Lisa-Marie Johns, *Gangs, Pagad & the State: Vigilantism and Revenge Violence in the Western Cape*, Violence and Transition Series, Vol. 2 (Cape Town: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2001), 53.

⁴⁸ Source?

⁴⁹ Personal interview, CWP participant, 20 August 2014.

⁵⁰ Personal interview, CWP participant, 6 May 2014.

⁵¹ Christopher O'Connor, 'A Review of the Developmental Vision and Work of the City of Cape Town's Community Development Department (February 1997 to December 2000) and Its Successor the Department of Community Services (January 2001 to June 2003) which Was Aimed at Transforming Socially Dysfunctional Communities Such As Manenberg' (MA diss., School of Government, University of the Western Cape, 2004).

⁵² Western Cape Government, 'Gang Violence: Western Cape Government and City of Cape Town Intervene,' 19 August 2013, <https://www.westerncape.gov.za/news/gang-violence-western-cape-government-and-city-cape-town-intervene> (accessed 28 September 2015).

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There is also a strong perception of police complicity with the gangs. This makes people fearful of reporting inappropriate behaviour to SAPS as they fear reprisals from gangsters. One interviewee referred to a case where

Mrs X had been observing what looked like gun-running activity from a neighbourhood dwelling. She exercised her civic duty and reported it to the police. The police went to the alleged gun-runner and said that Mrs X had reported him. Mrs X then becomes a victim of the gun-runner's terror.⁵³

However, violent behaviour, including armed violence, is clearly not restricted to gang and drug turf wars. People have begun to compete for physical space in the overcrowded backyards and pavements cluttered with Wendy houses and corrugated-iron structures. Aimless youth and adults turn minor squabbles into violent interpersonal attacks.

Many were clear that these problems were symptomatic of the bigger issue of poverty and unemployment. A big problem for youth in the area is the lack of positive and constructive activities. A targeted approach to addressing this problem would go a long way in dissipating the negative spiral of drugs, gangs, arms and violence. These problems have become systemic and require a systematic response.

The drug trade

Though the two phenomena are not synonymous,⁵⁴ the drug trade is a central part of the criminal economy in which the gangs play a prominent part. In a survey conducted in 2004, 69% of those polled thought most of the crime in their area was drug related, and 78% felt drug use had increased in the last five years.⁵⁵ The types of drugs used have changed significantly in the last decade. According to the survey, nearly three-quarters of respondents (72%) had seen dagga smoked in their area, half (50%) had seen Mandrax smoked, a quarter (25%) had seen crack smoked and 11% had seen ecstasy used. Among respondents under 24 years,

87% had seen dagga, two-thirds (66%) had seen Mandrax, 35% had seen crack and 26% had seen ecstasy used.⁵⁶ In recent years, drugs such as 'tik' (methamphetamine) and heroin have also flooded the Cape Flats, and Manenberg has not escaped the scourge.⁵⁷

The illegal economy is not confined to Manenberg and similar townships. They are, however, where the foot soldiers are concentrated, in the seemingly impenetrable, urban ghettos. As reflected in the SAPS statistics discussed in the following section, police action results in many drug-related cases being opened by the police though how police action actually impacts on the drug trade and the broader gang-related criminal economy is not clear.

Crime and violence in Manenberg

Table 4 provides SAPS crime statistics for Manenberg for the five-year period from April 2009 to March 2014 for 19 categories of crime, including four subcategories. The statistics therefore cover a period that ended during the time when this research was conducted.

The defining feature of these statistics is reflected in Table 5, which shows that during the five-year period, and especially after the 2010/2011 year, drug-related crime (i.e., alleged possession of or dealing in drugs) made a very large contribution to recorded crime in Manenberg. This was most striking in the 2011/2012 year, when drug-related crime made up 49% of recorded crime. In the two subsequent years the number of cases of drug-related crime increased but, due to the fact that there were also higher levels of overall crime in these 19 categories, the percentage of drug-related crime was slightly lower.

Along with driving under the influence and unlawful possession of firearms, drug-related crime is identified as a crime dependent on police action for detection. Essentially this means that recording of the crime results from searches and other action by police where people are found in possession of

⁵³ Personal interview, designation, date.

⁵⁴ Jensen, *supra* n 5.

⁵⁵ Leggett, *supra* n 8.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁵⁷ Johns, *supra* n 4.

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drugs. The crime is usually not recorded because of a 'victim' or other person reporting it. In other words, the Manenberg crime statistics seem to show that there is a lot of police action to enforce laws against possession of drugs, but also that this police action reveals high levels of dealing in and possession of drugs in Manenberg. This is not surprising given that, related to the presence of gangs, drug use has been a substantial problem in Manenberg for a long time.

In addition to drug-related crimes, two of the other big categories of recorded crime in Manenberg, both

of which increased during the five-year period, are theft and common assault. Burglary at residential premises, theft out of a motor vehicle, sexual crimes and assault GBH (grievous bodily harm) all fluctuated. As compared to drug-related crime, driving under the influence went down. Common robbery was fairly stable, with some fluctuations since the 2010/2011 year. Four of the seven main categories of violent crime (murder, attempted murder, common assault and aggravated robbery) showed a general increase over the five-year period.

Table 4: Manenberg crime statistics, 2010–2014

Crime category	Year end 31 March				
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Total crimes (categories and subcategories listed below)	5 540	6 029	7 428	8 410	8 223
Murder	23	33	29	35	41
Total sexual crimes	163	125	146	148	137
Attempted murder	60	69	44	136	165
Assault GBH	330	273	254	276	292
Common assault	462	416	504	593	544
Common robbery	185	135	149	160	142
Robbery aggravating	174	159	146	256	271
Carjacking	10	6	3	10	15
Truck hijacking	1	0	0	0	0
Robbery residential premises	10	4	11	10	4
Robbery non-residential premises	5	15	15	34	22
Public violence	10	4	0	4	2
Shoplifting	292	270	145	111	95
Theft (all theft not mentioned elsewhere)	838	772	886	1215	1371
Drug-related crimes	1 556	2 353	3 672	3 983	3 766
Driving under influence	284	447	390	222	168
Unlawful possession of firearms and ammunition	66	69	60	147	178
Burglary non-residential	119	99	179	175	157
Burglary residential	529	409	436	473	453
Theft of motor vehicle	94	85	61	90	114
Theft out of motor vehicle	344	304	315	379	315
Neglect and ill-treatment of children	10	6	5	3	4
Kidnapping	1	1	7	4	8

Source: South African Police Service ⁵⁸

⁵⁸ South African Police Service (SAPS), 'Crime Statistics: April 2013–March 2014,' http://www.saps.gov.za/resource_centre/publications/statistics/crimestats/2014/crime_stats.php (accessed 28 September 2015).

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Table 5: Drug-related crime as a proportion of recorded crime in Manenberg, 2010–2014

Crime category	Year end 31 March				
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Total crimes	5 540	6 029	7 428	8 410	8 223
Drug-related crimes	1 556	2 353	3 672	3 983	3 766
Drug-related crimes	1 556	2 353	3 672	3 983	3 766

Source: South African Police Service ⁵⁸

After assault GBH, aggravated robbery (i.e., armed robbery) is consistently the next biggest category of recorded crime. The four subcategories of aggravated robbery that are highlighted in official statistics in fact in most years account for between 15% and 20% of all aggravated robberies. Notwithstanding the fact that it is not mentioned in official statistics, aggravated street robbery is the main subcategory of aggravated robbery in Manenberg and elsewhere (Table 6).⁶⁰

Table 6: Aggravated robbery, 2010–2014

Crime category	Year end 31 March				
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Robbery aggravated	174	159	146	256	271
Combined total: carjacking, truck hijacking, robbery residential and robbery non-residential	26	25	29	54	41
Street robbery/robbery in public space	148	134	117	202	230
% street robbery/robbery in public space	85	84	80	79	85

Source: South African Police Service ⁶¹

Violence is one of the biggest challenges in Manenberg. Acts of violence are common in this community as South Africa struggles with a history of institutional violence (oppression) and high rates of horizontal violence, like domestic violence and gang violence in communities.⁶² Violence against women and children, especially domestic violence, is one of the ills of the community.

The community consists of Christians and Muslims who are very tolerant of each other.⁶³ Both religions share the belief that the man is the head of the household and that the wife should be submissive. In Manenberg, many women are the breadwinners in the home, which leads to confusion about the roles in the household. Men use violence against women and children in their struggle for power in the household. Children grow up believing that violence is acceptable and copy this violence as they grow older. The statistics of teenage and child rape and sexual molestation have always been high, since these are common practices used to initiate men into gangs.⁶⁴

These factors point to a community where young people grow up believing that the locus of control is external, and where they have very little power to influence their future. Years of oppression and powerlessness have led to the pursuit of power in negative ways, and subsequently South Africa finds itself in a challenging battle to restore its communities.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ David Bruce, 'Focus on "trio" Crimes Skews the Stats,' *Mail & Guardian*, 3 October 2014, <http://mg.co.za/article/2014-10-02-focus-on-trio-crimes-skews-the-stats> (accessed 28 September 2015).

⁶¹ SAPS, *supra* n 58.

⁶² Self-Help Manenberg, <http://search.info4africa.org.za/Organisation?Id=89136> (accessed 29 September 2015). [AQ: the original link you gave is no longer live – this is all I could find]

⁶³ SAHO, *supra* n 6.

⁶⁴ Self-Help Manenberg, *supra* n 62.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

Overview of the CWP in Manenberg

Background of the Manenberg CWP

Proudly Manenberg was formed against the backdrop of the July 2005 death of a high-school learner, Cheslyn Jones. He was stabbed to death outside Manenberg High School in what is believed to have been a gang fight. PM refocused activism in Manenberg away from the negative space of peace brokering with gangsters to a developmental orientation which allowed ordinary people to get involved in rebuilding the creative space for community development.⁶⁶ It helped residents to break out of their mould of conformity with the 'normal' by challenging the pathological behaviour of gang members through doing, claiming space, developing positive identity and building a model for a cohesive community.⁶⁷

Marius Fransman, the Western Cape minister of public works, announced in September 2007 that the department would assist PM with a 'cleaning and greening type project' that would provide work for 100 participants in the Manenberg area. Manenberg was to be divided into five zones for the purposes of the project.⁶⁸ In April 2008, Western Cape Premier Ebrahim Rasool announced at an imbizo in Athlone that 5 000 work opportunities would be created in the greater Athlone area, which includes Manenberg, in terms of the government's Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP).⁶⁹ According to an interview, PM was first awarded an EPWP project in the 2008/2009 year.⁷⁰ Apparently as a result of changes in political leadership, this award was not renewed though PM was nevertheless awarded an EPWP 'non-state sector' contract for the 2009/2010 financial year. These contracts were managed by the Independent Development Trust (IDT).⁷¹ At one point during this period 'there was a seven-month gap

where there was no money for the workers. Despite this, the workers carried on cleaning and gardening in Manenberg for free for seven months.'⁷² According to an interviewee,

There was a change in political leadership from Rasool to Brown and the EPWP was not renewed. Proudly Manenberg pressured government and were given an IDT programme which was essentially a wage budget for 500 participants and nothing else.⁷³

Proudly Manenberg then applied to be a local implementing agent (LIA) for the CWP when it was formally established under the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs in 2010. This was approved by the lead agent, Theba Development, and national government in March 2010.⁷⁴

For many who had been involved with PM and the EPWP, the CWP presented itself as an exciting option for building from below. They considered the design and ethos of the CWP to be very much in sync with the ethos of PM at the time. This was how a core of participants from the first EPWP and PM volunteers were drawn into the CWP.⁷⁵ The initiation of the CWP in Manenberg involved a process of community consultation:

To include residents in developing the CWP focus, when the programme was first started they took to the streets and asked as many residents as they could about the main problems in Manenberg. The following issues were raised: gangsterism that terrorised the community and stole the lives of young boys and men, drugs, high levels of teenage pregnancy, a criminalised community that was recycled through the correctional services system,

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Dougie Oakes Communications Consulting, 'Proudly Manenberg's Second Annual Conference – September 2007,' <http://dougieoakes.co.za/speech-writing/proudly-manenbergs-second-annual-conference-september-2007/> (accessed 28 September 2015).

⁶⁹ Bathandwa Mbola, 'Over 5000 Jobs for Unemployed Athlone Residents,' The Skills Portal, 14 April 2008, <http://www.skillsportal.co.za/content/over-5000-jobs-unemployed-athlone-residents> (accessed 28 September 2015).

⁷⁰ Personal interview, implementing agent, 12 March 2014.

⁷¹ Independent Development Trust, 'Report to the Portfolio Committee on Public Works on the Matter Raised and Tabled in Relation to an Allegation by Proudly Manenberg that the Independent Development Trust (IDT) Supporting an Individual's Personal Campaign in the 2011 Local Government Elections,' https://pmg.org.za/files/docs/111011idt_0.rtf (accessed 28 September 2015).

⁷² Trade & Industrial Policy Strategies (TIPS), 'Manenberg – Breaking the Cycle of Criminality,' 2011, http://www.tips.org.za/files/u72/cwp_site_profiles_-_manenberg_september_2011.pdf (accessed 28 September 2015).

⁷³ Personal interview, implementing agent, 12 March 2014.

⁷⁴ Personal interview, implementing agent, 12 March 2014.

⁷⁵ Personal interview, implementing agent, 12 March 2014.

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high levels of school drop-outs, low literacy and low skills, high levels of unemployment, domestic and other assault, violence, theft, vandalism – including the proliferation of gang insignia on walls, overcrowding, poverty, hunger and malnutrition, limited recreation for children and teenagers, dumping and other environmental dirt and hazards, and unmaintained houses and flats.⁷⁶

Based on this process of consultation, 11 sectors were identified for the CWP:

- arts and culture,
- business,
- environment,
- education,
- faith,
- gender,
- health,
- housing,
- safety,
- sports, and
- youth.⁷⁷

Unfortunately, the period after the establishment of the CWP in Manenberg was marked by increasing conflict relating to the role being played by PM in the community. The organization had now been in existence for about five years and seemed to have adopted a more overtly political stance. According to one interview,

the dynamics in Proudly Manenberg were changing. One arm was becoming militant, undemocratic and unstrategic. Processes had become contaminated with personal dynamics which saw previously close relations being cut. The situation became acrimonious and very painful for many of those involved. Democratic practices came to be abused.⁷⁸

Tension and dissatisfaction between the participants and the LIA had become evident. Activists at the

Manenberg People's Centre (MPC), where the CWP site was renting space, had also become increasingly critical of what they perceived as disrespectful treatment of participants.

In 2011 the Manenberg Development Coordinating Structure, of which the MPC is a leader, made a presentation to the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee for Public Works. The presentation raised allegations which included mismanagement of development funds by PM, abuse of project beneficiaries and use of project funding for independent candidate Mario Wanza, the head of PM.⁷⁹ This conflict led to the government terminating PM's contract as LIA for the CWP in Manenberg in 2012, with PM expelling five coordinators for 'campaigning outside the group's structures.'⁸⁰ Battle lines were now drawn between the CWP site facilitator who was also the leader of PM, CWP participants and Theba Development as more and more participants were dismissed. Although in early August the government provisionally reversed the termination of the PM contract,⁸¹ PM's role in the Manenberg CWP was basically at an end.

Proudly Manenberg stopped acting as LIA in August 2012 and from then on Mfesane, who had been appointed as provincial implementing agent in April 2012, took over all management responsibilities. Many who were involved in the CWP under PM rejoined the programme under Mfesane, including Emily Fairbairn and Glenda Gain. The latter were approached by Mfesane to rejoin the team, which they did in August 2012. Many of those who had been expelled by PM also returned to the CWP when Mfesane took over.

However, the transition from PM to Mfesane as the LIA was not seamless. Recruitment had to stop and was then suddenly given the go-ahead in December,

⁷⁶ TIPS, *supra* n 72.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Personal interview, implementing agent, 12 March 2014.

⁷⁹ Manenberg Development Coordinating Structure (MDCS) presentation to Parliamentary Public Works Portfolio Committee, 'Allegation of Mismanagement of Government Funding,' http://www.powershow.com/view2b/551124-YjlzM/Presentation_to_Parliamentary_Public_Works_Portfolio_Committee_powerpoint_ppt_presentation (accessed 29 September 2015).

⁸⁰ 'Power Struggle Hits Manenberg,' People's Post, 31 July 2012, http://issuu.com/thepeoplespost/docs/peoples_post_lansdowne_31_july_2012/1 (accessed 28 September 2015).

⁸¹ SAPA, 'Proudly Mannenberg Halts Court Action,' *IOLnews*, 3 August 2012, <http://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/proudly-mannenberg-halts-court-action-1.1356117#> (accessed 28 September 2015).

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resulting in a scramble to recruit which led to shambles.⁸² Implementation agents were again changed in March 2014 when Dhladhla Foundation was appointed as the LIA. It would appear that the existing CWP organizational infrastructure was absorbed by Dhladhla Foundation.

As from April 2014 onwards, the CWP also moved to a 'single-tier' implementing system as opposed to the previous 'three-tier' system. It was understood by the LIA that in the ensuing phase, the CWP lead agents would be removed from the equation. This may have been seen to be streamlining the bureaucratic process but the lack of government experience and competence was expressed as a major concern.⁸³ Needless to say, these management changes were not all seamless in an already fractured community.

Views were expressed both inside and outside the CWP that the stigma of PM had remained with the CWP. It was suggested that the CWP should work with as many organizations as possible to rebuild trust between the CWP and other organizations in the community.⁸⁴ But despite the turbulent history of the Manenberg CWP, the site has a strong core team with a great team spirit and high level of innovation.

Participant profile

According to the site coordinator, there were approximately 550 registered CWP participants as at March 2014. A dataset for the Cape Flats CWP was made available for the purpose of this research. Through a process of elimination, a Manenberg dataset was extracted which was used to sketch a CWP participant profile (Figures 2 and 3).

Figure 2 shows that females in Manenberg account for 52.2% of the total population, while in the CWP female participants account for 67.7%, roughly 15% higher than in the total population.

As highlighted in Figure 3, participants are concentrated in the 36–55 age bracket, with 63% (371 of 587) being in this age group. A point raised in a feedback meeting was that there were a significant number of participants over the age of 60, with 13% (75 of 587) falling into this age group. This was acknowledged by the LIA manager present in the meeting, who explained that the recruitment strategy was focusing on attracting younger participants and discouraging those over 60 years who qualified for an old age pension.⁸⁵

Figure 2: Participant profile by sex

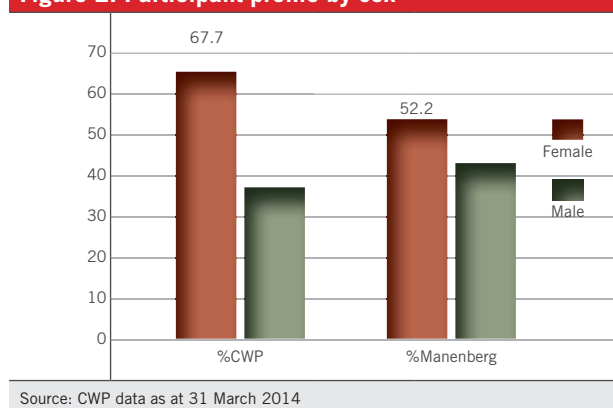
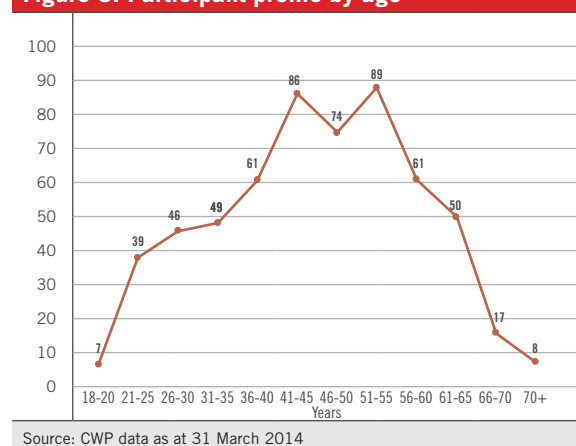


Figure 3: Participant profile by age



⁸² Personal interview, implementing agent, 12 March 2014.

⁸³ Personal interview, implementing agent, 5 March 2014.

⁸⁴ Personal interview, Manenberg CPF, 22 April 2014.

⁸⁵ Feedback meeting, 20 August 2014.

Overview of the CWP in Manenberg

Recruitment into and participation in the CWP

The CWP has a list of unemployed persons who come in daily to register. Vacancies are filled by drawing from the list. The process is managed by the site facilitator and selection is based on sectoral need and the condition that only one participant per household will be recruited. The definition of household is becoming problematic given the high density of backyard dwellers.

Many of the CWP participants have been working together since the days of PM and even before the CWP started. Some were recruited directly from the community:

Sandra,⁸⁶ from the PM [Proudly Manenberg], approached us with a list of different activities of work. I put my name down for safety. I was told one day to marshall at Easter Peak [netball pitch] event. I've been on the project since then.

Others joined after being retrenched from work, many from the textile industry:

I joined the CWP seven, eight years ago because of unemployment and having been retrenched from the clothing factory.⁸⁷

There are those who would like to join the programme, but opportunities are limited:

I know of two people who applied in the beginning and were told there is no vacancies. They worked

for one week, then told to leave and they will be reconsidered when there is recruitment. They're disappointed and patiently waiting.⁸⁸

If they came here and they want to sign up, they fill in the forms and they go onto the waiting list and when there is space they just call them and they come in.⁸⁹

Some believe that they were recruited for their skills:

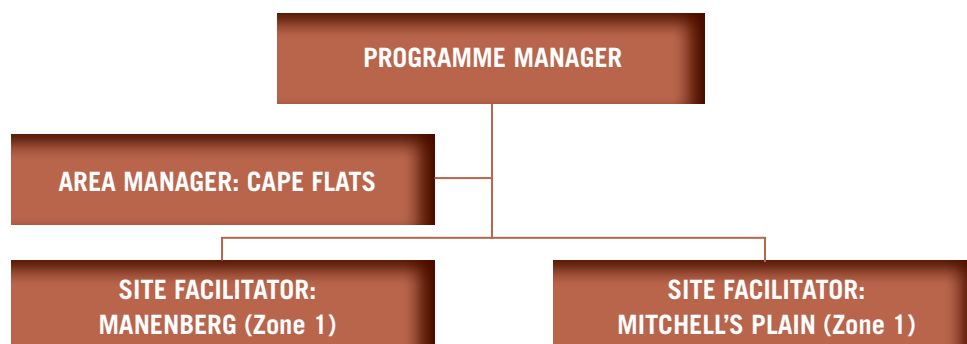
Through my previous work experience. I used to work at the council as a supervisor, but on a contract basis. So when I came here they actually saw my CV and stuff like that. To see that I can do this job. So I am just not someone that just got pulled in to supervise the people, but I also have the experience to do it.⁹⁰

While the CWP has become a home for some, it is the envy of others, especially those who feel excluded.

Management and supervision of the CWP at the site

When it was initially established, Manenberg was the only CWP site in Cape Town. However, there are now three CWP sites in Cape Town – one is the Cape Flats site, of which Manenberg is a part. The Cape Flats site also includes Mitchell's Plain, Elsies River, Philippi and Hanover Park.⁹¹ As reflected in Figure 4, during the period when this research was conducted, the implementing agent

Figure 4: Management structure



Source: Author

⁸⁶ Not her real name. Personal interview, designation, date.

⁸⁷ Personal interview, CWP participant, date.

⁸⁸ Personal interview, CWP participant, 14 May 2014.

⁸⁹ Personal interview, CWP participant, 6 May 2014.

⁹⁰ Personal interview, CWP participant, 12 May 2014.

⁹¹ Personal interview, implementing agent, 19 February 2015. [AQ: is February correct? It's not listed in the annexure]

had an area manager with overall responsibility for the site, with sub-sites or zones falling under a site facilitator. Beneath the site manager level are the supervisors or coordinators. Supervisors meet on a daily basis to discuss work-related matters, challenges and solutions. In filling these positions, the CWP benefited from the fact that some of those appointed had already acquired supervisory skills when formally employed. As noted, a number of participants indicated that they joined the programme after being retrenched from clothing factories. These women brought their experience in the production process into the project.

My duty is to see that the participants [are treated well], and they do their job. As you know it is very hard sometimes to be a supervisor because some people can be very difficult ... Sometimes some of the participants ... like getting involved in fights and you must go in and try to solve that problem and so on. But for me as a supervisor – I like for there to be honesty, there must not be cheating and so on; favouritism towards some people. But it is fine for me because it is not the first time that I am a supervisor. I was a supervisor when I worked in a factory.⁹²

Some supervisors also talked about the need to participate in the work with ordinary participants rather than just,

you know always people come to you with a problem; you just help them with the problem, and maybe just assist them also with the problem ... I am actually working with them. As we speak, if they do something I do it with them. So I am not just a supervisor standing by and watching them. I am also doing the work myself. And also I am supervising to see that they do their job correctly. Because as I have the experience, I teach them something new every day as a result [of the experience] I have from the council.⁹³

Involvement in decisions about work

The daily meetings for supervisors could be seen as a space for participant engagement in discussion and decisions about work.

In the afternoon we have supervisors' forum where things get discussed if there is a decision that is coming from top. Like maybe from management ... Then it gets shared with us in this forum. What do we think? How do we feel with this position, or something, or if there is a new post that is gonna open. How do we feel? There is no delegation from their side – so, okay, do this or do that. They bring this to the table and then we need to give feedback as to say how do we feel about it.⁹⁴

We can bring our own ideas or something. We will have like a workshop here and the supervisors and the facilitator and others – then we will sit here and then they will ask if we have something in mind or so – an idea. What you would like to do or something? Then we will say yes, we'd like to do that and that. So there is always something we want to do that is coming up.⁹⁵

There is also space in the programme for initiative to be taken:

When we identify problem areas ourselves, then we would say there is a hot spot and then we would go there. And then we would come back and report back about what we did.⁹⁶

Some instructions are communicated from the top, but mostly decisions about work are discussed:

At times some people in the office call us in and let us know where the problem is and then we work from there. But most of the time we sit together and [decide].⁹⁷

Most respondents felt that the programme was functioning well. However, there were complaints about not receiving tools, equipment and general resources required for doing the work that was expected. In the sports sector, the complaint was levelled at both the CWP management as well as the schools. It was felt that neither seemed interested in adequately equipping the sector.

If we get faster tools, and all the basic tools, then everything can work fine now. Because the only problem we have is basically the tools.⁹⁸

⁹² Personal interview, CWP participant, 12 May 2014.

⁹³ Personal interview, CWP participant, 12 May 2014.

⁹⁴ Personal interview, CWP participant, 6 May 2014.

⁹⁵ Personal interview, CWP participant, 6 May 2014.

⁹⁶ Personal interview, CWP participant, 14 May 2014.

⁹⁷ Personal interview, CWP participant, 12 May 2014.

⁹⁸ Personal interview, CWP participant, 22 May 2014.

Overview of the CWP in Manenberg

Distinctive leadership role of site manager

The site manager has shown herself to be one of the less complicated activists in Manenberg. In the absence of a reference group, which in all likelihood would not have worked given the fractiousness of the community, I have the distinct impression that the CWP is managed as a community resource.

Governmental relations

The CWP was originally an initiative of the national government. The central management of the CWP continues to be carried out by a national government department. However, provincial governments are also supposed to support the working of the CWP, and municipalities need to support the establishment of CWP sites.

In the Western Cape, the CWP is located in the Department of Local Government: Community Participation at provincial level. Due to the fact that the provincial government and Cape Town metro fall under the opposition DA, some have raised questions as to what the attitude of these components of government is to the CWP. Some people appear to believe that the DA is antagonistic towards the programme because it views the CWP as an ANC programme.

Given that the CWP started from national government, historically there was no direct relationship with local government. When the Manenberg CWP was formally established in the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs in 2010/2011, shifts were taking place in the CWP. It became a requirement for municipalities to approve the establishment of CWP sites and to have a reference committee. The city is required to pass a resolution but there was a substantial delay in doing this. Instead, resolutions were obtained from sub-councils in order to activate the programme.⁹⁹ It is perceived by some that the mayor would like to control the CWP budget in order for the city to roll out the programme. Of equal concern is the fact that relations between the different spheres of government, national, provincial and local, are sometimes acrimonious. On ground level, the CWP works with councillors, sub-

councillors and municipal services such as storm water.

There is no structured relationship between the Department of Community Safety (DoCS) and the CWP. However, the DoCS supports Neighbourhood Watch structures and invites registered religious NPOs to apply for funding for youth safety and religion programmes, which are run twice a year.¹⁰⁰ Organizations are invited to submit proposals which are targeted at implementing crime prevention initiatives with youth in communities classified as high-priority areas. The DoCS supports these activities at a rate of up to R60 per day per youth participant on condition that the activities run for the duration of eight hours or more per day and include at least one meal per participant. The DoCS has oversight over the Community Police Forum (CPF), of which the CWP is a member. The CPFs have moved from social crime prevention to police oversight and report to DoCS on a monthly basis. So while there is no formal relationship with the DoCS, the CWP has links through the CPF.

The CWP also operates in schools and provides home-based care, complementing and working with the local clinics, but there do not appear to be formal relations with the Western Cape departments of Education or Health.

Conditions of service in the CWP

There seems to be a general impression of the Manenberg CWP being a safety net. However, many have been on the programme since its inception and have begun to hope for more from it. Moreover, many are also beginning to see the value of their work in the community and have expressed the need for an 'increase.'

The community has gained a daily local community service. Some participants stated that, based on community need, they spend more time on CWP work than was agreed. They argue that the 'unfunded' portion of the work should be quantified and compensated for in some form or another.

⁹⁹ Personal interview, implementing agent, 5 March 2014.

¹⁰⁰ Personal interview, Western Cape DoCS, 14 April 2014.

Work done by the CWP in Manenberg

The work done by CWP participants is supposed to be 'useful work,' that is, work that contributes to the public good, community good or social services. Such 'useful work' is supposed to be identified and prioritized at a local level and has to be labour intensive.¹⁰³

For purposes of organizing the work, it is divided into a number of sectors (Table 7).¹⁰² Each sector has two to three supervisors who report to the site daily, after the participant programme has ended. There is at least one skilled supervisor in each sector, who trains the other supervisors.

Table 7: CWP work sectors

Work sector	Description of work
Environment	Cleaning streets and dump sites; erecting gardens at dump sites
Safety, including safety schools	Safety patrols in the community in conjunction with SAPS and the community
Gardening: food nutrition and food security	Gardening to beautify schools; planting food gardens at schools; selling produce to schools, soup kitchens and participants – the money is used to buy more seeds
Education	Teacher assistance
Arts and crafts	Producing handcrafts; performance (singing, dance) development at schools; facilitating auditions
Advice	Working at SAPS in the trauma room to dispense advice and support to victims
Maintenance	Maintaining buildings at schools
Sport	Assisting schools with different sporting codes and sporting events; participating in community events with other organizations
Health and home-based care	Providing home-based care to the elderly and sick in conjunction with the Manenberg clinic
Parolees programme	Integrating parolees into the CWP in collaboration with the Department of Correctional Services
School cleaning	Assisting schools with cleaning the facilities

Source: CWP site office

¹⁰³ Personal interview, CWP focus group, 22 May 2014.

¹⁰⁴ Personal interview, CWP participant, 6 May 2014.

Work done by the CWP in Manenberg

Environment

Work performed by participants in the environment sector partly involves cleaning streets and other public areas (**Photos 1 and 2**). As a result, this type of work is sometimes the most visible aspect of CWP as it has a tangible impact on the surroundings. It also results in CWP participants having an active presence in the community.

We clean the streets and all eight courts in Zone 1. We do gardening in Nellie, Mathilda and Lettie Court beautifying gardens. We go around to the 'koop huise' asking for plants. We also clean out blocked drains.¹⁰³

Recycling is another component of the environment work. It is important from the point of environmental awareness but also has bearing on income generation.

Collecting plastic bottles and materials, take it to Peace Garden, where there is a shed, where the objects are cleaned. I record the bale bags which come in and once the materials have been processed and sold the monies accumulate in a bank account and each party gets a share according to what they brought in.¹⁰⁴

The visibility of CWP participants working in the environment sector serves as a deterrent to antisocial behaviour.

As a CWP you can go to the people gambling on the street and we can approach them. It's not even necessary to call the police. We tell people nicely not to drink in the court, but to go inside their houses because it's not nice. They usually listen to us. Community members come and call me when they see people dumping. I will approach them and explain.¹⁰⁵



Photo 1



Photo 2

¹⁰³ Personal interview, CWP focus group, 22 May 2014.

¹⁰⁴ Personal interview, CWP participant, 6 May 2014.

¹⁰⁵ Personal interview, CWP participant, 28 May 2014.

Work done by the CWP in Manenberg

Safety, including safer schools

The safety sector's work includes patrolling the streets of Manenberg (Photos 3 and 4). Participants do so unarmed and sometimes in cooperation with the Neighbourhood Watch and other local structures.¹⁰⁶ There seems to be an awareness of the timing of certain crimes and safety officers have become responsive to these trends.

People used to get mugged in the mornings. And then we'd patrol there in the morning at 6 o'clock. At 7 o'clock we would go to the schools to escort children to go to school. And then at 8 o'clock we would go home. We would go back at 12:00 until 15:00 when children go back home from school. They'd fight each other, but when they see us they would not fight because they know. Their mothers were happy when they see us standing guard there to make sure the children are safe. Especially when we worked in the morning at the places where people used to get robbed. So people were happy, even my neighbours were happy. And when we were not there they would complain.¹⁰⁷

Photos 3 and 4: The streets of Manenberg are patrolled by CWP safety officers. The derelict building in the photo on the right is allegedly a crime hot spot in the neighbourhood. As evident from the preceding quote, the safety sector also focuses on school safety by providing a safe passage to and from school, as well as ensuring that the school sites are safe and secure for the purposes of teaching and learning.

[We] ensure that school children go to school safely and they also go home safely. So we also help mothers with children who do not want to go to school, we help to get them to go to school.¹⁰⁸

The CWP school safety officers, predominantly women, operate at all the schools in Manenberg. They patrol the school grounds and prevent violence and the use of illegal substances.

At the school level, the CWP safety officers complement the provincial government's school safety officers, known as Bambanani.¹⁰⁹



Photo 3



Photo 4

¹⁰⁸ Personal interview, CWP participant, 14 May 2014.

¹⁰⁹ Bambanani is an initiative of the Department of Community Safety, Western Cape Government, School Safety Officers. The Bambanani Strategy is an improved service delivery methodology based on a strategy which draws heavily on community participation, empowerment and mobilization of people and communities in the fight against crime. For more information, see http://www.westerncape.gov.za/text/2004/12/bambanani_methodology_2.pdf (accessed 28 September 2015). See also, Department of Public Works, 'Expanded Public Works Programme Five-Year Report 2004/05–2008/09: Reaching the One Million Target,' http://www.epwp.gov.za/documents/Cross_Cutting/Monitoring%20and%20Evaluation/EPWP_Five_Year_Report.pdf (accessed 28 September 2015).

Reflections from safety officers highlight the extent to which their joint presence has impacted on the schools. At Phoenix High School, gambling has stopped completely. Previously, there were continuous break-ins but since the safety officers have come on duty there have been no break-ins. The learners are also getting used to having them on site, are aware of them and acknowledge their presence. They will not walk about the school during learning time because they know that the safety officers are on patrol and if they are caught outside of their classroom they will get into trouble. The regular presence of the safety officers has contributed to restoring order at the schools. This has made it possible for schools to offer extramural programmes, homework and study groups and extra classes for the matrics. Since CWP established a presence at the schools early in 2014, the number of reported incidents has dropped. There seems to be an unspoken division of labour with the Bambananis.

We prevent children from fighting, smoking and selling cigarettes. We patrol the school and when we find groups of children with stuff, we confiscate it. When we confiscate, we hand it over to the Bambananis, who write a report. At this school [Phoenix High School] the CWP manages two out of three access gates and the Bambananis manage one.¹¹⁰

The safety officers seem to be aware of the weak spots in the schools and try to plug the gaps:

During the day we work at the schools where we patrol the fences. When there are people around the fences we ask them what they are doing. Some would say 'you are not the cops.' We speak to them at our level and explain why we don't want to have people around the fences.¹¹¹

Play time we watch the toilets. Sometimes outsiders come in to use the toilet and this is

mostly the problem. Adults are using children to sell drugs and cigarettes at school. This is mostly at the high schools. Last week we raided Silverstream High School where we found knives, drugs, dagga and cigarettes. The SAPS was part of this and they just called to say they were on their way. Two learners were taken to the police station.¹¹²

The safety officers also reflected on some of the challenges. With minimal training, no protection and limited powers, participants appear to be doing their level best and are constantly on guard for ever-looming violence.

CWPs are not allowed to do body searches, but we know the body language, and if we suspect someone has a weapon we report it to the Bambananis. The students are suspended until their parents come to school.¹¹³

Even though the safety officers are mostly women, many indicated that they do not feel afraid or threatened in schools that are prone to high levels of violence.

Some kids treat you with disrespect. We report them to office and they get dealt with. We don't feel afraid. Maybe it's because we are women and the learners may have some respect.¹¹⁴

Gender also appears to influence the way learners relate to the safety officers:

At the schools we find that girls will backchat but they do not threaten and get physical. The boys, on the other hand, will respect the female CWPs but not the male. They will act in a threatening way, like, 'ek gaan vir jou wag na skool' [I will wait for you after school].¹¹⁵

An issue that emerged was the lack of cooperation between the CWP and the Bambananis, pointing to a lack of coordination between different levels of government. Both the CWPs and the Bambananis

¹¹⁰ Personal interview, CWP focus group, 22 May 2014.

¹¹¹ Personal interview, CWP participant, 28 May 2014.

¹¹² Personal interview, CWP participant, 28 May 2014.

¹¹³ Personal interview, CWP focus group, 22 May 2014.

¹¹⁴ Personal interview, CWP focus group, 22 May 2014.

¹¹⁵ Personal interview, CWP focus group, 22 May 2014.

Work done by the CWP in Manenberg

operate at the same sites and provide the same service, yet they mostly each do their own thing.

The CWP school safety officers should work with the DoCS school safety officers, still commonly referred to as Bambanani, as duplication is a problem.¹¹⁶

At a meeting held at the CWP site, some CWP high-school officers expressed frustration with the Bambanani. They complained that the Bambanani do not do their jobs properly and do not conduct proper searches. It was alleged that in some instances learners just give them a cigarette so they will look the other way. The CWP safety officers presented themselves as being proactive and described the Bambanani as doing the bare minimum.

The CWPs are doing the chasing. The Bambanani at Silverstream have metal detectors but they don't search the bags. We do searches every morning.¹¹⁷

Frustration was also expressed about teachers who send learners out of the classroom as a form of discipline. These idle learners then get up to mischief. Safety officers are concerned about this strategy for disciplining learners and often approach the teachers responsible in an effort to resolve the issues differently.

If for some reason the CWPs are not present during school term time, parents or school principals will contact the CWP to complain or enquire as the CWP is seen to provide a safe passage for children walking to and from school.¹¹⁸

Gardening

Manenberg CWP has engaged in gardening from its inception. One of the early gardening activities was transforming a dump site that was once a crime hot spot into a recreational community park that is now referred to as the 'peace garden' (Photos 5 and 6).

Photos 5 and 6: The Manenberg peace garden. The memorial on the right commemorates Erica Wagenaar, fondly known as 'Tannie.' Until her death in 2010 she had been a respected community



Photo 5



Photo 6

¹¹⁶ Personal interview, Manenberg CPF, 22 April 2014.

¹¹⁷ Personal interview, CWP participant, 28 May 2014.

¹¹⁸ TIPS, supra n 72.

leader, known for her ability to calm the gangsters. Her passing was considered a great loss. The gardening sector's activities are twofold in that they contribute to beautifying the area as well as providing food security.

I love to work in the garden, making plants, vegetables, trees whatsoever. In February month we planted ... trees. And we planted about 540 trees.¹¹⁹

At first, before we work at the schools, we first do the home-based gardens in the people's yards. Then we go to the door and knock at a house; would you like a garden in your yard? And some people would say yes we have a space, you can make the garden and so on. And after that we go to the schools and we ask the schools can we make you a garden. Everyone was happy for the gardens we were making.¹²⁰

Education

The rate of absenteeism among teachers at schools in Manenberg is quite high. This is understood to be partly a result of the difficult school environments that they work in: learners come from traumatized homes; those who have joined gangs bring the gang issues into the school; some come to school hungry, not having eaten for days because there is no food at home. The CWP education workers supervise the absent teachers' classes, maintaining order and discipline in their absence.

Arts and crafts

The arts and crafts sector promotes performance art in the schools and the wider community, as well as craft production and sales. It also facilitates auditions for potential candidates from the community when called upon and in response to adverts. The sector is, however, unevenly developed.

Advice

The advice sector operates from the Manenberg police station, providing victim support and counselling. The substance of what this sector

deals with – domestic and sexual violence – is extremely harrowing. The extent of sexual abuse of children where the perpetrators are known to them is extremely widespread and is a stark representation of the depth of trauma in the Manenberg community. There does not seem to be a debriefing programme in place for the advice workers.

Maintenance/Housing

The CWP maintenance sector provides a service mainly to schools and sometimes to residents. Some from this group indicated that they were not adequately resourced with materials, tools and equipment to enable them to perform their jobs. Some participants are skilled artisans and are frustrated when they are expected to work without the necessary tools and materials.

I do maintenance at the schools, e.g. fixing taps, fencing, etc. I am an experienced artisan – construction carpenter. Sometimes they waste my time when I have to sit here doing nothing, whereas I could be doing the work. Every day we write reports with challenges, but I get no feedback. I don't get any support from CWP, but I don't like to sit around.¹²¹

Some maintenance work has involved home maintenance for residents, although this was being phased out during the period when this research was conducted.

We were doing campaigns like that, and we were doing maintenance for the people. So they buy the stuff and we go out to the houses and we ask what is broken. Maybe your windows, handles or like that; small things. And paint – where people need painting or the roof is leaking or the toilet is broken. And then we can go out and sent people and fix them.¹²²

Sport

The CWP sports sector operates at all eight primary schools in Manenberg. Participants facilitate sports programmes for learners, including physical exercise, soccer, cricket and netball.¹²³

¹¹⁹ Personal interview, CWP participant, date.

¹²⁰ Personal interview, CWP participant, 12 May 2014.

¹²¹ Personal interview, CWP participant, 6 May 2014.

¹²² Personal interview, CWP participant, 6 May 2014.

¹²³ Personal interview, CWP focus group, 22 May 2014.

Work done by the CWP in Manenberg

The CWP and MPC met in mid-May 2014 to see how they could work together to take children off the streets and reduce gang violence. The parties agreed that the CWP would start an aftercare programme at the MPC at the beginning of June 2014.¹²⁴ The aftercare programme is aimed at keeping learners constructively occupied after school by way of extramural activities in sport and culture.

The CWP has had difficulty linking with the Local Football Association (LFA). It is perceived that the latter doesn't want to do any work yet wants to claim the glory for successful sporting events. Rumours have been doing the rounds in the community that the LFA is controlled by the gangs. In addition, the community is not benefiting fully from the Greens, a community sports facility.¹²⁵

Health and home-based care

The CWP health sector covers patients in Manenberg and Tambo Village and the team works closely with the clinics in the area. The home-based carers meet on a monthly basis to discuss how they can improve on their work and to identify new patients.

Some of our patients don't have family support and may be living alone with a family member who doesn't care. We take issues to the local councillors who are usually very helpful.¹²⁶

The CWP works with the MPC (participants get taught first aid skills) and with Self-Help Manenberg, with whom they cook soup and other food as part of the Mandela 60 Seconds campaign.

Parolees programme

The parolees programme is intended to assist with reintegrations into society. A September 2011 policy brief on the Manenberg CWP described this work in these terms:

To reduce the chance of re-offending, the CWP is working to reintegrate prisoners and actively provides space for parolees coming out of prison. Joan Cloete, the safety sector co-ordinator, assists ex-convicts coming from prison into Manenberg. Through a partnership with the Department of Correctional Services, when prisoners from the area finish their sentences, they exit into the CWP. At first their work is a form of community service, after which they can become full members. The parolees are provided with training, such as conflict management. Family members are involved as part of the rehabilitation process. So far more [than] 15 have passed through the programme with more than 50% of them making it into the CWP after a month's trial period.¹²⁷

Given the nature of the Manenberg community, with its notoriously high levels of gang activity, the implementing agent subsequently decided to restrict the number of participants in this sector due to difficulties with managing the programme without adequate support from partners such as the DoCS. The CWP site capacity is also limited and its ability to effectively manage the parolees programme is constrained. A view was expressed that the programme could be strengthened if the Parole Board was stronger.

Reference was made to the success story of a CWP participant, a former parolee, who exited the programme in order to run a support programme at Pollsmoor Prison for prisoners in line for parole.

School cleaning

The school-cleaning sector provides a cleaning service to the schools in Manenberg. They ensure that ablution facilities and playgrounds are kept clean.

¹²⁴ Personal interview, CWP focus group, 22 May 2014.

¹²⁵ Personal interview, CWP focus group, 22 May 2014.

¹²⁶ Personal interview, CWP participant, 14 May 2014.

¹²⁷ TIPS, supra n 72.

Relationships between the CWP and other local structures

The CWP in Manenberg is linked to many different organizations.

We are working with the city, we are working with SAPS, we are working with gangster groups, we are working with a lot of people ... If you want to organize a meeting you would know where to go to, which people to contact. There is always a [gap].¹²⁸

Key partners

The CWP in Manenberg provides services with and to various organizations, schools and the community, including the CPF, home-based care and local clinics. Sometimes this is done on request. For example, when functions are hosted at community facilities, the CWP may be asked to provide security patrols. As a result, the CWP has forged a range of relationships and partnerships with numerous organizations.

The CWP has had a long-standing association with the MPC in Manenberg. The MPC is host to a food security programme which provides up to 400 meals per day (**Photo 7**). This is a cooperative initiative involving the Food Bank, the Department of Social Development and the MPC. The CWP provides support for the MPC school aftercare programme.

As discussed, the CWP participates in safety patrols on school premises and ensures that learners are able to get to and from school safely. In recognition of the value of the CWP, the principal of Phoenix High School, where CWP participants work in different capacities, offered the CWP two classrooms when he heard that they needed office space. Given the good relations CWP has with most of the schools, a number of them, as well as the provincial education department, have expressed their gratitude for the CWP programme.

The Manenberg Health Committee enjoys the benefit of the CWP. Health committees are linked to operating facilities like local clinics. The Health Committee recommended that some of its volunteers become CWP participants, and they now receive CWP wages.



Photo 7

¹²⁸ Personal interview, CWP participant, 12 May 2014.

Relationships between the CWP and other local structures

The CWP is a member of the CPF. After being screened by the SAPS, 30 CWP participants received safety training provided by DoCS and the City of Cape Town, a process facilitated by the CPF. More generally, the SAPS and the CWP also liaise around safety issues in schools and in Manenberg more widely.

The Western Cape Religious Leaders Forum (WCRLF), with support from the Open Society Foundation, initiated a Safe Manenberg Campaign in February 2014. Like many others who have tried to work with the people of Manenberg, they too have come to realize that existing organizations find it hard to work together. They initiated a weekly forum for individuals to come together in a 'safe space' to share information and knowledge and to support each other in action. The CWP features prominently in this space, which has strengthened the Take Back Our Streets (TBOS) campaign (discussed later). The CWP and WCRLF have also explored collaboration around youth development, focusing on projects to divert youth from drugs and gangs.

The CWP has also been linked to the establishment of the Tambo Square-Manenberg Community Development (TAMA) initiative (discussed later). Other partnerships in which the CWP has been involved include:

- Department of Correctional Services: cooperation around the parolee programme aimed at reintegration.
- Department of Community Safety: specific community development initiatives, e.g. training for drivers' licences.
- Parks and Forests (City of Cape Town): transforming dump sites into gardens. The CWP provides resources and person power and as a result of their role there is greater community ownership of gardens.
- Cape Cultural Collective: relating to the Rosa choir involving Saambou Primary School and Silverstream High School. [it's not clear what the CWP does in this collaboration]
- Library: network around community events.

- Epping Market: agreement for purchasing fruit and vegetables at reduced cost. Contributes to food security.

Initiatives associated with the Manenberg CWP

The CWP has great visibility in Manenberg as it constantly links up with partners around campaigns and initiatives that could be of benefit to the community. Related to this, it has played a central role in the TBOS initiative's mobilization against gang violence. The CWP has also spawned two new organizations: TAMA and the Manenberg Action Committee (MAC).

Community mobilization for peace:

Take Back Our Streets

For all my years that I have stayed here ... this gang fight that was now on recently [2013–2014] is the worst that I have seen because the people were shooting during the day time.¹²⁹

The period during which this research was conducted fell towards the end of a period of intensified gang violence in Manenberg, said to have started in May or June 2013. In September 2013 the newsletter of the Anglican diocese of Cape Town reported that,

The violence in Manenberg is now in its 11th week with no end in sight. As many as 17 people have been killed and up to 40 injured as a result of the shootings. The community is severely traumatized and schools are in disarray because of the high absenteeism rate.¹³⁰

According to one interviewee, the main source of contention is control over the sale of drugs.

But they are fighting over drugs and so on. All of them they sell drugs and now they want to be the boss, and others can't be the bosses. So they fight with each other.¹³¹

The biggest problems are gangsterism and drug houses. They fight for the turf. It's the greatest disturbance.¹³²

¹²⁹ Personal interview, CWP participant, 6 May 2014.

¹³⁰ Donovan Meyer, 'Gang Warfare in Manenberg,' *The Good Hope*, 2013, <http://www.ctdiocese.org.za/data/sites/1/pdf/good-hope-september-2013.pdf> (accessed 28 September 2015).

¹³¹ Personal interview, CWP participant, 12 May 2014.

¹³² Personal interview, CWP participant, 28 May 2014.

Relationships between the CWP and other local structures

The TBOS campaign was initiated with the aim of 'taking back the streets' from the gangs. The CWP played a central role in initiating the campaign, which started with a march on 5 February 2014.¹³³ In response to calls from the CWP and others, residents responded positively. They started walking through the streets of Manenberg with loudhailers, gathering others as they walked. Gang members also joined the walk in their own territory. Manenberg CPF spokesman Kader Jacobs was reported as saying that the campaign had to address the fact that many people were afraid to participate. 'At the moment the campaign is only between 5 and 6pm. We want to increase our time on the road, but people are scared of what might happen to them if they stay out late.'¹³⁴

The visibility of the CWP-initiated TBOS campaign increased both inside and outside the community as it gained momentum. What started out as a spontaneous reaction from the CWP site office and others in response to the 2013–2014 gang violence, soon became a campaign. The initiative became associated with a regular march on Wednesday evenings against gang violence. A July 2014 press report referred to 200 people participating in a march starting at the traffic circle where Manenberg Avenue and The Downs intersect (**Photo 8**).¹³⁵ While it is not clear how much continuity has been maintained, after another upsurge of violence yet another march against gang violence was held in January 2015¹³⁶ and Manenberg residents gathered in the streets again in June 2015.¹³⁷

The CWP site manager is credited by some people as having started the TBOS campaign:

Glenda is die een wat vas gestaan het. Toe het die Pastors ook begin [Glenda is the one who stood firm. Then the pastors also began].¹³⁸

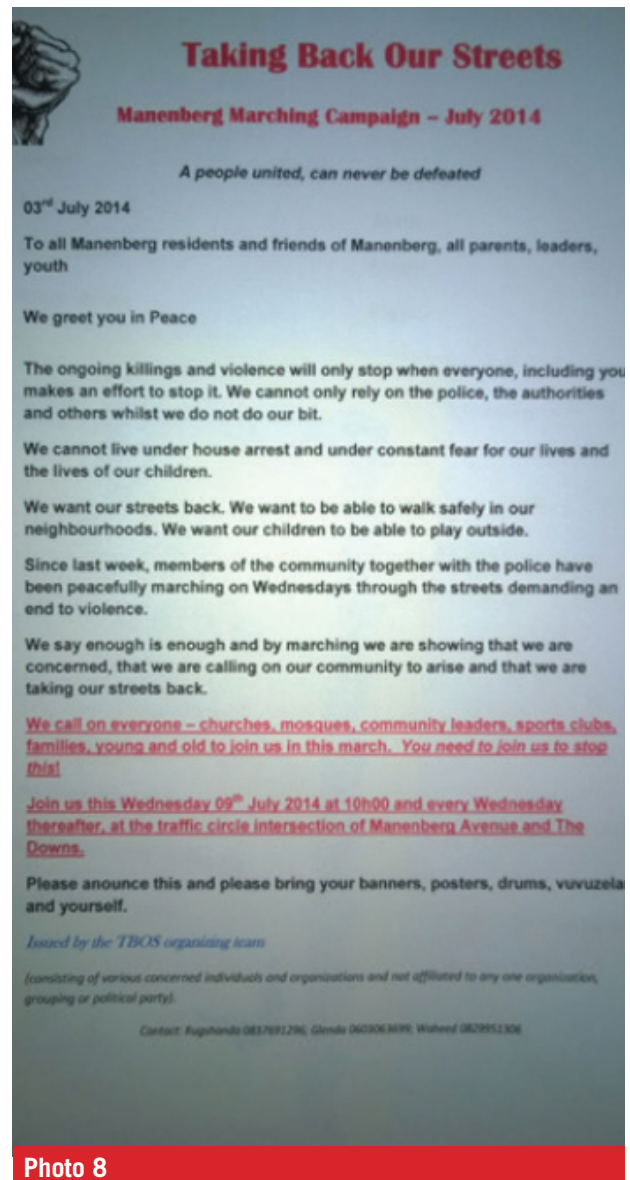


Photo 8

¹³³ Mary-Anne Gontsana, 'Manenberg Community Taking Back Their Streets,' *GroundUp*, 28 February 2014, http://groundup.org.za/article/manenberg-community-taking-back-their-streets_1555 (accessed 28 September 2015).¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Shaun Swingler, 'Manenberg Gang Violence: In Display of Solidarity, Residents Come out of Hiding,' *Daily Maverick*, 11 July 2014, <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2014-07-11-manenberg-gang-violence-in-display-of-solidarity-residents-come-out-of-hiding/#> (accessed 28 September 2015).

¹³⁶ Barbara Maregele, '"Enough is Enough!" - Manenberg Residents Take to the Streets,' *GroundUp*, 21 January 2015, http://groundup.org.za/article/enough-enough-manenberg-residents-take-streets_2607#sthash (accessed 28 September 2015).

¹³⁷ Tammy Petersen, 'Manenberg Gangsters Call for Peace Talks,' *News24*, 23 June 2015, <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Manenberg-gangsters-call-for-peace-talks-20150623> (accessed 28 September 2015).

¹³⁸ Personal interview, CWP focus group, 22 May 2014. See also, Swingler, *supra* n 135.

Relationships between the CWP and other local structures

One of the motivations for the campaign appears to have been that the violence negatively impacted on the ability of the CWP to perform its duty of delivering services to the community.

We here in the office said enough was enough because that is our children that's out there. And part of our workers couldn't work because there was shooting and stuff. So we felt as CWP we need to do something about it. So there's taking back our streets. It's not even the organization; it is the slogan that we started. And then everybody else that was with us was riding on it. And it was some sort of slogan that Bonteheuwel and Hanover Park also adopted.¹³⁹

The SAPS recognize the role of the CWP as community members, service providers and a potential partner.

There was a time when the kids couldn't go to school – then SAPS could not stop the gang violence, then few people from CWP were called to a meeting with SAPS – and CWP members were involved, and then the result came back and SAPS got told that they must step in and help CWP with marches and whatever. We took the streets by force and it happens.¹⁴⁰

Many CWP participants believe that their public voice against gang violence contributed to bringing an end to it.

We did a campaign of taking our streets back. That was a good thing because the gangs stopped their shooting. The churches also played an important role and some of the imams walked with us. We only see government in Manenberg when there are elections, but not when there are gang fights.¹⁴¹

Through the TBOS, the CWP has begun to occupy a space for collective action to stop the violence.

You know when there's a gang fight – we will come together as the community and we do a march. And that is where I can see that people are standing with CWP. Because some of the people do not

work for us but they stand with us. And then we will march and we take on the streets, and we say enough is enough, these are our streets, our kids want to play safe, you must stop that. And maybe we march for a week or two weeks, whatever, but at the end of the day they stop. Like last time they stopped. That was now some time this year. They stopped! And they didn't start with gang fight again. It's only now for a few weeks that it's happening again. But it [ceased in the past]. They started fighting again.¹⁴²

Consistent with the shift initiated by PM, the CWP has continued to mobilize communities in response to gang violence.

When these young people – the gangsters start shooting at each other, the CWP always goes out to the streets to make peace. CWP ensures that there is peace – we are diplomatic in creating peace. The gangs have a lot of respect for CWP people. Why do I say so? Because when they see us they pass by and then they hide guns.¹⁴³

The CWP comprises mainly women – the mothers, sisters, friends and family of gangsters. For many of them,

When there's trouble some of us go there and try to break the gangs, to separate them. And we all march there to keep peace between the community and the gangsters.¹⁴⁴

Tambo Square-Manenberg Community Development

Recognizing the limitations for development of the CWP, the Manenberg site facilitator championed the formation of TAMA, an NPO, to complement the work of the CWP. Many CWP members joined TAMA.

I actually joined a group called TAMA – Tambo Square-Manenberg. TAMA's motto is to bridge the gap between the coloured people and the Xhosa people. They actually unified them a few months ago. The Xhosa people on this side and the coloured people on this side. So we are trying to bring them all together ... we are starting to live

¹³⁹ Personal interview, CWP participant, 6 May 2014.

¹⁴⁰ Personal interview, CWP participant, 12 May 2014.

¹⁴¹ Personal interview, CWP participant, 14 May 2014.

¹⁴² Personal interview, CWP participant, 12 May 2014.

¹⁴³ Personal interview, CWP focus group, 22 May 2014.

¹⁴⁴ Personal interview, CWP participant, 28 May 2014

Relationships between the CWP and other local structures

together. And I have a lot of Xhosa friends. So, basically actually we are starting to gel into one big thing now.¹⁴⁵

The new organization Tama. It is between the people of Tambo Square and Manenberg ... the coloureds and the Africans.¹⁴⁶

Some people have joined TAMA without fully understanding the purpose of the organization. This could be seen as loyalty to and trust in the CWP leadership, who led the formation of TAMA.

I am hoping that we are gonna take this [TAMA] thing a little bit further because I mean everybody on CWP ... they all want to sign up. But without actually explaining to them what it is about. Just the influence, because they know ... it's gonna be just or fair.¹⁴⁷

TAMA's vision is to assist, heal, protect and play a role in the development of the communities of Tambo Village and Manenberg and to bridge the divide between these historically separately developed and divided communities. Our vision is community participation, unity, development, healing and 'Bridging the Gap.'¹⁴⁸

Manenberg Action Committee

The MAC emerged out of the TBOS campaign. Supported by ANC leader Marius Fransman, the MAC was launched on 9 April 2014. On 1 March 2014, the Western Cape education department wanted to temporarily close five schools in response to the heightened violence. This resulted in an ANC-aligned Save Our Schools campaign. At a

campaign meeting, a committee was formed, which later became the MAC. It was tasked with:

- holding a public meeting,
- addressing the issue of school safety needs,
- holding a non-partisan anti-crime summit.

The MAC summit was held at the MPC on 9 April 2014. The MAC considers itself to be a social development arm for Manenberg providing an umbrella structure for affiliated member organizations in good standing. Members are drawn from organizations in Manenberg as well as support organizations more broadly.

The MAC is somewhat problematic in that it came about at the behest of ANC politicians in the run-up to the 2014 national elections. It has not gone down too well in the community and is yet another umbrella structure beset with problems from the outset. The MAC was driven by the CWP training and development officer.

Anti-dumping campaign

The CWP initiated an anti-dumping awareness campaign which is endorsed by councillors.

I am actually busy with an awareness campaign of illegal dumping. I never knew dumping is illegal. I always saw, but I never knew you can get into trouble, you can get a fine. So now since I have been working here, we've been setting up meetings with the councillor and metro police. There is an awareness campaign we are busy with. It is going to be an open thing that we are going to do to educate the public as to what is allowed and what is not allowed. Maybe everybody does not know.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ Personal interview, CWP participant, 20 August 2014.

¹⁴⁶ Personal interview, CWP participant, 28 May 2014.

¹⁴⁷ Personal interview, CWP participant, 6 May 2014.

¹⁴⁸ TAMA constitution. [are there access details for this? I've searched online but can't find anything]

¹⁴⁹ Personal interview, CWP participant, 14 May 2014.

Other impacts of the CWP

Empowerment

The CWP empowers people in different ways. Participants have gained various skills, including life skills, social skills and technical skills. Some have even been able to use their new skills as a means of generating complementary income to that earned at the CWP.

My job is to fix tables and I do other stuff also like ceilings. Things I have never done before. I've never done that before, but I do now. I learnt this trade here in CWP, then I do it outside for some income for me.¹⁵⁰

In areas like Manenberg where structural unemployment is a feature of the society, 'It is well established that those who lose their employment start to lose the skills, habits and disciplines of work – those who have never been employed never learn them.'¹⁵¹ Interviewees provided insight into the potential of the CWP for contributing to breaking down some of the barriers of structural unemployment. Many have gained experience in the discipline of work, a skill that is not taught in classrooms and workshops but rather learnt through experience.

Participants have been personally empowered by their participation in the programme, which boosts their self-confidence. An elderly participant, for example, could not believe that for the first time in her life she had an identity document and a bank account, both of which are basic requirements to qualify for participation in the CWP.

The value of work came through very strongly as a way of improving self-image, dignity and self-confidence.

I do not like handouts. If you come and you want to give me ... I don't want that. Because I think what happened in the community by us; they get a lot of stuff that they get lazy. So they don't go and work for that thing. They want to receive. So in my mind, I do not like saying this, but I think some guys are peasants. You know, everyday I am trying to

educate myself. I didn't have the backing of going to school all the way. And to finish matric and stuff like that. But at the same time I didn't let that put me down. So, I educate myself, I go to workshops and stuff like that; how to work with people, how to talk to people. All the stuff I try to do that by myself. So I didn't wait for handouts – every time I push myself further and that is why I am using CWP also. Here you can go to workshops and you can do all the stuff.¹⁵²

The problem that we are facing in Manenberg is that most of the people are unemployed. But now you must understand, you must look at it from their side also. They are unemployed because they don't want to have structure or they like being unemployed. They want to have this freedom of ... during the course of the day. So CWP is a good thing because I mean CWP is giving you structure from x amount or x amount of time. And there is always order. You get the t-shirt. There's policy and stuff that you must follow. So I think instilling that into somebody where work is concerned builds character as well. So, from my point of view, it is a good thing and on the other hand you get to help out and you get to see your work. If maybe you work with environment or in the gardening or in education or in arts and culture; our different work groups. You get to see your work, and if you work in the community – like I work in central proximity – also it is good to see something grow or something progress within your space, because I mean when you start, you start within your space and then you go further. That is gonna be pointless or futile if I wanna go to ... and make sure the schools there are safe. Whereas I stay around here. So I think it makes sense. CWP is a good thing within us. A good thing for Manenberg.¹⁵³

Most fundamental perhaps is economic empowerment. A regular income has been empowering for individuals, households and the local economy. Earning an income through provision of useful work that serves the community

¹⁵⁰ Personal interview, CWP participant, 12 May 2014.

¹⁵¹ Kate Philip, 'Towards a Right to Work: The Rationale for an Employment Guarantee in South Africa,' TIPS Policy Brief (conference paper presented at Overcoming Inequality and Structural Poverty in South Africa: Towards Inclusive Growth and Development, Johannesburg, 20–22 September 2010).

¹⁵² Personal interview, CWP participant, 20 August 2014.

¹⁵³ Personal interview, CWP participant, 28 May 2014.

Other impacts of the CWP

has begun to restore dignity in individuals and neighbourhoods.

Social cohesion

Social bonds

Most respondents said that they know and have met more people since joining the CWP.

Like I said we work together and we learn a lot from each other. Like maybe I didn't know you before and now I know you. So we grow. We're friends, we grow and ... that's in my work group also.¹⁵⁴

Some also indicated that they have overcome barriers which previously affected social bonds. For example, former members of rival gangs have found themselves reconnecting in a positive way.

I know a lot of people. I get a few people even in the team that I am working with, I know about ... Like the one guy that ... was also a gang member. Now him and me we didn't like one another. But by starting here we are friends now. You see he came and greeted me and I greeted him back. The respect we have for one another.¹⁵⁵

Nevertheless, at least one person argued that the strongest manifestations of social cohesion in Manenberg continue to be the gangs:

I think that the only area that has really grown in Manenberg – and I am here adding my own opinion about this now; are the gangs. I think they have grown tremendously ... there's more groups, more names, more people. And [many are] younger. And I think that their social cohesion is better than the formal structures. Because they really look out after one another. You can see it; they take care of each other if they have to.¹⁵⁶

CWP has contributed to a better life in Manenberg

Many respondents indicated that the CWP has contributed to a better life in Manenberg, despite the drugs and gangs, poverty, hunger and sexual

violence. The CWP offers participants a safe space in their world of intense insecurity. It has impacted positively on the lives of individuals, enabling some to cease their involvement in illegal activities in order to make a livelihood.

CWP means a lot to us because we can leave our home troubles behind.¹⁵⁷

Basically when I was not with CWP, I was always doing stuff – I would say – very bad stuff. Like maybe selling drugs and stuff like that. So basically CWP kept me busy from doing that ... Even before this, I was always just busy with wrong stuff ... So CWP helped me in that sense, by changing my life also.¹⁵⁸

CWP has made Manenberg more peaceful ... keeping people busy. You know when you are busy you can't think about doing something wrong or selling drugs or stuff like that. CWP has got a good relationship with SAPS.¹⁵⁹

The CWP seems to have provided a space for ex-offenders to reintegrate into society and reform themselves.

I become a better person than what I used to be. I am done with my parole, I've got a criminal record – I'm done with my parole, I am clean so far. And I am still focusing on my work here at CWP.¹⁶⁰

There are quite a few ex-gangsters employed on the programme. But we are working well, and they are not interested in gangsterism anymore, they are committed to their work.¹⁶¹

Others have gained confidence on the programme.

I am confident now to go out and speak to the people. Something like that. And they all know me. CWP gave me a lot of things to do that I didn't do before. Things that I wouldn't have done, and now I am doing them. Just like the door-to-door that we are now doing. I wouldn't do that thing. I'd think

¹⁵⁴ Personal interview, CWP participant, 12 May 2014.

¹⁵⁵ Personal interview, CWP participant, 20 August 2014.

¹⁵⁶ Personal interview, expert focus group, 11 June 2014.

¹⁵⁷ Personal interview, CWP focus group, 22 May 2014.

¹⁵⁸ Personal interview, CWP participant, 20 August 2014.

¹⁵⁹ Personal interview, CWP participant, 20 August 2014.

¹⁶⁰ Personal interview, CWP participant, 12 May 2014.

¹⁶¹ Personal interview, CWP participant, 12 May 2014.

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people would shout at me. We had workshops here and they told us what to say to people. If they say this then you say this. I now feel very [confident].¹⁶²

Gangs provide vulnerable individuals with a sense of identity and belonging, albeit negative and destructive. They also curtail members' freedom of movement. The CWP, however, has come to occupy a different space, one which is constructive and supportive of basic freedoms.

When I used to be into this gangster stuff, I used to keep to one point, one area. So you know if you are a gangster you must stay in one area. So the perception changed somehow, maybe towards me also. I may be coming from this side as a gang member, and by changing my life into working and helping the community, they change their perception towards me. I was not that type of gangster that rob people. So it was not a problem for me because people didn't think of me as that guy who robbed us. So that was positive. I am actually trusting more people now than I was before. Because when you are in a gang you can't trust no one.¹⁶³

People are appreciative of basic skills they have gained in the CWP, which they experience as immensely empowering.

I am very happy here at CWP. I was doing nightshift, I was supposed to rest but I can't rest. I've got reports to write and all that. I couldn't even write a letter, I learnt that at CWP, and now I can write my own name, I can write my own letters, I can write my own reports and all that. I can do it myself. And that is what is making me a better person here at CWP. If it wasn't for Emily [CWP area manager] I would still be a gangster.¹⁶⁴

Income earned from the CWP has contributed to food security for many:

Before we'd have nothing in the house, but now since I am here I am fortunate because there is an income and we can buy food. Women who did not

get well along with each other – they now can do things together.¹⁶⁵

Some feel a sense of pride in the positive image of the CWP 'company,' which is seen as a stepping stone for building and enabling communities to do it for themselves:

Because our name is my main thing; I don't want CWP to have a bad name because I am working for the company. That is how most people see it. So I am just thinking it is more important how you conduct yourself in the schools, because it is going to project a bad image. So that I can say it's work in progress, it is not 100%. I still get here and there problems. But it's Manenberg's people.¹⁶⁶

I am gonna be honest with you. Not all the time! Because every day there are challenges in the community. People have expectations from CWP – we do most of the work. Even the council workers themselves do not come to Manenberg anymore to assist us residents of this town. So when something goes wrong I feel we are scapegoats. People can point fingers at CWP and say; you guys must do this. But we are actually just helping the community. So we are not employed by the government – to say, you guys must do this and that. Sometimes you as a person, you are coming from the streets – I won't say the ghetto, but as people see it. But you are coming from the streets; it is always difficult for you to see where people help you. Especially the government. So, basically in everything we stand up with anger towards the government for things that are going wrong. But I was thinking we must stop blaming the government. We just stand up and do the thing. That is why we have CWP to just make a little difference. Not a major difference, but just a small difference.¹⁶⁷

Many in the CWP believe that their anti-violence protests and their general presence in the community are deterrents to crime.

Wherever there are gang fights we march until it stops. When we walk around and people are doing

¹⁶² Personal interview, CWP participant, 28 May 2014.

¹⁶³ Personal interview, CWP participant, 20 August 2014.

¹⁶⁴ Personal interview, CWP participant, 6 May 2014.

¹⁶⁵ Personal interview, CWP focus group, 22 May 2014.

¹⁶⁶ Personal interview, CWP participant, 6 May 2014.

¹⁶⁷ Personal interview, CWP participant, 20 August 2014.

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drugs or gamble and they see us then they run and shout ‘hier kom die Bambananis’ [the Bambananis are coming].¹⁶⁸

The CWP has not only contributed to a cleaner environment, but also seems to be recognized for serving the community and contributing to a sense of mutual support and solidarity.

Because usually when you stand up you see dirt everywhere. With CWP, when you come out of your home you see it is clean outside. The streets are more clean. Do you understand what I am saying? So I think it is more on the positive side. Because if they look at us as CWP workers, they see people who want to help the community. And for even helping the community, they are protecting us also at the same time. Even the gangsters are also protecting us.¹⁶⁹

But we in CWP, we think broader. People are becoming wiser and not throwing needles and stuff around but rather throwing it in the bin. Because the work we do, people know we come from doing good work in the community. CWP is like a family that stands together and building a good nation in Manenberg.¹⁷⁰

Greater community mutual support and solidarity

There is a strong sense among CWP participants that the broader community recognizes the constructive role of the organization, to the extent that CWP members are contacted when there are problems in the community.

What we are giving to people, people are giving back. For instance if we are doing what is right for the people of Manenberg, then the people come back with positive results; and they say listen here we want CWP to take the streets back. That is what they want from us, especially when it comes to gangsterism. They contact the CWP people and they, whenever they're in a protest, we are there.¹⁷¹

Some participants expressed frustration at sometimes not having the necessary resources

required to perform their tasks. They feel a sense of appreciation and support when community members provide them with these items.

Even though everyday here at CWP we are faced with challenges. Challenges for instance like the stuff doesn't come through. Say for instance we are waiting for black bags, gloves. And stuff like that. So basically the community helps us by some of them just buy bags for us and gloves. So they are also putting something in this thing where they help us also. So there is the positive side.¹⁷²

Local businesses like the taxis have also acknowledged the work of the CWP through responding positively to requests for support for CWP activities.

Even the taxi drivers, the taxi owners they know that whenever there is a march taking place, they will also come and assist us to ask for some banners to put on the taxi, or they want to drive around. Whenever there is function taking place, they are always available to take our members to wherever they want to go to. For instance if there is a march taking place in Ceres and there is no transport, you can just pick up a phone and ask for two or three taxis, and then they will assist us.¹⁷³

Gangsters are part and parcel of this community and have also responded positively to requests from CWP participants. For example, they have made financial contributions for burials in the community.

Even if it's a CWP member that died and we don't have enough money, then we come up with suggestions to go around the Manenberg area to the gangsters, they will donate with money. This is a good sign.¹⁷⁴

Basically over the years, things have changed in the community. Most of the gangsters – I won't say it is down, I will say basically even the gangsters they are starting to help us, they are starting to put some effort into helping the community. So, at the same time CWP got a positive light in Manenberg where people can say we are doing some changes in the

¹⁶⁸ Personal interview, CWP focus group, 22 May 2014.

¹⁶⁹ Personal interview, CWP participant, 20 August 2014.

¹⁷⁰ Personal interview, CWP participant, 14 May 2014.

¹⁷¹ Personal interview, CWP participant, 12 May 2014.

¹⁷² Personal interview, CWP participant, 20 August 2014.

¹⁷³ Personal interview, CWP participant, 12 May 2014.

¹⁷⁴ Personal interview, CWP participant, 12 May 2014.

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community and people want to join up. And even the councillor now, like in this area ... he is also helping us, the CWP. He is putting some effort. All the stuff he is doing.¹⁷⁵

However, there are some who have reservations about the CWP. For instance, some NGOs indicated that they do not want CWP participants because it can be more of a nuisance than a benefit. There may be serious discipline problems, such as 'niemand wil vertel wees nie en niemand wil leer nie [no one wants to be told and no one wants to learn].'¹⁷⁶

Other engagements by the CWP with gangs and gangsters

Gangs are a prominent part of the Manenberg community and gang conflict is not unusual. Apart from the TBOS, there are other ways in which the CWP engages with gangs and gangsterism. Due to their presence in public spaces, CWP participants may intervene to protect children when gang violence breaks out.

I cannot say we can eradicate violence, but it is mainly one gang shooting against the other gang ... then their fights become intense. Their fights never come to an end. Now the CWP would have to come in and remove children from the streets.¹⁷⁷

CWP school safety officers are aware of learners who are gang members. When the situation in the schools becomes problematic, they approach the gang leaders to complain.

Some of the learners are Hard Livings and Americans. I went to the leaders and said, these laaities are using your name. [We] can speak to the gang leaders because they respect us. We know exactly which gang leaders operate in which territory. We take the streets and we talk to them. They listen. They would at least warn us. If our people are busy there, and there is going to be a shooting, they phone us and say listen here, go and take your people, we are gonna shoot now.¹⁷⁸

One participant mentioned that the presence of the

CWP discourages gang shootings, adding that the CWP t-shirts provide a symbol for Manenberg of people who are there 'to make a difference.'

You must understand the gang fights are people from same area. It's either the turf war, or drug war. So, we work in the streets and in the schools particularly. So if they see the orange t-shirts they would cease fire. And we would also talk to them in the road, even if we feel that they, or if there is a danger zone then we would approach the community or in our zone. So even if I am working and there is a shooting I am still gonna walk to work the next day. Because the moment I am gonna stay away, or the others stay away, the gangsters are gonna think this is our zone. So we act as if is normal, we still go talk to them in the community, from our side during our working time. To say, this and that does not make sense, leave it. I've been, the office actually told me I must stop walking around where there were gang fights. But I just felt like this is, my orange t-shirt is some sort of protection. Because the people from the area know CWP, they know the colour orange. So I represent the community, I am working towards something that will either beautify or frustrate the community a bit further. I am not going to bring it down. So I think the public knows that already. When they see a Community Work Programme t-shirt they know now that this person is here either to beautify or to make, they are coming to make a difference. I am not gonna push the community down. So I felt that if the community see the t-shirt they are not going to worry – you work for the community.¹⁷⁹

Gender dynamics

Several women attributed the predominance of female participants in the CWP in Manenberg to what they perceived to be negative attributes of many of the men in Manenberg, including laziness and a disposition to drug use and criminality. A female focus group participant expressed the view that 'men are lazy, don't want to work and tik [drug] themselves out of their jobs.'¹⁸⁰ Another said that men would go as far as 'stealing their

¹⁷⁵ Personal interview, CWP participant, 20 August 2014.

¹⁷⁶ Personal interview, MPC, 25 March 2014.

¹⁷⁷ Personal interview, CWP focus group, 22 May 2014.

¹⁷⁸ Personal interview, CWP participant, 12 May 2014.

¹⁷⁹ Personal interview, CWP participant, 6 May 2014.

¹⁸⁰ Personal interview, CWP focus group, date.

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own stuff and using drugs during working hours.’¹⁸¹ More observations of this kind were made by other interviewees:

I think lots of men are lazy ... I think women are more interested in working, they want to do something with their lives, and the guys stand around and wait on the women to bring some money. Basically that is what is happening.¹⁸²

Another explanation was simply that men are not willing to accept the relatively small daily income that CWP participants receive.

Men don't want to earn less than the women and they don't want to work for low wages, that's why there are so few men in the CWP. It makes me sick that I have to go out in the rain to work while my husband sleeps.¹⁸³

Maybe men don't like working for so little money. That is why they don't like to join.¹⁸⁴

Another argument by at least one woman was that women are more suited to certain kinds of work, such as working with children in schools. Women speak to the learners ‘soos ‘n moeder met ‘n kind’ (like a mother with a child).¹⁸⁵ It was implied that men are less likely to have appropriate styles of communication for this kind of work.

Some of the work that the CWP does could be described as care work in a neighbourhood context. Care work has historically been gendered as women's work and is usually undervalued. This could provide another explanation for why there are more women in the CWP.

Responses indicate that women and gay people are not discriminated against in the CWP, which provides a ‘safe’ space for participants. The stipend, though very little, ‘sit kos op die tafel’ (puts food on the table).¹⁸⁶ Participants generally and women in particular feel empowered by their

‘employment’ on the programme. Many expressed how happy they are to be working and earning an income.

Women are not only the majority of participants but also hold the main leadership positions in the CWP in Manenberg. Both the site facilitator and the area manager are women.

There appeared to be a wonderful spirit of camaraderie in the site office. Many female participants come from embattled domestic situations. In the CWP they have found solidarity with others in a similar position and draw strength and support from one another. In some cases, female participants indicated that the income earned in the CWP had empowered them to the extent that they had walked out of abusive domestic relationships.

I came out of an abusive marriage. I had a broken head. I was able to come out of that and I don't want others to go into that. Women are now standing firm and we call the police when we see abuse.¹⁸⁷

There are a number of openly gay men in key positions in the CWP, which adds to the overall impression of the CWP as a ‘safe space.’ At least one participant indicated that contact with gay people in the CWP had shifted his attitude towards gay people.

I didn't like gay people. I am going to be honest with you. But from working with some gay guys, and lesbians I actually found out that these people are very nice people. And then I started respecting them. And I was angry at myself for judging other people. Because I do not like to judge no more. I am gonna be honest with you. Because the Bible tells me I can't judge. So, I am a strong believer in my faith. My faith tells me I mustn't judge people. And I am actually upset with myself that I judged them and forgot they are actually people also.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸¹ Personal interview, CWP participant, date.

¹⁸² Personal interview, CWP participant, 20 August 2014.

¹⁸³ Personal interview, CWP focus group, 22 May 2014.

¹⁸⁴ Personal interview, CWP participant, 12 May 2014.

¹⁸⁵ Personal interview, CWP focus group, 22 May 2014.

¹⁸⁶ Personal interview, CWP participant, date.

¹⁸⁷ Personal interview, CWP participant, 14 May 2014.

¹⁸⁸ Personal interview, CWP participant, 20 August 2014.

Analysis and conclusions

Key attributes

Based on the study, the following key attributes of the Manenberg CWP were identified:

Decent work: The project provides decent work that conforms, to varying degrees, with the International Labour Organization's decent work agenda principles:

- work as a source of income and personal dignity,
- jobs of acceptable quality,
- improved social protection,
- promotion of social dialogue and tripartism.

Empowering: The project is empowering at both individual and community levels.

Inclusive: The project seeks to transcend barriers of race, gender and religion and build racial and gender equity.

Healing: The project has set in motion a process for collective healing.

The CWP appears to be a community-driven structure with its ear to the ground through its participants. It has the feel of being a mixture of an under-resourced government service delivery agent and a CBO. In its five years, the CWP has demonstrated a high level of resilience and the 500+ CWP participants have become a cohesive formation grounded in the community.

The state of the CWP in Manenberg and legacy of the past

A large proportion of CWP participants interviewed for this study, including the site and area managers, have been with the CWP from the days of PM.

Many continue to make reference to it, some good and some not so good. The CWP has continued on the community-development trajectory set in motion by PM even before the latter became the CWP's implementing agent. Though some are still sceptical of the CWP and remember it from the difficult days when it was part of PM, the Manenberg CWP has recovered from the turbulence that it went through during that time.

Predominance of women

The predominance of women in the programme may indicate a flaw in the project, as it is not

attracting half of the community that it is trying to reach. At the same time, women are taking the lead in holding families together and, to achieve this objective, will do almost anything. Women's strength in seizing opportunities needs to be acknowledged for the enormous contribution it makes to 'holding the family together' and building social cohesion.

Not only do females comprise the majority of Manenberg CWP participants, but they also dominate the leadership of the programme. Women in Manenberg have empowered themselves and occupied the developmental space created by the CWP. They have dared to challenge and call for an end to the violence.

The Manenberg CWP, social mobilization and violence prevention

Manenberg is a dynamic community. Over the years a number of networks and relationships between people have been created. However, these have not necessarily translated into building relationships or organizations in the area and the development environment remains fractured. The dysfunctionality described earlier in the report is a characteristic feature of the community.

Despite its turbulent history, the Manenberg CWP has maintained a certain level of organizational coherence and provides a stabilizing presence in Manenberg. This has enabled the CWP to use its organizational infrastructure to mobilize the community of Manenberg. The CWP therefore provides an alternative form of social solidarity to the gangs, offering a different vision of ways to organize social relations in Manenberg. It has also served as a catalyst to bring other parties and groups together.

Within the CWP there is a strong perception that their visibility in the community, involvement in the safety sector, good relations with SAPS and the TBOS campaign have all contributed positively, although there is not clear evidence that they have had an impact on violence. It could, however, be

Analysis and conclusions

argued that the CWP's visibility in the community is reassuring for people and serves to reduce the feelings of fear that many people appear to have. While its primary objective is not directly aimed at preventing and reducing crime, through its useful work endeavours it has developed the self-confidence to tackle the problem head-on.

Nevertheless, many of the youth in Manenberg continue to see gangsters as role models. Though some CWP participants are former gangsters, it is not easy to recruit young people into the CWP. 'The gangs provide lekker entertainment and jobs for the youth,'¹⁸⁹ which the CWP cannot easily match. Children are drawn to the gangsters' branded clothing and nice things, which are unattainable on the CWP wage.

An integrated approach to development would require further direct or indirect investment in the CWP in order to strengthen the process of building social cohesion and social justice. The CWP functions like an oasis in a sea of crime, grime and violence. The oasis needs to be expanded and supported with concerted effort. But it has to be backed up with a theory and framework for change. There is space for turning this into a kind of social change agenda at the local level.

Conditions of service and support for work done by the CWP

One of the issues raised by a number of interviewees was that they frequently experience challenges in the work that they do due to the absence of appropriate tools and materials. Participants also frequently raised issues to do with the conditions of service in the CWP and the opportunities available to participants to exit the programme. The CWP programme is set at a maximum of two days a week, 100 days a year, so providing social protection that is meant to be supplemented by other income opportunities. However, there is not a sense that other income opportunities are sufficiently identified. The training, mentorship and development the participants receive does not seem to lead to

partnerships with the private sector, government departments or other potential employers. Participants are there, but the support mechanisms are not in place for the intentions of the programme to be realized.

In line with the concerns raised by participants, key role players could consider the following recommendations:

- Ensuring that tools, equipment and general resources that are required for doing the work are provided as promptly as possible. As indicated, this was raised as an issue by a number of participants, notably those working in the maintenance and housing sector.
- Training and skills development should be a key aspect of the exit strategy. A starting point could be appropriate training to strengthen each work sector, as well as generic skills in supervision, leadership and management. 'There are CWP participants working with young people around sport, for example, but they haven't been trained by government. They are bringing skills they already have into the programme. But they actually [want to go] further than that. They actually want to be trained in order to do more, better.' Skills development is a critical area the programme is lacking.
- Given the value of the work the CWP does, improved remuneration for programme participants should be considered as a means of reducing precariousness.
- The number of opportunities in the programme should be expanded to broaden the reach of the programme. New partnerships could be formed and existing ones consolidated.
- An exit strategy should be developed to enable participants to move through the CWP. Such a strategy might include transitioning from the informal to the formal.
- Inclusivity of programme participants should be enhanced by way of improved systems for recruitment and selection.
- TAMA-hosted community events like Youth Day, Women's Day, Mandela Day, etc. and campaigns such as TBOS should be supported.

¹⁸⁹ Many of the CWP interviewees made this claim.

¹⁹⁰ Personal interview, sport focus group, 22 May 2014.

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- Appendix A: Interviews
- | Organization | Interview date |
|-----------------|----------------|
| CWP focus group | 22 May 2014 |
| CWP | 28 May 2014 |

Appendix A: Interviews

CWP	14 May 2014
CWP	20 August 2014
CWP	22 May 2014
CWP	12 May 2014
CWP	6 May 2014
CWP focus group (District Six)	23 May 2014
CWP focus group	22 May 2014
CWP	6 May 2014
CWP	4 March 2014;
Conversations throughout	
CWP focus group	22 May 2014
CWP	12 May 2014
CWP	28 May 2014
CWP	12 May 2014
CWP focus group	22 May 2014
CWP focus group (District Six)	23 May 2014
CWP	Conversations throughout
CWP focus group	22 May 2014
CWP	14 May 2014
CWP	14 May 2014
CWP focus group (District Six)	23 May 2014
CWP focus group (District Six)	23 May 2014
CWP focus group	22 May 2014
CWP	6 May 2014
CWP	28 May 2014
CWP	20 August 2014
CWP focus group (District Six)	23 May 2014
CWP focus group (sport)	22 May 2014
CWP	6 May 2014
CWP focus group	22 May 2014
CWP focus group	22 May 2014
Implementing agent: Mfesane	5 March 2014
Implementing agent: Mfesane	12 March 2014
MPC	20 August 2014
CPF: Manenberg	22 April 2014
Philadelphia youth	Weekly safety meetings
Manenberg resident	Weekly safety meetings
DoCS	14 April 2014
MDCS youth	Weekly safety meetings
Expert on Manenberg	11 June 2014
UWC, Social Law Project	11 June 2014
VPUU	8 May 2014
Criminologist	11 June 2014
MPC	25 March 2014
Manenberg activist	11 June 2014
MAC	29 April 2014
University of Stellenbosch (Anthropology)	11 June 2014
UWC, Social Law Project (Labour law)	11 June 2014
D6 Museum focus group	23 May 2014
WCRLF Safe Manenberg Campaign	Weekly safety meetings