Community Work Programme
Background Materials

TIPS

Community Work Programme
An Introduction

These background materials on the Community Work Programme were prepared as part of induction training for non-profit agencies (NPOs) appointed to implement the CWP and as an introduction for other stakeholders. The materials were originally developed for the Department of Co-operative Governance by policy NGO TIPS in 2013. They have now been partly updated as background reading to provide insights into the programme. In relation to many of the themes covered, DCOG policy guidelines now exist; these should be referred to for clarity on interpretation of any of the issues discussed, to take into account how the programme has evolved.

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SECTION ONE

The Policy Context

How inequality limits employment opportunities on the margins in South Africa[1]

Introduction

South Africa has very high and persistent levels of unemployment. In The first quarter of 2018, the formal level of unemployment was at 26,7%; however if discouraged workseekers are taken into account, unemployment levels rise to above 35% (StatsSA 2018). These are, however, just national averages. In some large urban centres, the unemployment rate is lower than this; but in many rural local municipalities, it is much higher.

While unemployment is a structural problem, additional factors skew its distribution, with unemployment levels for black youth, women and rural dwellers disproportionately high.

Why is unemployment so high, and what can be done about it? How can government policies create employment and assist people in even the poorest and most marginalised communities to participate in the economy – on better terms? This question isn't new: in fact, in 2007, the Presidency commissioned a strategy process to try to answer it; as it happens, part of the answer that followed was that there was a need to set up the Community Work Programme. This recommendation from the Second Economy Strategy Project was a result of a sobering analysis of the role different forms of inequality play in limiting economic growth in South Africa and in limiting employment creation – and the difficult and lengthy processes that will be involved in ending such inequality.

South Africa has a highly unequal economy in which people with access to wealth live in a developed modern economy, while the poorest still struggle to access basic infrastructure and services. Divided as this reality is, wealth and poverty are not disconnected in South Africa; instead, they are interdependent in all kinds of complex ways. The roots of this inequality lie in key legacies of apartheid. In particular:

- The centralised, monopoly structure of SA's core economy – including labour market legacies of the pass laws, and migrant labour, as well as the highly skewed distribution of assets;
- The spatial legacy of bantustans and apartheid cities;
- The impacts of inequality of access and hence outcomes in relation to human development.

While all of these aspects of structural inequality have costs in development terms, the structure of the economy has particular impacts on the scope for employment creation. These are relatively well understood in relation to the core economy, where high levels of centralization and vertical integration limit the scope for new enterprise development, in a context also of a decline in the kinds of mining and manufacturing industry that create large numbers of jobs.

This challenge is the focus of many aspects of South African economic policy, including the New Growth Path and the Industrial Policy Action Plan and competition policy. Less well understood, however, is how this economic structure impacts on even the most marginal informal enterprises, limiting the scope for employment creation in the informal sector or by small and micro enterprise.

How the structure of the economy impacts on enterprise development on the margins

The small enterprise sector is relatively small in the South African context, and much policy focus has been on how to grow it: in the hope that employment solutions can come from below, through self-employment, micro-enterprise and co-ops. The failure rate is however very high. The explanations for this typically focus on the following sets of issues:

[1] This Briefing Note summarises the section on Second Economy Strategy in AsgiSA 2009, and Philip 2010.

- Lack of access to credit
- Lack of skills
- Lack of a culture of entrepreneurship
- Regulatory barriers

All of these do matter, but what this analysis typically misses, however, is the barrier that is created by the structure of the economy: which impacts in particular in relation to new entrants into small enterprise.

Limited scope for 'local production for local consumption'

One of the easiest entry points into business for new entrepreneurs is from making and selling products they use themselves and know that their neighbours or their community also needs. This is a strategy of local production for local consumption; it allows for high levels of informality and incremental growth, and is often a starting point for local economic development strategies. This includes bread-baking, jam production, maize-milling, dairy production and much more.

In South Africa, however, opportunities for small-scale manufacturing enterprises targeting poor consumers are limited because most manufactured goods bought by poor people are already mass-produced in the core economy and are available even in remote areas – with branded advertising for Omo, Rama, Lifebuoy, Iwisa, Epic sunflower oil and much more.

The first step in the ladder into market-based activity is therefore missing – because these markets are taken. It is difficult for small-scale entrepreneurs to compete against the monopoly sector on price, but they also have to compete on quality and brand-recognition. This is a major factor influencing the high failure rate.

Accessing opportunities in external markets

Targeting local markets is just one of the strategies available, however. Enterprise development agencies have tried to support new entrepreneurs into three other kinds of markets, which are mainly external:

- For higher ***value*** niche products, targeting wealthier consumers. This includes Rooibos tea, goats milk cheese, mushrooms, designer craft, hand-made soaps and candles.
- For higher ***volume*** markets, such as in agro-processing, for sugar, beans, maize or timber.
- For access into retail outlets like Spar or Pick 'n Pay. While sometimes these are also 'local', they often rely on central buying arrangements that are external and/or require higher levels of formality.

While there are opportunities in these wider markets, these are usually external markets and involve participation in value-chains, dealing with formal business as the buyer. This typically requires much higher levels of formality, which means it is not an easy entry-point for first-time entrepreneurs.

Entry into these markets requires a step-change in terms of business sophistication – and it is in this context that access to credit, skills, and issues of compliance come into play.

Opportunities in retail and service markets

The informal sector in South Africa is heavily dominated by retail activity, mostly street traders, spazas and shebeens. Given the context, this is not surprising: opportunities for small-scale manufacturing that targets local markets is highly constrained, and manufacturing targeting wider markets faces high barriers to entry. There are, however, opportunities in trading – oftern moving consumer goods from the core economy to the margins. Yet the returns are very low.

The lack of small-scale manufacturing activity also constrains the services sector, because it limits the demand for business services. Services tend to be focused on personal services, such as hairdressing; the sale of cooked food – and of course, the taxi industry.

The net effect of all of the above is that there are real structural constraints limiting the scope for easy entry into small enterprise development in South Africa.

Spatial inequality also limits livelihoods

In many developing countries, such as India, China and Tanzania, the small farming sector is a dynamic part of food production and of rural local economies, and subsistence agriculture provides a form of safety net when employment opportunities fail. In SA, this role is severely constrained.

The coercive processes that forced black South Africans off the land and the men into labour markets in the early part of the last century destroyed the small-farming sector and lead to the 'de-agrarianisation' of former Bantustan areas.

These processes stand in contrast to the active policies of support to white farmers over the same period. There have been decades of investment – including substantial subsidies – into the development of a 'big farm' model and the institutions required to support it: including access to land, water, inputs, credit, business services, infrastructure, and market access – as well as opportunities to share in the development of an increasingly vertically-integrated agro-processing sector.

In the former bantustans, however, these processes were mirrored by their opposites: those attempting to engage in agricultural production on increasingly small plots of land were not supported by the development of any of the institutions required to make a small-farm model viable. These two agricultural development paths still co-exist in an uneasy relationship.

This skewed investment in agriculture was matched by the skewed investment in human capital, economic infrastructure, and access to basic services within the bantustans. This was coupled with coercive and patronage-based governance structures, including customary systems in which women's economic initiative was constrained – even though men were often absent. The former bantustans still have far to go to remedy these defects: and remain home to the poorest people in SA, and the poorest women in particular.

In urban areas, the pattern of township development also constrains economic opportunities. Firstly, townships were developed far from economic opportunities during the apartheid era – but this pattern has however continued since then, with RDP housing. This raises all costs – including the costs of doing business. At the same time, urban design in housing settlements for poor communities has tended not to integrate business zones, and in some, the decision to use two phase electricity in houses (instead of 3-phase) removes the possibility of using freezers, welding equipment or sewing machines – constraining the scope for home-based income generating activity.

Inequalities in human development compound the challenges

Inequality of access to education, health care, water, energy, sanitation and housing were all features of apartheid whose legacy lives on, despite significant gains at all these levels since 1994. The constraints in access and in the quality of access often translate into barriers to economic dynamism and opportunity in poor communities, limiting livelihood opportunities as well as access to decent employment.

What are the implications for strategy?

At an overall level, strategies that address the elements of structural inequality described are crucial, and many aspects of current strategy in South Africa attempt to do so. Employment creation has been placed at the heart of all economic policy. The New Growth Path aims to put South Africa on a more labour intensive growth path; competition policy aims to reduce centralization in the economy and improve competition; land reform aims to redress some at least of the history of dispossession. The National

Development Plan provides a long-term framework that aims to change the demographics of access and opportunity, while creating greater prosperity for all.

The following social policy priorities have also been highlighted:

- A big push on human development – with a particular focus on the 'points of no return' – early childhood development and child nutrition. Where these fail, policy is forced to focus on mitigating for yet another generation.
- The social wage. So far, social protection coupled with policies in relation to the delivery of basic services, health and housing have had the greatest impacts on poverty and inequality. Yet there are still gaps in coverage: including social protection for the unemployed, access to basic services and to affordable public transport. (AsgiSA 2009)

The analysis of the impacts of structural inequality on opportunities on the margins also has particular relevance for small enterprise development strategy, and for the level of reliance that can be placed on poor people getting out of poverty through self-employment.

Employment creation 'from below' – through micro-enterprise or self employment - faces significant constraints and is a poverty trap for many.

- The structure of the economy constrains the scope for significant or sustainable expansion in this sector – but the scope that does exist must be supported.
- Evidence shows that those least likely to get a job are unfortunately also least likely to succeed in becoming self-employed;
- Employment strategy cannot therefore rely on the poorest and most economically-marginalised people in the economy 'self-employing' their way out of poverty (Philip 2010).

Support to both the small enterprise sector and to the informal sector needs to be designed within a more realistic set of expectations of its scope for growth – within the current structure of the economy. This means more focus on the 'patient support' required to turn start-ups into stay-ups, more caution in promoting self-employment as a solution for all, more realism in the expectations from such strategies, and a greater focus on achieving the levels of business sophistication required for small enterprise to break into the wider markets and opportunities that do exist.

In the context of the Second Economy Strategy Project, part of the conclusion was to recognize that while long-term structural solutions to inequality and to the constraints on employment creation in the economy needed urgent policy attention, such solutions will take time to take effect. In the meantime, complementary strategies are required that give poor people access to employment in the short term – even where the economy is unable to do so.

In particular, there is a need to provide a form of employment safety net until wider economic policies are able to deliver jobs: to strengthen people's capacity to work, and to provide access not only to income, but also to work experience and the enhanced dignity, social inclusion and economic agency that comes with it.

This was the context in which the Community Work Programme was first motivated at a policy level: as an additional component of the Expanded Public Works Programme, intended to assist in taking public employment to a new scale.

Understanding public employment

Introduction

There is a wide spectrum of different types of public employment programmes (PEPs) that include public works programmes in infrastructure, employment guarantees, part-time work – and many different forms of work also. While public works in infrastructure have the longest history, PEPs increasingly include work in the environmental sector, the social sector, as well as in the arts.

All public employment programmes share certain common features, however, that provide the basis on which they are able to achieve developmental impacts:

- PEPs provide income to participants;
- PEPs provide the opportunity to participate in work;
- PEPs create assets and services.

PEPs can therefore be understood as a three-legged stool – if any of these is missing, the stool falls over.

Public employment in history

For a long way back in time, societies have constructed forms of infrastructure that serve the public interest in some way – including the construction of the first roads, the construction of harbours and ports, and defences such as the Great Wall of China. This infrastructure typically required large amounts of labour – and while in the past, this labour was often slave labour, the construction of large public works has also been used in more modern economies as a strategy to create work in contexts of high unemployment.

One of the largest public works programmes in modern history was part of the New Deal in the United States of America, after the Great Depression of 1929. Along with many economic reforms, the New Deal included a massive public works programme under the Works Progress Administration. At its peak in 1939, it employed over 3 million people, and constructed roads, dams, parks, public buildings, libraries, fire stations, electricity and sewage systems, and much more. It also included a component focused on artists – providing funding for various forms of art, including public art in towns and cities (Taylor 2008). This public works programme provided a massive investment into the economy, offering a form of stimulus to economic recovery: not only providing poverty relief for participants, but also stimulating demand in the economy by putting money in people's pockets, at the same time as building infrastructure that contributed to social and economic development.

Public works programmes have also often been used as part of the development response to various forms of crisis – whether an economic crisis, such as after the Great Depression, or in the aftermath of natural disasters such as the earthquake in Haiti, or in post-conflict situations, where public works programmes can provide a way of absorbing the energies of demobilised soldiers.

Infrastructure development can be a game-changer in developing contexts – in terms of both social and economic conditions. Sanitation systems, electrification, roads, irrigation systems, terracing and many more forms of public infrastructure are essential parts of development. In the post-colonial period, huge investment into infrastructure development therefore formed part of the development policies of many new nations. In this context, the scope to use the development of public works to address employment needs was also apparent. Yet at the same time, mechanization processes were replacing labour in many kinds of infrastructure developments. In response, a development case for using labour-based methods in infrastructure development was asserted, and this bias towards labour-based methods was supported in many developing contexts, often in public works programmes set up with the dual purpose of creating employment as well as delivering infrastructure.

The developing world continued to confront problems of severe poverty, however. In this context, public works programmes were also used as part of poverty alleviation efforts. In a context in which such work was identified more as part of poverty alleviation than as part of employment creation, conditions in public works programmes sometimes became delinked from the kinds of minimum standards increasingly associated with employment in the same period. Food for work programmes did not dignify the work with a wage, but provided food handouts instead. Some programmes paid participants well below what workers doing similar work could expect to earn. Instead of providing much-needed and valued infrastructure, some public works programmes were seen as 'make-work' programmes, doing undervalued and low-status work. Recent research reviewing a large number of public works programmes across Africa has found disappointing evidence of poor outcomes in poverty reduction as a result. (McCord 2013).

At the same time, however, the challenge of unemployment – and poverty – across much of the world has created a new impetus in relation to public employment as an instrument of development policy, with contestation over the kinds of poor conditions that have been considered acceptable in some contexts, as well as innovation in the kinds of work being performed, in the design of such programmes, and – as a result – in their impacts and outcomes.

Innovations in public employment[1]

The most far-reaching innovation in public employment has been the introduction of a statutory employment guarantee in India, where the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA), promulgated in 2005, guarantees 100 days of work per annum to each rural household. This is the first time a rights-based approach to employment has become part of the law, and it compels the local Gram Panchayat's in India (village-level local government) to offer 100 days of work per annum to anyone who registers on the programe.

Since implementation began, in 2006, MGNREGA has involved over 55 million participants and has spread across all states of India. It is still the only statutory employment guarantee in the world.

MGNREGA was a result of strong social mobilization in India, linked also to a wider campaign for the Right to Information. This Right to Information campaign was launched in response to the discovery of massive corruption in the public works programme of the day in India, set up as part of drought relief efforts. Civil society organizations discovered ghost workers as well as fictional, non-existent works were being reported at a large scale. The Right to Information Act was passed in India at the same time as MGNREGA, and a strong commitment to transparency is written into MGNREGA.

One feature of this is that social audits are mandatory every six months. At a social audit, the Gram Panchayat reports back to the village assembly on all aspects of the programme. At the same time, the reporting system in MGNREGA is completely transparent. Every person registered on the scheme has a job card, and every job card is loaded onto a public website, that shows which days they have worked and what they have been paid. All works performed are also reported on this website. The reports for all social audits are also posted there. This creates a remarkably high level of transparency in the programme, as part of building public accountability and fighting against corruption. The website can be viewed at *www.nrega.nic.in*.

[1] The terms 'public employment' is used to include the full spectrum of programmes from public works programmes to employment guarantees. It also reflects the wider scope of work being undertaken in such programme, in a context in which the term 'works' tends to imply work in infrastructure.

Summary of the main features of MGNREGA

India's employment guarantee scheme has the following main features:

- The state guarantees up to 100 days of wage employment per annum to every rural household with unemployed adult members willing to do unskilled manual work.
- Such households apply for registration to the local Gram Panchayat (local government); they are issued with a Job Card.
- They may then submit a written application for employment to the Gram Panchayat, stating the time and duration for which work is sought – for a minimum of fifteen days.
- The Gram Panchayat issues a dated receipt for the application.
- The Act specifies that 'if an applicant under this act is not provided such employment within fifteen days of his application seeking employment, s/he shall be entitled to a daily unemployment allowance which will be paid by the state government.'
- While central government pays the wage costs and 75% of materials cost in the scheme, state governments that are unable to provide work within fifteen days must pay the unemployment allowance from their own budgets.
- Work is identified and planned by the local state, and must have a 60:40 wage: material ratio. Contractors are prohibited.
- Work should be provided within 5 km of the village or else extra wages of 10% are payable. (Summarised from MGNREGA)
- A Social Audit must take place biannually. A Social Audit is a revue of all aspects of the programme by the village assembly. (Summarised from MGNREGA in Philip 2013 a)

Other examples of innovation include the following[2]:

A shift to longer-term programmes

Many public works programmes were designed to address a short-term crisis context, with an expectation that as a given situation normalized, participants could be absorbed back into the formal labour force. Unfortunately, unemployment in many countries is not short-term; in these contexts, a short-term work opportunity may not have much impact on poverty for participants.

This recognition has lead to the design of public employment programmes that are being institutionalised as longer-term interventions. MGNREGA, for example, is ongoing. In Ethiopia, the Productive Safety Nets Programme is an ongoing response to predictable annual food shortages. In South Africa, the CWP offers ongoing part-time work to participants.

Area-based programmes

All of the above examples are also area-based programmes in the sense that they have an ongoing presence in defined areas. This spatial dimension is new. Many other kinds of public works programmes have only a short-term presence in any one area. The shift to area-based programmes opens new opportunities for deeper impacts in the lives of participants, on community development, on local economic development and on the range of works that can be undertaken, because the intervention is sustained in a given area, and its effects become cumulative.

[2] Summarised from Philip 2013a.

This ongoing presence also creates new opportunities to develop local institutions with ongoing mandates to support such work, creating opportunities to build and deepen the capacities of such institutions over time, creating new opportunities to build partnerships and to achieve more systemic impacts and forms of change at the local level.

PEPs at greater scale

PEPs are also going to unprecedented scale. In India, in the first five years of its rollout, the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS) reached 55 million participants – making it the largest public employment programme in history. In Ethiopia, the Productive Safety Nets Programme (PSNP) reached 8 million participants over a similar period. South Africa has struggled to achieve equivalent scale, but is close to reaching a million participants per annum in the Expanded Public Works Programme, making a substantial contribution to overall employment numbers. This level of scale creates new scope for PEPs to achieve systemic-level impacts in society.

Links to social protection

New forms of complementarity and convergence are also emerging between PEPs and social protection programmes. For example, PSNP offers work to those who can work, and cash transfers to those who can't – in the same programme. In Kosovo, recipients of unemployment benefits are eligible to participate in PEPs, earning a higher income for the duration of their participation, with no loss of benefits thereafter. In CWP, regular income from regular part-time work creates an income floor for participants, similar to the effect of a social grant.

New forms of work

Work in PEPs is no longer necessarily in infrastructure, which opens new opportunities for PEPS to contribute to a range of different policy priorities. So, for example, PEPs in the environmental sector have the potential to contribute to climate change mitigation and adaptation; in South Africa, social sector PEPs are demonstrating the scope for PEPs to become an instrument of social policy, in relation to their outputs as well as in relation to the impacts on participants.

Community development and participatory approaches

Strategies to develop local capacity to undertake public employment activity through community contracting have been a feature of labour-based infrastructure programmes and environmental programmes such as Working for Water in South Africa. MGNREGA's statutory social audits make local officials accountable in new ways, and provide a framework for participatory planning also. In PSNP, there is local participation in the selection of participants and in planning local priorities. In the CWP, communities participate in the identification and prioritization of useful work.

The use of information technology (IT)

Advances in IT create new opportunities for transparency, for training, for reporting, for monitoring and evaluation, and much more.

Cashless payment systems – even in remote areas of rural India and South Africa – reduce the scope for corruption, but also drive new forms of financial inclusion. The use of biometric methods instead of manual attendance registers hugely reduces the scope for corruption also. GIS mapping techniques can be used as a tool in M&E; the internet can enable transparency and make information readily available. Social networking sites can promote communication and the transfer of ideas between sites and between participants.

Public employment in South Africa: the EPWP

In 2003, at a Growth and Development Summit convened by NEDLAC, agreement was reached on a framework for what was called the Expanded Public Works Programme. EPWP has had a high level of

policy support since then, with the National Development Plan confirming its importance in addressing structural inequality.

The EPWP is not one programme, but is instead a collection of different programmes that currently includes the Infrastructure Sector, the Social Sector, the Environment and Culture Sector, the Community Work Programme and the Non-State Sector. The Department of Public Works has the overall task of co-ordinating EPWP; it is not directly involved in implementation, although it provides technical support to the infrastructure sector.

The Infrastructure Sector

The Infrastructure Sector makes the greatest contribution to EPWP's targets. Its focus is to increase labour intensity wherever technically feasible within government's existing budgetary commitments for infrastructure – making these extra jobs technically 'free' in budgetary terms. The majority of job opportunities are created within the framework of the Infrastructure Grants to Provinces (IGPs) and the Municipal Infrastructure Grants (MIGs). The 2004 Division of Revenue Act (DORA) requires provinces and municipalities to execute public works such as low-volume roads, stormwater drains, trenches and pavements using labour-intensive methods in accordance with guidelines produced by DPW.

The Social Sector

South Africa was the first country in the world to introduce a significant social sector focus in its menu of public employment work; many countries have since done so. This focused firstly on the delivery of home-based care, mainly to people suffering from AIDS and/or TB. The programme was developed at the height of official AIDS denialism in South Africa, and was a brave initiative from within government to enhance the social support systems for those affected. The second main area of social sector work was through support to Early Childhood Development Centres. More recently, the Social Sector has expanded into literacy training, through a programme called Kha re Ghudi, and has developed a menu of other new areas of work into which it plans to expand.

The environment and culture Sector

The environmental sector in EPWP began with a programme based in the Department of Water Affairs, called 'Working for Water', which clears invasive alien species that consume excessive amounts of water. It was followed by Working for Wetlands, Working for Woodlands, Working on Fire, LandCare and CoastCare, among others.

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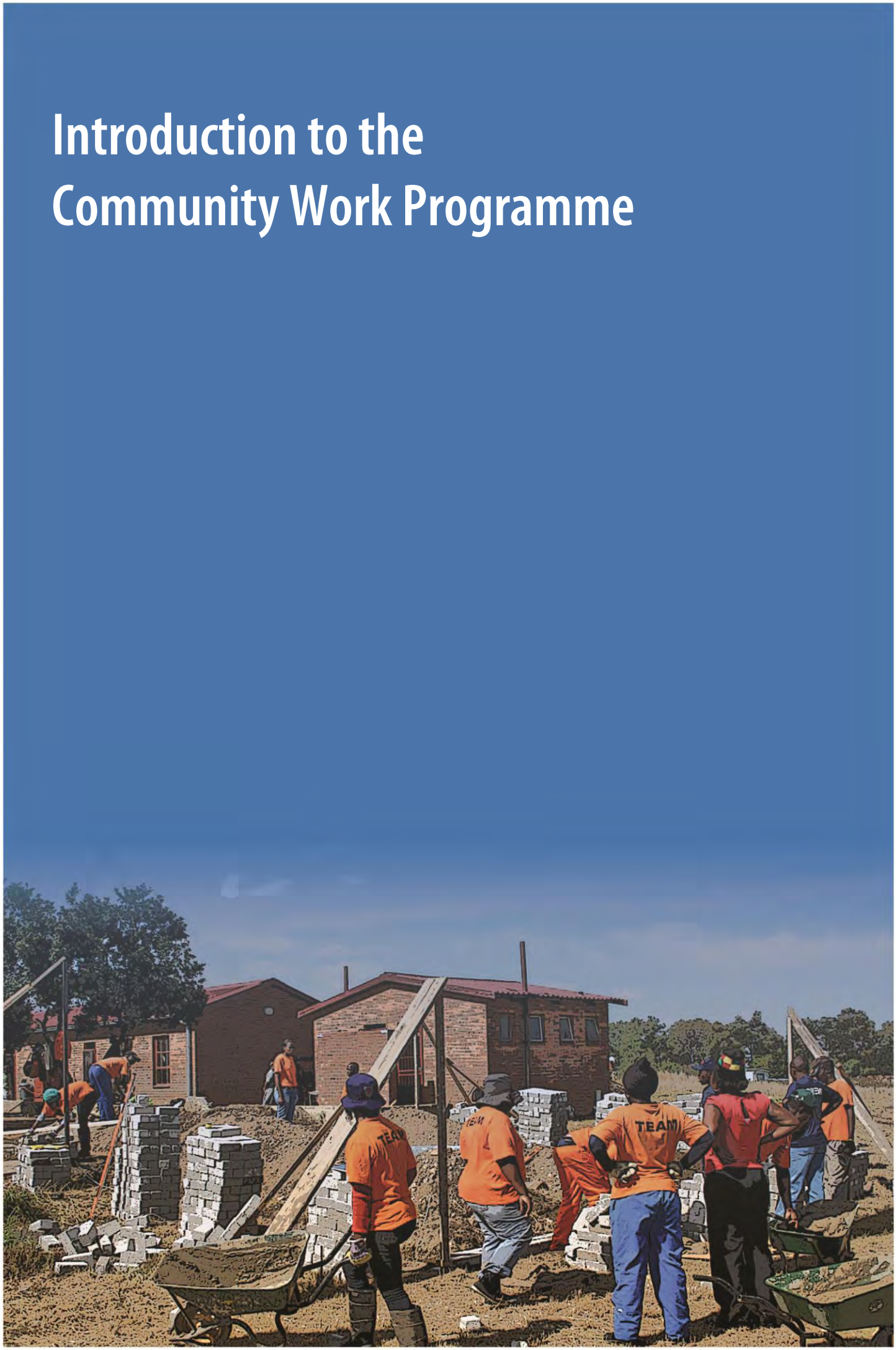
SECTION TWO

Introduction to the Community Work Programme



Introduction to the Community Work Programme

> *Whenever there's something happening here in the township, it's always the CWP that's involved.*
>
> – Community member in Randfontein (Vawda et al, 2013)

The Community Work Programme (CWP) is a public employment programme that was initially piloted outside of government, but has been institutionalized in the Department of Co-operative Governance since April 2010, as a new component of the Expanded Public Works Programme – South Africa's co-ordinating mechanism for a range of mainly sectoral public employment programmes.

The CWP was an outcome of the Second Economy Strategy Project, an initiative of the Presidency located in policy NGO TIPS from 2007–2010. It was designed and operationalised in partnership with two Implementing Agencies, Seriti Institute and Teba Development, with strategic oversight from a Steering Committee made up of representatives from the Presidency and the Department for Social Development.

CWP was initiated in recognition of the deeply structural nature of inequality and unemployment in South Africa. One consequence of this is that, particularly in poor and economically marginalised areas, large numbers of people are unlikely to be able to find employment in the short to medium term – even if unemployment numbers do start to come down at an overall level. This also means that even if they get a short-term opportunity to work, such as on a road-building project, this does not necessarily give them a step-up into a decent job or enable them to start a viable small enterprise, because the structural economic constraints make both these options difficult.

For this reason, the CWP was designed differently from many other kinds of public employment programmes – which often offer participants a short-term episode of full-time work. Instead, CWP offers regular, ongoing access to part-time work for participants. This is typically two days a week, or eight days a month: adding up to 100 days per annum. While this certainly doesn't offer a solution to unemployment for participants, it does provide a form of employment 'safety net': a minimum level of regular income and regular work to supplement other livelihood activities and contribute to an income floor.

The CWP was designed as a community-driven model of public employment.

> This approach uses public employment as a catalyst for community development. 'Useful work' is prioritized at the local level, through structures such as ward committees and local development fora. This helps energize such structures, and deepens the mechanisms for local participation in development planning. (AsgiSA, April 2009)

In the context of a deep unemployment crisis, the CWP was also designed to be able to go to scale cost-effectively, providing a simple model able to fast-track resources to the local level – especially where other delivery mechanisms were failing. The CWP initially saw rapid growth, to 204,000 people by 2013. Budgets have not allowed targets to increase significantly since then, with the participation rate hovering around 240,000. CWP does, however, now have at least one site in every municipality. The Cabinet legkotla of August 2011 also approved a target for the CWP to scale up to 1 million participants. While funds for such an expansion have not been approved as yet, the 1 million target continues to be cited as a goal for the CWP. This scale of expansion will require a massive expansion in implementation capacity.

Key features of the CWP

The main design features of the CWP are captured in the CWP Norms and Standards. These make up the design 'DNA" of the CWP. The main features – and the developmental rationale for them – are explored below.

The CWP offers regular part-time work

In a context of deep structural unemployment, the economy is unable to absorb all those willing and able to work. In the past, strategies to address this tended to assume that even a short term work experience, coupled with training, would provide a step-up into decent employment. In the review of EPWP Phase 1, however, it was found that this was rarely the outcome. Instead, too many people were exiting back into poverty. Important as it is to provide people with these opportunities and experiences, it isn't necessarily enough in a context in which the economy is not able to absorb all those willing and able to work.

The focus on regular part-time work in CWP is a response to this; because while the work is part-time, there is no 'forced exit', in recognition of the limited economic alternatives for participants under current conditions.

The main developmental advantage of this approach is that regular work means regular incomes. This builds on lessons from social protection, which show that access to regular income is more important, in terms of its impact on poverty, than the total amount of income transferred (McCord 1995).

Zane Dangor, then Special Advisor to the Minister of Social Development and Chair of the CWP Steering Committee in its pilot phase, highlights how lessons from cash transfer programmes informed the design of CWP:

> There is clear evidence from cash transfer programmes that access to regular and predictable incomes of even small amounts translate into impacts on indicators such as child nutrition and school attendance. There is also evidence that access to a predictable income stream in a household enables investment in other livelihood or enterprise development activity. CWP was designed to try to optimize the chances of achieving similar effects. (Quoted in Philip 2013)

These effects were evident in the Zibambele Roads programme – a precedent for CWP's part-time employment model within EPWP:

> The regular participation of all school age children in Zibambele households rose from 67% prior to participation, to 90% subsequently, while the incidence of households regularly reducing children's meal sizes due to the inability to afford food fell from 34% to 1% subsequent to public works employment. In addition, households with public works employees receiving a wage transfer reported a reduction in activities, which caused them shame. The reduction of the need to beg, and the ability to perform the requisite ceremonies to mark the anniversary of family deaths were highlighted as outcomes of the programme ... (McCord 2005).

Regular work also provides regular social contact for participants and structure to their lives. One of the impacts of unemployment is social isolation, and the lack of a framework to structure their days and weeks, which the discipline of work creates. Participation in regular work provides regular social contact, a sense of purpose and access to new networks.

Finally, the regular incomes transferred into a community by the CWP mean a sustained increase in consumption. This creates scope for sustained opportunities for local enterprise in the local economy.

The CWP is an area-based programme

The CWP is located in communities and operates across a defined area designated as a site. Once established, the CWP is expected to maintain an ongoing presence in a local area.

Sites were initially designed to involve 1,000 participants, although this figure has sometimes been lower. At this scale, a CWP site can make a significant impact at a local level. In a rural area, a site operating at this scale can be spread out across several villages; in an urban area, this scale may only cover part of a large informal settlement. On average, a new site covers approximately five wards and sites are typically aligned with ward boundaries. In some contexts, local stakeholders have wanted to spread the numbers across all wards in a municipality; this tends to dilute the impact of CWP significantly, at the same time as raising the costs of implementation. As CWP scales up, however, the opportunity arises to increase the number of participants per site – and to extend the geographical reach of a site within a municipality.

Over time, a CWP site becomes an integral part of the local context, with the CWP providing a resource for communities, developing a deep understanding of the local context, and making an ongoing contribution to community development as well as local economic development.

Communities participate in the identification of 'useful work'

An important feature of the CWP approach is that the work is not defined by government; instead, communities participate in identifying what is called 'useful work': work that contributes to the public good, or improves the quality of life in communities. This is based on the assumption that in most poor communities, there is no shortage of work to be done – and an assumption that those who live there are best able to identify the work that is most needed. This leads to a multisectoral mix of work activities, including care for the sick and elderly, food gardens to feed vulnerable groups, support to schools, community safety initiatives, public art, and much more.

This requires implementing arrangements that are able to design a responsive work agenda and draw in the range of different kinds of technical support and skills needed to implement it. Implementing Agents cannot be expected to have every form of competence in-house – they must instead be able to source the support needed as different work ideas and work areas are agreed. In practice, every site is different – and that's a challenge.

Designing and institutionalising methods that enable community participation and integrating community development approaches into the way the CWP is run is an important part of the role of Implementing Agents.

The processes of community consultation required to develop a menu of useful work also need to take account of existing approaches to community based planning that may exist as part the development of an Integrated Development Plan in each municipality. While the IDP is generally focused at a higher level of planning, CWP processes can strengthen practices of community-based planning at local level, with positive impacts on wider processes.

In the CWP's Norms and Standards, certain kinds of work are explicitly excluded. In particular, it is highlighted that CWP is not meant to displace existing jobs, by providing public services that would otherwise be provided by public sector workers. CWP should not become a form of cheap labour for municipalities that allows them to deliver on certain of their mandates without employing people to perform these functions.

CWP also cannot be used to provide a kind of wage subsidy to enterprise activity – such as the case in which CWP workers were found working in a butchery owned by a site manager.

The work has a current target labour intensity of 70%

In its pilot phase, the CWP had a target labour intensity of 65% at site level. This has since been raised to 70%. This means that the cost of wages and direct benefits such as UIF and COIDA make up 70% of the cost at site level. This means that the majority of funds are transferred directly into the hands of participants. These site-level costs excludes the costs of the programme in DCOG, which come to about 7 percent of the total budget – and are set by National Treasury each year.

This high labour-intensity does however limit the types of work that can be undertaken. Very little infrastructure can be constructed at this level of labour intensity.

The balance of site costs – often referred to as the 'non-wage costs' – cover the following other costs of running a site: tools and materials, safety gear, training, technical support and the programme management fee of 9% of total site costs that goes to the Implementing Agent. These non-wage costs play an important part of ensuring that the work that is performed is meaningful and creates assets and services that meet minimum quality standards. Where labour intensity is higher than 70%, it can mean insufficient spending on these important ingredients of quality outcomes – and of decent conditions of work. So while a higher labour intensity is sometimes celebrated as reflecting an achievement, it may instead reflect insufficient investment in these other dimensions of useful work.

CWP is implemented by non-profit agencies.

While the CWP is a government programme, it is implemented by non-profit agencies. From the start, the process of operationalising the CWP concept took place in a context of partnership between government stakeholders and non-state implementing agencies. The rationale for this had two clear dimensions. At one level, these implementing agencies were seen to have particular expertise in community development – as well as in the direct management of development projects – and had a vital role to play in testing how the CWP concept could be operationalised, and establishing systems, protocols, and norms and standards.

At the same time, the use of non-state agencies as implementing agencies was also intended to avoid placing an additional burden on local government, in a context in which many local governments were struggling to deliver against their core mandates. (Presentation to National Treasury, 1 July 2009, handover presentation to COGTA, 26 March 2010).

Over time, increased policy emphasis has been placed on the value of the involvement of non-profit agencies, and on the distinctive set of partnerships that the CWP brings together. In the July 2011 cabinet lekgotla, as well as in the report from the IMC on Anti-Poverty and Short-term Job Creation to the September 2012 Cabinet legkotla, it is emphasized that 'the CWP's implementation model creates new forms of partnership between government, civil society and communities.'

> Each level of this partnership has a crucial role to play in building what the NPC has also referred to as 'active citizenship', with the CWP building new development capacities in civil society as well as in communities – in the process, assisting government to move away from a delivery model in which the expectations are that government 'delivers' while citizens simply wait for delivery – as passive recipients of delivery – or alternatively, take to the streets when delivery does not appear to be happening.
>
> Instead, the CWP model allows government to play a supportive and enabling role – rather than a direct implementation role – providing an additional mechanism with which to engage communities in the development process, and to unlock a greater sense of 'agency' in communities: at the same time as creating an avenue for civil society organizations to develop real development implementation capacities, to expand available capacity for the national development effort – as partners in that effort.

A CWP site requires support from local government in order to start

> '*While CWP is implemented through Implementing Agents nationally, a formal partnership with local government is a critical success factor'.*
>
> (Letter: Minister Manuel to Minister Shiceka, 7/11/2009)

The CWP is an extension of government programmes at a local level that needs to be integrated in ways that do not duplicate existing activities. An interface with ward committees at the local level is important, with the CWP having the potential to strengthen participation in development planning – and 'to strengthen the interface between local government and communities.' (Letter: Minister Manuel to Minister Shiceka, 7/11/2009).

Representatives of Ward councilors and of local government officials are also typically included in the Reference Committee set up at each site. Their role is an advisory one.

Partnerships with local government have also been important in enabling the CWP to undertake a wider menu of work activities than the 70% labour intensity requirement would otherwise allow, with a number of instances of co-funding partnerships where local government funds the capital costs and CWP provides the labour.

CWP is a 'government wide' programme

The CWP is often described as a 'government wide' programme, because the multi-sectoral mix of kinds of work undertaken means that the CWP is often involved in work that relates to the mandates of many different government departments.

While DCoG is the custodian of the programme, responsible for its implementation, the CWP has a Steering Committee of partner departments providing strategic oversight and advice. This Steering Committee includes the original stakeholders – the Presidency and the Department of Social Development – as well as National Treasury, the Economic Development Department, the Department of Public Works, and of course DCoG itself. The Steering Committee is co-chaired by the Presidency and the Director General of DCoG.

A key role of DCoG is to facilitate linkages and Memoranda of Understanding with these and other partner departments whose mandates and programmes are relevant to CWP, to ensure alignment and synergy – also providing a new platform for implementation for many programmes that require a community interface.

Targeting and participant selection

CWP is targeted at the poorest local municipalities. In the early stages of the rollout of CWP, selecting these was a contested process, in a context in which there were far more eligible poor local municipalities than there were budgets for new sites. The process was undertaken in consultation with Provinces, but finalized at the level of DCoG. Now that CWP has at least one site in every municipality, the process of scaling up involves tough choices of allocation between wards within municipalities.

In terms of participants, the intention is to include those within an agreed site who need it most. However, often far more people want to participate – and are eligible to participate – than can be included. In this context, what matters most is that participant selection processes are fair and transparent.

This is an area in which best practice is still being developed. Different sites have used different methods. In some contexts, indigent lists are used; or ward councilors are asked to put forward names. Unfortunately, unless well-managed, this process can easily fall prey to nepotism and patronage, and unless it is handled in a transparent way, that can be the perception in a community even if it is not the case. While the Implementing Agency should consult local stakeholders about how best to manage the process, in the end, it is the Implementing Agency that is contractually responsible to DCoG for the final selection of participants: with advisory oversight from the Reference Group to verify that the process was fair. The role of the Reference Group is important in preventing malpractice by the NPO.

This is an important process to clarify. There have been instances, for example, where the Mayor has simply assumed the right to select participants, and has given instructions to the Implementing Agency to appoint those on his list. Similarly, there have been instances in which ward councilors have attempted to limit participation to card-carrying members of their political party – and many other attempts to influence the participation lists. This can negatively affect community acceptance of the programme, as the following comments on participant selection reflect:

> 'Everybody who shares the surname, related to councilor, will work.' (Umthwalume CWP)
>
> 'It depends whether you have contacts or not. Sometimes you have to bribe, if you don't have contacts or money you will have to forget it, you won't get a job.' (Umthwalume CWP)
>
> 'The other thing is that if you are not an ANC member they don't hire you because they say your name does not appear on their list' (Bushbuckridge CWP).
>
> (Vawda et al 2013)

At the same time, systems of identifying 'who is poorest' can also be demeaning and even create perverse incentives to appear poor – and stay poor. Given that CWP only offers two days of work a week, and that the pay is low, one of the options is to assume that anyone who wants to participate is poor, and then to

use randomized methods to select from amongst this group – if it is larger than the number of places available (which is typically the case). Random selection methods are the most likely to avoid corruption and/or risks of bias, and can be seen to be fair also. In Tjakastad, for example, a public process was undertaken in which those who wanted to join the programme put their ID books in a large drum, from which a community member then withdrew the books on a random basis, in public view.

The role of the Reference Committee

At each CWP site, a Reference Committee needs to be constituted to play an advisory support role. According to the CWP Implementation Manual, the Reference Committee should include representatives from local structures – including the Municipality, Council and Ward Committees – as well as respected figures from the community and from local civil society organizations. In practice, respected figures form the community have often included roleplayers such as the clinic sister or school principals. What matters is that the Reference Group composition has legitimacy in a given local context – but that can be hard to ascertain.

In some contexts, Reference Committees have ended up only with participation from government officials and councilors. Their intention, however, is to provide an advisory forum that brings together a wider set of stakeholders than this.

While the Reference Group is meant to enable the interface with communities, it is also not meant to become a proxy for other forms of consultation and participation: to become the only forum that is consulted about the work of the CWP.

The role of the Reference Group includes the following:

- Facilitating involvement of diverse stakeholders
- Facilitating community consultation
- Ensuring that the CWP is well informed about planned activity in the community, and that its work does not duplicate existing initiatives
- Facilitating relevant partnerships
- Providing feedback to the Implementing Agency
- Participating in evaluation of the work performed
- Approving site development plans.

See DCOG's Community Participation and Stakeholder Engagement Guidelines for more detail on their roles and responsibilities.

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DCoG (Department of Cooperative Governance) (2011a). CWP Implementation Manual. Pretoria.

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Philip, K. (2013). The Community Work Programe: Building Communities that Work. ILO Working Paper. International Labour Organisation. Geneva.

Vawda, S., Prinsloo, M., Mostert, A., & Mazibuko, N. (2013). The South African Community Capabilities Study: The Community Work Programme. Centre for Democratising Information, Pretoria.

Norms and standards for the Community Work Programme

The norms and standards set out below have been approved by the CWP Steering Committee and CoGTA, and reflect the key design features of the CWP that CoGTA will uphold in the process of institutionalising the programme further.

Key Design Features and Norms and Standards

KEY DESIGN FEATURES	NORMS AND STANDARDS
1. The Community Work Programme should provide a minimum level of regular and predictable work for participants, to provide an employment safety net.	1.1 Regular and predictable work means: **i. Up to 100 days of work per CWP participant over the period of a year (supervisors/teamleaders may work more days).** ii. CWP sites will generally offer participants 2 days of work per week or the monthly equivalent. iii. While flexibility to meet contextual requirements is encouraged, these must meet the criteria of 'regularity' and 'predictability' and contribute to a sustainable earnings floor. iv. The point of a safety net is that it is there when people need it. While budget constraints may impose limits on this, there is no principle of 'exiting' participants within any timeframe. v. The impacts of this model on poverty and local economic development are potentially significant. Sufficient continuity in the model is needed for rigorous assessment of these impacts over time, and this should be enabled.
2 Targeting of CWP participants	2.1 COGTA to develop an approach to targeting that includes the following: I. Where resources are constrained, CWP should target those who need it most. Mechanisms to decide this must be put in place by IAs at local level and be based on community consultation. II. Where there are more poor people in need than spaces in CWP, the methods of selection should be transparent and with limited scope for bias – eg picking ID books from a box. III. While participation rates of target constituencies such as women and youth have been high without special targeting, these need to be monitored and a target participation level set; the CWP however includes all profiles.
3 The CWP is intended to complement and not displace or replace other livelihood activities.	3.1 As a logical consequence, of this goal people cannot be excluded on the basis that they are engaged in other livelihood activities in the rest of the week, whether these are eg farming, street-trading, or securing casual work. The CWP is intended to enable such initiative not disincentivise it.
4 The Community WorkProgramme is an area based local programme	4.1 Where possible, a CWP "Site" should be located in an area that aligns with ward structures. 4.2 A CWP site may organise work to take place in separate areas within the total site area: e.g. a site may include ten villages, with each sub area running as a discrete work site 4.3 The CWP sites are encouraged to undertake work in partnership with local agencies of both national and provincial government e.g. supporting activities of the Local Clinics; participating in a Working for Water type initiative etc and/or with NGOs or other non-state actors.
5 Support from local government	5.1 To be recognised, a CWP site requires the support of the relevant local government structure, confirmed by letter to COGTA.

KEY DESIGN FEATURES	NORMS AND STANDARDS
6 The work undertaken in the CWP must be 'useful work'	6.1 Work undertaken by the CWP must create public goods and services, contribute to community development and/or complement/ enhance/expand core services being delivered. 6.2 Such work must not displace or replace existing employment in the public sector. 6.3 The CWP cannot fund enterprise activity directly: the work must contribute to the public good and/or community development.
7 Work in the CWP is identified and prioritised through consultative local processes	7.1 **Work should be identified and prioritised through local consultation processes. Typically, this would take place in the relevant ward committee/s, or in other legitimate local development fora.** 7.2 In this process, the role of the ward committees is also to encourage alignment between the CWP and IDP processes, assist in identifying potential partnerships, and avoid duplication with existing government or non-governmental initiatives. 7.3 Where proposals for work interface with the mandates of public bodies responsible for service delivery, the IA is responsible for consultation with such bodies to ensure complementarity and alignment. 7.4 The IA is responsible for assessing the 'usefulness' of the work proposed in local structures against CWP criteria, the feasibility of the proposed work iro affordability, labour intensity and capacity/technical support requirements, and for finalising the local CWP workplan. 7.5 While each CWP site will need to develop a set of 'anchor programmes,' and may not be able to cover all areas of work proposed, a CWP site is expected to enable a multi-sectoral approach rather than having a single issue focus.
8 The CWP must comply with set employment conditions	8.1 All CWP workers should be employed under EPWP conditions of employment as determined by the Minister of Labour. 8.2 Wage levels for all categories of CWP workers should be determined annually by CoGTA and provided via an annual circular to Implementing Agents, taking into consideration that the budget allocations will be informed by the EPWP minimum rate 8.3 Workers must be covered by Workmen's Compensation provisions.
9 The CWP is managed by Implementing Agents appointed by CoGTA who are responsible for the management of the programme, reporting and accounting for all expenditure on the programme's behalf	9.1 COGTA will undertake a procurement process to develop a panel of accredited IAs, and will develop a process to build the pool of IAs with the requisite capacity. 9.2 Where other government agencies want to support CWP sites and procure IAs, this must be against guidelines provided by COGTA. 9.3 For a site to be registered as a CWP site with COGTA, the IA must be an accredited IA. 9.4 IAs may manage multiple sites, and are encouraged to sub-contract to local agents where conditions allow. 9.5 IAs will report to COGTA but will also report into the EPWP web based reporting system. 9.6 **All implementing agents must meet the criteria specified by the CWP in order to be an accredited CWP IA.** These criteria include: ▪ Registered as a Not for Profit entity ▪ Meets the due diligence requirements of CoGTA: ▪ Able to implement an effective community development/ capacity building methodology ▪ Submits a competent business plan ▪ Implements a cashless wage payment system within 3 months of site inception and with less than 10% exceptions.

KEY DESIGN FEATURES	NORMS AND STANDARDS
10 The CWP must achieve targeted labour intensity requirements.	10.1 After an inception phase of 3 months (which includes consultation, site establishment and the initiation of work) **programmes should spend not less than 65% of site costs on wages.** 10.2 Managing the site to achieve this level of labour intensity is a critical management function of IAs. 10.3 It will usually require the capacity to forge partnerships and to mobilise complementary resources for tools and materials.
11 Targeting of CWP sites	11.1 In its rollout phase, the allocation of COGTA funds for the CWP will balance geographical spread with methods to target the poorest communities in each Province. 11.2 Priority will go to those sites that qualify on these terms AND where initiative comes from some level of local self-organisation. 11.3 Rapid rollout depends significantly on the role of IA's; their TOR'sneed to encourage initiative in promoting the CWP and its expansion to new sites. 11.4 This will however have to be complemented by some targeted interventions initiated by COGTA, for areas with high levels of poverty and low capacity to initiate the CWP. 11.5 The CWP will aim to have the highest participation rates in the poorest local municipalities. 11.6 The above targeting applies to the allocation of COGTA's own funds and should not limit Provinces, municipalities or other players from mobilising resources to fast-track CWP rollout against their own priorities, within this framework of norms and standards. 11.7 These targets as subject to budget constraints.
12 Co-operative governance	12.1 The multi-sectoral nature of CWP means COGTA will need to establish MOUs with the key departments and/or spheres of government to ensure alignment. 12.2 Provinces and local government should be encouraged to resource CWP sites from their own budgets. However, this needs to take place by agreement with COGTA and subject to these norms and standards. **National Treasury has a key role to play in ensuring that this is honoured.**
13 Focus on delivery and simplicity	13.1 CWP was designed to fast-track resources to the local level, in areas where other government delivery mechanisms were failing. 13.2 The institutionalisation of CWP should reflect this; it should maintain this flexibility to deploy resources from national to local level in the way it is institutionalised.

SECTION THREE

Site Establishment and Planning Processes

Site inception and planning processes

The Inception stage for a site starts with the initial confirmation of the site and the start of consultation processes and ends with the site operating at its full initial target.

This makes for an intensive start-up period – and for a new NPO, an intensive learning curve also. This Briefing Note summarizes key milestones that will need to be achieved in the course of the inception phase, as well as some core elements of good planning for ongoing site management. Note that the tasks and timelines presented here may change: the purpose of this section is simply to give NPOs an overview of the kinds of processes required for site inception.

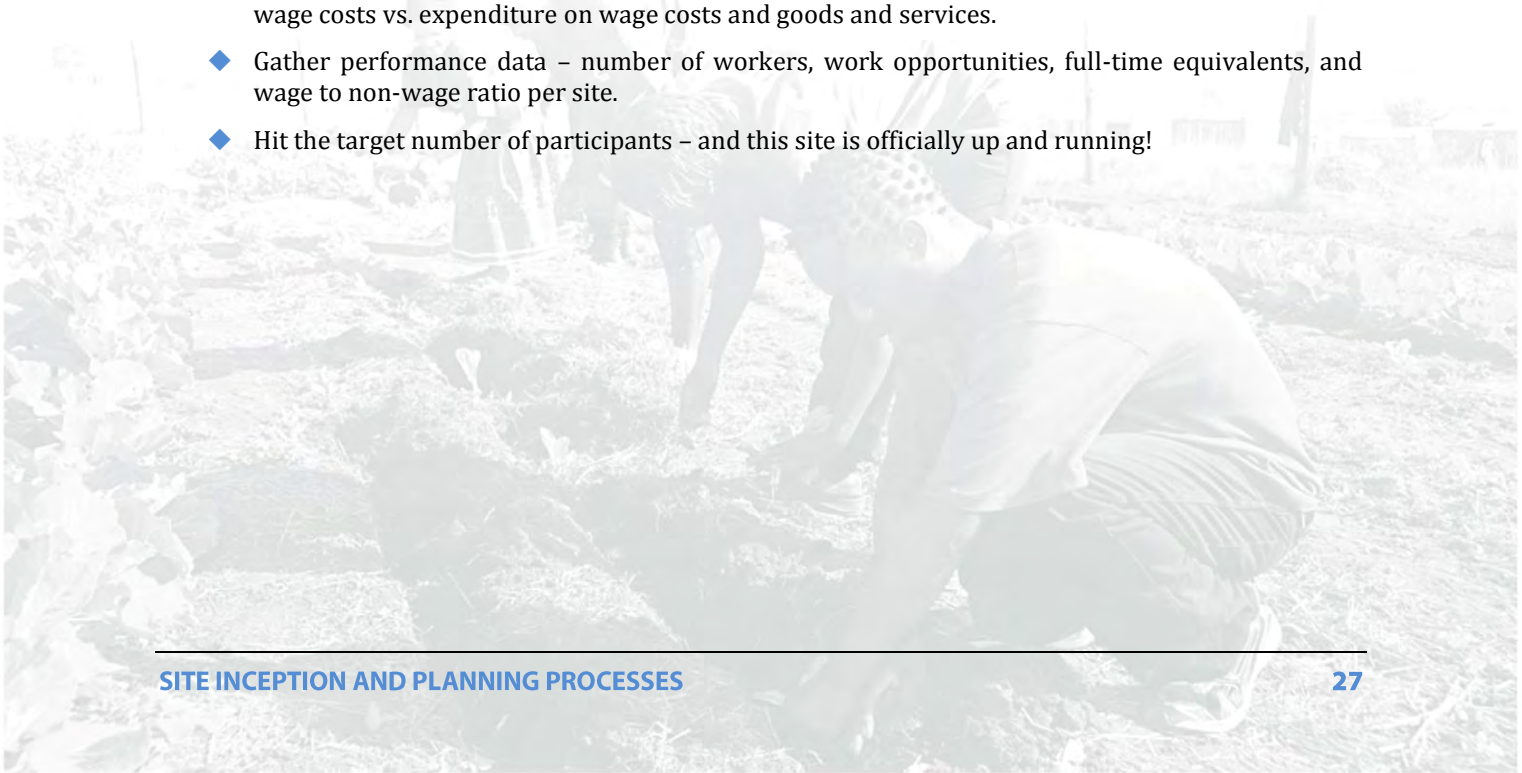
The milestones are not necessarily all reached in the order below; the first planning task for the NPO is to work out how to phase them in the given context of the allocated site. For example, in some sites, consultation processes are ably facilitated by municipal officials and/or ward councilors, and pose no great difficulty. In other sites, there are high levels of contestation over key decision-points. In some sites, Community Development Workers are a mine of useful information and contacts; in others, the post is vacant. In some sites, a well-located site office is made available by local government. In others, a Zozo hut has to be put in place – or some other contingency arrangement made. Context matters – and understanding that context is the first step in a good site establishment process. The more familiar the NPO is with that context, the easier the process will be; the less familiar they are, the more likely they are to hit speed-bumps that slow the process down.

Site inception milestones

- The site is approved by DCoG and an NPO appointed to run it.
- DCoG provincial officials arrange a meeting with the Mayoral Committee and/or the municipal manager to brief them on the CWP and to introduce the NPO.
- With DCoG input, the scope of the site is agreed.
- Mayoral Committee resolution approving the site.
- Once the scope of the site is agreed, a strategy for consulting local stakeholders is agreed. This should include, inter alia: Ward Councillors, school principals, the local clinic, local religious leaders, NGOs and CBOs active in the area.
- Initial scoping of the nature of existing development activities and role-players to ensure complementarity and synergy.
- Local consultation takes place. This focuses on the following:
  - Explaining what CWP is;
  - Explaining what useful work is;
  - Introducing the NPO and explaining their role;
  - Explaining the role of the Reference Committee;
  - Securing suggestions on how best to ensure that participant selection is ‘free and fair’;
- By agreement with DCoG, establish a local Reference Committee; convene first meeting.
  - Agree criteria and process for participant selection. Agree how often to meet. Agree standard core agenda. Ensure minutes are taken and approved each consequent meeting; and filed in minute book.
  - Agree how community consultation should take place. If applicable, explain the Community Mapping process and discuss how it should take place.
- If appropriate, depending on the process agreed, advertise/call for people to apply OR publicise criteria and process.

- Put in place the core management team. Draw from local capacity if at all possible. At a minimum, a site manager and a site administrator. Ensure training on core systems for both. If possible, a secondment to a functioning site.
- Procurement of core office with computer and internet access.
- Set up admin systems, including inter alia:
  - The beneficiary information form;
  - The financial report framework;
  - The outputs report – to report on sector categories, activities and measurements;
  - The format for attendance registers – and decide on the method for capturing and verifying attendance (Use of biometrics?);
  - Secure code for EPWP reporting template;
  - Prepare standard contract of employment – ensure that it is aligned to CWP conditions;
  - Asset and stock control system for stores;
  - Set up system for payslips;
  - Set up filing system for contracts of employment, certified copies of identity documents, payroll information and training received by each participant.
- Identify most accessible banks. Meet the banks to secure best possible terms for participants. Compare with other NPOs. Arrange for the banks to come to the site to open bank accounts for participants if possible.
- Develop procurement strategy. Identify what can be procured locally, and how best to procure in other ways. Negotiate with suppliers. Place first orders and monitor supplier performance.
- Secure premises for a site office and for storage of tools and materials – or, if distances are large, several of these.
- Procure storeroom infrastructure.
- Set up asset register and inventory system for site tools, materials and equipment.
- Decide on criteria and phasing for appointment of co-ordinators and teamleaders – it may be an advantage to induct them all together, even if this means more than are initially required are on site. Ensure there is induction and training for co-ordinators and teamleaders so they understand their roles.
- Agree performance indicators.
- ***NPO selects participants***, using the criteria agreed, and with oversight from the Reference Committee. If possible, include a randomized element to final selection from amongst those eligible – this will make your site eligible to participate in Random Control Trial impact evaluation.
- Make the list public. Allocate participants to phased-in schedule of work.
- Convene a meeting of participants. Explain the CWP. Explain conditions of employment, including rights such as to Compensation for Occupational Injuries. Hand out a written summary of conditions of employment – in vernacular if possible.
- Sign contracts; assist illiterate participants; fill in beneficiary data forms. Include uniform sizes and boot sizes. Capture bank details OR identify who needs to open bank accounts and agree the process to do so.
- Procure uniforms and safety gear.
- Register participants for UIF and for Compensation for Occupational Injuries (Worksmen's Compensation).
- Initiate community mapping process, as part of work. Make sure you have people able to capture the information and outcomes effectively.
- Arrange report-backs of community mapping process, as opportunity for community input into business plan for the site.

- Ensure partnership agreements are reached where work identified impacts on other role players, e.g. schools, clinics, ECD centres, use of municipal or communal land, etc.
- Do a baseline in relation to each planned activity, reflecting the rationale for the activity, photos of 'before' situation. Consider use of surveys and other baseline information. Also, for example, if the work involves creating a food garden, photograph the site before any work has been undertaken, and at key milestones thereafter.
- 'Useful work' begins!
- Use the useful work identified in the business plan for training on work organization and task management: plan tools, materials, technical support, training and labour supply needs for each activity. Identify strategies to promote efficiency and productivity: competitions between workteams? Recognition for efficient and effective work?
- Ensure health and safety standards are adhered to. Procure first aid kits and ensure each work team has a full kit on site. Ensure the legally required number of staff members have been trained on first aid.
- Ensure compliance with the Ministerial Determination and Code of Good Practice for Employment and Conditions of Work for EPWP and other statutory requirements such as UIF and COID (Compensation for Occupational Injuries and Diseases).
- Site manager, with co-ordinators and team leaders, prepare work schedules, allocate participants, tools and materials and provide training as appropriate. Over time, increased levels of work planning will be delegated down to co-ordinators and teamleaders.
- Work groups carry out tasks in each sub-site, with supervision from coordinators and oversight by the site manager.
- Create opportunities for participant input into improvements of work quality and efficiency – and on how to maximize community development impacts.
- Develop a quality control strategy in relation to each work output.
- Set up a schedule for coordinators and team leader planning and feedback sessions. Set up learning sessions and agree on issues for discussion.
- Initiate spot check internal audits of attendance registers. Agree how to use transparency to prevent ghost-workers and abuse. Discuss loopholes and how to close them.
- Ensure compliance with the narrative reporting requirement – focusing on institutional arrangements, programme delivery, training, monitoring and capacity building, stakeholder relationships, sector activities, wards and municipalities, reference committees.
- Ensure compliance with financial reporting framework – income received for wage and non-wage costs vs. expenditure on wage costs and goods and services.
- Gather performance data – number of workers, work opportunities, full-time equivalents, and wage to non-wage ratio per site.
- Hit the target number of participants – and this site is officially up and running!



Community development and CWP

Part of the rationale for the CWP was 'to use public employment as a catalyst for community development' (AsgiSA 2009). The importance of this community development element in the CWP has been a consistent feature of policy support for the programme.

So, for example, in motivating for Cabinet to scale the CWP up to 1 million participants at the Legkotla in July 2011, the argument included the following:

Community based: Key to the model

- Communities decide on the work to be done, which unlocks community initiative and creates community 'ownership' of delivery processes: a vital shift.
- Develops local consultative structures that combine ward reps, local govt and community representatives.
- Requires intensive NGO facilitation stage, but builds strong local structures which provide a platform for a wide range of initiatives that require a direct community interface. (ESEC Employment Report to July Cabinet Legkotla, 2011)

The National Planning Commission expressed its support for the model as follows:

> The community work model's importance lies not only in its scalability, but also in the way social mobilisation is made integral to the rollout process, using non-profit agencies to implement the programme and creating new forms of partnership between government, civil society and communities.
>
> The type of public employment that the commission advocates is not just income transfer in disguise. It is about inculcating a new mindset that empowers people to contribute to their communities. (National Planning Commission, 2011)

The CWP contributes to community development in a wide range of ways, offering significant scope for local innovation and initiative in deepening this aspect of the impacts of the programme. These are some of the ways in which CWP does so – there are sure to be more:

- A key design feature of the CWP is that communities participate in the identification of 'useful work'. This makes the CWP a tool in the hands of local communities that they can use to tackle local priorities in ways that unlock new forms of agency at local level.
- Work identified through participatory processes often has a community development dimension. So, work in early childhood development, care work, support to local social institutions such as schools and clinics, community safety, youth recreation, sports activities, building people's parks – these and many other aspects of the work contribute to community development and to building resilient communities.
- Awareness raising, as part of work – and also beyond the work context. Many CWP sites have included awareness-raising campaigns around social challenges such as alcohol and drug abuse, rape, HIV/AIDS and domestic violence – raising awareness amongst participants but also in the wider community.
- Spillover effects from CWP into the wider community. This includes new networks, new forms of social and economic organization, new capabilities and new forms of social cohesion – all ingredients of a community development agenda.
- The creation of multi-stakeholder Reference Committees enables new forms of partnership and co-operation between government, civil society and communities – crucial to successful community development processes.
- Community participation in monitoring and evaluation of the outcomes of the programme is an important part of closing the loop in relation to participation in the identification of work.

Examples of how these different dimensions of community development are being catalysed by CWP are provided below, to illustrate the scope for Implementing Agents to integrate community development outcomes into the life of a site.

Community participation in identifying and prioritizing 'useful work'

Implementing Agents have faced the challenge of how to operationalise this concept and to institutionalise it into the way in which a site operates. This is an area for continued innovation and shared learning between sites.

A range of community development methodologies have been adapted to enable such processes. This is a description of the use of community mapping as a methodology:

> Community Mapping means as a first step *"Mapping the Past"* of the community; constructing a timeline of events, ideas and personalities that shaped the community and made it what it is today. The second step is to look at the physical *facilities and resources* in the community – churches, sports fields, businesses, taxi ranks, spaza shops, crèches, cemetery, potential agricultural land and areas unsuitable for agriculture, informal settlements and other housing, water supply points, schools, clinics and other social infrastructure, and areas identified as problem areas ('hot spots' for crime, sites of environmental degradation, areas dangerous for children, etc.).
>
> Then there is a focus on the way the community is divided into wards, and the various kinds of organization present in the community, including the presence of traditional leaders and healers. The third step is to reflect on the *Strengths* of the community and the reasons these are strengths; under-utilized resources, strong leaders or vibrant organizations, beneficial customs and so on.
>
> The fourth step is to identify community *Challenges* like crime, drug abuse, high unemployment, orphans, high levels of teenage pregnancy and others. A fifth step is then undertaken, to identify specific areas of interest amongst the team in addressing the challenges. The sub-teams tasked with each of the identified challenges then undertake *further research* into it, looking at the extent of the problem, its causes, champions in tackling it, and the various kinds of strategies that can be used to address it, including the ways in which existing strengths in the community could be applied. After sharing this detailed research the Team works together to *"Imagine the Future"* once they have created the kind of community they want to live in. This last step in the community mapping process is very detailed and leads to proposals about immediate actions. (Andersson 2013)

Participatory Rural Appraisal methodologies have also been used to enable community participation and consultation over work:

> There was general agreement that the PRA mapping tool was useful and could be used effectively to achieve good community participation and ownership of community site plans. It was generally agreed that the purpose of mapping was to provide an opportunity for community members and significant stakeholders to participate in a process of articulating their own understanding of the current situation and collaboratively plan for interventions. The mapping would also assist in getting a better understanding of the community/village development issues within which the CWP team would work. It would show what resources exist and their current condition. It would give an indicator of where the organisation could or should work. (Lima 2012)

Risks in the community mapping and consultation process also have to be managed:

> There was also a concern that if the process was not properly facilitated it would lead to high expectations that the CWP could not meet. It was also seen to be a time consuming process. The issue of expectations was discussed by the workshop and it was pointed out that the facilitator

> of the planning process would need to be clear about explaining what the CWP programme was about so that people understood that it was not replacing other government programmes or responsibilities. It was rather an additional support programme and the planning process needed to assist the community to discuss which needs the CWP could specifically address and who should be addressing the other issues. Using tools like the Venn Diagram to identify other role players and stakeholders would help the community see this better. This meant PIA's would need to avoid telling communities what CWP does as if activities are cast in stone but should concentrate on discussing what the programme is supposed to achieve, i.e. useful work in the public good. (Lima 2012)

So, while important and useful innovation has happened, there is a need to share experiences and institutionalize best practices and 'minimum standards' in relation to community participation in the identification – and evaluation – of work performed.

The Organisation Workshop (OW) is another approach to community development. It is an action-learning method for large group capacitation in economic and social development. This organisational training approach was developed in Latin America in the 1960s and adapted to southern Africa over the last twenty years. It was developed by Brazilian sociologist Clodomir Santos de Morais, who argues that it is aimed at helping 'excluded' and 'hard-to-reach' citizens who are marginalized through existing economic structures. (Langa and Von Holdt 2011). The OW is designed to involve large numbers of people in an extended action learning process that lasts for about a month and is undertaken within a community. The largest OW held in South Africa involved four hundred people.

> It is a real, practical exercise to facilitate the development of organizational consciousness in a social group that needs to act as an enterprise, i.e. in an organized manner. The workshop design is based upon locally identified problems that cannot be tackled by an individual or small group. When a community is prepared to contribute with labour to the solution of some of their most pressing problems, the Organization Workshop provides a framework that enables learning about organization while participants engage in productive work. (Interview with Gavin Andersson, Johannesburg, November 2011)

These features of the OW build the initial capacities required to operationalize the CWP at community level and the approach was adapted to the CWP context by Seriti Institute. While the focus of the methodology is on building work organization skills, it also integrates a strong focus on the social history of the community and the social issues it confronts.

One of the first sites where this approach was used as part of the inception of a CWP site was in a small peri-urban informal settlement called Bokfontein. In 2010, communities on either side of Bokfontein were engulfed in xenophobic violence and/or service delivery protests. Despite a history of forced evictions, high levels of poverty, poor service delivery, and high numbers of foreign residents, Bokfontein was largely untouched by such violence – an outcome that residents attributed to the Organisation Workshop and the presence of CWP. (Langa and Von Holdt 2011)

Powerful as this form of community development proved to be, its intensive nature makes it difficult to roll out at every site. In a review of the methodology, it was recommended that priority be given to using it in 'the most fractured' communities. (Marock 2010).

'Useful work' contributes to community development

Often, the first step in identifying useful work is the identification of the social challenges faced in a given community. This leads to a work agenda that often contributes to a wider community development agenda; for example:

- Home based care, care of orphans and vulnerable children
- Food security
- Community safety
- Early childhood development

- Youth recreation
- Creating recreation places and spaces
- Organisation of sports activities
- And much more.

Awareness raising as part of work

The CWP site in Munsieville turned the social challenge of violence against women into a set of work tasks. Events in the CWP site in Alexandra Township (known as Alex) in Johannesburg illustrated that violence against women is not just an external threat for participants, but one that is much closer to home. A CWP participant was found gruesomely hacked to death by her husband:

> The woman's eyes were gouged out, her lips and nose cut, her throat slit, and her intestines strewn all over her injured face. The CWP co-coordinator, who alerted people to the scene, found her 10-year-old child trying to push back the intestines into his mother's lifeless body. (TIPS Case Study Series 2011)

This horrific case of domestic violence cast the spotlight onto an issue that had remained unspoken until then: the extent to which women in Alex were coming to work in the CWP with injuries sustained at home. There was a day when 12 beatings, 2 hospitalizations and one near death were reported in the CWP, and the site has had three cases of women who have endured serious injuries and broken bones during domestic attacks. Some of the perpetrators are also CWP participants, thrusting the CWP co-coordinators into unanticipated and often difficult roles. (TIPS Case Study Series 2011)

After the murder, CWP participants marched to the Wynberg court in protest at violence against women, and the CWP in Alex initiated a campaign called '2day he bought her flowers'.

In Alex, the CWP is involved in all dimensions of the issue of violence against women, as an issue affecting participants, as an issue around which work tasks have been developed, as a campaign issue in which the CWP Reference Group and CWP site management have taken a leading role, and in which participants are involved outside the context of their work in CWP also.

Another example from Alex, amongst many other sites, is the role of CWP in Phuza Wize, a campaign of the Department of Social Development focusing on the use and misuse of alcohol. In Alex, the CWP hosts a radio show on the topic that reaches more than 1.2 million people through Alex FM. (TIPS Case Study Series 2011)

Phuza Wize is a government programme, but its content challenges current social practices. Similarly, CWP's role in awareness-raising on issues of HIV/AIDS often has to tackle stigma at the local level.

Spillover effects from CWP into the wider community

While the work performed benefits the wider community, there are other ways in which the CWP impacts on community development also.

In research undertaken on the impact of CWP on 'capabilities' of participants, one of the findings was the CWP participants are more likely to volunteer their time – and their own resources – to help others in the community than non-participants (Vawda et al 2013). There are many examples of how CWP enables and unlocks wider community initiative as well as investment of their own resources:

> Last December, Matatiele had a Brighter Christmas campaign, to paint homes of those elderly who live alone – brightening their houses. Paint was donated by community members and the participants did the work. This made such an impact the site plans to repeat it this year. (Interview, Caroline O'Reilly, Teba Development)

> Gogo Karlina Mvhendana is 91 years old and lives in Belfast. She has been blind since 2004 and has no one to take care of her. Bohlabela CWP participants built her a one-room home with donations from people in the area. They helped her to get groceries and also linked her to an eye specialist in Hazyview. After a cataract operation she has regained sight in her right eye. "God has sent the CWP to assist me. I am so happy. I sometimes feel that I can walk to the river and go for a swim," she says. (Lima Development, 2011)

New forms of organization have been catalyzed, with evidence of increased participation in savings schemes and stokvels. In Sterkspruit, for example, 480 participants and twenty coordinators initiated a stokvel to which each member contributes R100 on a monthly basis for a year. The participants have also established a burial scheme where members contribute R20 per person. (Kganya-Ka-Kitso, 2011)

Reference Committees create new forms of partnership

The multi-stakeholder Reference Committees create a new platform for co-operation and partnership at the local level, supplementing existing structures at a very local level and creating a new interface between government, civil society and communities that creates new opportunities for initiative and for synergy in relation to community development issues.

Participation in Monitoring and Evaluation

Much of the focus of community participation has been on initial identification of work and planning. While the Reference Committees provide an important ongoing link with wider community stakeholders, their role is not meant to replace the need for wider report-backs – and for forms of participation in assessing the outputs of the work performed: Was it indeed useful? Was it delivered to an acceptable level of quality? Was it well targeted at those who need it most? Or were the benefits of the work captured by a few – to the exclusion of others?

Community participation in evaluation of programme outcomes is an important part of closing the loop in relation to participation in planning.

Innovation in this area includes the pilot GIS Mapping project undertaken by TIPS, which provides a visual, spatial record of the work performed at a site, including photos of work outputs, and which can be used as a tool for participatory evaluation at local level. (It can be viewed at www.tipsgis.com).

South Africa can also learn from India's use of the concept of a 'social audit' to strengthen local ownership and accountability in this regard. In India, the local implementing structures of MGNREGA report back to a village assembly every six months, where the performance of the programme is discussed. This also helps limit the scope for corruption at local level – by using community participation to help to 'ground truth' the performance claims of implementing agencies.

This is an area for further innovation.

In sum, CWP as a programme provides a powerful instrument of community development, with significant potential to enhance these impacts through careful thought and innovation. In closing, some reflections on how the concept of community development is understood – taken from the CWP's Community Development Learning Forum:

How is the concept of community development understood?

Here are excerpts from a discussion document tabled for discussion to a CWP Learning Forum on Community Development:

'The last fifty years have shown, across Africa and indeed the rest of the world, that external factors may help developmental process but are not sufficient to bring it about':

Here we may take a lead from Mwalimu Nyerere, who pointed out way back in the 1970s that better roads, buildings, water connections and services were merely the results of development; development itself is an internal process of learning by people, and resulting from this, their increasing confidence and self-organisation. This view is echoed by many distinguished scholars, who suggest that social development is an 'inside-out' process, concerned with the 'do-er's' own knowledge, grounded in experience, internal values and motivation and autonomous action. Liberation theology and Freirean pedagogy also stress this 'own-powerment': the shift in consciousness that is a prerequisite for any change process, or for 'ownership' of organisation.

If community development involves learning and self-directed organisation, this has profound implications for the way we implement the CWP. What are the methods we use, and do they take account of these insights? These are not simple questions to answer. Development at this social scale, where thousands of people are involved, requires that there is social learning; where many people learn and change behaviour at the same time. New repertoires of organisation are required, ways of responding to opportunity and challenge that are not familiar. And since each local circumstance is subtly different from the other it is not possible for any 'development practitioner' or official to suggest these new ways of being and doing; these have to be discovered by the very people involved in the activities that will over time weave into new cultural patterns. Truly autonomous organisation is necessary, and organisation moreover that is characterised by ongoing learning….

[I]t may be useful to reflect that each geographical community is made up of different communities of interest (including an 'organisational elite') and also communities of practice. Indeed the establishment of a local management cadre in the CWP which engages in cycles of observing, planning, acting and reflecting can be thought of as creating a new community of practice.

If we accept that communities are not homogenous we can also see that in certain cases they may be sites of contestation, sometimes bitter rivalry, quiet 'wars of position' where there is systematic advance of some interests over others, or even open factions and fighting. In this circumstance, would it follow that a corollary of the desired community development effort is the creation of social cohesion; where there is an appreciation of differences yet willingness to work with and learn from each other, and where there is agreement about a common set of practices and rules? (Andersson 2013)

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SECTION FOUR

Useful Work in the CWP: Lessons from the anchor programmes

Useful work in the CWP: The anchor programmes

The work in CWP must be 'useful work', which is defined as work that contributes to the public good, and/or improves the quality of life in communities. A crucial part of the CWP model is that the identification and prioritization of such work must take place through consultative and participatory community processes.

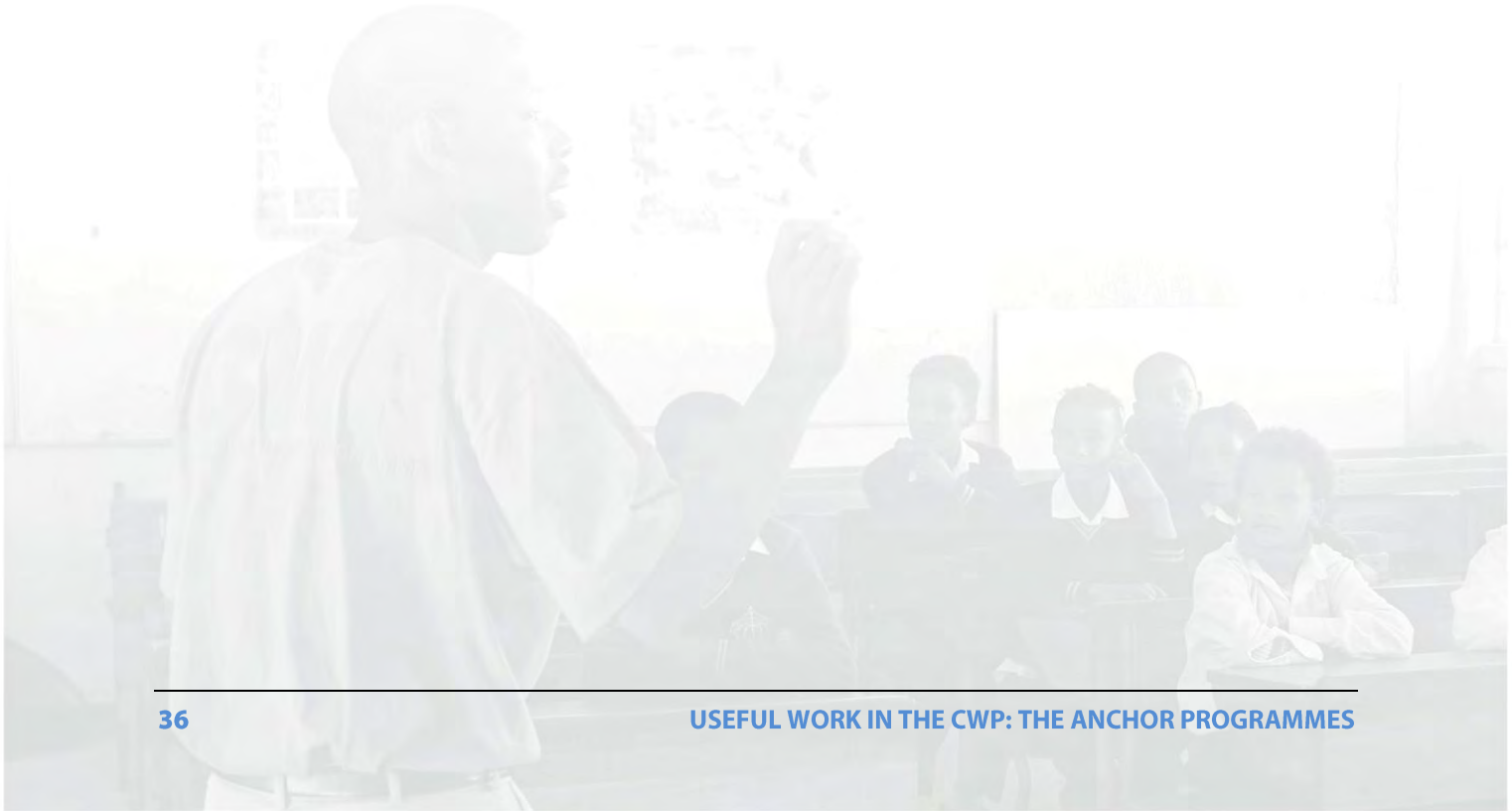
Other elements in the CWP Norms and Standards also contribute to the parameters within which such work must take place. At site level, the work must have an average labour intensity of at least 65% and must not displace work that should form part of municipal services.

In practice, a common menu of priorities has emerged at many CWP sites. These theme areas are referred to as 'the anchor programmes', and the fact that they are common across many sites has created the opportunity for comparative learning, for the development of common guidelines, and also for partnerships and Memoranda of Understanding with relevant departments that create common approaches and facilitate local level processes.

Highlighting these anchor programmes is not intended to be prescriptive, nor to exclude priorities that may be unique to a particular site. The ability to draw from existing experience in relation to the anchor programmes can however assist Implementing Agents to avoid pitfalls and to fast-track best practices. This Briefing Note also highlights challenges and policy issues arising from work in the different sectors.

The anchor programmes covered here include the following:

- Care work in communities
- Support to early Childhood Development Centres
- Support to schools
- Food security.



Care work in communities

Community mapping processes have highlighted serious deficits of care at the local level. The categories of people who need care include the following:

- People who are seriously ill. This includes – but is not restricted to – those affected by TB and HIV/AIDS.
- Elderly people without adequate social support – even if they may be receiving their old-age pensions.
- Orphans, child-headed households, and children who are vulnerable for other reasons, such as if there are problems of alcoholism or drug addiction in the home, or a context of abuse (which is seldom).
- Indigence: deep poverty without any means of social support.

In relation to each of these categories, there are existing government programmes that can provide assistance – at national, provincial and local government levels. There are often also NGOs that provide support in these areas. One of the first tasks of the CWP Implementing Agent is to map all possible ways of drawing in sources of potential structured support – beyond what CWP itself can do. This entails networking with relevant government officials at each level, and can include, for example, the Community Development Worker at local government level; and the DCoG Provincial representative, who can assist in facilitating links to relevant provincial departments. DCoG is also currently in the process of finalizing an MOU with the Department of Social Development; Provincial DCoG representatives can also call on assistance at national level as required.

The work includes – but is not limited to – the following:

Facilitating access to social grants and free basic services

The most common of these include pensions, the child support grant, the disability grant, and foster-care grants. Another important but less well-known grant is the Indigent Grant. Those responsible for this area of work will need to familiarize themselves with the conditions for these grants. An important part of the work in CWP in this area is to map who is eligible for social grants; who is receiving them – and in particular, who is not receiving them, and why.

The answers to these questions will provide a framework for what needs to be done. Often, the first step is to assist people to get the relevant documents they require. This will require the use of literate participants, preferably with a matric. In some sites, CWP has contacted the Department of Home Affairs, and arranged a special 'home affairs day', when a mobile unit comes to the area to assist. The most value will be gained from this if work has been done to ascertain who needs what – and what documents they need to move forward. Assisting people in this regard certainly qualifies as 'useful work'.

Also important is to be familiar with the municipality's Indigent Policy.

> Due to the level of unemployment and poverty within municipal areas, there are both households and citizens who are unable to access or pay for basic services; this grouping is referred to as the "indigent". A municipality therefore needs to develop and adopt an indigent policy to ensure that the indigent can have access to the package of services included in the Free Basic Services programme. (Guidelines for the Implementation of Municipal Indigent Policies, COGTA)

Home based care

The starting point in developing work activities related to home based care is to link with the relevant clinics and other health services in the area, to establish what services exist and how CWP can support and complement these. Similarly, identifying whether there are NGOs providing similar forms of support,

to ensure that the role of CWP is supportive and additional to what is already taking place. In some sites, the matron of the clinic is included on the Reference Group to facilitate communication.

There are different levels and forms of care that can be offered to households dealing with chronic illness and/or bedridden patients, that start with unskilled forms of support to the household, but can progress to auxiliary forms of nursing care that require health-care skills. Unless and until training has taken place, CWP needs to clearly limit its role to auxiliary support work that does not require nursing skills.

This level of care work can include changing bedclothes, cleaning the house and yard, house maintenance, washing clothes and linen, cooking food, feeding the patient, as well as providing labour to a household vegetable garden. This work can relieve other household members of a significant part of the burden of care. Even this level of work does however require basic knowledge of hygiene and how to prevent the transmission of disease. Access to appropriate safety gear, including rubber gloves and facemasks, and appropriate cleaning materials and equipment is necessary for this role.

While much of the work is unskilled and auxiliary, CWP home based care workers are often confronted with situations that require basic nursing skills. Training is crucial for these workers. In the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, for example, the Red Cross was appointed by DCoG to provide accredited training to CWP health care workers.

> It is taking us up because we are now called Health Workers. We communicate easily with nurses in hospitals. Sometimes nurses call us to come and look after people if they are too sick. We are actually growing. (Umthwalume CWP) (Vawda et al, 2013)

For some, this skills development has created a career path out of CWP, with five of those trained by the Red Cross subsequently appointed as Community Health Workers by the Department of Health. (Lima Development 2011)

The clinic can often play an important role, with the CWP offering a resource that assists their work. In Bohlabelo, the matron at the clinic supervises a team of CWP participants who visit people on tuberculosis (TB) medication twice a day, and distribute vegetables from the clinic food garden – maintained by a different group of CWP workers.

> According to the matron in charge the incidence of TB declined due to CWP health intervention. The number of Multi Drug Resistant (MDR) TB cases was high, but because these patients were regularly monitored, their conditions gradually improved. (Lima Development 2011)

At this same clinic, CWP participants assist with filing. This provides an opportunity to do more skilled work, and releases nurses to focus their time on their core function.

As CWP participants become more knowledgeable and skilled, they become a vital link to information and treatment in the community, extending the reach of existing systems.

> I sometimes also help out; especially those who are sickly with all these diseases that are now all over the place. I am able to start the process that will lead to the sick person being put on a treatment programme. I have already done this for a number of people. I also go out to get knowledge and information from those who have the expertise in things like how to take care of a person who is chronically ill and is at home. If I am given information then I take it back to the person who needs it. (uMthwalume CWP participant) (Vawda et al, 2013)

Care of orphans and vulnerable children

Orphans and child-headed households are also a focus of care. The work may include relieving the older child of household chores and care of younger children, to enable them to go to school, to do homework and to participate in sports and recreation activities.

The KwaZulu Centre for Sustainable Development (a local implementing agent) took such support a step further with a policy of integrating these children into the CWP as participants when they reach working

age. The CWP enables economic inclusion for this most vulnerable of groups as they transition into adulthood.

Phindile Ntshangase is an orphan looking after four siblings. She is also the Njoko community garden co-coordinator in Nongoma.

> When my Mom died in 2008 I thought it was finished for my family, I felt helpless. I am really happy that now I am able to care for my siblings and myself. This has brought hope into my life. Every month I am saving R200 because I want to further my nursing studies. As long as I am employed, I will not be helpless – it is not nice for people to feel pity for you because you are an orphan. (DCoG, 2011)

Support to people with disabilities

The CWP has also enabled innovative forms of care – and of economic participation – for people with disabilities. In Randfontein, the CWP restored Itireleng Disability Centre, which had fallen into disrepair because of a lack of funding for running costs. About 122 people with disabilities come to the centre each day. Many of them come with 'two hats'. For two days a week, they come as CWP participants, in their orange uniforms, working in the vegetable garden, caring for others with disabilities, cleaning, cooking food, repairing wheelchairs and organizing group activities. Between them, they find ways to allocate the work to fit each ability and disability. For example, they have laid paving stones so that wheelchairs have access to the vegetable garden. On the other days, these same participants come as beneficiaries of the services at the centre – to be helped to wash themselves, with access to a decent meal, stimulation and good company.

Caring for the Care Workers

Care work differs from other forms of work because of the need for trust and for continuity in the care relationships, in ways that have meaning beyond the context of a wage contract. In recognition of this, the selection of care workers from amongst the wider cohort of CWP participants requires care in itself. Many caregivers build relationships that extend beyond their working days in CWP.

These care relationships bring new forms of risk also, including the risks of abuse of vulnerable children – and also of vulnerable adults. In the face of these risks, continuity of care has to be kept in balance with the need for a multiplicity of care relationships in order to limit the scope for such abuse, and clear systems of supervision and oversight.

Care work also takes an emotional toll on the caregivers, with the CWP having a duty of care to participants exposed to the deeply distressing conditions in which some of the beneficiaries find themselves. This needs to include structured forms of peer support as well as access to counseling.

Ensuring quality of care also requires close links to relevant social services and health systems, with mechanisms to set minimum standards and provide quality assurance. This process is often assisted by the inclusion, for example, of clinic sisters on the Reference Groups and with government officials facilitating relevant linkages into local and provincial government structures.

Support to Early Childhood Development[1]

In many sites, the lack of adequate care for small children is identified as a priority, with associated issues of safety. The lack of care facilities and/or the cost of such facilities also often ties women to the home and limits their scope for economic participation – even in contexts in which they are also the breadwinners (Budlender 2010).

ECD is an APEX priority in government, and is supported within the framework of the Children's Act 38 of 2005 (as amended by the Children's Amendment Act 41 of 2007), which came into operation in 2010.

> The Act's key objective is to give effect to the constitutional rights of children through the provision of a range of services from partial care (crèches, day care centres, etc.) to home and community based prevention and early intervention programmes (play groups, home visiting and home based care) focused on young children and which should all be registered as ECD programmes.
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> At a policy level the adoption of the National Integrated Plan for ECD 2005-2010 (NIP) committed the state to expanding quality ECD service delivery through targeting between 2.6 and 3 million children in the 0-4 years age cohort over a five year period. In respect of Basic Education the state committed itself to full enrolment in Grade R for children from 4 ½ to 6 years by 2014. (Motala et al 2011)

A key issue in early childhood development is what is called 'the 1000 day window of opportunity' from pregnancy to 23 months. This is a critical period in the development of the child; failure to address the needs of children during this period have an irreversible impact on the child's future wellbeing. In particular, poor nutrition in this period can lead to stunted growth or 'stunting'. This can lead to physical disabilities and reduced mental capacity, which will affect the child throughout its life (UNICEF). In South Africa, a shocking 23% of children between the ages of 0-4 suffer from stunting.

Lack of stimulation and poor adult attention in pre-schoolers can lead to poor socio-emotional development and is also linked to poor health outcomes. These are all reasons why Early Childhood Development is such a high policy priority. However, there are still significant backlogs in the delivery of ECD services, despite the existence of a per head subsidy to ECD Centres from the Department of Social Development. By the end of 2007 only 10% of poor children were being reached by the ECD subsidy from Department of Social Development with vast provincial variations with the Eastern Cape reflecting the lowest access to subsidies at 3% while the Western Cape reflected 23% of poor children with access to the ECD subsidy.

Many people are familiar with crèches and/or ECD Centres as interventions targeting pre-school children, but Motala et al identify a range of other forms of support:

- Location-based integrated ECD strategies
- Community child protection strategies
- Use of ECD centres as supports for outreach work
- Service hub
- Parent education programmes
- Playgroups
- Home visiting
- Toy libraries
- Support to child minders
- Care and support for HIV-infected and affected children.

[1] Motala et al conducted research into ECD at CWP sites, to review existing practices and to explore how best the CWP could contribute to scaling up quality service delivery and enhanced developmental outcomes of children 0-4 years through innovations in the design and implementation of the CWP. This section draws mainly from this work.

These forms of home and community based ECD services fall into four broad categories:

- Home visiting undertaken by trained ECD practitioners through which support to children and their caregivers is provided;
- Caregiver capacity development interventions, aimed at enhancing the knowledge, skills and practice of caregivers to ensure they deliver a quality care programme;
- Interventions directed specifically to children such as playgroups and toy libraries among others;
- Community support structures and activities such as the child care forums.

In CWP, work at ECD Centres includes a diverse range of activities. This can include placement of teachers' assistants, gardening services, repairs and maintenance to buildings, and construction of toilets. The tasks undertaken also include reading stories to the children, supervising and initiating play activities. The importance of child nutrition means a strong link between support to ECD and work in food security. A key part of CWP support to ECD Centres involves the establishment and maintenance of a food garden, as well as assistance in food preparation, assisting children with hygiene before eating, serving and cleaning up.

This list of possible support services can be broken down into two categories. In some cases, such as support to food gardens, landscaping to improve the ECD environment and maintenance work, activities need not entail direct involvement with the children. Other forms of support involve placing CWP participants within the ECD Centre, as assistants to the ECD practitioner, and involve activities such as reading, playing and assistance with hygiene. In some instances, CWP itself is running ECD Centres. These different forms of support have different implications from a CWP management perspective. Where CWP participants are directly involved with children, issues of their suitability for such roles arise. Where CWP initiates and runs ECD facilities, the skills of participants to play this role becomes a critical issue. How are such participants selected?

> In terms of the Children's Act no 38 as amended which came into operation in April 2010, one of the requirements is that anyone who works with children needs to be assessed against the Child Protection Register (CPR) and ECD programmes and facilities need to be registered with Department of Social Development. Undertaking checks on CWP workers against the CPR register can be undertaken by CWP administration at limited costs. Failure to do so may lend CWP to litigation for non compliance. This also speaks to the issue of ECD worker selection criteria, not all CWP workers are well suited to work with children and this needs to be assessed. Registration of ECD facilities and programmes is a slightly longer and arduous process and does not automatically mean that once registered the centre will access a state subsidy (Motala et al).

In some contexts. CWP plays multiple support roles. Lead Agent Lima Development has developed a holistic approach to ECD; this includes nutritional support to children, parent education, health monitoring and support to the delivery of ECD services. Lima has produced their own guidelines for ECD work in all the CWP sites they manage:

> The ECD programme is strongly based on the Children's Rights Act with the main focus being on establishing safe environments for children to play in and develop through play. The idea is to establish "safe play hubs" within the communities where children can learn and develop their potential as fully as possible. (Lima Development ECD Guidelines, quoted in Motala et al)

The support to play activities is not limited to the role of participants within ECD facilities. At Dlangubo, in KwaZulu-Natal, Lima Development has involved disabled CWP participants in making toys for ECD centres, shaping wood off-cuts into shapes and painting them with non-toxic dyes. The CWP has also helped erect jungle gyms in Dukuduku, Dlangubo and Mbazwane schools and crèches. Gavin Eichler, of the Zululand Centre for Sustainable Development, a local implementing agent in KwaZulu-Natal, explains the importance of these:

> A lot of thought goes into making a good jungle gym. Our jungle gyms are constructed in such a way that each part helps the child to develop a certain aspect of bodily-kinesthetic intelligence,

> for example 'balancing on the bridge', 'climbing the net', 'hand-over-hand swinging', and so on. (TIPS Case Study Series 2011)

CWP is also able to make a significant contribution to child nutrition, in particular through the establishment and maintenance of food gardens that provide fresh produce and supplement existing access to food. Motala et al found that most ECD Centres in their survey bought food rather than producing it:

> The key informant at the Siyathuthuka Educare Centre in Kagiso (Krugersdorp) added that "it would be expensive for the crèche to run a garden as it would require someone to tend it who is going to need payment as well as the cost of water". (Motala et al)

While it would be worth doing a cost-benefit study of the relative costs of store-bought food vs own production, a partnership with CWP in this regard would provide access to labour as well as a contribution to other costs of running such a food garden.

While DSD and the Department of Health provide menu guides, many ECD Centres are not following these. Motala et al highlighted the need for better nutrition information to inform the menus being prepared by the CWP in these contexts. Often, such meals consist of vegetables and some form of carbohydrate, but lack protein. Obviously, the limited nutritional content of such meals is partly a resource issue; the involvement of CWP has the potential to assist in remedying this.

Despite the importance of effective monitoring of the health status of young children, few ECD Centres perform this function. The CWP has a potential role in liaising between clinics and ECD Centres to enhance such monitoring.

Supplementing – or duplicating – other support to Early Childhood Development Centres?

The question that arises is how the CWP's contribution to food security relates to other forms of subsidies – in particular, to the per-head subsidy that exists for registered ECD Centres, intended to ensure a decent meal for each child. Is CWP's involvement an opportunity to enhance the nutritional content of meals provided, or is it a de facto duplication of funding – allowing for diversion of existing funds?

Firstly, many local ECD facilities are not registered and do not receive any form of subsidy. CWP's involvement creates an opportunity to close this gap, with the CWP playing a role in facilitating the registration of ECD Centres, to secure access to such subsidies. This in turn brings such centres into the ambit of minimum quality standards.

In addition, research by the Human Sciences Research Council found that even efficiently run ECD centres that receive the subsidy per child per day found this insufficient to cover the costs of operating an ECD centre at the required quality (HSRC 2009, quoted in Motala et al). One consequence of this that has emerged as part of the design of EPWP Phase 3 is that although DSD support to ECD Centres falls under EPWP, many people running ECD Centres earn below the EPWP minimum wage.

What is important is for there to be transparency about whether a given ECD Centre is receiving the subsidy, and if so, how it is being allocated, so that the participation of CWP enables better quality outcomes for children.

This is an example of the scope for convergence between the CWP and a range of existing government programmes. Rather than duplicating existing effort, CWP has the potential to strengthen the capacity of communities to access and draw down existing entitlements and support programmes – and to supplement these. (From Philip 2013)

CWP can support early childhood development in multiple ways; these need to take into account policy and regulatory frameworks, and build synergy with existing initiatives. In this process, effective liaison with multiple stakeholders is important – including Community Development Workers in local government, local clinics, the Provincial Department of Social Development, and local NGOs, for a start.

CWP support to schools

Schools are vitally important community institutions, yet many schools struggle with inadequate facilities and challenges of drugs and crime on school premises. In many sites, support to schools has emerged as a priority for communities, and Implementing Agents have tested a range of different forms of support to schools. This has involved a partnership with School Governing Bodies and schools principals, in which agreements have been reached on the kinds of work that the schools would find most useful. This has included labour support for food gardens at schools; school clean-ups; support to the provision of security at schools; and support to the supervision of homework classes and sports activities.

The area of school support was highlighted as part of the strategy to scale CWP up to 1 million participants, approved by the IMC in April 2012:

> If the CWP placed 12 schools assistants in every public school, this could contribute 303 600 work opportunities for unemployed matriculants, as part of the CWP's 1 million target. The scope to achieve this will be explored with relevant stakeholders, through the CWP Steering Committee. (CWP Steering Committee 2012)

In Bushbuckridge, for example, in 2011/12, 550 education assistants were allocated to 30 secondary schools, 1 school for disabled, 48 primary schools and 10 crèches. All these education assistants were unemployed matriculants. In Bushbuckridge there are 119 secondary schools with 4 combined schools, 213 primary schools and 2 community libraries – so these 550 education assistants have not nearly achieved full coverage of schools even just in the Bushbuckridge area. (TIPS 2011a)

> (T)here is now less stress for the teachers and therefore many of the schools have improved their results. We have found that many of the schools also want more assistants. The education sector of the CWP is very effective because it offloads work from the teachers so that they can focus on their teaching. The educational assistants also help the teachers to control the students because there can be 86 students per class, which is difficult to handle for one teacher.
>
> – Dumisani Mdhluli, CWP Facilitator, Bushbuckridge, interviewed by Megan Cochrane.

According to Somisa Nyathi, the principal at Jameyana Primary School, in Cottondale, the role of the teachers goes far beyond the task of teaching. "We are everything", says Deputy Principal Robert Chiloane. "We are teachers, social workers, health workers, community builders, lawyers, and police. Everything is on our shoulders and we are too stressed out."

> "It is not easy to be a teacher in a poor community. Some of the children have got no uniform, many are hungry and they therefore lack concentration. Others have psychological problems such as stealing. So, instead of being a teacher you become a counsellor,' confirms Head of Department Gebrued Ndlovu." (TIPS 2011a)

The CWP participants perform diverse roles at different schools: they assist in the classroom, handing out and collecting exercises; they do administrative work, work in libraries where these exist, photocopying, coaching extra-mural activities, and running homework classes. They also help with some of the more unskilled tasks currently undertaken by teachers: helping to dish out food at lunchtime, fetching water for children to wash their hands before eating and after going to the toilet – and escorting younger children across busy roads after school.

> We are so blessed to have this type of project in our schools, the narrow and unpaved street which happened to have a high number of children who died of car accidents every year has decreased from 10 down to 0. This is because the CWP people are so kindly helping them to cross the roads, and some of them accompany those children who live far from school till they get home.
>
> – Mrs Zanele Luthuli
> School Governing Body member, Gobhela School, Mthwalume, KwaZulu-Natal

In Harrismith, the CWP launched a 'Back to School' campaign which involved landscaping of school grounds, painting classrooms, establishing school food gardens and giving each school a thorough cleaning. The campaign spread to all schools in the area.

Implementing Agent Seriti Institute also rolled out what it called a 'whole school programme'. The idea behind this was 'to address every single thing (apart from teaching) that could help a school to work better'. This included:

- 'Scholar patrols to see children to and from school safely (across streets, and at violence 'hot spots').
- Repair of fences, and security patrols at break, to prevent drug dealing.
- Maintenance and repairs of buildings, and cleaning of premises (costs of paint and cleaning materials are covered by the school, while labour is supplied by CWP).
- Cleaning of grounds.
- Daily cleaning of toilets.
- Organising and overseeing homework classes in the afternoon.
- Helping organise sports activities every afternoon. In Pfefferville, the CWP team involved in sports coaching is now accredited by the Department of Sports & Recreation and its members are competent to coach in eight different codes. Seriti Institute has also partnered with 'Dreamfields' in Gauteng, to support sports development at schools, with participants undergoing accredited training to become sports coaches, creating a career path for them.
- Providing teacher aides, where class sizes are big.
- Establishing and maintaining vegetable gardens.
- Planting trees and doing other landscaping at every school.
- Organising recycling at school with the school's own refuse, and use this to also raise awareness of the issue among learners' households.
- Feeding schemes – where schools are nodes of care for support of vulnerable children.
- Helping maintain schools as alcohol free zones and weapons free zones.
- Responding to other requests from the School Governing Board through the principal.' (Seriti Institute)

Many of these functions assist in creating a better learning environment; many also allow teachers to focus on their core function of teaching, rather than being drawn in to address other gaps in the effective functioning of schools.

The Centre for Democratising Information conducted research into the role of the CWP in public primary schools in ten schools in four provinces (CDI 2013), conducting focus groups with all major stakeholders. The study looked at the perceived value of CWP amongst public primary schools, the perceived challenges facing CWP in the schools, and the kinds of work interventions CWP may be able to make to improve the quality of teaching and learning in the schools.

Stakeholders were positive about the role played by CWP, which is enhancing the learning environment at schools: making the schools safer, cleaner and more attractive. At the same time, there were areas where improved communication was identified as needed.

In particular, CWP is typically introduced to the school via engagement with the principal; principals and CWP coordinators decide on the work priorities in schools and coordinators oversee that the work is done. While this modus operandi works well at certain levels and prevents conflict and exploitation of CWP participants, the programme does not always seem to be formally introduced to learners, parents, school managers, support staff and teachers. This can create a distance between CWP participants and the professional and support staff at schools, leading to conflicting reports about how well CWP participants

are received in schools. While in some, relations are good, in others CWP participants are shunned and are perceived as 'spies' or treated as outsiders (CDI 2013).

An important issue for CWP is to ensure that the work done is additional to work already performed (or meant to be performed) by staff in the school. CWP should not provide a form of cheap labour to schools where budgets exist to employ cleaners, for example.

The kinds of work performed can also be divided into different categories. Each category of work has different implications for planning, for participant selection and for skills development:

- Unskilled work on the schools premises that does not involve interaction with pupils: maintenance, repairs, landscaping, fencing, vegetable garden cultivation, toilet construction, cleaning toilets, etc.
- More skilled work that may involve interaction with pupils, but does not affect teaching: homework classes, sports activities, administrative support, library support.
- Teachers' assistants: a presence in the classroom, assisting the teacher.

For each of these categories of work, the selection of participants and processes to screen them for their suitability to working with children and/or teenagers is an increasingly important factor. As with ECD, the Implementing Agent needs to check against the Child Protection Register before placing participants in schools. Given that participants are drawn from the same catchment area as pupils, participants may well be known to the School Governing Body or to the Principal – some may be prior pupils at the school. A process of selecting participants for deployment to the school that involves the principal and the SGB may therefore assist in ensuring an appropriate selection. Simple systems for communicating problems or for lodging complaints – whether against a CWP participant, or by CWP participants in relation to their treatment within the school – should be put in place and communicated as part of the introduction of CWP to the school.

The CDI study also found that, in many instances, CWP participants were also parents of pupils at the school. This can have both positive and negative consequences that need to be considered. On the positive side, this link can strengthen the link between parents and the community, making the school more accessible to parents. On the negative side, the presence of a parent as a worker at the school may create unforeseen pressures on the child.

The placement of CWP participants as teachers' assistants in the classroom may be desirable in some contexts, but it raises the most complexity. For this reason, in the Western Cape, for example, the Provincial Department of Education has taken a position that CWP's role must stop at the classroom door, and that there should be no CWP involvement in classroom-based teaching activities.

Some practices identified in the CDI study illustrate the problems that can arise. Instances of the following practices were found at certain schools:

- Teachers being absent from class and leaving the class in the hands of the CWP participants;
- Teachers delegating teaching functions to CWP participants;
- Teachers delegating marking of books to CWP participants;
- Teachers splitting the class and focusing on the better performing pupils, leaving the poor performers to CWP participants.

CWP participants are rarely qualified to perform these tasks. Rather than enhancing teaching and learning outcomes, the risk exists that this undermines such outcomes. At the same time, however, teachers often face impossible conditions for effective teaching, with overcrowded classrooms and understaffing. If appropriately planned and resourced, young matriculants in CWP could be supported to become teachers' assistants, with appropriate skills development linked to this – providing an important career-pathing opportunity that could also be of significant assistance to schools.

In planning CWP work in schools, it is also important for CWP to be aware of the kinds of budget allocations available to schools, and to ensure that work performed by CWP doesn't duplicate allocations of resources that exist elsewhere in the system. This is an area in which direct discussion of how best to manage complementary resources is needed. While schools can leverage their partnership with the CWP to make their budgets go further, this needs to happen in a transparent way with the school governing body.

All public schools receive an amount from Provincial Departments of Education (PED) for the purposes outlined in the box below. The poorest 3 quintiles, which can't charge fees, get an annual allocation per child. The actual amounts are gazetted, as is the total amount for each school. PEDs normally transfer the funds in two or three parts over the year. The school governing body then makes a decision on what to do with the funding, as per the criteria below.

Extract from THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS ACT, 1996 (ACT NO 84 OF 1996), AMENDED NATIONAL NORMS AND STANDARDS FOR SCHOOL FUNDING

94. This sub-section describes which items may be covered by the school allocation. The description is not intended to be unnecessarily restrictive or prescriptive. Nor does the description exclude the use of state funds other than the school allocation for the items mentioned.

Instead, this description should guide the state in determining the level and distribution of the school allocation, and schools in determining the utilisation of the allocation. This sub-section does not in any way place the state under the obligation of ensuring that the cost of all the items listed here should be fully covered by the school allocation, given that the list covers the range of possibilities, and not a set of core items.

95. In general, the school allocations are intended to cover non-personnel recurrent items and small capital items required by the school as well as normal repairs and maintenance to all the physical infrastructure of the school. Moreover, the school allocation is primarily and exclusively intended for the promotion of efficient and quality education in public ordinary schools.

96. The following list provides examples of items that the school allocation may cover, and a categorisation of these items. It should be noted that the items mentioned serve as examples, and do not constitute all the possible items. The definition of a capital item is as per Treasury regulations (currently, any item exceeding a value of R5,000 per item is defined as a capital item).

(i) Learning support materials (LSMs), including textbooks, library books, charts, models, computer hardware and software, televisions, video recorders, video tapes, home economics equipment, science laboratory equipment, musical instruments, learner desks, chairs. (These items, and the ones under (ii) to (iv) below, would typically support the SASA Section 21(c) function.) This category is subdivided into capital items and non-capital.

(ii) Non-EM equipment, including furniture other than learner desks and chairs, paper copier machines, telephone sets, fax machines, intercom systems, equipment for connectivity within the school and to the Internet, hardware tools, cleaning equipment, first aid kits, overalls for cleaners and ground staff, sporting equipment, electrical accessories. This category is subdivided into capital items and non-capital items.

(iii) Consumable items of an educational nature, including stationery for learners.

(iv) Consumable items of a non-educational nature, including stationery for office use, paper, cleaning materials, petrol, lubricants, food.

(v) Services relating to repairs and maintenance, including building repair work, equipment repairs and maintenance, light bulbs. (These items would typically support the SASA Section 21(a) function.)

(vi) Other services, including workshop fees, TV licences, Internet service providers, school membership of educational associations, postage, telephone calls, electricity, water, rates and taxes, rental of equipment, audit fees, bank charges, legal services, advertising, security services, public or scholar transport, vehicle hire, insurance, copying services. (These items would typically support the SASA Section 21(d) function.)

97. In view of the fact that schools are not equally subject to the legacy of apartheid inequities, population increases and unexpected calamities, the DOE and the PEDS must pursue resourcing mechanisms other than the school allocation in order to deal with the following shortages of the items referred to in paragraph 96:

- Shortages of LSMs and equipment where the shortage is clearly and directly linked to historical expenditure inequities.
- Shortages of of LSMs and equipment, and in particular shortages of learner desks, learner chairs and textbooks, where the shortage is clearly and directly linked to a recent and significant increase in the enrolment of the school.
- Urgent building repair needs which are clearly and directly linked to historical expenditure inequities.
- Shortages resulting from calamities such as fire or floods.
- Start-up resource requirements linked to the approved introduction of new grades into existing schools, or the establishment of completely new schools.

98. Nothing in this policy prevents PEDs or SGBs from devoting funds derived from the school allocation towards needs described in paragraph 97, if this is regarded as being in the interests of education in the school, and if this occurs in accordance with the general policy governing the school allocation. An SGB may, for instance, approve the use of the school allocation for urgent building repair needs arising out of a natural calamity. A PED may establish a system whereby schools are reimbursed at a future date for utilising funds from the school allocation for non-intended expenditure of a non-personnel nature. Such a system of reimbursement must be transparent and treat all schools equally. Schools do not have an automatic right to this type of reimbursement outside of, or in the absence of, such a system in the province.

99. The school allocation may not be used to cover the cost of personnel and new buildings.

Food security in CWP

Food security is a significant poverty issue, and in any consultative process over the needs in a community the need to address hunger and lack of food security for the most vulnerable groups often arises.

CWP involvement in food security can take different forms. This includes the direct production of food, as well as improving the infrastructure and/or wider conditions required to enable increased local food production. For example:

- Support to the establishment and maintenance of foods gardens at public institutions such as schools, crèches, ECD centres and clinics. Often, these public facilities also have access to some unutilized land, which may be fenced and may have some level of access to water, all of which significantly assists the viability of food production activity. This work also often complements programmes such as the school nutrition programme or the per head subsidy to ECD Centres. The food can be used for meals within the institution, but in many instances it is also used as part of outreach. For example, children identified as most likely to go hungry within the school context may be targeted to take food home. In the clinics, provision of fresh vegetables sometimes goes along with outreach to ensure that, for example, people on TB medication are taking their medication, with access to fresh food assisting in their treatement.
- Support to the establishment and maintenance of food gardens at the homesteads of those who are vulnerable – and often labour-stressed. The provision of support to food gardens can provide significant assistance in limiting the descent of such households into chronic poverty or indigence.
- Assistance in improving the infrastructure for food cultivation, such as the repair of irrigation systems or the fencing of grazing areas.
- Work that enhances access to water for cultivation purposes, such as construction of earth dams, spring protection, construction of canals, construction of water-harvesting capacity.
- Planting fruit trees, including in public spaces.
- Land rehabilitation that can, over time, improve the scope for food production in the wider community.

Food production need not be confined to rural areas, either. In Randfontein, for example, the CWP has been able to source significant areas of unutilized land, for conversion to forms of urban agriculture. And while food production is often seen as a rural activity, de-agrarianisation in many of South Africa's rural areas means that, often, this is an area in which skills have become eroded.

This erosion of agricultural skills means that these cannot be taken for granted; a feature of some food production initiatives has been that even basic knowledge such as the need for daily watering of seedlings is not present, with resultant losses to the programme. This lack of skills presents CWP with an opportunity, also: to expose participants to sustainable food production practices best suited to the context that may be unfamiliar locally.

There is also evidence that involvement in food security in CWP is having spillover effects in diversifying the livelihood strategies of participants. In a study of the impact of CWP on the capabilities of participants, relative to a comparable group in the community, CWP participants at the four sites surveyed were found to be significantly more likely to have initiated a food garden at their home than other community members, with 34 percent of CWP participants having food gardens, compared to 22 percent of the 'very poor' group into which they fall. Ninety-three percent of this food production was for own consumption. (Vawda et al, 2013)

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

'I am also a CWP worker, I am also working at the garden, planting different plants. The vegetables that we plant help a lot, particularly with the people that are sick that need to have the fresh and nutritious foods such as vegetables. We personally do not get anything from these gardens, but benefit by seeing our people, our sick people getting good food from our works. A lot of these people are not working and getting grants which are very low and cannot cover for most of the things they need.' (Umthwalume CWP)

'I know things I didn't know about how to grow food since I've been working at CWP and I can show other people what to do also.' (Bushbuckridge CWP)
(Vawda et al 2013)

The CWP has the potential to strength food production practices in the local community in other ways, also. At a site run by NGO Lima Development, a local entrepreneur was supported to establish a seedling nursery. This venture was made viable by the predictable scale of the CWP's own needs. In the process, however, other local producers were also able to access seedlings locally and more affordably, enhancing wider local opportunities for food production.

This is also an area with other kinds of spillovers, that can create policy challenges for the programme – as highlighted in the box below.

What to do with surplus food production in CWP?

The production of surplus food within the CWP raises some interesting implementation issues:

- Some CWP sites have produced surplus vegetables and are selling these. The CWP is not, however, designed to operate as a trading entity. Despite the apparent advantages of having the CWP cover some of its own costs, this income is small in overall terms, but the introduction of unpredictable, cash-based income streams into the CWP creates a new category of risk in management terms, with significant scope for leakage. Even where such leakage is not taking place, the scope for mistrust arises anyway.
- How are prices for such produce to be set? All the inputs and labour required are paid for in full, so price-setting bears no relation to costs. If the sale of surpluses becomes a success indicator, there will be an incentive to undercut equivalent local prices; but this would create unfair competition with local smallholder farmers competing in the same markets – including CWP participants trying to transition into this role. In fragile, marginal local economies, the CWP can become a big player. By supplying subsidized food into local markets, the CWP risks putting existing producers out of business or creating a barrier to their emergence – not a good outcome for local economic development.
- At some sites, surplus production is distributed between the CWP workers who produced it. While this enhances the poverty reduction impact of the CWP, it raises issues of equity – is such food distributed to all work teams in CWP or just to those who work in food security?
- How is it decided what constitutes a surplus? How is the conclusion reached that no further need for food exists in the vulnerable groups who are the intended beneficiaries of such food, and that what remains should be available for sale or for consumption?
- These issues are further complicated in contexts in which CWP participants volunteer their labour in the food gardens outside their two days of paid work. At certain sites, agreements have been reached that such participants receive a share of the produce in recognition of this unpaid voluntary work – and to encourage such commitment.

All of the above are a consequence of new opportunities that have arisen from positive outcomes, and certainly, sensible solutions to them can be found. The development of clear guidelines is a necessary part of the ongoing process of institutionalizing the programme and building its norms and standards. (From Philip 2013)

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a. Bohlabela – Back To School
b. Pfefferville – a kickstart for change.

SECTION FIVE

Monitoring and Evaluation

Monitoring and Evaluation

Introduction to M&E

Monitoring and evaluation systems try to answer three simple questions:

- Has the programme delivered what it was designed to deliver?
- On time, on budget, and with acceptable quality standards?
- What impacts has this had?

The purpose of M&E is to assist in making better decisions in order to achieve better outcomes and impacts – and better value for money. M&E also contributes to what is referred to as 'evidence-based policy making': with key decisions on priorities – and on resource allocation – requiring evidence of outcomes and impacts at an increasingly rigorous level.

So, for example, if it is motivated that the CWP should scale up to a million participants – what is the evidence that this is the best way of spending approximately R10 billion a year? Could better impacts on poverty be achieved in other ways – such as with a youth wage subsidy? Or through setting up youth brigades? These are real policy choices, and while they may not always be either/or choices, the level of policy priority given to one option over others will be – and should be – informed by evidence of the impacts that are achieved. This is why everyone who has a stake in CWP also has a stake in M&E.

The three simple questions identified above mask considerable complexity, however – especially in a programme such as the CWP, which has multiple outputs, each of which in turn contributes to multiple trajectories of impact.

Like all public employment programmes, the impacts of CWP derive from the following different elements:

- The transfer of incomes to participants, as wages;
- The impacts of participation in work – of being employed;
- The impacts of the assets and services created for communities.

Over and above these direct impacts are additional outcomes related to process: how community participation in the process contributes to community development, and how new forms of partnership strengthen integrated development.

The best way to tackle what can seem like an enormous task is to break it down into its constituent elements, and understand how each contributes to building an integrated M&E system – starting with some definitions, summarised from the Presidency's National Evaluation Framework.

> ***Monitoring*** *is an on-going, continuous process of regularly collecting, analysing and reviewing data and producing programme/project reports that support effective management decision making.*
>
> The main aim of monitoring is to provide managers, decision makers and other stakeholders with regular feedback on progress in implementation and results and early indicators of problems that need to be corrected. Monitoring reports on actual performance against what was planned or expected.
>
> ***Evaluation*** *can be split up into two main elements:*
>
> - ***Programme evaluation*** *evaluates efficiency and effectiveness of the programme, and focuses on the quality of outcomes.*
> - ***Impact evaluation*** *looks beyond programme performance to the question of programme impact – exploring the wider social and economic impacts the intervention is having.*

While programme evaluation and impact evaluation are closely interlinked, they ask different questions and require different methodologies. So, for example, in CWP, a key output of the work performed is the creation and maintenance of food gardens at crèches, schools and clinics. A programme evaluation will look at issues such as how much food is produced in these food gardens, what methods are used to do so, are they cost effective and sustainable, are skills transferred in the process, and was the food effectively distributed. These are all questions that can be answered with research and information available within the ambit of the programme.

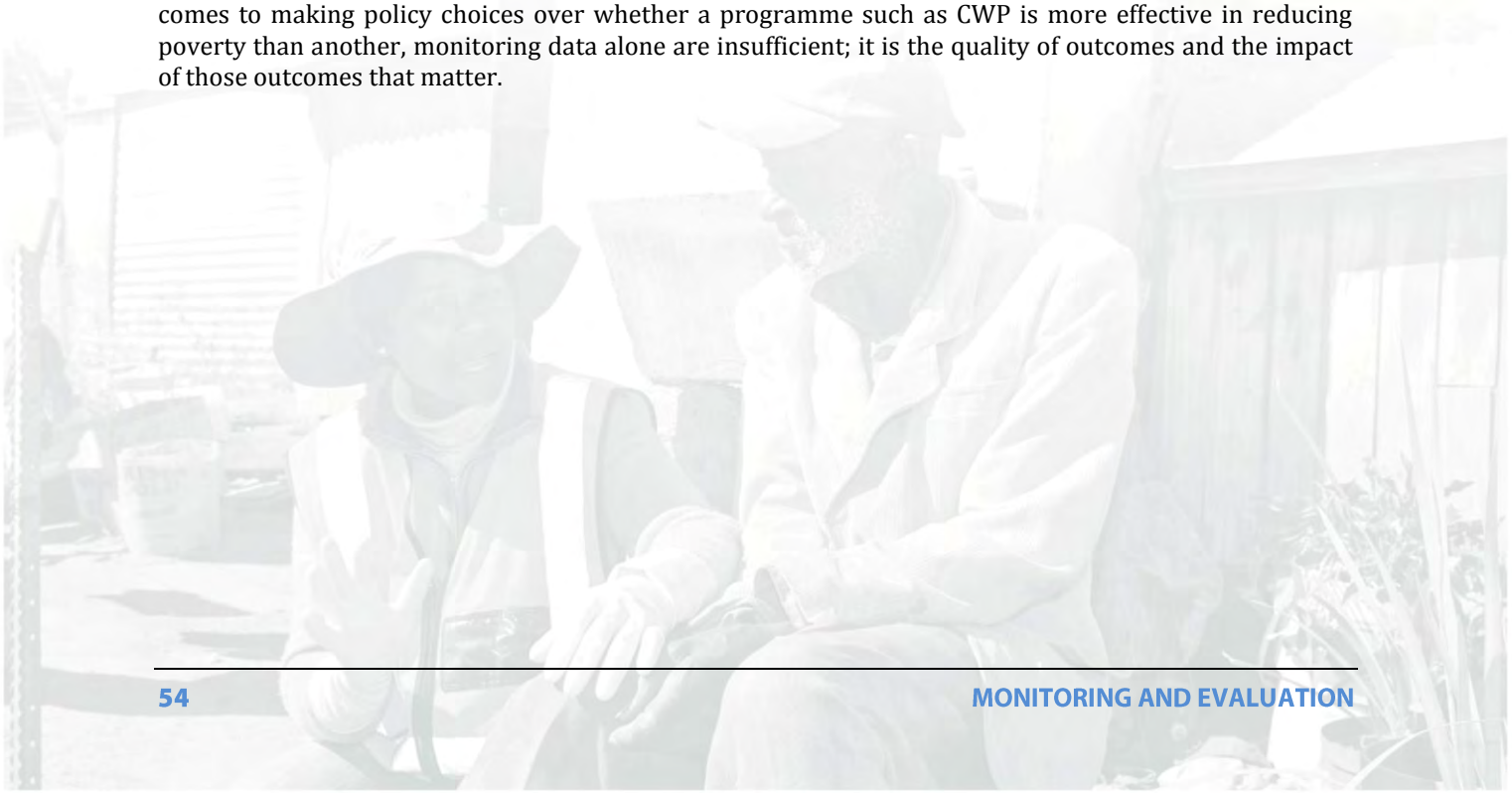
An impact evaluation, by contrast, will ask questions such as: is there an improvement in child nutrition in participating ECD centres, in learner attendance and performance at participating schools and in health outcomes for participating clinics – and how does this compare to crèches, schools and clinics that do not benefit from the work done by CWP? It asks the wider strategic question of whether the programme is meeting its purpose – because a programme can be performing well in terms of what it set out to do, but what it set out to do may not in fact be achieving the purpose the programme was designed to achieve.

An example of this was the Bangladesh Integrated Nutrition Programme, designed to improve child nutrition. It ran training programmes for the mothers of vulnerable children. The training programmes were well attended and the training was of high quality, but child nutrition did not improve. On investigation, it was found that in the villages targeted, the mothers do not decide what the children eat – it is the mother-in-law that does so. This is an example of a programme in which programme performance was good – in the sense that all programme elements were delivered to a high standard – but impacts were not. (P. Davies 2012)

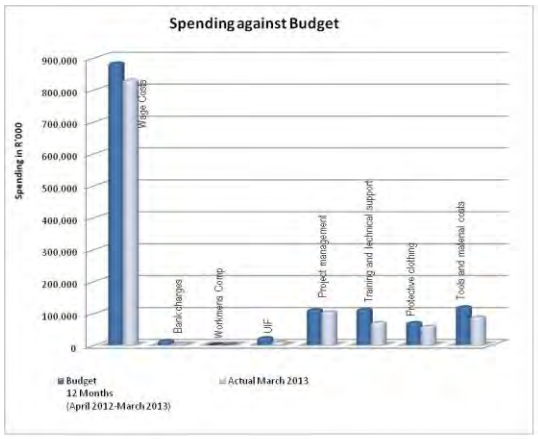
An impact evaluation builds on the programme evaluation, and the two processes overlap in certain respects. They do however ask different questions, they often require different skills sets and rely on different methodologies. In addition, the impact evaluation questions cannot typically be answered from information readily available within the programme, but require wider social and economic research. They also have different time-cycles.

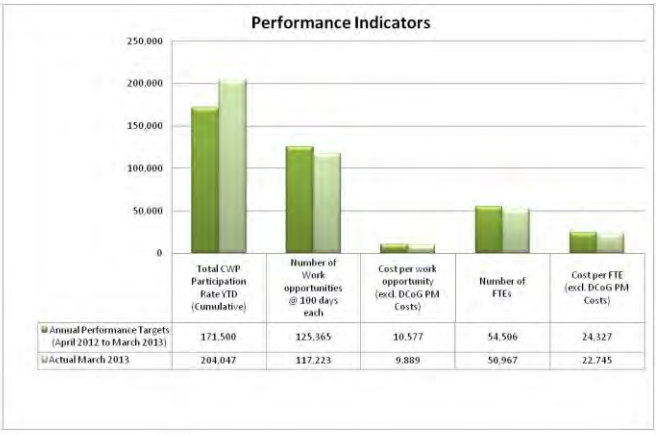
All these levels of M&E build on – and depend on – each other. Monitoring of core data is a crucial starting point for the process. Without knowing, for example, whether sites are achieving participation targets, it would be very hard to assess programme performance. And without an evaluation of the quality of assets and services delivered, it would be very hard to assess their impact within the wider community. These different levels of M&E also have different time-cycles. Monitoring generates data that needs to be used in monthly cycles. Programme evaluation is over quarterly cycles or annual cycles. Impact evaluation has a much longer cycle, as social and economic impacts will take effect only overtime.

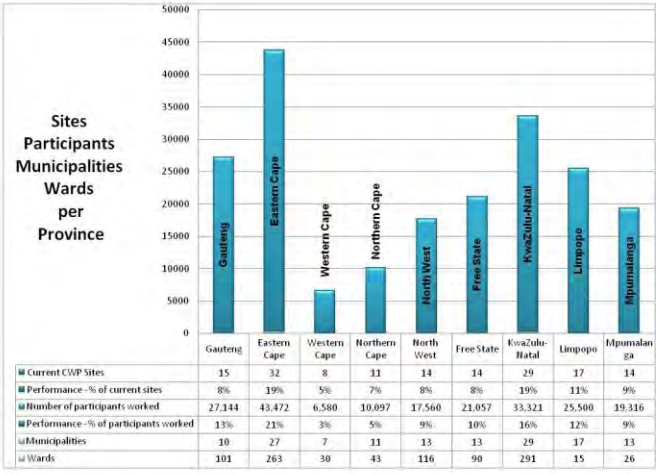
Many programmes never actually get much further than the monitoring stage, however. Yet when it comes to making policy choices over whether a programme such as CWP is more effective in reducing poverty than another, monitoring data alone are insufficient; it is the quality of outcomes and the impact of those outcomes that matter.

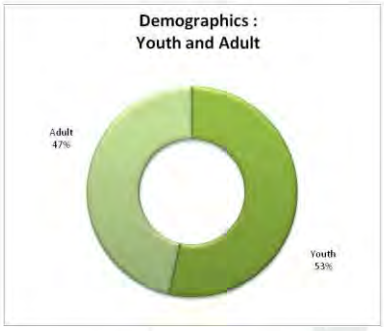


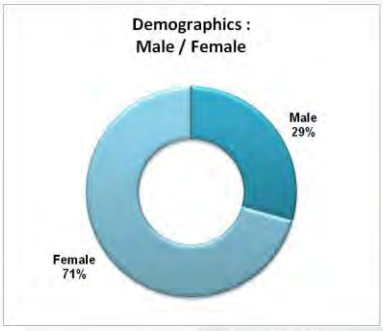
Examples of selected indicators presented in dashboard format from 2013 reports

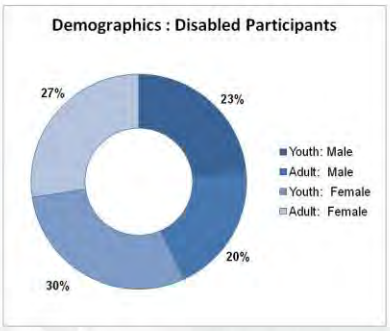




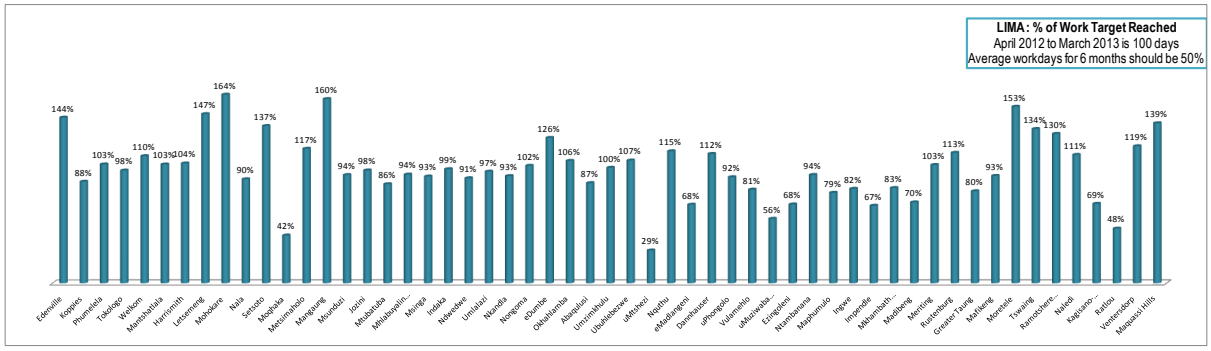




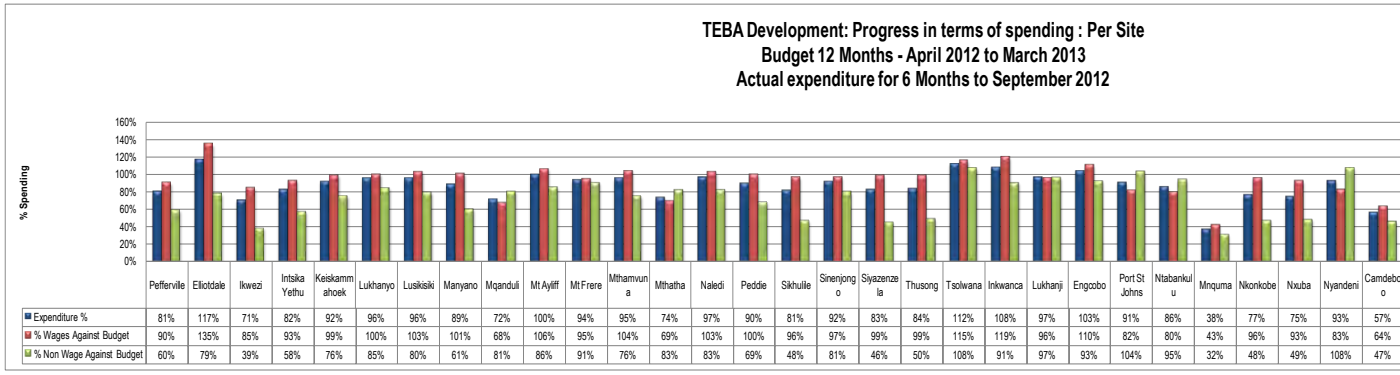




The percentage of workday targets reached per site:



Financial performance details the progress of spending per site:



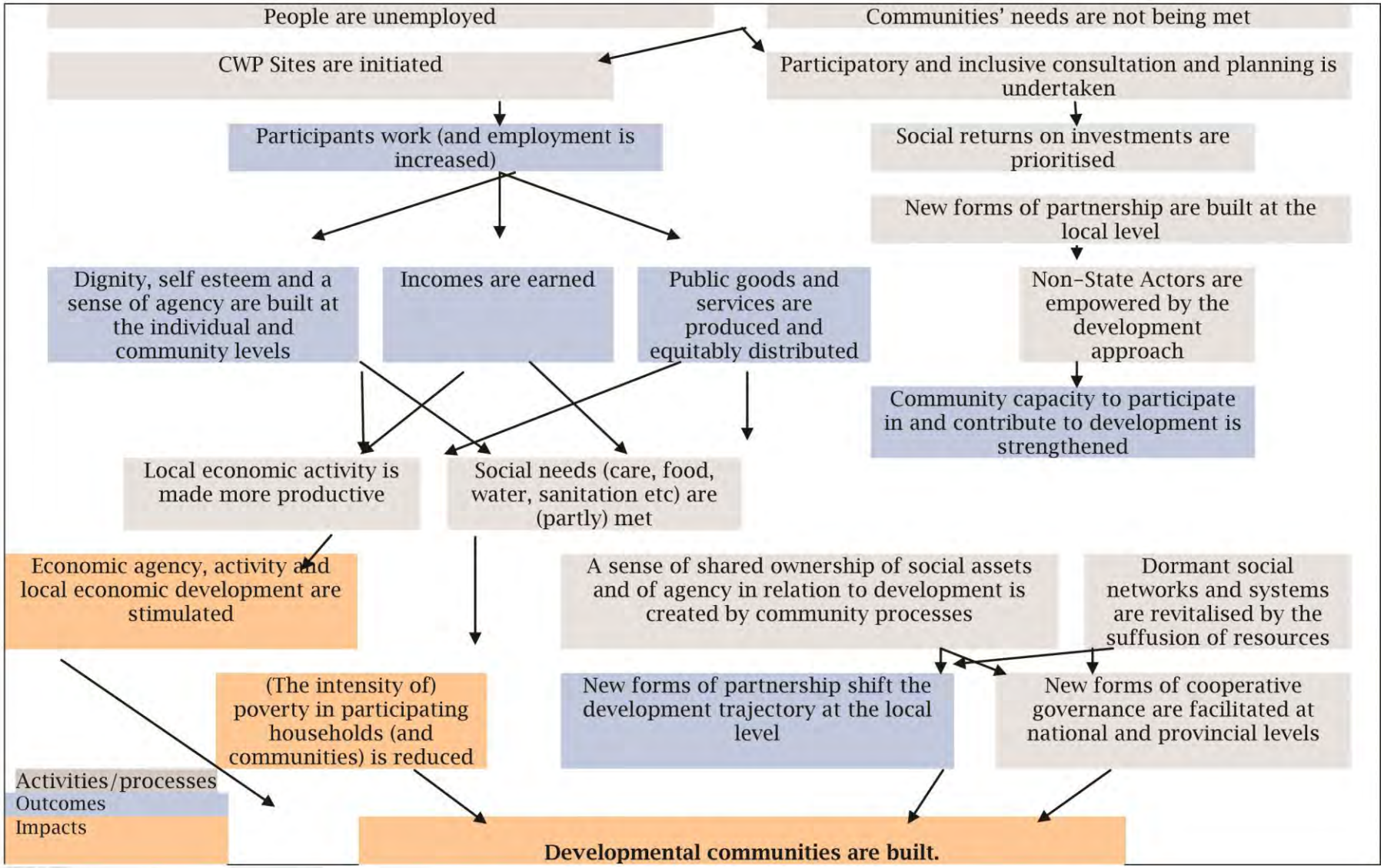
	Pefferville	Elliotdale	Ikwezi	Intsika Yethu	Keiskamm ahoek	Lukhanyo	Lusikisiki	Manyano	Mganduli	Mt Ayliff	Mt Frere	Mthamvuna	Mthatha	Naledi	Peddie	Sikhulile	Sinenjongo	Siyazenzela	Thusong	Tsolwana	Inkwanca	Lukhanji	Engcobo	Port St Johns	Ntabankulu	Mnquma	Nkonkobe	Nxuba	Nyandeni	Camdeboo
Expenditure %	81%	117%	71%	82%	92%	96%	96%	89%	72%	100%	94%	95%	74%	97%	90%	81%	92%	83%	84%	112%	108%	97%	103%	91%	86%	38%	77%	75%	93%	57%
% Wages Against Budget	90%	135%	85%	93%	99%	100%	103%	101%	68%	106%	95%	104%	69%	103%	100%	96%	97%	99%	99%	115%	119%	96%	110%	82%	80%	43%	96%	93%	83%	64%
% Non Wage Against Budget	60%	79%	39%	58%	76%	85%	80%	61%	81%	86%	91%	76%	83%	83%	69%	48%	81%	46%	50%	108%	91%	97%	93%	104%	95%	32%	48%	49%	108%	47%

What is a 'theory of change'?

Every programme is designed with a set of assumptions about how the features of the programme will deliver development outcomes. As seen in the example from Bangladesh above, if those assumptions are flawed, then the programme design will be unlikely to deliver the impacts anticipated. This has led to an emphasis in the development sector on making the 'theory of change' of a programme explicit in the design stage, and of using this as the basis for desgning M&E systems. In fact, developing a 'theory of change' is now a requirement as part of the Presidency's National Evaluation Plan.

There are many methodologies and approaches to doing so; a crucial feature of a good theory of change is, however, that it makes explicit the assumptions about how particular activities and outcomes of a programme are expected to lead to particular development impacts. This then helps inform what needs to be monitored, what needs to be evaluated, and what impacts need to be measured.

Theory of Change for the Community Work Programme



In the CWP, key programme goals and the assumptions that underlie them can be defined as follows:

CWP Programme goals

The overall objective of the programme is to *create access to a minimum level of regular and predictable work opportunities for those who need it, targeting areas of high unemployment, where sustainable alternatives are likely to remain limited for the foreseeable future*.

Specifically, the programme seeks:

1. *To provide an employment safety net*, recognising that sustainable employment solutions will take time, and will reach the most marginalised last;
2. To contribute to the development of public assets and services in poor communities;
3. To strengthen community capacity to participate in and contribute to community development;
4. To strengthen the economic 'agency' of people in poor areas, providing work experience, enhancing dignity and promoting social and economic inclusion;
5. To build new forms of partnerships to enable development: between government, civil society and communities; and between different arms of government.

Key assumptions

These objectives are based in turn on a set of assumptions about the wider social and economic impacts that such outcomes will have. These include the following:

- The CWP will contribute to the reduction of poverty, for a combination of reasons that include the following:
  - Access to regular work will give participants dignity, and reduce the negative social consequences of unemployment on communities and individuals;
  - Income earned will be spent on basic needs in poor households;
  - In particular, this income will reduce levels of hunger in poor households;
  - The social return on investment from assets and services delivered will contribute to the reduction of poverty.
- The CWP will contribute to increased economic activity and development.
  - There will be an increase in livelihood activity, enterprise activity and/or work-search activity amongst participants and their households;
  - Increased spending in the local economy will boost the viability and diversity of local enterprise;
  - Some of the assets and services delivered will contribute to local economic development, e.g. the rehabilitation of irrigation schemes;
  - Skills and experience gained by participants will enable some to enter or re-enter the labour market, informally or formally.
- Communities will be more resilient, cohesive and organized.
  - Participants and their households will have increased access to information networks and government services;
  - Their level of participation in community affairs will increase;
  - The provision of care and support to vulnerable people will reduce vulnerability and enhance social inclusion of those receiving the services;
  - The community will be safer.

The building blocks of M&E in CWP

1. The importance of baseline studies

M&E systems often start by developing the monitoring framework, then build in performance evaluation – and finally start to focus on impact evaluation once the programme is functioning at a certain level. The problem with this is that an effective impact evaluation requires a baseline against which to compare results. If that baseline is missing, the scope to compare 'before and after' is significantly constrained and the strength of the evidence diluted.

Where a theory of change is in place, core aspects of a baseline study can be done even if the impact evaluation design has not been completed.

There are a number of ways in which baseline data can be collected as part of site inception:

- The community mapping process is a form of baseline study, and should be designed and used to map a range of local conditions that may have later relevance.
- The beneficiary data form captures key information about participants and their households.
- Surveys of attitudes and perceptions of participants at the start of the site.
- The use of photgraphy to snap 'before' pictures such as of empty plots where food gardens are to be started, an ECD centre before murals are painted, or a dump-site before it is turned into a playground. These 'before' pictures are important baseline evidence. They can be uploaded onto a GIS mapping platform.

All of the above can be undertaken even in the absence of a structured baseline study and will assist future impact evaluation. Of course, best case scenario is that a baseline study is done as part of a planned long-term impact evaluation process.

2. The role of monitoring

The core function of monitoring is to collate data that are essential to the performance of the programme. In the CWP, this function is primarily performed by the reporting system; an MIS system would take this to the next level. The report system is the backbone of performance management and of the M&E system.

3. Performance evaluation

Many aspects of performance evaluation are derived from the monitoring process:

- Did the inputs achieve planned outputs?
- Were budgets spent on what they were meant to be spent on?
- Did the budgets available cover the costs of actually delivering outcomes?
- Did implementing agents perform their required functions?
- Did the programme reach its targets?

One of the first tasks of evaluation is verification – to make sure that reported outcomes were actually achieved. This takes the form of audits of various kinds. It can include the use of social audits – involving particpants and the community in consultative processes of verification of claimed outputs. In India, such social audits are mandatory every six months, and take place in a village assembly where information such as participant lists, payments made and assets and services delivered are reported back in a transparent way. This methodology has been used to curb corruption, in particular in relation to ghost workers and fictitious 'works' – where work claimed to have been done has not, in fact been performed.

In addition to verification and validation of programme outputs, there is a need for more qualitative evaluation that answers the following kinds of questions:

- Were the assets and services delivered of an acceptable quality?
- Was work organisaton efficient?
- Were appropriate levels of technical support and training provided?
- Do the co-ordinators and teamleaders get appropriate support?
- Were workers rights within the programme upheld – such as to access to safety gear, to fair disciplinary processes?

A dimension of this is what is referred to as Process Evaluation. This evaluates the quality of key processes in the CWP. For example, this might include the following issues:

- Was the process of selecting participants fair?
- Was the process of community consultation inclusive and effective?
- Does the Reference Group function effectively?
- How is the partnershp with local government working?

4. Impact evaluation

CWP has impacts on multiple stakeholders: on participants, on their households and on the wider community. These impacts derive from diferent dimensions of CWP:

- The impacts of the income earned;
- The impacts of participation in work;
- The impacts of the assets and services created;
- The impacts of community development approaches.

These impacts inlcude impacts on poverty, on capabilities, on social inclusion, on economic inclusion, on local economic development, and on community development. Within this, they can include impacts on community safety, on violence against women and children, on health outcomes, on school outcomes, on the incidence of alcoholism and drug addiction.

For the programme, deciding which impacts to measure is crucial and should relate to those impacts that are closest to the programme purpose. So, for example, the first impact evaluation prioritised as part of the National Evaluation Plan is the impact of the CWP on community development – because this is central to the policy rationale for the programme.

At the same time, the programme should enable independent research across the spectrum of issues. For some researchers, for example, the impacts on community safety are of particular interest. The CWP should enable diverse forms of research – because some of the impacts are unanticipated.

Impact evaluation methodologies have come under the spotlight internationally, with demand for increasing rigour in the claims that are made in relation to impacts achieved. While a mix of methodoogies remains important, this demand for rigour has led to an increased emphasis on methodologies that compare the impacts of the intevention with a 'counterfactual' – what would have happened if the intervention had not taken place. These methods are referred to as 'experimental' methods, and place a lot of emphasis on the random selection of the participants in the study, or in the 'intervention group,' to prevent potential bias.

For an example of qualitative research on the impacts of CWP on the capabilities of participants, see the CDI Community Capabilities Study at www.tips.org.za/community-work-programme.

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