



The South African Community Capability Study

The Community Work Programme

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The South African Community Capability Study employs Amartya Sen's capability approach to explore the characteristics of very poor communities. The capability approach offers a framework to assess levels of development from the perspective of the freedom communities have 'to be and do' what they 'reason to value'; which is a major shift from the traditional paradigm of equating development with income (and access and ownership of a bundle of commodities). The approach recognises the central role of values in determining individuals' and communities' decisions and priorities and that these values are rationally determined. More importantly the capability approach evaluates development in terms of the objective conditions of individuals, i.e. what they are able to do (agency freedom) and what they are able to be (wellbeing freedom), hence the approach equates development to freedom. While commodities and income are acknowledged because of their properties such as the nutritional value of bread or the income earning potential of work opportunities; ownership or access according to the capability approach does not necessarily translate into wellbeing. The approach introduces the notion of conversion factors, i.e. the means to convert bread into nourishment or work into better livelihoods. However, if a person is gluten intolerant then ownership of wheat bread does not necessarily mean better nourishment or a hazardous job may increase morbidity and hence not translate into sustainable livelihoods.

The capability approach introduces the notion of a capability set and functionings as a means to assess advantage and evaluate equality. These constructs can be seen as 'opportunities and successes', i.e. the capability set include the set of choices or freedom to lead one or another kind of life and the functionings are what individuals and communities are able to do and be. Equally important is the notion of agency that is, according to Walker, one's ability to pursue goals that one values and that are important for the life an individual wishes to lead; agency and well-being are hence deeply connected. Because agency is also central to Sen's ideas of the freedom to make choices, a lack of agency or a constrained agency equates to disadvantage.

The South African Community Capability Study used census data to identify a very poor community in five provinces. The study explored the levels of development in the following nine dimensions: managing money, worklife/unemployment, democracy, culture and tradition, education, health, technology, media, and environment. Twenty focus group discussions per development dimension area, spread over five communities across five areas in five provinces (Randfontein in Gauteng; uMthwalume in KZN; Bushbuckridge in Mpumalanga; Thabazimbi in Limpopo and Joe Morolong in Northern Cape) were conducted in the first half of 2012. A semi-structured discussion schedule was available to moderators; the focus group discussions took the

form of an open dialogue. This allows respondents to shape the discussions on a particular developmental dimension by providing their own definition for the dimension under discussion as the starting point. Hence, the study offered a unique opportunity to investigate the contribution of the Community Work Programme in the sample communities. The study allowed for respondents to spontaneously refer to the programme and hence it is not an evaluation of the Community Work Programme.

The Community Work Programme is a government programme and its purpose is to:

- provide an employment ‘safety net’, recognising that sustainable employment solutions will take time, and will reach the most marginalised last
- contribute to the development of public assets and services in poor communities
- strengthen community development approaches and
- strengthen the economic ‘agency’ of people in poor areas, providing work experience, enhancing dignity and promoting social and economic inclusion.

The study highlighted that respect is considered the foundation for building strong and peaceful communities by all respondents, including Community Work Programme participants. The practice of Ubuntu is highly valued (regardless of the fact that respondents share their concern on how this practice is being eroded); friendship and family support is equally regarded. While strong communal life and healthy family relationships are prized, individuals want to be independent and to be able to do and be what they reason to value. They also want to be able to earn a living that will allow them to be financially self-reliant and to be able to purchase goods and services that will secure their family’s wellbeing. Gaining an education is seen as the means of securing work that will afford a salary that will enable them to live in dignity.

The study revealed that the Community Work Programme has significantly expanded participants capability set and hence their functionings. The table below provides a summary of the programme’s contribution to individual and community wellbeing as well as the conversion (and impeding) factors that enable individuals and communities to effectively utilise this intervention. The table presents an overview of the agency that participants demonstrated in improving their individual and collective wellbeing.

Table 1: CWP as partial antidote to some of the deprivations caused by unemployment

Expansion of Capability Set	Conversion Factors (and Impeding Factors)	Agency Freedom	Valuable Functionings (selected from their opportunity set)
<p><u>Opportunity:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> structured work for a possible 100 days per annum earn a regular ‘basic income’ work in a collective (CWP is based on teams) career within CWP potential employers income enables purchase of basic products and services engage in financial services e.g. savings and debt products purchase media products and services purchase technology products and services engage in new social networks at work gain structured work experience (CWP is hierarchical with identified tasks and reporting mechanisms) attain work related skills (applied competence in e.g. small scale crop farming and community home-based care) engage in life skills training opportunities (training offered by loveLife in safe sex practices, etc.) practice occupational health 	<p><u>Conversion Factors:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> High levels of unemployment in communities makes CWP an important employment source Limited barriers to participation in CWP Work is in the community and hence reduction in transport costs Most vulnerable individuals and households participate in CWP because of the perceived low status of the work opportunities (hence this self-selection prevents the programme from being “captured by wealthier individuals and households”) High penetration of banking services to poor communities (helping to disburse funds efficiently) <p><u>Impeding factors:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Late and variable payment Access to CWP often requires being part of specific social networks Limited training opportunities 	<p><u>CWP participants made choices to:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> participate in the programme even though it is considered a low status work opportunity allocate money earned according to individual and household priorities (purchases of services and products and savings products and schemes) use personal resources to enhance social services and community assets volunteer in projects and programmes in their respective communities that promote community wellbeing internalise the risk of unsafe behaviour consuming 	<p><u>CWP participants’ achievements or shift in their objective conditions include:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improvement in nutritional intake Active job seekers Capital / asset accumulation (school and crèche, media products and services, white goods, mobile phones) that impacts positively on time saving, safety in the home, information access, and intergenerational mobility Increase in savings (secure funeral cover and stokvels) Attainment of technical skills and applied competence in community home-based care and food production Engagement in micro and survivalist enterprises (including food production in their homes) Improved community assets and social services

Expansion of Capability Set	Conversion Factors (and Impeding Factors)	Agency Freedom	Valuable Functionings (selected from their opportunity set)
<p>and safety</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • reflect on the value of a safe and clean environment • work in sectors that contribute to cultural values in particular Ubuntu, and fosters active citizenship • contribute to social service delivery, and investment in and maintenance of community assets • access information about education and training opportunities • understand the socio-economic status of their communities • exposure to the development interventions by the state and its organs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work opportunities biased towards manual work • Shortage of safety gear • Shortage of consumables and equipment • Slow pace of social service delivery inhibiting, among others, investment in food gardens that require access to water • Unfair recruitment practices • Limited management and leadership skills amongst co-ordinators 	<p>media</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • live positive and healthy lifestyles • critically engage with traditional practices that adversely affect individual and community wellbeing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improvement in educational qualifications (learnerships) • Reduction in alcohol intake

Furthermore, participants of the Community Work Programme appear to experience a mind shift; especially in their views about work; their socio-economic rights; their own contribution to the collective wellbeing of their communities, and the importance of living positive and healthy lifestyles. The regular income has allowed them to make judicious investment decisions which include investment in assets and savings products.

Participation in Community Work Programme offered them space for their individual as well as collective identities; as such the programme has empowered them to make decisions to improve their individual and community wellbeing.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. South African Community Capability Study

The South African Community Capability Study employs Amartya Sen’s capability approach to investigate community wellbeing. The capability approach offers a framework to assess levels of development from the perspective of the freedom communities have ‘to be and do’ what they “reason to value”. Thus the capability approach is sensitive to the central role of values in determining individuals’ and communities’ decisions and priorities. More importantly the approach recognises that values are rationally determined, i.e. captured in the notion of “reason to value”. This is a shift away from equating development narrowly to income or ownership of a bundle of commodities. Hence, the South African Community Capability Study attempts to examine what communities value and then to relate this to their achievements, i.e. what they are able to do and be. This approach requires an exploration of the resources including commodities, social and welfare policies, and other development interventions available in communities; i.e. their opportunities or their capability set; as well as the factors that enable them to convert these to resources or more broadly their opportunities into achievements. Furthermore the capability approach requires that individual agency must be recognised; that is the choices and actions individuals take to improve their wellbeing, and finally their objective achievements or valuable functionings. As the capability approach stresses the role of values, the functionings that individuals and communities select from their capability set are also determined by their values, hence the notion of ‘valuable functionings’.

There are many factors or dimensions that contribute to community wellbeing; for example at a macro level it may be the political and economic structure of the country, while at the community level it may be the remoteness of a village or the unique cultural practices of a community. This first South African Community Capability Study concentrates on the following nine dimensions and explores how these contribute to individual and community wellbeing:

Worklife and Unemployment	Environment
Democracy	Managing Money
Education	Media
Health, Nutrition and Safe practices	Technology
Culture and Tradition	

1.2. Capability Approach

In 1979 Amartya Sen introduced the notions of ‘capability space’ and ‘basic capability equality’ as a means of measuring development, equality, and advantage which he later formulated into the capability approach. The foremost measure for development is economic growth, i.e. per capita income or gross national product which is calculated as the total goods and services produced within a country for a given period divided by the total population at that time. This calculation does not consider the distribution of income and hence provides a skewed reflection of individual wealth. Furthermore, income does not adequately reflect a person’s wellbeing in many areas of life be it health, education, or happiness, for example a person may have the necessary resources but is unable to do things due to personal, social or environmental constraints.

The capability approach offers a framework for determining development and wellbeing and the extent of achieving equality. Development as a means to extend individuals’ and communities’ freedom is at the centre of the framework. In this capability space, it is about measuring the real opportunities individuals and communities have in doing and being what they reason to value. The use of “reason to value” is an important contribution to the development discourse as it recognises that people make choices based on their values and that their decisions are made thoughtfully.

The capability approach provides an alternative lens for assessing development as it looks at the objective conditions of people and communities; what individuals and communities are able to do and be and their opportunity set, i.e. their possible ‘opportunities and successes’ (Sen, 1993). Opportunities and successes are core concepts of the capability approach, where opportunities are referred to as capabilities and successes are functionings. Functionings are what individuals and communities are able to do and be and capability is the set of various combinations of functionings a person or community can achieve. Hence, in the capability approach, development interventions or social welfare policies should be aimed at expanding individual freedom, that is enhancing their capability set so that individuals and communities can select those functionings that they reason to value. The capability set is an individual or communities’ set of choices or freedom to lead one or another kind of life (Sen, 1987; Saito, 2003; Zheng, 2009). In Sen’s words (1987):

“A functioning is an achievement, whereas a capability is the ability to achieve. Functionings are, in a sense, more directly related to living conditions, since they are different aspects of living conditions. Capabilities, in contrast, are notions of freedom, in the positive sense: what real opportunities you have regarding the life you may lead.”

Zheng (2009) notes that Sen differentiates between “means to achieve” (what one values), “freedom to achieve,” and “actual achievement”. Hence individual or community wellbeing is determined by the freedom to choose a set functionings that is of value, the necessary scaffolding to realise their selected achievements, and the realised achievements.

The capability approach acknowledges that commodities are useful because of the characteristics they have, for example bread for its nutritional value and social utility or a bicycle for transport or leisure activities or a book for learning or relaxation or work for earning an income or being creative, etc. The capability approach goes a step further and looks at transformation of commodities into valuable doings and beings, for example access to a bicycle does not necessarily translate into transportation if the road or terrain is unsuitable for this mode of transport or a person may be gluten intolerant and cannot digest the bread in his possession or the book available to a blind child is not in braille or work that is hazardous and may increase morbidity. The factors that enable transformation of commodities into functionings are referred to as conversion factors. Chigona and Chigona (2010) offers three categories of conversion factors, these are:

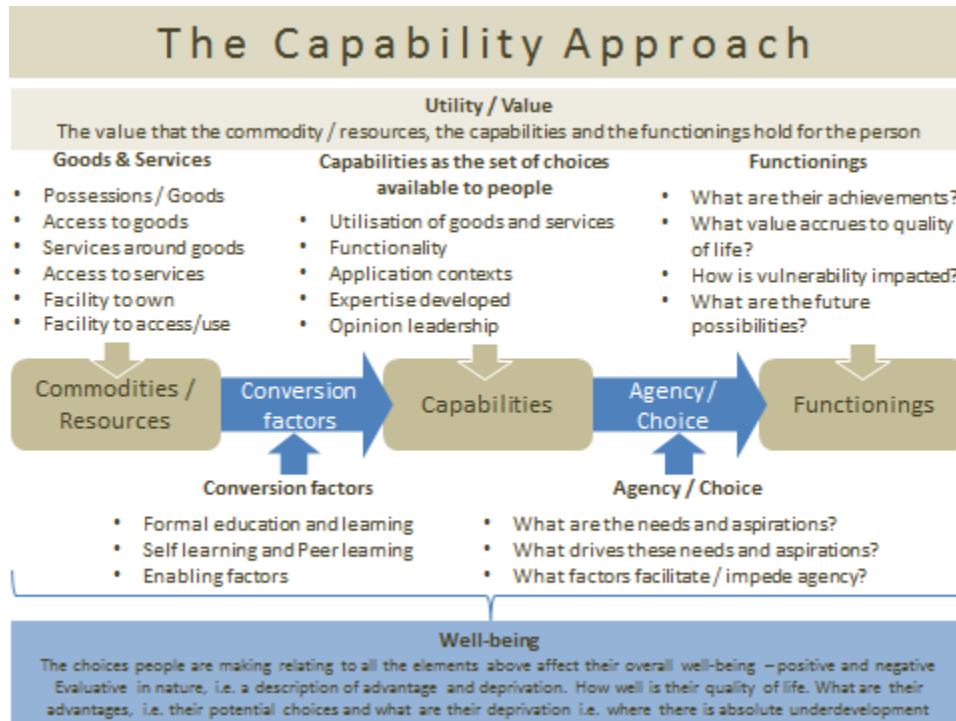
- personal characteristics, e.g. mental and physical condition, literacy and gender
- social setting characteristics, e.g. social norms (e.g. rule of behaviour, materialism, etc), social institutions (e.g. political rights, public policies, etc), and power structures (e.g. hierarchy, politics) and
- environmental factors, e.g. climate, infrastructure, resources and public goods (Sen, 1992).

Conversion factors are critical to the capability approach as it stresses the heterogeneity of individuals as well as the impact of social, economic, political, religious, cultural, and environmental conditions on accessing and transforming resources to an expanded capability set and then into valuable functionings . This recognition allows the capability approach to be sensitive to individual variance such as disability as well as identifying facilitating or impeding factors that impact on conversion of goods and services into valuable functionings.

Since choice is an integral part of selecting doings and beings of value, the notion of agency that is “one’s ability to pursue goals that one values and that are important for the life an individual wishes to lead; agency and well-being are hence deeply connected. Because agency is also central to Sen’s ideas of the freedom to make choices, a lack of agency or a constrained agency equates to disadvantage” (Walker, 2006). In the capability approach individuals and communities are active; they make choices and take actions to bring about the change they value. Thus to determine substantial development requires examining both wellbeing freedom and agency freedom (Saito, 2003; Walker, 2006; Chigona and Chigona, 2010). Thus agency freedom requires assessing the

objective constraints as well as liberties that individuals and communities enjoy. Figure 1 presents an illustration of the Capability Approach.

Figure 1: Illustration of the Capability Approach



2. METHODOLOGY

This report assesses the contribution that concepts and tools relating to the priority areas of the study (managing money, worklife/unemployment, democracy, culture and tradition, education, health, technology, media, environment) have on individual and community wellbeing. The study is part of the South African Capability Study conducted during the first half of 2012 and uses twenty focus group discussions per priority area, spread over five communities across five areas in five provinces (Randfontein in Gauteng; uMthwalume in KZN; Bushbuckridge in Mpumalanga; Thabazimbi in Limpopo and Joe Morolong in Northern Cape) to unpack the realities of these under-developed areas.

The sites selected for the study are known for their levels of under-development, but more than that, within each area people may share access (to some extent) to similar resources yet people range from very poor, to poor, to less poor and even upwardly mobile. This characteristic of these areas poses fascinating challenges and suits the Capability Approach as it starts off by paying attention to the resources including commodities to which people have access whilst taking into account a host of other factors (capabilities, functionings, conversion factors, utility and well-being) that influence the community's development.

2.1. Drawing the sample

Using census data each selected community was geographically stratified on the basis of socio-economic characteristics that approximated very poor areas, poor areas and less poor/higher income areas.

The conventional approach to sample segmentation (based exclusively on the profile of the individual) was considered but not implemented partly because it does not fully capture local area dynamics that are of interest in the capabilities approach (especially in the context of contemporary challenges of basic needs in South African communities). Another reason for adopting a community (area) rather than a strict individual segmentation approach is a consideration of the tension between self-perception and external labelling that is being increasingly resented by respondents in community and social research. Especially in face-to-face research interaction it is easier to communicate with participants when discussions centre on their shared community experiences as opposed to when externally-defined socioeconomic labels are imposed on them.

The qualitative sample was designed as a random sub-sample of the household survey sample. In the qualitative design that was implemented, a total of 400 heads of households or their proxies were recruited from the

sample of households in which the household survey were conducted to participate in focus group discussions in each study community, with specific age, gender and work characteristics in each community. Individuals who participated in the Community Work Programme (CWP) at the time of the study constituted a separate category in the qualitative sample. The design included at least 100 CWP workers for participation in the focus group discussions in each study community (except Thabazimbi where the CWP is not running). The CWP participants were randomly selected from the CWP database in each area. There was no influence from implementation agents as to the participants' selected, they were not informed who had been selected, and did not participate in the process. Furthermore interviews were not conducted at the workplace or during work time. CWP participants were not informed that they constituted a special 'sub-group' within the study, but were given the same briefing about the Community Capability Study as other participants.

For various practical reasons, some of the target characteristics were difficult to achieve. This is true for the target gender and employment status within the sample. In some locations where the target sample characteristics were not automatically achieved on a purely random basis, additional numbers of household heads were purposively recruited from the universe of the household survey in order to improve the qualitative sample size.

2.2. Research approach used

While a semi-structured discussion schedule was available to moderators, the focus group discussions took the form of an open dialogue. This allows respondents to shape the discussions on a particular developmental dimension by providing their own definition for the dimension under discussion as the starting point. The emphasis on allowing communities to share their experiences and hence their own meanings provided rich data on what communities value. Furthermore the approach was invaluable in documenting the unique priorities of individual communities in terms of these developmental indicators, rather than imposing concepts and ideas.

An interesting outcome was that while the sequence of discussions differed between communities, the content on substantive issues was similar. The main differences between CWP participants and non-CWP respondents including their access to a regular 'basic income', more information, new social networks, work experience and skills, and training opportunities. The 'meaningful' or 'useful' work done by CWP participants also allowed them to be part of the daily affairs of their community and to contribute to their communities' development and hence wellbeing. In this regard, CWP allowed participants to be 'active citizens'. In summary CWP participants' opportunity set is larger compared to other members in their respective communities and furthermore CWP

participants feel more competent to make and act on their choices. A practical example is that of working in vegetable gardens; at the most fundamental level CWP participants gain a basic income, obtain fresh vegetables from the garden, contribute to food security of vulnerable households in their communities, and gain applied competence in the production and maintenance of vegetable gardens (enlarged opportunity set). They use the applied competence in gardening to grow vegetables in their own yards as well as promote food gardens amongst family and friends (i.e. their functionings / achievements include applied competence in vegetable gardens production and maintenance, increase nutritional intake for their household, active citizenship through promoting food security). CWP participants through exposure to food gardening and the information about accessing technical support from their local departments of agriculture are able to make a choice and act on it, hence using their agency. Thus CWP is contributing to expanding participants' opportunity set, resulting in choices or agency freedom which enhances their valuable functionings or objective achievements, i.e. wellbeing freedom.

When reading this report it is important to take note that the CWP was not specifically being evaluated in these focus groups and the moderator conducted exactly the same sessions with CWP and non-CWP participants (focussing on the 9 dimensions of the study) – never prompting anything around CWP. Even on a local level the study was not positioned as an evaluation of the CWP but was positioned as a study paying attention to the contribution of each development dimension on expanding communities' capability set. This created a unique opportunity to compare outcomes in terms of capabilities between the community at large and that of the CWP participants (as in above illustration). The CWP-related information shared in this report is therefore top of mind aspects for the individuals and demonstrates how central the programme is in their lives.

This report offers consolidated findings on the contribution of CWP to expanding individual participants' capability set and hence their valuable functionings or objective conditions or wellbeing freedom as reported by participants. As such the report provides the characteristics of communities that CWP operates in that emerged from the study followed by the expanded capability set of CWP participants.

2.3. Introducing the Community Work Programme (Source: CWP Implementation Manual)

CWP is covered by the Ministerial Determination for Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) and its purpose is:

- to provide an employment safety net, recognising that sustainable employment solutions will take time, and will reach the most marginalised last;
- to contribute to the development of public assets and services in poor communities;
- to strengthen community development approaches; and
- to strengthen the economic ‘agency’ of people in poor areas, providing work experience, enhancing dignity and promoting social and economic inclusion.

2.3.1. KEY FEATURES OF THE COMMUNITY WORK PROGRAMME

When reading this report it is important to keep the following key features of the Community Work Programme in mind:

- The CWP provides access to a minimum level of regular work on an on-going and predictable basis for those who need it most at the local level. In practice, it offers 2 days of work per week (or the monthly equivalent), providing 100 days of work spread throughout the year.
- The CWP is designed as an employment safety net, not an employment solution for participants: it provides a baseline in terms of income security and economic access and participation.
- The CWP is an area-based programme that is implemented in a defined local area that is usually a few wards in a municipal area. Sites are targeted in the poorest areas, where unemployment is high and permanent jobs difficult to create or sustain.
- The CWP is meant to complement, not replace, existing livelihood strategies of unemployed and underemployed people. It is intended to be an on-going programme, with participants moving in and out of the programme as their needs change.
- The CWP uses community participation processes to identify ‘useful work’ and priorities. This is usually through Reference Groups, which include Ward Committee representatives, or other local development fora.
 - ‘Useful work’ is defined as an activity that contributes to the public good. The work is generally multi-sectoral (undertaken across departmental mandates and spheres) and responds to priorities set at local level. Generally, a set of anchor activities are identified that are on-going and provide core work.

- The CWP prioritises labour-intensive activities (the ratio is 65:35 wages to non-wage costs at site level). This ratio requires partnerships with other players in order to co-resource/co-fund activities with high material inputs.
- The CWP is designed to operate at scale — where possible, to build up to and maintain participation levels of a target of 1 000 participants per site.
- Each CWP site is managed by an Implementing Agent/Local Implementing Agent (assisted and mentored, as necessary and appropriate, by a Lead Agent/Implementing Agent), who is appointed to develop the site and to provide financial, logistics and project management, while building local implementing capacity.
- A CWP site requires formal support from the relevant local municipality.
- The CWP empowers communities to identify and undertake the work in accordance with their needs.
- Payment of wages is usually through cashless systems — either into workers’ individual bank accounts, or similar cashless payment systems, minimising the risk of handling cash.
- The wage rate in the period under review was R65 a day. Participants work two days a week, or 8 days a month.
- CWP is a part of the EPWP, and is governed by agreements reached at Nedlac in relation to EPWP, and by the Ministerial Determination on Wages and Working Conditions in EPWP. This includes an entitlement to access to relevant protective gear, coverage in terms of the Compensation for Occupational Injuries and Diseases Act, 130 of 1993, access to unemployment insurance, and a code of Good Practise governing disciplinary processes, grievances and dismissals.

2.4. Report Structure

This report presents a summary of the findings in the nine dimensions with specific attention to CWP participants’ perceptions and experiences. The summary is formulated in terms of what communities value that cut across all the themes, and then a more in-depth look at how these different aspects of development impact on their lives, with a focus on the responses from CWP participants. This is followed by a summary of the nature or characteristics of communities in the study using the capability approach as the frame of analysis. These characteristics allow for comparative analysis on the way CWP expands participants’ opportunity sets and valuable functionings, i.e. the contribution of CWP to individual and community development. Hence section five presents an assessment of CWP using the capability approach. Section 6 summarises the way CWP is viewed by the wider community in which it is implemented.

3. INSIGHTS INTO DEVELOPMENT DIMENSIONS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN CAPABILITY STUDY

3.1. What do communities value?

Respondents across communities and focus group discussions spontaneously identified a set of values as well as a set of social and political attributes that they consider important to their lives. Respect is considered the foundation of building strong and peaceful communities by all respondents including CWP participants. Although there is evidence of concern at its possible erosion, the practice of Ubuntu is still highly valued and comprises a set of values that are deemed to nurture strong and peaceful communities. These include solidarity, sharing, treating people fairly, and living with dignity amongst others. Naturally communities in the study highly regard friendship and family support. While strong communal life and healthy family relationships are prized, individuals want to be independent and to be able to do and be what they 'reason to value'. They also want to be able to earn a living that will allow them to be financially self-reliant and to be able to purchase goods and services that will secure their family's wellbeing. Political and civil rights, especially equality, freedom of speech and movement are of intrinsic value. Equally communities attach significant importance to their socio-economic, cultural, and religious rights as these are considered instrumental in ensuring that they are able to live according to what they reason to value.

The following subsections provide insights for each dimension of the study with a particular focus on CWP participants' experiences. At the end of each dimension a summary of the contribution of CWP to expanding participants' opportunities or capability set, improving their objective conditions or achieving valuable functionings, and enhancing their agency freedom is offered. In addition both facilitating (conversion) and impeding factors are identified. This summary offers a dashboard of communities' development or expansion of their freedom in the respective development dimension as a result of CWP intervention.

3.2. Worklife / Unemployment

3.2.1. THE REALITY OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Throughout all the dimensions included in the study, the realities of unemployment dominated the conversations. Unemployment is the most significant reason why people are often not able to live the life they value. This section pays specific attention to the worklife / unemployment dimension of the study while

borrowing relevant findings from other dimensions to provide more insight into this, seriously important, reality of life.

- *“Everybody sees work as a need, nobody wishes not to work. We all want a job. If someone loses their job today, the next day they will be out there looking for another job. This shows that work is very important.” (Randfontein CWP)*

There was consensus across communities in the study that unemployment contributes to multiple deprivations, including:

- **Poverty in the home:** the lack of a steady income and no income results in selling off assets in the home, conserving on basic services such as electricity and water, no access to fair credit facilities, family members leaving in search of better economic opportunities, increasing incidence of domestic violence, rising dependency ratios that adversely affect familial relationships, compromising on children’s full development, and depriving the household of participating fully in social and community activities.
- **Deterioration of health at an individual and communal level:** the lack of a steady income or no income results in, among other, an increase in stress levels and reduction in nutritional intake. Both are considered causes to illnesses. This is further exacerbated by compromising on treatment and regular visits to health services due to transport costs.
- **Instability in their communities:** the lack of a steady income and no income results in an exodus or migration by talented members in search of better economic opportunities and increase in crime, violence, poverty, and alcohol and drug abuse levels in their communities. This also fuels growth of illegal enterprises such as taverns, shebeens and prostitution.
- **Decline in literacy and educational levels:** the lack of a steady income or no income results in lower nutritional intake of children resulting in poorer cognitive performance. Young people are less likely to remain in school for longer periods due to the pressure of bringing in income. Further and higher education becomes completely inaccessible.
- **Collapse in local economic development:** the lack of steady income and no income results in increasing informal settlements due to migration and unaffordability of formal dwellings. This adversely affects local infrastructure development as well as maintenance. Furthermore, local small businesses collapse due to reduced liquidity.
- **Individual and family isolation and social exclusion:** the lack of a steady income or no income results in an increase in isolation. At an individual level people feel ashamed and at a family level they feel compromised to fully participate in social activities.
- **Depression and hopelessness:** the lack of a steady income or no income results in individuals feeling depressed and worthless. This reduces their interest in, as well as the ability to, plan for their futures.
- **Transactional sex and the rise in teenage pregnancy:** there is an observed increase in teenage pregnancy as a result of high unemployment that seems to be fuelled by transactional sex. Communities fear that this may increase in HIV/AIDS prevalence.

- **Inadequate skills to compete in the jobs market:** the joblessness in the communities in the study translates into young people not experiencing permanent employment – being limited to casual work experiences or short-term contracts. Older unemployed people currently only have casual work opportunities. However, the collective work experiences of the majority in communities in the study are manual or semi-skilled labour.

3.2.2. THE CWP AND THE UNEMPLOYMENT DILEMMA

There is evidence that some of the deprivations caused by unemployment are, to a certain degree, mitigated by the Community Work Programme.

- *“Whenever there’s something happening here in the township, it’s always the CWP that’s involved.” (Randfontein)*

The following table shares some of this evidence:

Table 2: CWP as partial antidote to some of the deprivations caused by unemployment

Deprivations	CWP Contributing to Expansion of Opportunity Set	CWP Mitigating the Impact of Unemployment (evidence over various dimensions of the study)
Poverty in the home	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Allocate monetary resources (basic income) according to their household priorities. • Improved nutritional intake. 	<p><i>“At CWP I was able to buy my family food because I earned R600.00 a month.” (Randfontein CWP)</i></p> <p><i>“...we are here now at CWP and at least, we can afford to buy some mealie-meal.” (uMthwalume CWP)</i></p> <p><i>“We are able to get money at the end, about R500. We then buy maize-meal, rice and oil then we are happy. The government helped us by giving us these jobs. Thank you.” (uMthwalume CWP)</i></p> <p><i>“I go to work to achieve something, month end my kids have food.” (Randfontein CWP)</i></p> <p><i>“I don’t have a husband and the money that I get from CWP does help us a lot because I’m able to buy maize-meal for my family and at least we can have something to eat.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)</i></p> <p><i>“It [CWP] has made my life better because my kids used to say, ‘Mom it is better to eat poison because there is no purpose for me. I am just sitting and I do not even have money for bread. I do not go to school, and other kids are always having their lunch boxes.’ So, this thing made me sad when I heard this child talks like this that he rather take poison and die because there is no purpose for him to live.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)</i></p>

Deprivations	CWP Contributing to Expansion of Opportunity Set	CWP Mitigating the Impact of Unemployment (evidence over various dimensions of the study)
Deterioration of health at an individual and communal level	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improve nutritional intake in vulnerable individuals and households through the vegetable gardens programme. • Improve the health status of vulnerable individuals and households through the community home based care interventions. • Improve the physical environments of communities through the cleaning and greening of public spaces. 	<p><i>"I appreciate that they (CWP) look after the sick that cannot look after themselves. They have the welfare and love of the people at heart." (Randfontein)</i></p> <p><i>"I am also a CWP worker, I am also working at the garden, planting different plants. The vegetables that we plant help a lot, particular with the people that are sick that need to have the fresh and nutritious foods such as vegetables." (uMthwalume CWP).</i></p> <p><i>"I sometimes also help out; especially those who are sickly with all these diseases that are now all over the place. I am able to start the process that will lead to the sick person being put on a treatment program. I have already done this for a number of people. I also go out to get knowledge and information from those who have the expertise in things like how to take care of a person who's chronically ill and is at home. If I am given information then I take it back to the person who needs it." (uMthwalume CWP)</i></p> <p><i>"...I played the role of advisor to the youth. Advising youth on health issues. I was also involved in the disaster assistance that I mentioned earlier on, assisting the disaster management company to investigate the cause of the disaster." (Randfontein CWP)</i></p> <p><i>"CWP even goes into the clinics and helps there as well; they clean the clinics. They plant [food] gardens at the clinics. They also care for those gardens too." (Randfontein CWP)</i></p> <p><i>"The people who look after the environment like the CWP volunteers play an important role in our community. They look after our lives, when people are sick, they make sure that we breathe fresh instead of always breathing dirty air, living around flying plastic bags, and also the smell of dead dogs. We live in unhealthy conditions. Much as there are those who are polluting our environment, there are those who are doing good by cleaning up the area, keeping our environment clean, they are trying to do good." (Randfontein)</i></p> <p><i>"As workers of CWP we sometimes visit sick people in their homes doing a social visit. You find that there is a woman or a young lady who is sick and you can see that they need help." (uMthwalume CWP)</i></p> <p><i>"I would like them to increase the sports because I would like to see the youth focusing more on sports. That helps a lot in health. They won't do bad things such as rape and other criminal activities." (uMthwalume CWP)</i></p> <p><i>"Because we are active at all times, because we are working and we exercise; so, that is why we hardly go to the clinic." (Joe Morolong CWP)</i></p> <p><i>"What encourages us is that we are working with people and learning about how to eat healthy and take care of the elderly and sick people. That is why it is important for us to know that, so and so, should eat this and, so and so, shouldn't eat certain foods. We are taught that and we also go and get their medication at the clinic if they do not have strength to go themselves." (uMthwalume CWP)</i></p>

Deprivations	CWP Contributing to Expansion of Opportunity Set	CWP Mitigating the Impact of Unemployment (evidence over various dimensions of the study)
Instability in their communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improves the safety and security of communities through supporting efforts of community policing forums. Improves opportunities for positive social interactions Enhances participants' agency and hence self-worth. 	<p><i>"It is good to have a job, it protects one from having anger in her heart and they start thinking bad things, like if I can rob someone, yet when you are working, you become loving, even at home you can support the kids at home."</i> (Randfontein CWP)</p> <p><i>"It has really helped me because I no longer drink that much, I am able to stay at work and keep myself busy."</i> (Joe Morolong CWP)</p> <p><i>"About the taverns, since the introduction of curfews for them, where they are required by the metros to stop selling alcohol at a certain time, we now notice the level of crime decreasing. So as far as I'm concerned, the CWP and the patrollers are doing a fine job and must never stop."</i> (Randfontein)</p> <p><i>"I helped organize a soccer team and stopped doing all the bad things I used to do in the past like smoking dagga. Now we spend the better part of our time practicing for matches and getting better at playing soccer."</i> (Randfontein CWP)</p>
Decline in literacy and educational levels / Inadequate skills to compete in the jobs market	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improving the nutritional intake of young children through vegetable gardens and supporting National School Nutrition Programme in schools. Increasing the number of years children remain in school, or reducing the dropout rate amongst school children. Increasing participants applied competence. 	<p><i>"The one that pleases me the most is seeing CWP establishing food gardens in the schools. Needy children from Zenzele and Mohlakeng who attend those schools are given vegetables to take back home with them. At the school they are also offered a cooked lunch to make sure they have something in the stomach."</i> (Randfontein CWP)</p> <p><i>"We get a little (training) from here at CWP. We do get people coming through to give us some information and knowledge."</i> (uMthwalume CWP)</p> <p><i>"CWP really helped us. There are people that are really desperate. Money is little there because we have children and no husbands to support us. That is why we are working here. We are desperate because our children need to study."</i> (uMthwalume CWP)</p> <p><i>"We are taught about these things (safe practices) as we are taught about taking care of our people as we are community workers. So, what we have been taught, we teach others."</i> (Randfontein CWP)</p> <p><i>"Yes, working for CWP is helping me, I'm in agriculture and now I know a lot of things which I didn't know then, even if I decided to start my own fields, I would know what to do because CWP has given me the skills I need for agriculture."</i> (Bushbuckridge CWP)</p> <p><i>"I am a Coordinator, I work with people and CWP has showed us that leadership skill works in people. CWP has made a difference in our lives, if Seriti was not here, I wonder where would we be."</i> (Randfontein CWP)</p> <p><i>"I thank CWP because it has helped me to transport me to work and be able to go to school."</i> (Randfontein CWP)</p> <p><i>"Referring to what I do at work, I am going to use this as an example, when I am at home, I do my gardening without following the manual whereas at work, we do things accordingly. If we have to plant vegetables, we plant seeds in rows and not anyhow, we measure the distances between the seeds because that would encourage the</i></p>

Deprivations	CWP Contributing to Expansion of Opportunity Set	CWP Mitigating the Impact of Unemployment (evidence over various dimensions of the study)
		<p><i>plants to grow with enough space. As compared to the way I do things at home, at work, it is very different. I would say, at home you might not know the right way of doing things and at work, you learn about doing things the right way.” (uMthwalume CWP)</i></p>
Collapse in local economic development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The basic income from CWP allows participants to invest in micro-enterprises. • CWP participants spend their basic income in their own and neighbouring communities. 	<p><i>“They teach us that we can do co-operatives.” (Randfontein CWP)</i></p> <p><i>“I work at CWP, and then I sell door to door, I can say I am a hard worker and I go to school part time.” (Randfontein CWP)</i></p> <p><i>“They are also willing to do what we doing because they are tired of being without a job. But they used to laugh at us saying we walk up and down and we are stupid. Some were even calling us ‘Kwanda’.” (uMthwalume CWP)</i></p> <p><i>“Introduction of CWP which has created many jobs to the previously unemployed especially the youth.” (Randfontein CWP)</i></p>
Individual and family isolation and social exclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The work opportunities provided by CWP and the diverse working contexts contributes to increasing participants’ social networks. • The work opportunities offered by CWP provides individuals with structure and routine to their lives. • The nature of work opportunities provided by CWP enables participants to take a more active role in the wellbeing of their respective communities. 	<p><i>“We go around doing laundry for the elderly who are sick. We also clean house for them.” (Randfontein CWP)</i></p> <p><i>“They are full of compliments especially us from CWP because we get more involved with community related projects like cleaning. Cleaning of parks they consider it as environment rehabilitation. This has brought some new changes within the community. People seem to appreciate the environment more and because it’s clean, some try to keep it that way.” (Randfontein CWP)</i></p> <p><i>“I like to help my community by developing it. I don’t like to look upon those people who are suffering without helping them.” (uMthwalume CWP)</i></p> <p><i>“I avoid drinking since most women drink nowadays. I avoid doing that because I set an example for the children I am raising since I am looking after them. I make sure that I prevent them from being lead into something that is bad.” (uMthwalume CWP)</i></p> <p><i>“I am compassionate, I am that kind of a person that will feel pain for the person in pain, feel more pain at times more than the person involved. I can easily put myself in the next person’s shoes and that is why I can talk to a person in that situation. You visit a home and a person is in dire need of food and cannot come out to say I am short of this and that, yes, I am in that situation but I will always say, my situation is not as bad as that of the person that I would be with at that particular time. I will then see what I can offer, take from my home to help the next person.” (uMthwalume CWP)</i></p>

Deprivations	CWP Contributing to Expansion of Opportunity Set	CWP Mitigating the Impact of Unemployment (evidence over various dimensions of the study)
Depression and hopelessness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Enhancing individual agency freedom and wellbeing freedom, as participants actively participate in their communities' wellbeing which in turn allows them to make positive healthy lifestyle choices. 	<p><i>"We don't sell the vegetables - so you decide that I can see the family is struggling let me give them some vegetables even though they have not asked for them." (uMthwalume CWP)</i></p> <p><i>"We are happy that they've planted trees on the side of Ralerata Road; all the way to the corner with the traffic lights. And what we love about trees is that they act as a windbreak, making sure that our houses are not damaged when there are strong winds. Also, when it's hot, people are able to find relief from the shade under the trees." (Randfontein CWP)</i></p> <p><i>"I helped students to acquire accommodation in the neighbourhood. Some of these students were from far afield places like uMthwalume so I managed to secure places where they could stay for them that is close to the college." (Randfontein CWP)</i></p> <p><i>"I am a captain of the Mavusana soccer team which helps to keep the youth active. So, I think I'm doing my part in building the community." (Randfontein CWP)</i></p> <p><i>"In my area I am assisting and involved in patrolling to stop crime, anti-crime patrol to fight crime." (Randfontein CWP)</i></p> <p><i>"The CWP is really helping our surroundings, they help keep the place clean." (Randfontein)</i></p> <p><i>"We feel proud of them because they bring about a new life in us where my Kasi (township) is now clean and we are beginning to see less crime as the CWP plays the role of crime prevention as well, safety and cleanliness. They do patrolling as well in addition to cleaning up the area." (Randfontein)</i></p> <p><i>"The community is very pleased with the work that CWP is doing." (Randfontein CWP)</i></p>
Transactional sex and the rise in teenage pregnancy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The basic income offered by CWP allows for cash-in-hand so that participants can spend according to their priorities. 	<p><i>"It has changed my life in big way, I mean there are STI, HIV and all those diseases, you know sometimes you risk your life and sleep with someone that you don't love, just so that he can give you money. Since I started getting a job knowing that I get something at the end of the month, that stopped, sometimes you go out with someone that you don't even love, just so that you can get money, maybe he is working in a mine, so this job has changed my life, I can go to the bank and withdraw some money." (Randfontein CWP)</i></p>

Due to the dire joblessness in their respective communities, there was consensus that CWP offers many advantages (in line with those listed above), including regular 'basic income', workplace experience, work related skills and knowledge, opportunity to extend their social networks, and to prevent being marginalised and alone as a result of unemployment.

- *"I like this job because it keeps me busy but they pay us very little." (Joe Morolong CWP)*
- *"At CWP I was able to buy my family food because I earned R600.00 a month." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"I am a teacher assistant and I am able to assist the kids when their teacher is absent." (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *"Like I am helping at the school, with copies and all that before I went to the school I didn't know how to use a photocopy machine, now with any company that will give a clerical job I'll be able to use a copy machine." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*

In Joe Morolong, young people reported that working for the CWP has helped them to stay away from taverns and is keeping them sober.

- *"It has really helped me because I no longer drink that much, I am able to stay at work and keep myself busy." (Joe Morolong CWP)*
- *"I stay away from funny things like taverns. In our community the youth is under pressure of getting drunk." (Joe Morolong CWP)*

The CWP is also valued for its non-monetary outcomes such as giving structure, being part of a social group and gaining skills.

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

From an employment point of view, the CWP is perceived by respondents as 'better than nothing'.

- *"CWP has brought new development and progress in the area as most people are now employed; though on a small scale because they don't work full time, but it's better than nothing" (Randfontein)*

It is both seen as a means of survival as well as a stepping stone to realising their aspirations of other work. Participants value the low barriers to entry into the programme, i.e. no minimum requirements for participation (such as a senior certificate that they face in other work opportunities) and non-discriminatory practices (i.e. old people are also allowed to participate).

- *"In most cases a lot of people were not working when they started introducing CWP, so there was no choice, either you take the job or you sit at home. In our ward, there were many projects, but in most places there were not a lot, it was just one project. Randfontein as a whole, there was nothing. People came to do a presentation to say we have this project and municipality agreed and called counsellors and they explained to people, so people agreed, because it is better to get R50, unlike just sitting and doing nothing. Only now we have this EPWP." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"I don't like the level of unemployment because our children are without jobs though they have Diplomas and Degrees. I like the employment opportunities that Government gives us." (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *"I like this job because it keeps me busy but they pay us very little." (Joe Morolong CWP)*
- *"I love my job, the only problem is it doesn't pay me well." (uMthwalume CWP)*

In policy terms, the CWP has been described as an employment ‘safety net’ - offering a minimum level of regular work and regular income to those who are unable to find alternatives, at minimum conditions. But while these minimum conditions off-set some of the worst impacts of unemployment and poverty (as demonstrated in Table 2), participants expressed their frustration at the limits of the CWP in lifting them out of poverty.

- *“CWP should increase our allowance. The money we earn does not satisfy us. We work very few days; the money we earn is very little.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“If they can allow us to work for longer hours, instead of just 8 hours.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“I think this job from CWP only helps with our CV’s but the money is too little, it is almost like you are moving back not progressing.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“It (CWP) helps us with experience we get from work but financially it makes us poor.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“At home they think I should just leave this job because we don’t get paid a lot, my grandmother will tell me I must just go to the field because there I might make better money than I’m earning now here at CWP. She liked to say from the fields you can get tomatoes which we can sell and make money but this job of yours really doesn’t have any money at all.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
- *“The only time I will stop working for CWP is only when I get a better job, a job which will pay me and where I can work every day of the month.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
- *“People that we stay with are not thinking like we do, my mom says I am risking, “Tata MaChance, Tata MaMillions”, because the first thing is that we work [CWP] in the street and it is cold, if it rains, we have to get back to work. So my mom always thinks - is my child going to be safe in the street?” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“Who dreams of working outside in the cold sweeping and cleaning rubbish? We are just working because we need to.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“Piece jobs are better than the CWP work.” (Randfontein CWP)*

Other than income, both the nature of the work and the training offered by the programme is limiting for some respondents. They would like to acquire work experiences other than that acquired in low level labour intensive jobs. Similarly they would like to get training in skills that are in demand such as computer literacy.

- *“Maybe they should include other things like working in the office so that we can learn other skills.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“It would be nice to get a promotion that is visible like working with computers; maybe they need to have other things in addition to the work they offer now.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“We get information and all the things you are talking about in the training they give us, but we need more than the information, we need more money. Removing weeds doesn’t need a qualification, in Kesele it’s always community work that is available, like building toilets. Things like being an accountant need you to pay for them. The fees are expensive and we don’t have money for them.” (Joe Morolong CWP)*

3.2.3. WHAT IS WORK/EMPLOYMENT?

In the main respondents consider work to be an activity that generates income to be able to live, i.e. it is a means of earning a living. Income is seen in paid wages and salaries, i.e. money received in exchange for their labour. There was agreement that wages and salaries earned should be sufficient to allow them to be able to purchase goods and services that will enable them to be and do things that they value. As such work is a

resource / commodity to provide for themselves and their family and to forge a better future for themselves and their families. A few respondents also see work as a means of accessing social/public goods through employee schemes such as medical aid, pension fund, and housing subsidy. Few respondents noted the intrinsic value of work, e.g. to foster personal growth or an expression of creativity. Work is also valued for opportunities for skills development and training. While the instrumental value of work was emphasised, respondents also noted that work requires discipline, commitment, responsibility, and reduction of family and leisure time. They also are aware of exploitation, humiliation, and unsafe working conditions in some work places. While the study did not directly probe the notion of ‘decent work’, it appears that a valuable job or a proper job is one that is regular, pays a ‘living wage’, is secure, provides social benefits, and offers good working conditions.

When discussing work experiences in general, CWP participants have a greater tendency to describe jobs as formal, with rights and with pay that can support them and their families. Across the communities in the study, CWP participants see work as being organised by rules and a code of conduct; as well as tasks to accomplish and seniors (management) to report to. Hence formal work has structure, an established hierarchy, is governed by a contract, and requires a unique set of social behaviours. The conversation did not explore whether these descriptions were borne from their exposure to CWP, yet due to the limited work experience these respondents have outside of the CWP, it is postulated that much of these descriptions are based on the work they have done in the CWP.

- *“Work is employment, and at the end of the day, you get payment or rewarded for it.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“You have to work; you cannot just get payment without doing your job.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“It is well behaviour at work.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“You must be friendly.” (Joe Morolong CWP)*
- *“Humility.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“To do what is being told at work.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“Obeying the rules.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“Keeping time.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“Following the task that has been given to you.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“Determination. When you come to work, you must be prepared to work hard.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“Respect your seniors.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“You must be willing to compromise.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“Team work.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“You must not be late to work, you must keep time.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“You must be responsible, you must finish the task that has been given to you and do it in a perfect way, you must not say I will not clean in the street. You must do something to the best of your ability.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“... So at CWP, we have a code of conduct, so you are supposed to obey those rules.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“You will not do your job well if you don't like it, or when you tell yourself that you will work hard when your superior is around. You have to do your job with diligence whether your superiors are there or not.” (Randfontein CWP)*

Despite examples from respondents of positive impacts on their lives from participating in the CWP, this is not the work they aspire to be doing; respondents clearly articulated their desire for full time and formal work, at levels of pay able to support them and their families and meet their basic needs. For respondents, CWP does not fit this category; instead, it falls within a wider category of survivalist enterprise, lowly paid jobs and ‘tender’ work in which the incomes earned are insufficient to meet their basic needs. Respondents are sceptical of such lowly paid work and survivalist enterprise, and see these activities as contributing to the working poor i.e. workers who earn below the poverty line and hence work just to put food on the table with limited opportunities to save or plan for the future or to be able to do things they value or to invest in productive assets. Respondents do not see this as proper work; some go as far as to describe CWP and other low paid and survivalist activity as ‘not work’ at all:

- *“This thing (CWP) is not work, but it’s just that they don’t say it.” (uMthwalume CWP)*

This notion of CWP not being a proper job is, in uMthwalume, strengthened by some community members treating CWP participants with a lack of respect.

- *“They are also willing to do what we doing because they are tired of being without a job. But they used to laugh at us saying we walk up and down and we are stupid. Some were even calling us ‘Kwanda’.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“No, we are not treated with respect. / Like they look down on what we are doing at work. / Our work is not treated with respect. / And especially with our uniform. / I think they don’t respect our job because of our salary. Like if they ask us how much we earn when we told them they said there is nothing that we are doing there.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“Since I work at CWP and I’m asked what I’m being paid and I tell them. They laugh at me, saying I might as well be unemployed. So that’s why I say a job is a well-paying way.” (uMthwalume CWP)*

To conclude this section on worklife/unemployment the barriers to employment identified across the communities in the study included: education and skills, experience, access to resources to find work, discrimination (gender and age), corrupt employment practices, and exclusion from social networks (family and friends who are working).

Table 3: Worklife / Unemployment and CWP Contribution to Development

Expansion of Capability Set	Conversion Factors (and Impeding Factors)	Agency Freedom	Valuable Functionings
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work opportunity (100 days per annum) • Regular basic income • Social networks • Structured work experience • Technical skills • Training opportunities • Active civic citizenship • Opportunity to contribute to social services and community assets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High levels of unemployment in communities. • Limited barriers to participation. • Actively searching for work. • Most vulnerable individuals and households participate in CWP because of the perceived low status of the work opportunities (hence this self-selection prevents the programme from being “captured by wealthier individuals and households”). <p><u>Impeding factors:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited training opportunities. • Work opportunities biased towards manual work. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participate in CWP • Volunteerism • Contributing to furthering CWP goals • Adherence to occupational health and safety 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improved nutritional intake • Engage in micro and survivalists enterprises • Taking an active role in community life • Participate in learnerships • Active citizen • Attainment of technical skills such as food production, community home-based care • Capital / Asset accumulation • Reduction in alcohol and drug intake

3.3. Democracy

Communities in the study place high value on political, civil and socio-economic rights. In terms of political and civil rights, they value equality, and the freedom of movement and speech. The list of socio-economic rights include water and sanitation, electricity, road infrastructure, health, housing, education, refuse removal and waste management, and recreational facilities. Generally respondents across the communities in the study reported the lack of basic services in their respective communities. Water, sanitation, electricity, refuse removal and waste management, and road infrastructure were priorities for these communities. In addition they would like to see genuine development that is a commitment to ensure their socio-economic rights. There was consensus across the communities that the pace of government delivery (all spheres) in meeting their socio-economic rights is too slow and that their local municipalities are unevenly delivering on basic services. In terms of basic service delivery of local municipality, respondents also complained about the lack of routine maintenance of old and new infrastructure and the unreliability of services such as continuous supply of clean water and electricity.

Across all communities in the study there appears to be a greater reliance or dependence on the state to provide them with their socio-economic rights as well as to create job opportunities (the right to work). The private sector or civil society organisations are not considered partners or drivers of creating sustainable work opportunities or contributing to meeting their socio-economic rights.

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

- *"It is now possible for people who do not have money to get free education from Grade 1 to Grade 12. That is something that did not happen in the past." (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *"We are allowed to go to any school you want." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
- *"I did not even pay registration fees for my child at tertiary. She is now in her third year and I have not had to pay anything." (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *"Needy children now get school uniform and shoes from school - that is something that did not happen in the past." (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *"There are also feeding schemes at schools now for children who come from needy homes. We did not have electricity at first now we do have. We also have free houses that are built for us now and we also have electricity now and if you do not have money to buy electricity you can get electricity for R5." (uMthwalume CWP)*

- *"We also now have schools close to us." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"There are free bus services to transport children to school." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"As a community we contributed to build more schools because we were short of schools here. (...) It was volunteering because all the children must go to school. ." (Joe Morolong CWP)*
- *"There are community centres with computers." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"For the community there are libraries available and in the library there are books." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"It is good for the community because there are now mobile clinics especially in rural areas where facilities are far from people. Mobile clinics also go to kids at schools and check their illnesses." (Randfontein CWP)*

Furthermore CWP participants seem more likely to volunteer or to help to improve the conditions in their respective communities and neighbourhoods than non-CWP respondents, i.e. they seem keener to be 'active citizens' in their neighbourhoods:

- *"Most of the time I help people in my street with kids who did not go to school; mostly those who do not have parents. I go to school to look for a space for them; and I can also go to other NGOs and ask for food donations for them. That is how I improve life in my community." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"I draw house plans for people, I am not qualified for that but I have an idea of how to do it and I get customers." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"When I know that there is someone who is not working, when I hear of a job vacancy for a domestic worker or a gardener I tell the person about the job." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"I do a lot of volunteer work. We go around homes where we know there is an elderly or sick, bedridden person or primarily disabled person (home based care). We then go to their home and bath and feed them. You will find that some do not have anyone, besides us, taking care of them. I love what I am doing; hence I am still doing it. However it would be lovely to actually get paid for it." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
- *"I attend community meetings." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"I have volunteered as part of a school support team." (Joe Morolong CWP)*
- *"I volunteer in the community by helping people who are not well. I go there and help them with their laundry and house cleaning and also bath them." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"... young people in the community who are working as volunteers dish out for them and go give them their food at home." (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *"I also help people who are sick by going to feed them and helping them to bath." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"I also make sure that all the kids that I see in the community are safe. I ask the kid where they are from where his parents are and if he goes to school. I can take them to the police station or to social workers." (Randfontein CWP)*

The collective nature of CWP work, working in teams, allows the emergence of a 'structure' as well as a network. The social network has facilitated greater social inclusion and allowed participants to extend their networks. The 'structure' offers a means of career progression. However the structure is meaningless to participants who are at a distance from their co-ordinators. Their desperation for work makes them less likely to use this structure to discuss their grievances as well as opportunities within the programme.

- *"I work at CWP, it is very nice there, I work well with my colleagues, at lunch breaks we talk to each other and if someone has a problem we listen and give you advice." (uMthwalume CWP)*

- *“Yes, CWP improves. Like in our community there is this lady who used to be a co-ordinator, now she has a driving licence, she left co-ordinating and went inside the office, now she drives. So CWP has opportunities if you are learned.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“It is because at CWP you may come together as workers or maybe on a strike, but when there is a co-ordinator and they hear your suggestions, you’ve lost that job! The life we live at work is difficult.” (uMthwalume CWP)*

Table 4: Democracy and CWP Contribution to Development

Expansion of Capability Set	Conversion Factors (and Impeding Factors)	Agency Freedom	Valuable Functionings
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opportunity to work in a collective • Exposure to development interventions by the state and its organs • Awareness of the socio-economic status of their communities • Career opportunities within CWP 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intrinsic value for political and civil rights • Instrumental value of socio-economic rights <p><u>Impeding Factors</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Slow pace of social service delivery 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Committed to improving the socio-economic rights of their community • Grasp career opportunities in CWP 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appreciation of the progressive achievements of their socio-economic rights in their communities • Accessing services that further their socio-economic rights • Volunteering to enhance the socio-economic rights of their communities

3.4. Education

Education is valued for both its intrinsic and instrumental roles. Education is a means of gaining knowledge, skills, and values that will improve their livelihoods through securing a good job and providing a better life for themselves and their families. It is also a tool to facilitate continuing learning, personal empowerment, self-esteem and independence, make informed decisions and exercise their rights, and enable intergeneration mobility. An interesting finding is that education is also seen as a way of grooming people into appropriate social behaviour – often to cultivate gender stereotypical behaviour.

- *“My mom used to say a girl wakes up early, sweeps the yard, cooks porridge and makes tea for the parents. That is where I got the love of working and I ended up being a domestic worker. It was easy because I am used to working from home.” (Randfontein CWP)*

Lifelong learning is valued by all respondents and they believe that learning occurs throughout one’s life. The knowledge, skills and values most valued by communities in the study are those that engender respect and peaceful communal life. This includes respect, effective communication, hygiene, positive social behaviour, and

being presentable. Respect is also seen as the basis for genuine learning. Hence technical skills related directly to work opportunities are not discussed as often.

- *“It’s empowerment like being able to use technology, cell phones, ATMs, etc.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“If you are uneducated you have nothing and people undermine you.” (Joe Morolong CWP)*
- *“We see the grannies around us who are not educated; their grandchildren take advantage of them because they know that they don’t understand things.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“As a parent I’m sending you to school because I did not study further but you must learn hard so you can be better than me.” (Joe Morolong CWP)*
- *“Going to the bank, there are things that I need to do myself and if (it) was not (for) education, I would not be able to do and would have relied on others to do that for me.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“I feel proud. It gives you dignity. When you are educated, you know something and you are able to stand on your two feet instead of seeking help from other people.” (Joe Morolong)*

The home, community, church, schools, media, workplace, clinics/hospitals, libraries, and prisons were mentioned as the main places of learning. Multi-purpose centres were mentioned once, while colleges and universities were mentioned by a small number of respondents. There was consensus that the workplace is where people gained technical skills and exposure to diverse cultures. The level of joblessness in the communities in the study means that their exposure to diversity and attaining technical skills is limiting.

Skills used in ‘self-employment’ or eking a living were mainly gained from family and friends.

It is the workplace experience and the exposure to working in teams and working in different locations that CWP contributes to learning and education opportunities for CWP participants. For example working in a school has helped CWP participants gain experience in using photocopiers or data capturing. The only formal training sessions reported by CWP participants in the study were life skills workshops offered by lofeLife and occupational health and safety instructions.

Participating in CWP provides them with information advantage especially on available learnerships.

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

CWP and other public work programmes appear to also promote volunteerism which contributes to improving learning, employment, and social opportunities.

- *“Sometimes at CWP we would use agriculture to help people do farming. We help them to plant lettuce, cabbage, and things like that and then, we clean yards for elderly people, and women do their washing and everything. And then, we have also built a house in extension 3 just for free volunteering. Without complaining or anything, we just went as community workers and we worked. As a person, it also makes me proud to say I also helped there, and I help the elderly as well.” (Randfontein CWP)*

The same barriers to continuing education are faced by both CWP participants and non-CWP participants, and include limited access to public further education and training colleges and tertiary institutions, scarcity of attainment of national senior certificate (matric), availability of information on learning and educational opportunities, and lack of money for fees, transport, and living. Public further education and training colleges as well as tertiary institutions are located far from the communities in the study, increasing the cost of education. While there is a growth in private institutions, communities in the study cannot afford these and there is a level of scepticism about the quality of these institutions.

- *“The free ones [educational institutions] are very scarce whereas the ones where you pay are many.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“I have two kids who have passed grade 12 but they are now sitting at home because there is no money to take them to university.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
- *“It is four years now that my child finished his school and because there is no money to give to take these courses, there is nothing happening for him.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“Sometimes we used to finish the whole week without touching a computer, many of us were sharing computers. We could see what they were doing but we were not touching a computer every day.” (Bushbuckridge)*

Older respondents who are illiterate are keen to gain literacy skills as well as vocational training. However, the few adult basic education and training places available do not offer this combination. Hence some are reluctant to join literacy classes without gaining skills that will ensure employment.

- *“What disturbed me was that when we were taught, we were taught the a, e, i, o, u and this I had already learnt.” (uMthwalume CWP)*

Similarly learnerships are not considered a means of attaining fulltime employment; respondents are cognisant that few learnerships results in fulltime employment and have knowledge and experience of participating in numerous learnerships in different sectors. The value of learnerships to CWP participants includes another opportunity to earn a stipend, gain workplace experience, increase their knowledge and skills, and an introduction to potential employees.

Table 5: Education and CWP Contribution to Development

Expansion of Capability Set	Conversion Factors (and Impeding Factors)	Agency Freedom	Valuable Functionings
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to information about education and training opportunities • Technical skills through work (applied competence) • Training opportunities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encourage volunteerism which enables workplace experience and skills development • Working in teams, hence peer learning and support • CWP works in diverse workplaces <p><u>Impeding Factors</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited formal training opportunities in skills in demand 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Volunteer • Learn technical skills • Use information to explore learning opportunities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attainment of applied competence through their work • Participate in learnerships

3.5. Health, Nutrition, and Safe Practices

There was consensus across the communities in the study that health, nutrition, and safe practices are correlated. Generally there was agreement that good health is related to safe practices such as eating well (a balanced diet), drinking clean water, exercising, prioritising personal hygiene (especially frequent washing of their hands and being clean and presentable), general hygiene in the home, condomising, using gloves when handling risky situations, keeping hazardous material away from children, and taking vaccinations. However, the communities in the study have little control over safe practices that facilitate good health. They have little money to access goods and services that will help them to live positive healthy lifestyles, their living conditions often compromise safe practices such as easy availability of clean drinking water, sanitation, and clean environment, and health services are too far away to make screening for communicable diseases a routine part of their lives. The joblessness in the communities in the study is also contributing to stress and unhappiness which is adversely affecting their physical and mental health.

An interesting finding is that communities in the study are very sensitive to compliance around medication. They are aware that compliance ensures the efficacy of treatments. The level of awareness and knowledge about HIV/AIDS is high in the communities. They are knowledgeable about knowing their status, how the disease is contracted and spread, symptoms of the disease, treatment, and living with HIV/AIDS. However there remains

resistance to consistent condom use and their risky behaviour is rationalised as not wanting to undermine their partner's trust or to ensure mutual pleasure. There is also a perception that government issued condoms are substandard.

Alcohol and drug abuse is widely reported to be increasing in the communities in the study. Respondents assert that the pervasive use of drugs and alcohol is contributing to violence (including homicide and domestic violence), theft, poverty, reckless sexual behaviour, and teenage pregnancy. They believe that unemployment and a lack of alternative education and training opportunities, and sports and recreational facilities are driving alcohol and drug abuse in their communities - especially amongst youth.

CWP participants appear to be more likely to share their resources to enhance the wellbeing of their respective communities. They are also more conscientious about keeping their environment clean.

- *"You can be able to live but communities are different but when women are together one would say 'I don't have this at home' and then the other would say 'You should send a child to my house I will give them that thing you need when they come'. She also knows that it is something that can help them and it will last this much time." (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *"They should have a feeding scheme at CWP for its employees because sometimes you can see that the employees are very hungry as they work." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"We recycle products." (Joe Morolong CWP)*
- *"Not polluting the environment." (Joe Morolong CWP)*
- *"We burnt rubbish." (Joe Morolong CWP)*

CWP participants are particularly conscious of safe practices such as wearing gloves and masks when working in the community.

- *"Also, like when someone has had an accident, you must use gloves to protect yourself when you touch them or he has collapsed, you cannot just attend to him without gloves, you have to protect yourself." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"You cannot just help a person that is hurt or wounded, maybe she has been cut by something, I cannot just touch her without wearing hand gloves." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"Where we work, we work with dirt, so we use hand gloves, mouth masks and boots." (Randfontein CWP)*

While CWP participants are well-informed about safe practices, there are some reports that they are not always provided with the safety equipment needed, especially when they have to deal with people who are incapacitated. Sometimes they have to share gloves to protect themselves.

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

- *“Every time when we meet with them they should give us gloves and masks to ensure we are protected.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“As workers of CWP we sometimes visit sick people in their homes doing a social visit. You find that there is a woman or a young lady who is sick and you can see that they need help. You help them even though you are thinking that I am putting my life at risk.” (uMthwalume CWP)*

Finally CWP participants were more adamant about practicing safe sex and seemed to have more agency in this regard.

- *“But you have to explain to them that today’s life is risky. Because if he does not use a condom then you too can get sick. Or you can bring the sickness home. You must make him understand that no one knows.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
- *“Speaking about taking care of yourself and safe practices if I have a partner I should have only one partner. If today I have this partner and the next week I have another partner it is easy to get diseases if you do that. My life is being abused then I don’t get to rest.” (uMthwalume CWP)*

Table 6: Health, Nutrition and Safe Practices and CWP Contribution to Development

Expansion of Capability Set	Conversion Factors (and Impeding Factors)	Agency Freedom	Valuable Functionings
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exposure to information on health and health-related issues • Exposure to occupational health and safety practices • Exposure to safe sex practices • Awareness of safe and clean environment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Internalising the importance of health and a healthy lifestyle • Internalised the risk of risky behaviour both in the workplace and in their private lives <p><u>Impeding factors:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Slow pace of basic services delivery • Shortage of safety gear 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Committed to positive and healthy lifestyles • Volunteer to keep community clean • Resist risky behaviour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adherence to a health conscious lifestyle • Adherence to occupational health and safety practices • Practice safe sex

3.6. Culture and Tradition

Respondents across the communities are proud of their culture and tradition, which is defined by their beliefs in ancestors, Ubuntu, and a set of unique practices and styles that influence their lifestyles. The set of practices and styles is manifested in their language, clothing, architecture, artefacts, cuisine, performing arts (music and dance), rituals, ceremonies and livelihoods based on small scale farming (crop and livestock).

The most valued practices are ancestral ceremonies, funerals, payment of Lobola, consulting traditional healers/sangomas, traditional weddings and male circumcision (initiation to manhood). These as well as other practices and beliefs are considered the bedrock of their culture and tradition and give individuals a sense of belonging and hence contribute to forging their identity and their wellbeing. The latter (identity and belonging) was a general finding cutting across age groups whereas the former (practices) were more prevalent amongst middle-aged and older participants.

Nonetheless communities in the study are adapting practices to meet their means as well as adopting practices that are popular or those that are part of the dominant ‘culture’.

- An example of adapting is that while Lobola is prized by nearly all respondents, many couples are cohabiting to avoid immediate payment of Lobola, until they can afford the payment.
- An example of popular practice is the ‘after tears’ party at funerals, which several respondents in the study agree is not steeped in any historical cultural traditions.
- Similarly there is the attraction to join charismatic churches and reject ancestral worship and related practices.
- The dress code is also changing to assimilate with the dominant western culture, especially ‘makotis’ (daughter-in-laws) are wearing more revealing couture.
- In uMthwalume and Joe Morolong, respondents have questioned the demands made by chiefs for payment to access their socio-economic rights, such as fees for RDP houses, etc.

The notion of ‘meaningful work’ that informs CWP’s criteria for selecting sectors for intervention or workplaces fits with the practice of Ubuntu; aspects of the work align with valued parts of African culture and tradition for communities in the study. Community home-based care and work in food security and with livestock and crop farming in particular are work activities that strongly align to communities’ view of the positive attributes of their culture and tradition.

- *“We don’t care for each other and we see this when we are helping communities, that if we didn’t help them, some of the neighbours would not try and help.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“We help many people in our area with the home-based care and without us the community would not help them, there is no ‘Ubuntu’ anymore everyone looks out for themselves.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
- *“CWP has not only helped us to get employment opportunities but it has also enabled us to help sick people in our communities and because there are also vegetable gardens at CWP if we know of destitute families in our communities we are able to ask for some of the vegetables from the garden and give to the families which are in need.” (uMthwalume CWP)*

The knowledge, skills, and values gained from the agricultural activities of CWP have given CWP participants stimulus to continue with food production in their personal lives and sharing their technical skills with their respective communities. However, lack of access to uninterrupted water supply (irrigation) and quality seeds remains an impediment to these interventions.

- *“We are lucky because some of us do gardening and planting vegetables at CWP, so that’s where we learn a lot about it.” (Bushbuckridge 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)*
- *“We do it in our gardens.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
- *“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)*

Through the community home-based care programme, CWP participants also help initiates who come back ill from initiation school and are afraid to seek medical attention. As such CWP participants are also advocating for collaboration between medical practitioners and initiation schools or ‘initiation masters’ to improve the safety of young initiates.

- *“Some of the young men come back from the mountain and they are very sick but they are scared to go to the clinic, so we help them too.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*

Table 7: Culture and Tradition and CWP Contribution to Development

Expansion of Capability Set	Conversion Factors (and Impeding Factors)	Agency Freedom	Valuable Functionings
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opportunities to work in sectors that contribute to cultural values in particular Ubuntu 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The nature of CWP work • The collective nature of CWP work <p><u>Impeding Factors</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rent seeking by some traditional leaders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Critically engage with traditional practices that adversely affect individual and community wellbeing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Technical skills and applied competence in community home-based care and food production has enabled participants to contribute to Ubuntu in their respective communities

3.7. Environment

The communities in the study see environmental issues as those affecting their living conditions, and thus have placed great emphasis on infrastructure and access to basic services. Hence environment is seen through the socio-economic rights lens, i.e. the right to clean water, the right to clean air, the right to a safe environment. Popular environmental issues such as biodiversity or greenhouses gases or sustainable livelihoods do not feature directly in the focus group discussions but are couched in lived experiences such as ‘the soil in our environment is not good’, ‘the water is polluted’, ‘the streets are dirty’. While there is acknowledgement of improvement in rolling out electricity, housing, water and sanitation, roads and other infrastructure, the concern is the lack of speed to meet the increasing demands in terms of new growth areas and population migration. This is exacerbated by the lack of routine maintenance and consistent supply of services, in particular clean water and electricity supply. Weak waste management by the local municipality is also adversely affecting living conditions. Installation of Apollo lights (flood lights) has dramatically improved safety and security in the communities in the study. The construction of bridges and tarred roads resulting in the maintenance of dirt/gravel roads has reduced their isolation and improved services to their communities such as the quick arrival of ambulances, or being part of the taxi route. However, routine road maintenance remains an issue. There was also consensus that health and education services are now closer to their homes.

CWP have contributed significantly to creating a clean environment, protecting storm water drains, creating food gardens (34% CWP participants have food gardens compared to 22% of other participants), and planting trees:

- *“The CWP is really helping our surroundings; they help keep the place clean like we said earlier. Even though they complain that the money is not enough, it’s something and our townships are cleaner.” (Randfontein)*
- *“I think I have already started as I am with the CWP project which is about community development. Cleaning of the environment like cleaning of parks.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“The one that pleases me the most is seeing CWP establishing food gardens in the schools. Needy children from Zenzele and Mohlakeng who attend those schools are given vegetables to take back home with them. At the school they are also offered a cooked lunch to make sure they have something in the stomach.” (Randfontein CWP)*

CWP helps in the community by working at schools, clinics and other public spaces in the environment, in addition to the community home-based care that is often praised:

- *“Introduction of CWP which has created many jobs to the previously unemployed - especially the youth. They are cleaning the streets.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“They go around cleaning the streets; CWP are the people who are working here in the township. Even in the schools. In the old-age homes.” (Randfontein CWP)*

- *“They are full of compliments especially us from CWP because we get more involved with community related projects like cleaning. Cleaning of parks they consider it as environment rehabilitation. This has brought some new changes within the community. People seem to appreciate the environment more and because it’s clean, some try to keep it that way.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“CWP even goes into the clinics and helps there as well; they clean the clinics. They plant [food] gardens at the clinics. They also care for those gardens too.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“The people who look after the environment like the CWP volunteers play an important role in our community. They look after our lives, when people are sick, they make sure that we breathe fresh instead of always breathing dirty air, living around flying plastic bags, and also the smell of dead dogs. We live in unhealthy conditions. Much as there are those who are polluting our environment, there are those who are doing good by cleaning up the area, keeping our environment clean, they are trying to do good.” (Randfontein)*
- *“We feel proud of them because they bring about a new life in us where my Kasi (township) is now clean and we are beginning to see less crime as the CWP plays the role of crime prevention as well, safety and cleanliness. They do patrolling as well in addition to cleaning up the area.” (Randfontein)*
- *“Our community in Mohlakeng are pleased now that there is CWP because ever since it came into the community, the place is becoming cleaner. We take the rubbish and put it at a central point, where the municipal guys can come, collect it and take it away.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“The people who planted those trees were from CWP.” (Randfontein)*
- *“Whenever there’s something happening here in the township, it’s always the CWP that’s involved.” (Randfontein)*
- *“We have vegetables in the form of spinach and cabbages and maize which we can easily sell as some of us are not working.” (Randfontein CWP)*

Table 8: Environment and CWP Contribution to Development

Expansion of Capability Set	Conversion Factors (and Impeding Factors)	Agency Freedom	Valuable Functionings
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● CWP work contributes to a clean environment, protecting storm water drains, creating food gardens and planting trees ● Clean and beautiful public spaces and public institutions such as schools and clinics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Nature of CWP work ● Progressive achievement of socio-economic rights, especially electricity, water on tap, sanitation, and road infrastructure <p><u>Impeding Factors</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Slow pace of service delivery 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Volunteer in environmental activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Keeping their environment clean ● Food production in their homes

3.8. Managing Money

Communities in the study have little money and hence they spend or allocate their meagre income on necessities and products/services/activities that they value. The necessities include: food/groceries, transport, school fees, clothes, toiletries, electricity. While valuable services/products/activities include: funeral cover, stokvel, pocket money for their children, and fees for crèche. This does not preclude occasional 'indulgence' in fast food (e.g. Kentucky Fried Chicken), meat, sweets and confectionaries for their children, smart clothing, spoiling family and friends with gifts, and on personal entertainment. However, drug and alcohol abuse is a scourge facing communities in the study and compromises their money management.

While it may appear that communities in the study are apt at managing their money, their members are heterogeneous in their money management skills and knowledge, i.e. ranging on a spectrum from people who take care to buy necessities and save routinely to people who spend recklessly and have no saving mechanism in place. Generally communities in the study see money management as processes and practices that will enable them to save, meet their basic needs, budget or spend wisely, and to make business or work-related choices.

Communities in the study do not tend to actively discuss managing money in their communities and the notion of 'financial advice' is not well rooted. They rather rely on personal experience, specific family and friends, and role models in the community to learn about money matters. Furthermore, excluding social grants, the majority of respondents across the communities in the study have irregular access to money, i.e. from piece jobs, remittances, subsistence living, micro-enterprises, etc. Hence the mechanisms to manage their money are an outcome of the amount of income and the frequency of getting the income. The most frequently mentioned mechanisms for managing their money include funeral cover followed by bank accounts, budgeting, saving and stokvels, debt (mainly from the informal lending sector), bulk buying and retail accounts.

- Funeral cover is a dominant expense across all communities in the study. Main drivers for encouraging people to invest in funeral cover include fear of sudden death, how expensive funerals are, to be free of shame in the community (i.e. the shame of not being able to pay for their funeral) and responsibility towards family.
- Stokvels are a means of pooling their resources to safeguard against no income during December and January and hence takes on various forms, i.e. stamps, meat, groceries, and money.
- Debt is widely used regardless of the communities' knowledge regarding the unfair interest rate charges by informal debt providers.

- Bulk buying is a useful approach to making sure that the money on hand is spent on necessities.
- Bank accounts are useful for depositing salaries and remittances, while a few people reported using the bank debit orders and fixed deposits as instruments to help them save.

There were slight differences in the way CWP participants manage their money from non-CWP respondents. The CWP participants mentioned extra business activities in order to be able to save.

- *How can you save? "I think that the only way I can earn more money is for me to sell things. That is the only way I can make money. Even though there are challenges that I told you about at the beginning and another option is for me to get another job."* (uMthwalume CWP)

CWP participants attach significant value to funeral plans/burial society as they believe it is crucial to take responsibility for one's own death and seem open to spending significant proportions of their low income on these products. Funerals are important from a tradition viewpoint but also from a social standing perspective. CWP participants demonstrate very high levels of support for multiple funeral covers (funeral plans as well as burial society).

- *"It [funeral cover] really helps." (all agree) / "People are dying out there." (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *"We really don't like them [funeral cover] - the thing is we are facing problems. If you join them in 2012 even if you die in 2030 they will give your family the agreed amount. It doesn't matter how long you have been contributing. I can't take it to the bank either because I will need it when someone is sick at home and then I withdraw it."* (uMthwalume CWP)
- *"Funeral is forced saving." (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *"With the funeral insurance once you pay you can't take your money back but if I save it in the bank ..."* (laughs) (uMthwalume CWP)
- *"The R200 contribution per month we pay, will bury us and the children won't struggle afterwards." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"We don't earn much we budget just for death, when I have paid the policy, I am left with R250. Food is expensive when I buy a 12,5kg of maize meal and meat it's all gone." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"We cannot do that because it (money) is not enough. The cupboard is empty because I'm paying for the policy and am left with R300. By the time CWP pays me I will have nothing. We will wait for the pay day if that is the only income that we are getting but people are not the same." (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *"The cupboard is empty because I'm paying for the policy and am left with R300." (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *"There might be something that you didn't pay for or something that you didn't buy. I had a budget of R500. R200 for sure is for funeral policy and then in this remaining R300 there will be something that I don't buy." (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *"I like mine because it's R5000 when you have a problem. I pay R19, I can afford R20 per month." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"Some funeral policies are not straight." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"The thing is with banks if you miss one month's payment and then an accident occurs they don't help you because you didn't pay for one month. Just for missing one month even if you were a member for 10 years." (uMthwalume CWP)*

When paying attention to savings, CWP participants seem to prefer the clubs that focus on buying stamps. People share their money to buy food stamps from Shoprite that are pasted into a booklet. Once a year – mostly December – each participant gets her booklets filled with food stamps that are exchanged for groceries at Shoprite.

- *“We asked her to join the Stokvel for pillows so that we can buy the stamps.” What kind of stokvel is the pillow one? “It is normal groceries - the big packs are called pillows. With the stamps we buy the junk food for Christmas. The nice things.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“We contribute R100 per month. In December we combine our stamps and then go to Shoprite to purchase using them.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“Stokvel for contributing money so that when you get it back it is a lot.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
- *“Our Stokvel is for the children. We want to make sure that we have money in November so that we can buy clothes for the children in December. After starting the Stokvel I can stop using the account.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *Why December? “Children are at home and they eat too much.”/ “Another thing is that you know that you are covered because sometimes we spend so much money in December and we end up not having money to send children to school in January.”/ “I start buying basic grocery in April at home. I eat the same grocery from December.”/ “December is the big month. We must eat well in December. It doesn’t matter what you eat during the year, but in December it is different you even eat something that you don’t even know.” (uMthwalume CWP)*

Debt (money lenders) is commonly used throughout all the groups regardless of the fact that people do understand what they are letting themselves in for and claim to make use of the ‘less criminal’ money lenders.

- *“We all go there [money lenders]. I also borrow money when it is necessary not just whenever I feel like it.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“We borrow from loan sharks because if your family or neighbour does not have it you do not have a choice but to go to loan sharks.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
- *“I also borrow money because of problems. Sometimes I pay interest only and then pay instalments in the next month but another problem occurs. When you borrow money again they tell you there is no more money left for borrowing then I know that I’m not the only one that has problems.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“I borrow when it is necessary, I had a child that wanted to go to college and then I was forced to borrow some money.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“I went there once. My boy was not working and I was desperate. The children have to go to school. So I took the money and sent them to school.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“I also borrow money when it is necessary not just whenever I feel like it.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“The reason why I started borrowing money was my child got sick. She had finished school and even went to college. When she was about to start her job but on the previous day before she started her job she got sick... her tongue got swollen and she couldn’t talk. She was vomiting blood. She couldn’t eat and speak. We had to take her to hospital and there she had to take her medication through injection. That is what caused me to start borrowing money because I was desperate... She couldn’t get that job back because she got sick before she even started. She stayed at home but whenever she finds something to do it starts all over again.” (uMthwalume CWP)* *“We also go borrow money from loan sharks for emergencies but the disadvantage with that is that if you borrow R100 you have to take it back with an interest of R50. When I get paid the R500 from CWP when I minus R150 I am only left with R350.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“We can learn to be patient because we want fast money. We need to accept the situation but you cannot avoid sickness. These days you can’t borrow money from your sisters or friends - they will never give you. I would only borrow money if somebody gets sick at home - not to buy food.” (uMthwalume CWP)*

CWP participants openly shared the negative behaviour of the loan sharks.

- *"I see them jumping off the cars when it is the day of receiving grant money, they ask the old people to check if the cards are really theirs because they have so many with them. I have seen it happen at the stations for receiving grant or pension. They keep the cards until you finish paying them."* (uMthwalume CWP)
- *"The old lady waits for her pension money because they take their cards and keep them. Now you have to ask them for your card."* (uMthwalume CWP)
- *"... they take things from you. I have never borrowed money from them but it is really painful to see an old woman crying because her things are being taken away by the money lenders."* (uMthwalume CWP)
- *"Even the beds, there are those people that have husbands and your husband comes from work and there is no bed in your home and you will be in trouble."* (uMthwalume CWP)

CWP participants report that their reliance on debt is increasing and will still increase in future.

- *When you look at the previous years, do you borrow more than before or less?*
 - *"It is worse."/ "We borrow more than ever before." Why? "Food is expensive."/ "The prices keep going up."* (uMthwalume CWP)
- *When you look at the future – will you go to the money lenders more or less?*
 - *"I think it will be more than today."/ "When food prices are increasing the small savings that you have will be used to cover that."/ "When someone is sick you have to pay money."/ "Electricity needs money. Sicknesses and medication are very expensive now."* (uMthwalume CWP)

People are under tremendous pressure and this also fuels their debt seeking behaviour.

- *"I am stressed I have R500 CWP only I depend on my husband he doesn't earn much because I must look after the kids, buy food and buy electricity."* (Randfontein CWP)
- *"I am also in CWP my husband is a construction worker and at times he is at home for 2 weeks waiting for his boss to say there's work again... And when it's raining they don't work in the construction, we struggle, then I also do gardening and save on vegetables, I also sell some of the vegetables"* (Randfontein CWP)
- *"Paying for kids, they want clothes and the money is little, because as kids they compare themselves with others and we can't afford to buy them everything they want, it's just too expensive."* (Randfontein CWP)
- *"We pay rent and it's hard, I have been waiting for 17 years for RDP houses; Kids don't understand that and a 14 year old boy wants expensive tekkies."* (Randfontein CWP)
- *"I can't budget or do anything from what is left, this money is so little it comes in fast and goes out the same way."* (Randfontein CWP)
- *"Everything we do is money - eating, sleeping, washing hands, throwing garbage out is money unlike in the farms you can do things without money, not in town."* (Randfontein CWP)
- *"If this month you have paid the funeral insurance then the following month you will pay for the stokvels because you have missed the previous month's payment. You either pay for the funeral insurance or the stokvels. You cannot pay for both of them in the same month. You see what I mean."* (uMthwalume CWP)
- *"There will always be something that would not be paid for because the money you are receiving is not enough."* (uMthwalume CWP)
- *"When you go to town to buy groceries I have to leave some money for my child to go to school and that is the end of your salary."* (Bushbuckridge CWP)
- *"It is sometimes R500 or more. In this, I have to pay R520 for funeral insurance because one day we will die. I have 6 children and all of them are not working. They are telling me that I have to pay for my children as well. In this R520 I have to pay R198 for the funeral insurance and then I have R300 left. There is no money for groceries and I'm starting to buy the small parcels of food. Already there will be no money for me until the next pay cycle. I*

then go to the loan sharks because I'm hungry and the R300 is not enough to buy the whole month's grocery, which is why we are saying Seriti helped us a lot to chase away hunger but we are saying we wish they can increase our salaries because we have lots of responsibilities at home." (uMthwalume CWP)

- "I withdraw my money and then pay the funeral insurance for my child and myself. I then take out the Stokvel money, I joined 2 Stokvels. I then have a little bit left. I have to take out money for my child's allowance for school. After that I have nothing left. I pay for my insurance, stokvels and then give my mother whatever I have left so that she can buy whatever she doesn't have." (uMthwalume CWP)
- "I get the payment and pay for the funeral insurance. I think about the electricity balance that I left at home; I remember that it said R0.00; I buy electricity at least for R100. That R100 will not last until month end. I have a child that is studying security, I then pay for him and there is nothing left for me to buy anything. I don't have any spending money. I'm trying to give my child a future." (uMthwalume CWP)

CWP participants share some of the distrust other respondents reported in the bank accounts as well as their lack of a true transactional relationship with the bank.

- "We withdraw all the money. Because if you leave it you won't find it when you check again." (uMthwalume CWP)
- "I left R50, but by the time I went back there was such a small amount - I didn't believe it." (uMthwalume CWP)
- "No (information), all they (Capitec) told us is that if we want to open another savings account, apart from the one we use at work, we can open it as a savings account for your children and family. They never explained how the savings accounts we use now work." (Bushbuckridge CWP)
- Was it your choice to have a savings account? "They chose for us."/ "When we got there they chose for us."/ "They told us that we need a savings account in which they would use to pay us our salaries."/ "The people we work for decided for us." (Bushbuckridge CWP)

Table 9: Managing Money and CWP Contribution to Development

Expansion of Capability Set	Conversion Factors (and Impeding Factors)	Agency Freedom	Valuable Functionings
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of a bank account • Access to appropriate financial service products • Opportunity to earn a regular basic income • Access to information relating to financial literacy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financial services e.g. Bank accounts, funeral cover, stokvel • Financial literacy <p><u>Impeding Factors</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High transactional bank charges • High interest debt 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Allocate money according to individual and household priorities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Secure funeral cover • Savings through stokvels (food stamps, buying in bulk) • Ability to plan for the future

3.9. Media

Media is valued for its information, education and entertainment characteristics. Newspapers and to a lesser extent internet are the main media products used to seek employment. Television and radio are accessed for news, education, and entertainment. Generally media also creates awareness of local, regional, and international issues and hence a sense of solidarity with people across the country, region, and world. While information and entertainment are accessed using media; communities in the study appreciate the education and employment opportunities advertised in the media.

The CWP respondents were overwhelmingly media consumers. That is they sought out and watched, read or listened to media products. This is the area in which they demonstrated considerable agency to acquire the means to consume media. This was clearly demonstrated by respondents who seek out newspapers at great cost and travel significant distance to find a seller. Most respondents own television sets which they choose to purchase again often at considerable cost.

- *"I buy [a newspaper] at month end when I'm paid and have to go to town to buy groceries then I will buy the newspaper and will read it for the whole month." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
- *"I bought [my television] on credit and that required me to pay more. It's not a complete loss to me, even though my TV is not fancy, I gain something from it. Information and knowledge. My children are able you learn and benefit from it as they like cartoons. I also get choose what my children watch. My children can also learn about ways of communication within the media keeps my children off the streets. They are safe and secure because of TV." (Joe Morolong CWP)*

CWP participants accessed and enjoyed the edutainment nature of current programing on television, especially those soapias that deal with social issues and nurturing positive relationships within family and communities.

- *"The soaps that we watch when there are some domestic issues even violence and it is what we experience in the home, then you are able to call the person who inflicts violence in the home to come and watch what is happening so that he can see that what he's doing is really bad and he realizes that it is not the correct life style." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"SABC2, has a show on farming, they show people who are famers. In this show they come to see a person's farm and advise them on what to do. There is also this program called touching lives, this program actually makes me feel like I could also help other people, these shows are very encouraging and actually touch your life as well." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*

There were relatively few mentions of the internet usage by CWP groups in comparison to other groups. The Daily Sun is the newspaper of choice for CWP participants. The majority of CWP participants in the focus group discussions valued media for its educational characteristics, especially educating their children. This is also

another reason why the CWP focus group discussions were critical about the abuse of internet especially in using the platform for selling and distributing pornography.

Some CWP respondents mentioned going to church and playing sport and one could infer from this that they are active in the social networks that these organisations create. Some respondents also mention enjoying certain media such as soccer and gospel music broadcasts.

Table 10: Media and CWP Contribution to Development

Expansion of Capability Set	Conversion Factors (and Impeding Factors)	Agency Freedom	Valuable Functionings
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to appropriate media sources • Opportunity to purchase media products and services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enthusiastic about the educational and informational value of media • Need for escapism <p><u>Impeding Factors</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High costs of media • Newspapers are not universally accessible in their respective communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensure ownership of media e.g. high incidence of television ownership 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Loyal viewers of entertainment as well as edutainment, especially soapies that explored and fostered positive family and social relationships • Media is used to access information

3.10. Technology

Technology in the main is seen as artefacts, processes, and services. For example an ambulance is a technology and the equipment on board providing health services are also considered a technology, or water on tap is a technology and a constant supply of clean water services is also a technology. As such communities in the study have a broad and encompassing definition of technology, and see it as invaluable in their lives. They value the time saving characteristics of appliances and basic services such as water on tap or electricity or mobile phone technology.

Mobile phones are universally accessible across all communities in the study. Owning a mobile phone improves communities' communication between family and friends and hence contributes to improving their social relationships and being able to react quickly to the needs of family and friends. In addition the newer smart phones that have greater convergence allowing easy and cheap access to the internet and Bluetooth facility to share digital resources. The internet is used mainly to search for information and work opportunities using

Google search engine and to socialise using Facebook and Mxit. In the minority mobile phones are used for banking (mainly to transfer money, and receiving notices) and buying electricity and airtime. Communities value bank notices (SMS account updates) as means of mitigating potential banking fraud. However, communities in the study are concerned about the easy access to sexually explicit material on the internet, the abuse of social media in spreading malicious gossip, and the danger of meeting and engaging with sexual predators.

After mobile phones, television, radio, fridge, kettles, stoves and microwaves were reported as most convenient technologies to own in the home. However, all these technological products require electricity and access to money to buy and maintain. Hence the technology is used sparingly.

CWP participants appear to be aware of technological artefacts / products on the market and feel confident in using them.

- *“Technology has also introduced cell phone banking, like when it is month end the phone will report if your salary has been deposited to your account.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“There are internet café’s where people can go and use them (computers).” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“It also makes kids to be clever especially when they watch cartoons and English, and SiSwati, it improves their language.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
- *“I can do the research in my phone, if I want information, like I want to start a business.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
- *“I can type my own CV I don’t need another person to do it for me.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“Like if you have an assignment you would not need money to go to town, you would just go to the library and do your assignment then come back home without taking a taxi.” (uMthwalume CWP)*

The prevailing mind-set seems to be that of finding employment. To this end, technologies such as computers and mobile phones are seen as instrumental in enabling job searches and facilitating application for jobs.

- *“A computer - because you can be able to look for jobs while you are at home.” (uMthwalume CWP)*

There was a fear among CWP participants that technology poses a threat to job creation because it can make human capital redundant.

- *“Technology limits the chance for job opportunities.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“It is killing us because they hire a few people and say there are machines.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*

A self-assessed lack of proficiency with technology, amongst the older CWP respondents, removes the possibility of using technology for everyone to leverage opportunities to help themselves or the community.

- *“...it is difficult for me, even if I were to get a job doing technology, I would struggle considering my age now, it is the young ones that know technology.” (Randfontein CWP)*

Through their interaction with other people in their social life and work environment, these respondents gain awareness of technological devices, their functionality and benefits. However, due to a lack of financial means they are not able to acquire the technology that can facilitate agency.

- *“I have heard that you can see the weather report on your phone but I am not sure because I don’t have that kind of phone. They also say you can also get news from newspapers like Isolezwe but I am not sure because I don’t have that kind of phone.” (uMthwalume CWP)*

A lack of financial means can also impede the ability to leverage the benefits of technology for agency, e.g. if the participants cannot access a computer – either through ownership, the workplace, internet cafés or other places, they cannot use it to compile a CV. In addition, the cost of internet access would make it difficult to search for jobs online; and the cost of public transport could discourage some from reaching businesses that provide document services.

- *“I would like to have a computer the problem is just money, I don’t have money.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“...so I wish NGO’s can help us so that we can learn the computer or cell phone.” (Randfontein CWP)*

The networks that are available to the CWP participants are in the form of family, friends and resident experts in the community. Technology plays a crucial role in linking the participants to their networks. The most prevalent technology is the mobile phone, which reduces the impact of distance and enables communication anywhere, at any time. Through their mobile phones, the participants are able to communicate with their networks via voice and the internet. The older generation are more likely to use only the basic functionality of their mobile phones, i.e. calls and SMS.

- *“The cell phone has made our lives easier; we can now get in touch with anyone it doesn’t matter how far they are.” (Randfontein CWP)*

The internet is also crucial because it enables access to social media such as Facebook and Mxit. Through these media, the participants are able exchange information and remain up-to-date with any developments, job opportunities and current affairs. The younger generation are more au fait with social media and the internet.

- *“To get job opportunities (using social networks).” (uMthwalume CWP)*

Table 11: Technology and CWP Contribution to Development

Expansion of Capability Set	Conversion Factors (and Impeding Factors)	Agency Freedom	Valuable Functionings
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Opportunity to purchase technology products and services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Roll-out of electricity Public broadcaster offering programming in all official languages Mobile phones are Connectivity <p><u>Impeding Factors:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> High cost of electricity Unstable supply of electricity High costs of telephony and data bundles 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Purchase technology product and services they reason to value (mobile phones, television, radio, fridge, kettles, stoves and microwaves) Ensure to dedicate resources to acquire valued technologies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Saves time using electrical appliances Enhances safety using electrical appliances (from paraffin and coal stoves) Increase access to information, entertainment, and education programming Purchase in bulk (fridge) Easier access to information via the internet Mobile telephones facilitates on-going communication with family and friends resulting in individuals and households being more responsive to family needs

4. CHARACTERISTICS OF POOR AND UNDER-DEVELOPED COMMUNITIES

The South African Community Capability Study explored the status of poor and under-developed communities using the capability approach. This section presents a description of these communities using constructs from the capability approach, namely access and ownership of commodities / resources; deprivations; and conversion factors.

4.1. Resources / Commodities Available to Poor and Under-Developed Communities

The following resources / commodities are available to poor and under-developed communities in the study, including CWP participants:

- **Family and friends/community support:** Community members rely on their family for material, emotional and spiritual support. Generally the dependency ratio is high in communities in the study including CWP participant households.
- **Civil and political rights:** Community members understand their political and civil rights and value equality, freedom of speech and freedom of movement. These rights give them confidence to assert themselves and make demands on the state (mainly local sphere).
- **Roll-out of socio-economic rights:** Community members are aware of the progress made in ensuring their socio-economic rights and they use these, particularly keeping their children in school, accessing health services, applying for social grants, claiming RDP housing, enjoying the benefits of clean water on tap and electricity supply to their homes. They also feel safer with the installation of Apollo Lights.
- **Traditional ceremonies:** Many community members observe traditional ceremonies which are often a source of comfort and hence a means of mitigating unfortunate incidences in their family and personal lives as well as celebrating achievements and asking for guidance. They also practice Lobola and traditional wedding which helps to cement familial relationships.
- **Public broadcasting (TV and radio stations in all the official languages):** Community members access radio stations and television programming, increasing media access in multiple languages. Older people who are less proficient in English prefer listening to radio stations that broadcast in their respective home languages.
- **Significant access to mobile phones:** Community members have access to mobile phones.
- **Convergence of technology, i.e. smart phones:** A few Community members have access to smart phones and hence logon to the internet, mainly search engine Google, social media Facebook, and chat applications MXIT allows access to information and keeping in touch with family and friends. The data bundles are cheaper than SMS and voice.

- **Posters and pamphlets are means of communication, marketing products, services and events in their communities as well as political party meetings and other community related meetings:** Community members read pamphlets and posters in their communities that promote events and products. They also attend political meetings and other community meetings.
- **Department of Agriculture:** Community members access seeds, information, and related crop farming equipment to grow vegetable gardens in their yards.
- **Financial services, e.g.:**
 - **Funeral Cover:** Community members use funeral cover to secure a dignified funeral as well as a means for saving for a bequest.
 - **Stokvels (saving clubs):** Community members use stokvels as a means to save, and to buy in bulk.
 - **Debt (mostly informal):** community members make extensive use of debt to bridge the periods of income and no income.

4.2. Deprivations Suffered by Poor and Under-Developed Communities

The low levels of development in communities in the study results in community members, including the CWP participants suffering from multiple deprivations including:

- **Joblessness:** Community members have limited access to formal work opportunities, i.e. permanent and regular work.
- **Limited work experience:** Young community members have mostly not experienced fulltime work; their work experience is casual work or short contract employment.
- **Perceptions of a sharp increase in drug and alcohol abuse:** There is report of a sharp increase in alcohol and drug abuse in their communities which affects Community members as well.
- **Slow pace of delivery on socio-economic rights:** Access to reliable supply of clean water and electricity remains a challenge for municipalities. Similarly delivery on housing, quality education that ensures high national senior certificate pass rates, health services, and waste management services are adversely affecting community members from creating sustainable livelihoods or securing employment.
- **Poor road infrastructure:** Maintenance of existing road infrastructure and creation of new quality transport infrastructure is severely constrained, making access to markets and other services more difficult.
- **High costs of basic services:** the increasing costs of basic services such as water, electricity, telephony, data and banking fees are adversely affecting their socio-economic rights. Furthermore the high costs of services are negatively impacting on the opportunities to engage in alternative livelihoods.

- **Lack of public further education and higher education institutions:** Young community members' value continuing their education, however they are frustrated by the lack of public further and higher education institutions in or near their communities.
- **High levels of crime:** Community members suffer due to crime in their respective communities. The high levels of crime impacts adversely on their choices to create micro enterprises.
- **Underdeveloped markets:** The markets available to Community members are poor and are price sensitive, making it difficult for Community members to secure a customer base for any kinds of enterprise.
- **Low skills levels:** Community members have low skills levels and very little opportunity to take part in skills intensive training.
- **Corrupt and non-inclusive practices:** Community members experience unethical practices routinely, bribery or sexual favours for work, exclusion from powerful social networks, payment to chiefs for accessing their socio-economic rights, rudeness from civil servants and development agencies.

4.3. Conversion Factors that Allow Poor and Under-Developed Communities to Effectively Utilise Resources / Commodities

The factors that enable communities in the study to survive the harsh conditions they live in and to effectively utilise the meagre resources available to them are presented here. These facilitating factors are broadly captured into four categories; the acceptance of high dependency ratio, civil and political rights to be able to move freely in search of work opportunities and to voice their concerns and demands for development, their socio-economic rights and the related state interventions to progressively secure these rights, and the tenacity to continue to seek work opportunities and alternative livelihoods.

- **Ubuntu or acceptance of high dependency ratio:** Throughout the study it is clear that people cannot make it if they are not part of a larger group or in a way supported by their network/family/community. This support goes hand-in-hand with the acceptance of the high dependency ratio in the communities and keeps some people from hunger and despair, considering the harsh conditions that they live under and the multiple deprivations they face.

It's expected that family, friends, and neighbours will share their resources, be it information, food, shelter, etc. This is a powerful safety net and hence keeps severely deprived communities stable.

While Ubuntu is seen as extremely important members of the communities in the study are concerned that it is being eroded by the existence of petty and more serious quarrels and tensions in communities and within families (poverty, unemployment, jealousy, bewitching, etc.). Furthermore, the enormous burden of unemployment and weak service delivery is contributing to weakening household structures and reducing their productive assets as well as basic commodities. As such care and support being

offered to family and community members, especially the most marginalised is often too little or too late, necessitating state intervention.

Communities are heterogeneous with multiple values, political positions, religious and cultural practices; it is Ubuntu that appears to supersede these multiple identities. Generally communities rely on the following practices:

- Sharing of information
 - Sharing of knowledge and skills
 - Sharing of scarce resources
 - Caring for orphan and vulnerable children
 - Nursing the sick and old
 - Helping the destitute
- **Civil and political rights:** The right to equality, freedom of movement and speech provides communities with the security that they are no different from people in the rest of the country and world. They value the right to voice their opinions and to demand their socio-economic rights; and to form structures to work towards expanding these rights. They also enjoy the right to movement to find new work and educational opportunities.
 - **Socio-economic rights and governments' pro-poor policies:** The socio-economic rights entrenched in the constitution gives communities leverage to demand for better health care, quality education, work opportunities, decent housing, clean water, electricity, road infrastructure, etc. In addition government's pro-poor policies to facilitate expansion of socio-economic rights have significantly contributed to community wellbeing. Communities in the study access and use the following public goods and services:
 - **Social grants:** provide individuals and households with money that they can use in ways that will improve their own and family's wellbeing. Hence pension and child support grants are used to put food on the table as well as to allow grandmothers and grandfathers to allocate some money for job seeking or to participate in activities that may lead to work opportunities for themselves and for their families. Access to cash or money allows households to distribute resources according to their specific priorities.
 - **Community Work Programme:** provides participants both access to regular 'basic income' and work opportunities. Like social grants, the money from working in public work programmes enables households to have some control over managing their priorities. The work element of these programmes discourages social exclusion and alienation that face long-term unemployed people. Working outside the home helps to extend their social networks, become aware of work opportunities, and gain the necessary skills required for the world of work.
 - **Universal access to basic education has improved functional literacy:** generally communities in the study have basic and functional literacy and this allows them to access and use opportunities. As such community members continue to pursue learning and education opportunities, search for work opportunities, volunteer in their communities, engage in survivalist income activities, establish micro-

- enterprises, socialise, use technology, and participate in religious and cultural practices.
- **No school fees, national school nutrition programme, free learner transport, and uniforms for vulnerable learners:** allows the community to keep their children in school.
 - **Free health services:** allows communities to access treatment and information at local and mobile clinics.
 - **Communal lights:** installation of Apollo lights provide communities with security/safety.
 - **Community policing forums and patrols:** provide communities a legitimate means to enhance their safety and security.
 - **Seed, information, and equipment by Department of Agriculture:** encourages communities to engage in small scale crop and livestock farming.
 - **Public broadcasting services:** make available information, education, and entertainment to communities in multiple languages.
 - **Electricity supply:** make community members' lives easier; however the high cost of electricity means that they use it sparingly.
 - **Clean water supply:** communities value the availability of clean water on tap and its contribution to health and safety in the home as well as crop farming in their yards. However, this service is often interrupted and unreliable.
 - **Improvement in basic financial literacy, inclusive banking policy, and saving mechanisms:** communities have basic financial literacy and this allows them to access certain formal and informal financial services and use these services more effectively. This competence enables people to make better decisions or even just more informed decisions such as realising that the interest rate from the money lenders is ludicrous and that borrowing from them leads to poverty. While communities in the study are aware of formal banking and the availability of financial services that are cheaper than in the informal sector, they are still reluctant to use these services routinely and prefer the services offered in the informal sectors. This preference towards the informal financial sector is the 'easy access' without too many requirements such as payslips, etc.
 - **Universal access to mobile telephony and penetration of smart phones:** access and ownership of mobile phones is ubiquitous and it allows them to connect with family and friends as well as access services which require making a call or receiving a call. Some also have access to smart phones that gives them opportunities to access the internet to find information, socialise, and search for work opportunities.
 - **Seek work and livelihood opportunities:** Generally communities in the study value financial independence; hence finding work and engaging in survivalist enterprises are a means of gaining this freedom.
 - **Seeking work opportunities:** While communities are very aware of the 'working poor' and some negative working conditions, work is still highly regarded. Work provides more than an income for respondents; it is a space that fulfils both their instrumental and intrinsic needs. The instrumental role of work for in addition to income include acquiring technical and communication skills, enables asset accumulation, and facilitates planning for the future. At an intrinsic level work is a means of being respected, loving, and responsible amongst others. Community members continue to seek work that will provide a living wage, offer training, provide a good working environment, afford social benefits and is regular. In the interim they take on any form of work even if it does not meet their criteria of

quality work.

- **Engaging in survivalist enterprises:** the pervasive practice of micro-enterprises and survivalist income generating activities in communities enable community members to participate in hawking, piece jobs, growing and selling vegetables, etc.

5. THE CONTRIBUTION OF COMMUNITY WORK PROGRAMME TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT – EXPANSION OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM

The CWP is a state intervention to mitigate the impact of high levels of unemployment in poor and under-developed communities. Hence it is an additional resource / commodity available to communities in the study. The findings from the South African Community Capability Study reveal that CWP positively impacts on expanding CWP participants' capability set and their valuable functionings. The factors that allow CWP participants and community members to engage with CWP and to utilise this state intervention are social, environment, and individual, however the study also identified impeding factors. Those members of the community who are using CWP also show personal agency and have made choices to improve their functionings (and objective conditions). These are summarised in Table 11. The subsections that follow discuss the nature of the opportunities offered by CWP that results in an expanded capability set, the facilitating and impeding factors facing communities in utilising and accessing CWP, the agency of CWP participants, and the improvement in their functionings (or shifts in their objective conditions).

Table 12: CWP Contribution to Development – Expansion of Capability Set

Expansion of Capability Set	Conversion Factors (and Impeding Factors)	Agency Freedom	Valuable Functionings (selected from their opportunity set)
<p>Opportunity:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> structured work for a possible 100 days per annum earn a regular 'basic income' work in a collective (CWP is based on teams) career within CWP potential employers income enables purchase of basic products and services engage in financial services e.g. savings and debt products purchase media products and services purchase technology 	<p>Conversion Factors:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> High levels of unemployment in communities makes CWP an important employment source Limited barriers to participation in CWP Work is in the community and hence reduction in transport costs Most vulnerable individuals and households participate in CWP because of the perceived low status of the work opportunities 	<p>CWP participants made choices to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> participate in the programme even though it is considered a low status work opportunity allocate money earned according to individual and household priorities (purchases of services and products and savings products) 	<p>CWP participants' achievements or shift in their objective conditions include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improvement in nutritional intake Active job seekers Capital / asset accumulation (school and crèche, media products and services, white goods, mobile phones) that impacts positively on time saving, safety in the home, information access, and intergenerational

Expansion of Capability Set	Conversion Factors (and Impeding Factors)	Agency Freedom	Valuable Functionings (selected from their opportunity set)
<p>products and services</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> engage in new social networks at work gain structured work experience (CWP is hierarchical with identified tasks and reporting mechanisms) attain work related skills (applied competence in eg small scale crop farming and community home-based care) engage in life skills training opportunities (training offered by loveLife in safe sex practices, etc.) practice occupational health and safety reflect on the value of safe and clean environment work in sectors that contribute to cultural values in particular Ubuntu, and fosters active citizenship contribute to social service delivery, and investment in and maintenance of community assets access information about education and training opportunities understand the socio-economic status of their communities exposure to the development interventions by the state and its organs 	<p>(hence this self-selection prevents the programme from being “captured by wealthier individuals and households”)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> High penetration of banking services to poor communities (helping to disburse funds efficiently) <p><u>Impeding factors:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Late and variable payment Access to CWP often requires being part of specific social networks Limited training opportunities Work opportunities biased towards manual work Shortage of safety gear Shortage of consumables and equipment Slow pace of social service delivery inhibiting among other investment in food gardens that require access to water Unfair recruitment practices Limited management and leadership skills amongst co-ordinators 	<p>and schemes)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> use personal resources to enhance social services and community assets volunteer in projects and programmes in their respective communities that promote community wellbeing internalise the risk of unsafe behaviour consuming media live positive and healthy lifestyles critically engage with traditional practices that adversely affect individual and community wellbeing 	<p>mobility</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increase in savings (secure funeral cover and stokvels) Attainment of technical skills and applied competence in community home-based care and food production Engagement in micro and survivalists enterprises (including food production in their homes) Improved community assets and social services Improvement in educational qualifications (learnerships) Reduction in alcohol intake

5.1. Community Work Programme and Expansion of Capability Set – Increasing Opportunities

This section highlights the opportunities identified by participants as deriving from CWP. Methodologically, it is important to reiterate that at no time in any of the focus group discussions across all communities in the study did the moderators raise questions around CWP. However, respondents spontaneously shared their experiences, perceptions and concerns about CWP. These discussions are thus authentic description of the ways CWP participants experience the programme.

Participation in CWP offers participants the following opportunities:

- **Regular basic income (money or cash in hand):** The access to a regular income allows individuals and their families to ‘budget’ and ‘plan’ and hence allocate resources according to individual and household priorities. This ‘basic income’ helps individuals and families to purchase necessities (food, water, electricity) as well as invest in savings products and services that they value. Funeral cover appears to be a priority savings product that seems to be driven by (in Adam Smith’s words) “the ability to go about without shame”. People want to secure a dignified burial. Other investments include participating in stokvels, paying fees for crèche and transport fares to school. The money in hand also enables CWP participants to continue to seek work as well as ‘capital’ to purchase stock for hawking (Simba chips, airtime, seeds for growing vegetables, fruits, sweets, etc.). The joblessness facing communities in the study makes CWP a sought after resource. CWP, like social grants, is the safety net against misery and hunger for the participants and their families.
 - *“My family survives on the children’s grants and the money I get from CWP.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *“We are able to get money at the end, about R500. We then buy Maize-meal, rice and oil then we are happy. The government helped us by giving us these jobs. Thank you.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *“I live with my family, there are nine of us, I’m the one taking care of them, it’s my two sisters and their children and also my three children. I got help from CWP and they found me a job and I also use the grants of my children and my sisters’ children. Our mother passed away in 2005, and we were left to fend for ourselves. There isn’t anyone that helps us; it’s the CWP money that helps us get by.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *“Like CWP for instance, they really helped us, yes we are getting a small salary but with that we are able to contribute at home unlike before. We are able to buy bread at home. Without CWP we would not be able to do that, so there must be more jobs created for those of us with no qualifications in the community.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *“Now with my job at CWP, I am able to do the little that I can, sometimes the child will ask for money and I will feel bad because the little I get I need to make sure there is food on the table.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *“Yes we enjoy the job that we do it’s for people who are struggling, we are struggling people. People say it’s for the poor of the poorest. That is what they say about our jobs. Even the income that we get they say it’s for poor people anyway.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
 - *“I’m fine with my job and it’s better than being at home because you don’t get anything at the end of the day and it helps, you can support the family, the children grow and you are able to pay for their crèche as well, even your mind as well you don’t even get tempted to do crime because you spend a lot of your time working and not thinking other things.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
 - *“I work for the CWP because there’s nothing else we can do because we need the money, isn’t it? “ (Randfontein CWP)*

- *“Due to the fact that my parents couldn’t afford to take me to school I have had to join the CWP at such a young age. It’s better than nothing even though the money’s really little you can’t even do anything with it. That’s the main thing here in our township. There’s absolutely no progress.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“It [CWP] has made my life better because my kids used to say, ‘Mom it is better to eat poison because there is no purpose for me. I am just sitting and I do not even have money for bread. I do not go to school, and other kids are always having their lunch boxes.’ So, this thing made me sad when I heard this child talk like this that he rather take poison and die because there is no purpose for him to live.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
- *“So, at least, you know there is money every month.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“You can even participate in stokvel, so that you can buy big things that you need and even in December, you know you have money that you have saved for grocery and money. So you know you will get grocery and after that you are able to buy your children clothes.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“We only do stokvels and save for year end.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“We try and form stokvels and give each other R200 and then you can try and get more food. I normally take the kids money and use it for the stokvel that really helps.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
- *“Seriti really helped us. There are people that are really desperate. Money is little there because we have children and no husbands to support us. That is why we are working here. We are desperate because our children need to study. We are really thankful but we would really like to have an increase so that we can have better salaries.” (uMthwalume CWP)*

Despite the evidence that CWP makes an important contribution to income, the incomes are low and their impact on poverty constrained. Many CWP participants complained at length about CWP’s low pay and the limited number of working days (8 days per month). They would trade more days to increase their earnings, but ideally would prefer an increase in pay.

- *“Zuma promised us a better life. But now we are unemployed. We are now engaged in projects where we are not working for anything. You have children but you earn R520. It does not mean that you are working. It is just a waste of time.” (Joe Morolong CWP)*
- *“I work at CWP, but I only work eight days in a month. And the money I get I cannot meet my needs with because I am the only breadwinner at home.” (Joe Morolong CWP)*
- *“With the money we are earning you cannot even save.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
- *“That’s why we cannot even afford to pay for things like insurance because the money we are getting is too little, once you buy groceries you do not have much money left over. We do not even have pay slips and most places like insurance need pay slips.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
- *“We would be happy if we get more money and not the R60 that we get from morning till the afternoon ploughing. It is very little. If we get a little raise we will be able to eat the foods that we should be eating.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“I work at CWP, I enjoy working there but the money that we receive isn’t really enough but we are able to fulfil our needs that need to be done, we just wish they are able to give us a raise maybe, if they are able to.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“I work at CWP, at Gobela in the garden, the school Gobela. I’d like to ask for money (laughs) that’s the only problem; the money we receive is little. It is not enough to do the things we want to do, we are in a situation.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“At CWP it’s nice but the money is not enough especially if you the head of the household and you the provider, it is very difficult also it sometime we get paid late. It is a big problem as especially if you are the provider like me and have no one to help you at all; everything is on your shoulders - that’s the only problem.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“Now we have just found work called CWP they pay us R500, we have school going children, we pay rent and the money is not enough. This is really hard, that the work that they give us, can they please add more money to*

- what we're getting now because it's a struggle. This doesn't even cater for transport and we have families."* (Randfontein CWP)
- *"There are 7 of us a home. I'm married with one kid. We are three families and we cook alone. Mother cooks alone in the other house. My husband doesn't work; I work at CWP and earn R500. This is hard because R500 is not enough. I try to make groceries for R200 or R250. My kid goes to school so I need some money to give to him/her every morning."* (uMthwalume CWP)
 - *"I wish public works could increase the salary. Yes works is not a permanent job, but there is so much that they do, you can even go to the sites and see the work people do. But there is nothing worse than people working hard but not getting what they work for. The salaries are very low. And the other thing is that people are not informed about the salary they are supposed to get. And it's hurtful when talking to other people that are working for works and they tell you that they don't get the amount that you are getting. What can you do for R60 per day and working only 8 days! But you tell yourself that you are working, and the government tells you that you shouldn't be sure that you are working, you should find yourself something else to do. The sad thing about people that are working for works is that they give their all out, but the money they get, is next to nothing. There are old people like that one, but the money they get is not appealing."* (uMthwalume CWP)
 - **Regular structured work:** Access to up to 100 days per annum of structured work has created a safety-net (a reliable source of basic income) as well as contributed to normalising or stabilising participants' lives. More importantly the regular work has limited participants from experiencing alienation and social exclusion that often affects the unemployed. Furthermore, the organisational structure of CWP keeps participants in sync with the demands of employment, i.e. responsibilities, reporting requirements, grievance mechanisms, being on time for work, collegiality, etc.. It is this structured nature of CWP work opportunities that is most valuable as it offers young people an opportunity to experience the requirements of 'the world of work' as well as those who are new entrants to formal employment such as old women and the long-term unemployed. The collective or team work approach of CWP enables participants to extend their social networks as well as gain competencies to work in teams. Lastly their leisure time is reduced to engage in risky social behaviour (alcohol and drug abuse).
 - *"I also work at CWP, I like work, to keep busy. Also, it keeps you away from a lot of things and you know that, you are able to do certain things and it makes us to be open, to other things that we didn't know before."* (Randfontein CWP)
 - *"I also thank the job because it has taken us away from a lot of things."* (Randfontein CWP)
 - *"I am happy for Seriti work, it found me when I was frustrated and it took away that frustration. I used to drink a lot. But after joining Seriti, I realised that God is good and he is alive and He loves me, this is the beginning."* (Randfontein CWP)
 - *"For instance, I cannot go to work drunk, I have to respect my job by not drinking when going to work, even if I drink, you will drink Saturday and Sunday, but not during the week."* (Randfontein CWP)
 - *"It is good to have a job, it protects one from having anger in her heart and they start thinking bad things, like if I can rob someone, yet when you are working, you become loving, even at home you can support the kids at home."* (Randfontein CWP)
 - *"To prevent yourself from doing wrong things there must be things that you do on the side for example you know that every day in the evening you sit down and with other boys and you think that we are going to rob this shop down the road. I should now then build something that will prevent me from going and sitting with these people who will make me do that. For example if we used to meet at 5 I could go and play soccer and come back tired I take a bath and after my bath I go to bed. I have now removed myself from something that will put my life in danger because when you are going to rob a place anything can happen because the people who own those places don't want you to rob there. They can even kill you."* (uMthwalume CWP)
 - **Work experience:** The low entry requirements for participating in CWP are appreciated and youth in particular use this opportunity to gain much needed work experience. Working in schools, clinics, and

other public institutions through the programme gives them a competitive advantage when there are employment opportunities in these places. Furthermore there appear to be some career opportunities within the implementing agencies that are contracted by CWP.

- *“Yes, CWP improves. Like in our community there is this lady who used to be a co-ordinator, now she has a driving licence, she left co-ordinating and went inside the office, now she drives. So CWP has opportunities if you are learned.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“Another thing, at CWP, we can as the youth get experience from there because nowadays when you apply for jobs, they want experience. You are able to learn how to communicate with people, not that you only learn that when you get a job. You learn a lot of things at CWP. So by the time you get a job you have some knowledge.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“People who worked in CWP before have been placed in the municipality. We are also on the lookout for something like that to happen to us as well. If for instance Umzumbe municipality is looking for cleaners, they will start looking here at the CWP for candidates.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“CWP also sent us to the training where we trained for basic and health care also and safety officers.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“I can also say that I found my talent as a home based caregiver. This I found through working at CWP.” (uMthwalume CWP)*

At the same time, participants aspire to having access to more skilled work and to less monotony of work.

- *“It would be nice to get a promotion that is visible like working with computers, maybe they need to have other things in addition to the work they offer now.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“Maybe they should include other things like working in the office so that we can learn other skills.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“We would like them to change us from only ploughing. Maybe do beads and sometimes do reed mats.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“You see ploughing from 8am till 2pm in the afternoon is tiring. It will help some other times because you are relaxing and using only your hands. You will rest than being in the fields every day. It is exercise but not for every day. Maybe 2 or 3 times a week will be okay.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- **Training and Skills Development:** in the main CWP participants are ‘learning by doing’ and hence the most frequently reported applied competences that they are gaining from working for CWP are in the production and maintenance of food gardens and in community home-based care. Those few participants in the study who work as administrators in schools have gained competence in using technology such as photocopiers. Participants generally reported receiving life skills training by loveLife and occupational health and safety workshops. Respondents urged CWP to offer intensive training in skills that are in demand, i.e. demand driven training versus supply. There was sporadic mention by respondents of attending skills training in construction, community home-based care, and management. The majority of respondents reported receiving no formal skills development.
 - *“Yes, working for CWP is helping me, I’m in agriculture and now I know a lot of things which I didn’t know then, even if I decided to start my own fields, I would know what to do because CWP has given me the skills I need for agriculture.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
 - *“They teach us that we can do co-operatives.” (Randfontein CWP)*
 - *“What encourages us is that we are working with people and learning about how to eat healthy and take care of the elderly and sick people. That is why it is important for us to know that, so and so, should eat this and, so and so, shouldn’t eat certain foods. We are taught that and we also go and get their medication at the clinic if they do not have strength to go themselves.” (uMthwalume CWP)*

- *“We get a little (training) from here at CWP. We do get people coming through to give us some information and knowledge.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“Like I am helping at the school, with copies and all that before I went to the school I didn’t know how to use a photocopier machine, now with any company that will give a clerical job I’ll be able to use a copy machine.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
- *“We are taught about these things (safe practices) as we are taught about taking care of our people as we are community workers. So, what we have been taught, we teach others.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“Maybe they should include other things like working in the office so that we can learn other skills.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“What I like about our jobs is that there are opportunities for learnerships. I understand that we get very little money but they use most of the money to provide people with learnerships.” (Bushbuckridge 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)*
- **Practice Ubuntu:** While the terms ‘useful work’ or ‘meaningful work’ did not emerge; valued CWP activities can be equated to Ubuntu. Working in community home-based care has heightened CWP participants’ awareness of Ubuntu and given them a sense of inner self-realisation. They are proud of their work in food gardens (34% CWP participants have food gardens compared to 22% of other participants), school patrols, securing water through unblocking storm water drains, and cleaning public spaces, and they are keen on continuing their civic responsibilities and helping people.
 - *“Because it treats me well and it makes me love children; I love children a lot. Even though the money is little, but I feel good that I am helping other people, when I get there, I clean for them, do their washing, and cook for them.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
 - *“Sometimes at CWP we would use agriculture to help people do farming. We help them to plant lettuce, cabbage, and things like that and then, we clean yards for elderly people, and women do their washing and everything. And then, we have also built a house in extension 3 just for free volunteering. Without complaining or anything, we just went as community workers and we worked. As a person, it also makes me proud to say I also helped there, and I help the elderly as well.” (Randfontein CWP)*
 - *“We don’t care for each other and we see this when we are helping communities, that if we didn’t help them, some of the neighbours would not try and help.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *“We help many people in our area with the home-based care and without us the community would not help them. There is no ‘Ubuntu’ anymore everyone looks out for themselves.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
 - *“I sometimes also help out; especially those who are sickly with all these diseases that are now all over the place. I am able to start the process that will lead to the sick person being put on a treatment program. I have already done this for a number of people. I also go out to get knowledge and information from those who have the expertise in things like how to take care of a person who’s chronically ill and is at home. If I am given information then I take it back to the person who needs it.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *“I helped students to acquire accommodation in the neighbourhood. Some of these students were from far afield places like uMthwalume so I managed to secure places where they could stay for them that is close to the college.” (Randfontein CWP)*
 - *“I am a captain of the Mavusana soccer team which helps to keep the youth active. So, I think I’m doing my part in building the community.” (Randfontein CWP)*
 - *“I helped organize a soccer team and stopped doing all the bad things I used to do in the past like smoking dagga. Now we spend the better part of our time practicing for matches and getting better at playing soccer.” (Randfontein CWP)*
 - *“OR Tambo area, I played the role of advisor to the youth. Advising youth on health issues. I was also involved in the disaster assistance that I mentioned earlier on, assisting the disaster management company to investigate the cause of the disaster.” (Randfontein CWP)*
 - *“We go around doing laundry for the elderly who are sick. We also clean house for them.” (Randfontein CWP)*

- *"If somebody comes with a certain problem I try by all means to help." (uMthwalume CWP)*
- **Improve and protect public goods, services and community assets:** CWP work directly contributes to the state's delivery of socio-economic rights, which has created a greater awareness amongst CWP participants of their socio-economic rights than other respondents in the study. They are also more aware of the extent the state has met these rights and are conscientious of their responsibility in protecting these gains. CWP participants see the harm and destruction in dumping, vandalism, and lack of routine maintenance on infrastructure and hence see these actions as compromising their socio-economic rights. As such they are more likely to protect public goods and services and community assets than other respondents in the study.
 - *"CWP has helped me know about the needs of people. The gross unemployment in our communities I used to see people walking around during the day and I thought maybe they work at night only to find that they are unemployed. What they have also taught me...back in the day not now they taught us how to recruit people to employ them. They taught me skills which made me realise the things I was doing wrong when employing people in the business that I had." (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *"I do not work but I sometimes volunteer to give back to the community for example I clean at the graveyard, schools and help out with community work wherever I possibly can, alternatively I read so that I do not indulge in laziness and also to have references for the future when I'm looking for a job." (Joe Morolong CWP)*
 - *"I like to help my community by developing it. I don't like to look upon those people who are suffering without helping them." (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *"I work for CWP. I would like to have a clinic next to where I stay because there is no clinic. Also, for the sick people to go to the clinic so that they can feel better when they receive medication. I would also like it if youth can have piece jobs so that our youth will not do crime like stealing people's jobs and all sort of things. I would be happy if the government would create job opportunities." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
 - *"In my area I am assisting and involved in patrolling to stop crime, anti-crime patrol to fight crime." (Randfontein CWP)*
 - *"The community patrols are very important, as my friend had said, particularly for us who work night shifts; we are protected from criminals at night so our area is safe. We are now experiencing fewer incidences of theft and house breaking and street muggings. There are now also few boys hanging around at street corners where all this trouble starts." (Randfontein)*
 - *"What I like with (CWP/Seriti) is the existence of the patrollers that are making the surrounding safe. They keep a close eye on these delinquent kids who break into our houses. So since these patrols were introduced, we can now have a good sleep and walk freely at the night." (Randfontein)*
- **Access to new social networks:** In terms of social networks, family and friends emerged as the most significant resources in the communities included in the study. They provide skills, knowledge, values, information, support, money, food, home, and most importantly enable accessing opportunities - be it work, education, grants, etc. These are the networks that individuals and CWP participants use to access public and social goods.

Participating in CWP has enabled participants to expand their existing networks of family and friends, first in the form of CWP colleagues and second in their exposure to different workplaces. The teamwork approach adopted by CWP helps to nurture collective agency amongst CWP participants, especially where the programme has been running for a long time.

- *“But if the seeds don’t come we sit together and discuss and then put money to buy the seeds.” “And also the taxi fare of the person who are going to go and buy the seeds” “We tell the coordinator that we need seeds and they would say that they were told in their office that the seeds have not arrived yet so we figure out that we are running out of time. And where we have already ploughed the weeds will start growing so that is why we think we should just go buy the seeds ourselves.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“I work at CWP, it is very nice there, I work well with my colleagues, at lunch breaks we talk to each other and if someone has a problem we listen and give you advice.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“With the help of CWP we are able as women to be employed by CWP and we are able to talk about different things and we now have a stokvel as women so that we can buy things like building materials and get someone to build for us. I already have a round house which I have built from the money that we saved with the ladies at CWP. We are also planning to save money together with the other ladies who work at CWP so we can buy cement and get people to make blocks for us so we can sell them to make an extra income instead of just sitting and folding our arms.” (uMthwalume CWP)*

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

- *“Another way could be getting involved in different projects but we do not have the means to group ourselves and do this so we can get extra money. We do not have the necessary information and we do not trust each other as people that are why we sometimes do not progress. Because there is a lot of corruption in this country and therefore we do not trust each other.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
- **Work in teams and diverse workplaces that fosters social inclusion:** the team work approach and working in different places allows participants to get to know about events in their communities, work and educational opportunities, and new knowledge and skills. There appears to be constant sharing of information, knowledge and skills in communities in the study - be it sharing information from the media or digital files or work opportunities.

This prevents the further marginalisation that faces many long-term unemployed people. CWP participants leave their homes and spend time with people in their community; this has exposed them to the struggles, challenges, trials and tribulations facing their communities. Working in their respective communities has also been a source for inspiration and motivation, they get to see and meet people who have overcome huge obstacles and see the indomitable spirit of their communities.

- *“I work at CWP at the home based care, what I love doing during my spare time, is taking care of the community especially with orphans. I would love to be able to give them food parcels and shelter because most of them don’t have homes. They just wake up and go to school.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
- **Access to information:** working for a public programme with access to information on public goods and services has given CWP participants an information advantage. CWP participants get to know of public interventions to further their socio-economic rights through their co-ordinators and their ‘workplaces’, such as the availability of learnerships. Many young CWP participants have taken up learnerships. While they appreciate that learnerships are not the best means to securing full-time employment, they recognise other benefits, namely providing an opportunity to present themselves to prospective employers, acquiring work related skills, meeting new people, and receiving a stipend.
- *“What I like about our jobs is that there are opportunities for learnerships. I understand that we get very little money but they use most of the money to provide people with learnerships. The key is to endure your work and at the end you will get something out of it.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*

- *“According to me I would say it is not the same, when you are at the CWP you get opportunities. Like for example, I saw a print of recycling learnership.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- **Occupational health and safety rights in the workplace:** the training by CWP on occupational health and safety has increased CWP participants’ awareness of occupational hazards and the need for safety gear: and their ability to demand it from CWP itself. Unfortunately these participants report that the programme has, in some cases, been unable to provide them with the necessary safety gear.
 - *“Like everyone must have his or her own pp, like overalls; dust masks; gloves, and the spades.” (Joe Morolong CWP)*
 - *“You need to have all the equipment when you are working. You need to make sure you are protected.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *“Relating to work and since we work here for Works and we usually work at people’s homes. Safety is an issue because sometimes you get to a person’s house and you are there to help them. You find the person has dirtied themselves that you don’t have things that you can use to protect you. We even use plastics but you ask yourself is this plastic as safe as I think it is?” (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *“I work well but there is not enough safety at work because sometimes when we are working with the grass we would just be wearing ordinary shoes when there are a lot of broken glass bottles on the ground.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
 - *“The uniform they give us usually does not fit and it sometimes gets torn so you find yourself wearing your ordinary home clothes and this is dangerous because when you are working with such equipment you can hurt yourself without protective gear.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
 - *“My kids often say, ‘why don’t you leave this job because it’s seems as if CWP is making you to suffer even more. You come back home ice-cold from work in the winter months; they don’t provide you with gas masks.’ It’s dusty right now and we have to sweep just as we are.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- **Increase household food security:** working in food gardens has provided participants with technical knowledge of small scale crop farming. CWP participants have used this knowledge and skills to create food gardens in their yards and have in many cases unselfishly shared their knowledge and skills with their family and neighbours. Many CWP participants reported that they do sell their excess harvests. Most importantly the food gardens have prevented/limited hunger and in some cases the harvest is shared with family and community members in dire need. A barrier to sustainable food gardens remains water and availability of quality seeds.
 - *“It helps because even when you don’t have money for food you can come and plant and get vegetables and the kids and everyone else can eat.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
 - *“We sell them (vegetables) to shops like Spar and Boxer.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
 - *“Like with CWP there’s agriculture there and we plant and we give to the poor and to the sick.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
 - *“The agriculture people let us farm for free, sometimes they give us free manure or we give them money to go and buy it for us.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
 - *“If you have a food garden you don’t go out to buy spinach, you just go into your garden. If your neighbour doesn’t have anything, you harvest some for them; and life goes on.” (Randfontein CWP)*
 - *“I am also a CWP worker, I am also working at the garden, planting different plants. The vegetables that we plant help a lot, particular 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 some are getting grants which are very low and cannot cover for most of the things that they need.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *“Referring to what I do at work, I am going to use this as an example: when I am at home, I do my gardening without following the manual whereas at work, we do things accordingly. If we have to plant vegetables, we*

plant seeds in rows and not anyhow, we measure the distances between the seeds because that would encourage the plants to grow with enough space. As compared to the way I do things at home, at work, it is very different. I would say, at home you might not know the right way of doing things and at work, you learn about doing things the right way.” (uMthwalume CWP)

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

5.2. Facilitating and Impeding Factors in Participating in Community Work Programme

Respondents spontaneously reported an array of factors that makes it easy for them to participate in CWP or to utilise this state intervention. They also noted a range of perceived implementation challenges facing CWP that is adversely affecting their participation in the programme. In other words factors that inhibits them from participating in CWP or gives the impression that it is not a valuable resource/commodity.

The following facilitating factors emerged from the study:

- **High levels of unemployment in communities:** The persistent levels of unemployment in communities in the study makes CWP a valuable source of employment.
- **Limited barriers to participation in CWP:** There are no recruitment criteria for participation in CWP, hence old people, youth, pregnant mothers, illiterate people, matriculants, etc. have the same chances of finding work at CWP.
- **Universal access versus targeting:** All members of the community are alleageable for participation in CWP; however the “low status” of CWP amongst community members ensures that the programme reaches the most vulnerable individuals and households. In this regard, CWP is efficient in contributing to poverty alleviation as it is “not captured by wealthy individuals and households”.
- **Work is in the community and hence reduction in transport costs:** Most of the CWP work is within walking distance of participants’ homes, hence reducing transport costs.
- **High penetration of banking services to poor communities:** Few participants (except Joe Morolong) complained about transport cost to banks, hence banking infrastructure helps to disburse funds efficiently.

The concerns or impeding factors noted here were not verified to establish validity or the incidence as the scope of the study was exploratory in nature. Nevertheless, they are flagged here as issues that may have the potential to undermine the integrity and impacts of the programme and therefore require further investigation. They also highlight that quality of implementation is a crucial factor influencing the depth of impact of CWP. The main areas of concern include:

- **Late payments:** Participants complained about the fluctuating payment date which often resulted in late payments. Inaccurate payment was also a concern for participants. This undermines a core rationale of the programme, which is to provide not only regular and predictable work – but also ‘regular and predictable’ income.
 - *“Sometimes you get it in full and sometimes not, others are robbed. Yes, they do not get full amount. Yes, sometimes they do not get paid at all.” (Randfontein CWP)*
 - *“I work at CWP as well but there are times when we don’t get paid, I don’t know what is the problem.” (Randfontein CWP)*
 - *“Sometimes I am free and sometimes I am not free as such. I can work, I know that I am working this month, but I do not know when I am going to get paid at the end of the month. I do not know whether I get paid on the 30th or on the 1st or on the 15th. Sometimes.” (Randfontein CWP)*
 - *“CWP it’s nice but the money is not enough especially if you the head of the household and you the provider, it is very difficult also it sometime we get paid late. It is a big problem as especially if you are the provider like me and have no one to help you at all; everything is on your shoulders - that’s the only problem.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *“CWP pay you the day they like, last time we were paid on the 8th. You’ve worked 8 days, and are paid on the 8th. And the other thing that is confusing is that the CWP’s uniform has the government stamps/emblem. People that see you think that you get good money! And the person in charge there will find you sitting and ask you as to when are you going to work, while working for only R60, and you’ve been working. At the moment that works tender is now owned by Lima. We don’t even know as to who she is.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- **Insufficient occupational health and safety gear and durability of such gear:** Participants raise concerns at insufficient occupational safety gear, particularly gear that is used frequently, like gloves and face masks. In some cases people mention the durability of the gear as well.
 - *“Relating to work and since we work here for Works and we usually work at people’s homes. Safety is an issue because sometimes you get to a person’s house and you are there to help them. You find the person has dirtied themselves that you don’t have things that you can use to protect you. We even use plastics but you ask yourself is this plastic as safe as I think it is?” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- **Insufficient consumables and equipment to effectively do their work:** Participants highlight instances in which consumables (such as soap), tools and equipment necessary for their work are unavailable.
 - *“Right now, we are using our own equipment; we do not have equipment and we do not have tools.” (Joe Morolong CWP)*
- **Unfair recruitment practices:** Participants perceive that nepotism is sometimes at play in the recruitment process.
 - *“Everybody who shares the surname, related to councillor, will work.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *“Sometimes you have skills but they will not hire you if you don’t know anyone working there, or your family member - that is called nepotism.” (Randfontein CWP)*
 - *“It depends whether you have contacts or not. Sometimes you have to bribe, if you don’t have contacts or money you will have to forget it you won’t get a job.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *“Even here at CWP it has changed before we met in a hall then they employed us. But now you must have contacts. They now don’t employ people on the waiting list. Sometimes they delete your name even if it’s already on that waiting list. And now they have changed saying the councillor will recruit. How will a councillor know who is poor in the family, whilst we know exactly who suffers because we go from house to house?” (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)*
 - *“There are also some learnerships, but you can’t get in there because you have to know someone there or pay bribes and we don’t have money.” (uMthwalume CWP)*

- **Some co-ordinators are reported to have limited management and leadership skills:** Participants report instances in which co-ordinators are callous, rude, or assert their authority in inappropriate ways, including threatening CWP participants with expulsion from the programme to assert their authority.
 - *“Like we are working at CWP there’s a man there educated. He doesn’t feel sorry for us to put us into the municipality work there he says he’d rather get people from the outside to work in the municipality not us. He is educated but oppressive to us; he doesn’t care for the community.” (Randfontein CWP)*
 - *“I would say the person who is in charge of us at CWP; he does improve his life at our expense. Because X [name removed] does not have a right to make us buy our own tools from the project money that they pay us. You see; what he is doing to us is sad because after this project, when it gets finished after the set years, we are not going to get anything. But he can make us buy tools... He says we must pay the coordinators that are in charge of us. Actually here is the coordinators money; does the budget not come from them? And then there is no sick leave, if a person is sick, he must die at work. I would just say there is nothing that is there. Even if you are sick, you are absent; if you did whatever, you are absent. Even if there is a funeral at home irrespective of who passed away, even if your mother has passed away, they say they do not care. Imagine coming to work, yet your mother has passed on. Is there such a thing like that? You are hurting and they say you must come to work; when you report, you are absent. And the people on top do not see that; only the coordinators see it. That is why I give them credit - they do give you at least 3 days. (...) Yes, they do give you at least those 3 days. (...) But they are also spies because they report to X [name removed].” (Randfontein CWP)*
 - *“Our new coordinator does not do things the way our old coordinator did things. The new coordinator makes us sign the register where she lives. She does not come on site to us. That is what makes me not free with regards to work. What also makes me not free with regards to the home front is that they do not tell us on time with regards to the days that we work. Someone would just come out of the blue and say tomorrow you are working and to find that we already have plans for that day.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *“What I like is that CWP has given us a chance to work even though the money we earn is little. What I do not like is that we are told things at the last minute maybe they say tomorrow go to Port Shepstone and to find that you do not even have money to go there you have to borrow money from people.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *“Not being free to do things that you think can take the programme forward, having to listen to people who do not have hands-on experience of the work that we do but they are the ones who sit in offices and make decisions for us.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *“I can say I am free and again I am not free at work because of the way our coordinator communicates with us at work. He does not communicate well with us, and there are many of us; he would shout at you in front of other people.” (Randfontein CWP)*
 - *“And the issue of salary, they say in other places people are earning this much and we are earning this much. We are not earning the same amount but we fall under the same project.” (Randfontein CWP)*
 - *“Okay, I am going to improve my work; okay, I am working but I am not going to spend all of my time working at CWP because there is a lot of corruption at CWP. From attending many meetings there, there is a lot of corruption. I think to improve; you have to have a union at work so that you could have people who would go forward for you. Because when we attend a meeting, they say, there are some of the coordinators who are involved in corruption. You do not know whether it is my coordinator or his coordinator. So, at least if there is a union there would be people who would sit in the front for the community.” (Randfontein CWP)*
 - *“I am not free because of favouritism at work; if you come late, our coordinator shouts at you and he even threatens to suspend you, or mark you absent. Do you understand? So, I am not feeling free at work; I am just working because I do not have a say.” (Randfontein CWP)*
 - *“They must provide training to co-ordinators and managers. They must teach them communication skills and tell them to stop telling us that if we don’t want to work we must stay in our homes whenever we raise our problems.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *“Media must improve this CWP by exposing the people that are at the top who are mismanaging it. At times we get paid late and the media must expose these people.” (Randfontein CWP)*
 - *“It is because at CWP you may come together as workers or maybe on a strike, but when there is a co-ordinator and they hear your suggestions, you’ve lost that job! The life we live at works is difficult.” (uMthwalume CWP)*

5.3. Community Work Programme Participants' Agency

Agency and agency freedom is a critical construct of the capability approach as it recognises individual control to make choices and act on these. However for communities that suffer from multiple deprivations collective agency is a necessary condition for changing their status quo. Respondents reported on individual decisions but rarely mentioned collective decisions, hence community agency was difficult to identify in the study.

CWP participants in the study have made choices and acted on these choices to change their personal and community wellbeing. As such their choices reflect the functionings that they value which include improvement of both personal and community wellbeing. The following are a list of choices and actions as reported by CWP participants that allow them "to be and do what they reason to value", i.e. their valuable functionings:

- **Participate in the programme even though it is considered a low status work opportunity:** Participation in the CWP is a manifestation of agency to continue to work and to grasp work opportunities and related benefits even though the majority of CWP participants prefer fulltime employment and are continuing to search for these job opportunities. It is interesting to note that some participants have been working for the CWP for longer than two years. These participants appear to have found a 'home' at CWP and hence are expecting a more formal work relationship with the programme such as a payslip, sick leave, career pathing, etc.
 - *"At home they think I should just leave this job because we don't get paid a lot, my grandmother will tell me I must just go to the field because there I might make better money than I'm earning now here at CWP. She liked to say from the fields you can get tomatoes which we can sell and make money but this job of yours really doesn't have any money at all."* (Bushbuckridge CWP)
 - *"The only time I will stop working for CWP is only when I get a better job, a job which will pay me and where I can work every day of the month."* (Bushbuckridge CWP)
 - *"People that we stay with are not thinking like we do, my mom says I am risking, "Tata MaChance, Tata MaMillions", because the first thing is that we work [CWP] in the street and it is cold, if it rains, we have to get back to work. So my mom always thinks - is my child going to be safe in the street?"* (Randfontein CWP)
- **Allocate money earned according to individual and household priorities:** CWP participants have made choices with regards to purchases of products and services as well as savings. They have also used money to purchase stock that will facilitate engagement in microenterprise including hawking and small scale crop farming.
 - *"I plant lots of maize, I sell and also grind/pound the mielies. And sell the maize meal."* (Bushbuckridge CWP)
 - *"People were lazy, in the past, to plant vegetables in the yard, but they are doing it now because they eat spinach to get vitamins."* (Randfontein CWP)
 - *"Because we do farming where we live; so, if you are not going to work, you go to the garden and work there, we sell maize."* (Bushbuckridge CWP)
 - *"Even when I'm selling chips, I wish that I can succeed. That small thing that I'm doing to support my salary from CWP."* (uMthwalume CWP)
- **Actively seeking for jobs/income opportunities:** CWP participants report to actively seek full-time employment or other opportunities to increase their income.

- *"I work at CWP and on the days that I am not working there, I do door to door, I am selling." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"I would say I am a small business, I sell something small, so I cannot really say that I am a business person, it is just something to keep us going for taxi money or lunch money for the kids." (Randfontein CWP)*
- **Use of personal resources to enhance social services and community assets:** CWP participants have used their personal resources (both consumables and equipment) to further CWP work in offering social services to their respective communities.
 - *"It is much better we do have tools but we don't have cleaning stuff like mops, soaps and brooms. We end up taking our own brooms to clean." (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *"CWP helped the community and unemployed people. We have physically challenged people that we assist as community workers, we clean and cook for them. The only problem we have is the wages they pay us. Because even if you go to the clinics to collect tablets for those who are sick, we use your own money." (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *"Right now, we are using our own equipment; we do not have equipment and we do not have tools." (Joe Morolong CWP)*
- **Volunteer in projects and programmes in their respective communities that promote community wellbeing:** CWP participants were more likely to volunteer their time, resources, and expertise to programmes that enhance the wellbeing of their respective communities.
 - *"We are taught about these things (safe practices) as we are taught about taking care of our people as we are community workers. So, what we have been taught, we teach others." (Randfontein CWP)*
 - *"We don't sell the vegetables so you decide that I can see the family is struggling let me give them some vegetables even though they have not asked for them." (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *We clean the roads" "We grow vegetables for the community so that people can have food and also have food for children in schools" "Yes and also in the crèches." (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *"As workers of CWP we sometimes visit sick people in their homes doing a social visit. You find that there is a woman or a young lady who is sick and you can see that they need help. You help them even though you are thinking that I am putting my life at risk. You think let me put a plastic because there is nothing that can protect me that I can use. A person has messed up themselves there is no mask which you can use to protect yourself." (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *"I am compassionate, I am that kind of a person that will feel pain for the person in pain, feel more pain at times more than the person involved. I can easily put myself in the next person's shoes and that is why I can talk to a person in that situation. You visit a home and a person is in dire need of food and cannot come out to say I am short of this and that, yes, I am in that situation but I will always say my situation is not as bad as that of the person that I would be with at that particular time. I will then see what I can offer, take from my home to help the next person." (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *"I also make sure that all the kids that I see in the community are safe. I ask the kid where they are from where his parents are and if he goes to school. I can take them to the police station or to social workers." (Randfontein CWP)*
- **Critically engage with traditional practices that adversely affect individual and community wellbeing:** For example, CWP participants are encouraging initiation masters and initiation schools to reduce their infection rate by linking them to formal health practitioners.
- **Living positive healthy lifestyles** through eating healthily, exercising, taking part in sports and recreation, reducing risky sexual behaviour, and abstaining from alcohol and drugs.
 - *"Also not to confuse your children. Or to have children with different fathers." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*

- *“I avoid drinking since most women drink nowadays. I avoid doing that because I set an example for the children I am raising since I am looking after them. I make sure that I prevent them from being lead into something that is bad.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“To prevent yourself from doing wrong things there must be things that you do on the side for example you know that every day in the evening you sit down and with other boys and you think that we are going to rob this shop down the road. I should now then build something that will prevent me from going and sitting with these people who will make me do that. For example if we used to meet at 5 I could go and play soccer and come back tired I take a bath and after my bath I go to bed. I have now removed myself from something that will put my life in danger because when you are going to rob a place anything can happen because the people who own those places don’t want you to rob there. They can even kill you.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“I would like them to increase the sports because I would like to see the youth focusing more on sports. That helps a lot in health. They won’t do bad things such as rape and other criminal activities.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“Because we are active at all times, because we are working and we exercise; so, that is why we hardly go to the clinic.” (Joe Morolong CWP)*
- *“I tell them to gym and they will lose weight and their body will be strong and healthy.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“We want to be physically fit and healthy when we are looking for a job.” (Joe Morolong CWP)*
- **Asserting their rights to safe working conditions:** CWP participants are keen to adhere to acceptable safety practices in the workplace, in other words they have internalised the risk of working in hazardous places or doing dangerous work. This self-efficacy is a result of the occupational health and safety training provided by CWP which has generated lots of awareness about safe working conditions. However, the programme has been struggling to provide participants with all the necessary equipment at all times. CWP participants generously share their knowledge of health and safety with their communities, family and friends.
 - *“Like everyone must have his or her own pp, like overalls; dust masks; gloves, and the spades.” (Joe Morolong CWP)*
 - *“You need to have all the equipment when you are working. You need to make sure you are protected.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *“Relating to work and since we work here for Works and we usually work at people’s homes. Safety is an issue because sometimes you get to a person’s house and you are there to help them. You find the person has dirtied themselves that you don’t have things that you can use to protect you. We even use plastics but you ask yourself is this plastic as safe as I think it is?” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- **Consuming media:** CWP participants seek out newspapers at great effort. CWP participants are also keen users of television, radio, and second hand print.
 - *“I buy [a newspaper] at month end when I’m paid and have to go to town to buy groceries then I will buy the newspaper and will read it for the whole month.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
 - *“I bought [my television] on credit and that required me to pay more. It’s not a complete loss to me, even though my TV is not fancy, I gain something from it. Information and knowledge. My children are able you learn and benefit from it as they like cartoons. I also get to choose what my children watch. My children can also learn about ways of communication. The media keeps my children off the streets. They are safe and secure because of TV.” (Joe Morolong CWP)*

5.4. Community Work Programme – Improved Functionings

The previous sections analysed the contribution of CWP to expanding participants' opportunities or capability set and listed the choices CWP participants make to improve their individual and community wellbeing. This section analyses the resulting functionings (or valuable functionings based on their decisions of value); i.e. the shift in their objective conditions.

- **Improvement in nutritional intake:** CWP participants are allocating their money to purchase food and to grow vegetable gardens in their yards. These actions have positively improved the nutritional status of their households.
 - *"It helps because even when you don't have money for food you can come and plant and get vegetables and the kids and everyone else can eat."* (Bushbuckridge CWP)
 - *"And also the vegetable garden most people think that a person who has a garden is poor but if they would know why they should also have a garden themselves."* (uMthwalume CWP)
 - *"If you have a food garden you don't go out to buy spinach, you just go into your garden. If your neighbour doesn't have anything, you harvest some for them; and life goes on."* (Randfontein CWP)
 - *"At CWP I was able to buy my family food because I earned R600.00 a month."* (Randfontein CWP)
 - *"...we are here now at CWP and at least, we can afford to buy some mealie-meal."* (uMthwalume CWP)
"We are able to get money at the end, about R500. We then buy Maize-meal, rice and oil then we are happy. The government helped us by giving us these jobs. Thank you" (uMthwalume CWP)
 - *"I go to work to achieve something, month end my kids have food."* (Randfontein CWP)
 - *"I don't have a husband and the money that I get from CWP, does help us a lot because I'm able to buy maize meal for my family and at least we can have something to eat."* (Bushbuckridge CWP)
- **Active job seekers:** CWP participants are active job seekers and refuse to be part of the broader definition of unemployment.
 - *"I do not work but I sometimes volunteer to give back to the community for example I clean at the graveyard, schools and help out with community work wherever I possibly can, alternatively I read so that I do not indulge in laziness and also to have references for the future when I'm looking for a job."* (Joe Morolong CWP)
 - *"The same with the Health Department, if they want people, they start here at the CWP if they are looking for cleaners because we already have the experience. Besides looking for people with Grade 12 qualifications because you don't go to school to learn how to take care of someone, even if you are not educated, you can take care of someone. Like the home based care candidates, they were taken from CWP, we are also happy about that because we can see the improvements, we can see that CWP is helping us get jobs."* (uMthwalume CWP)
- **Capital / asset accumulation:** CWP participants are investing in assets be it school and crèche, seeds, media products and services, white goods, mobile phones, etc. These investments impacts positively on time saving, safety in the home, information access, and intergenerational mobility.
 - *"But if the seeds don't come we sit together and discuss and then put money to buy the seeds."* *"And also the taxi fare of the person who are going to go and buy the seeds"* *"We tell the coordinator that we need seeds and they would say that they were told in their office that the seeds have not arrived yet so we figure out that we are running out of time. And where we have already ploughed the weeds will start growing so that is why we think we should just go buy the seeds ourselves."* (uMthwalume CWP)

- *“I’m fine with my job and it’s better than being at home because you don’t get anything at the end of the day and it helps, you can support the family, the children grow and you are able to pay for their crèche as well, even your mind as well you don’t even get tempted to do crime because you spend a lot of your time working and not thinking other things.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
- **Increase in savings (secure funeral cover and stokvels):** CWP participants allocate a substantial amount of their earnings in savings, namely funeral cover and stokvels.
 - *“We don’t earn much we budget just for death, when I have paid the policy, I am left with R250. Food is expensive when I buy a 12,5kg of maize meal and meat it’s all gone.” (Randfontein CWP)*
 - *“I like mine because it’s R5000 when you have a problem. I pay R19, I can afford R20 per month.” (Randfontein CWP)*
 - *“You can even participate in stokvel, so that you can buy big things that you need and even in December, you know you have money that you have saved for grocery and money. So you know you will get grocery and after that you are able to buy your children clothes.” (Randfontein CWP)*
 - *“It is sometimes R500 or more. In this, I have to pay for funeral insurance because one day we will die. I have 6 children and all of them are not working. They are telling me that I have to pay for my children as well. In this R520 I have to pay R198 for the funeral insurance and then I have R300 left. There is no money for groceries and I’m starting to buy the small parcels of food. Already there will be no money for me until the next pay cycle. I then go to the loan sharks because I’m hungry and the R300 is not enough to buy the whole month’s grocery, which is why we are saying Seriti helped us a lot to chase away hunger but we are saying we wish they can increase our salaries because we have lots of responsibilities at home.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *“I withdraw my money and then pay the funeral insurance for my child and myself. I then take out the Stokvel money, I joined 2 Stokvels. I then have a little bit left. I have to take out money for my child’s allowance for school. After that I have nothing left. I pay for my insurance, stokvels and then give my mother whatever I have left so that she can buy whatever she doesn’t have.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *“I get the payment and pay for the funeral insurance. I think about the electricity balance that I left at home; I remember that it said R0.00; I buy electricity at least for R100. That R100 will not last until month end. I have a child that is studying security, I then pay for him and there is nothing left for me to buy anything. I don’t have any spending money. I’m trying to give my child a future.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
 - *“With the help of CWP we are able as women to be employed by CWP and we are able to talk about different things and we now have a stokvel as women so that we can buy things like building materials and get someone to build for us. I already have a round house which I have built from the money that we saved with the ladies at CWP. We are also planning to save money together with the other ladies who work at CWP so we can buy cement and get people to make blocks for us so we can sell them to make an extra income instead of just sitting and folding our arms.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- **Engagement in micro and survivalists enterprises** (including food production in their homes): Working in food gardens has provided participants with technical knowledge of small scale crop farming. CWP participants have used this knowledge and skills to create food gardens in their yards and some have unselfishly shared their knowledge and skills with their family and neighbours. Many CWP participants reported that they do sell their excess harvests. Most importantly the food gardens have prevented/limited hunger and the harvest is in several cases shared with family and community members in dire need. A barrier to sustainable food gardens remains water and availability of quality seeds.
 - *“It helps because even when you don’t have money for food you can come and plant and get vegetables and the kids and everyone else can eat.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
 - *“We sell them (vegetables) to shops like Spar and Boxer.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
 - *“Like with CWP there’s agriculture there and we plant and we give to the poor and to the sick.” (Bushbuckridge CWP)*

- *"The agriculture people let us farm for free, sometimes they give us free manure or we give them money to go and buy it for us." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
- *"If you have a food garden you don't go out to buy spinach, you just go into your garden. If your neighbour doesn't have anything, you harvest some for them; and life goes on." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"I am also a CWP worker, I am also working at the garden, planting different plants. The vegetables that we plant help a lot, particular 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 some are getting grants which are very low and cannot cover for most of the things that they need." (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *"Referring to what I do at work, I am going to use this as an example: when I am at home, I do my gardening without following the manual whereas at work, we do things accordingly. If we have to plant vegetables, we plant seeds in rows and not anyhow, we measure the distances between the seeds because that would encourage the plants to grow with enough space. As compared to the way I do things at home, at work, it is very different. I would say, at home you might not know the right way of doing things and at work, you learn about doing things the right way." (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *"Yes, working for CWP is helping me, I'm in agriculture and now I know a lot of things which I didn't know then, even if I decided to start my own fields, I would know what to do because CWP has given me the skills I need for agriculture." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*

CWP participants also engage in hawking, waste picking, piece work and other forms of survivalist or microenterprises to increase their earning.

- *"I say, being self-employed is good because work is scarce these days so we cannot just sit and say the government will give us work, so at least so that the kids can have food, you can sell paraffin, crisp and tomatoes." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"I work at CWP and on the days that I am not working there, I do door to door, I am selling." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"I would say I am a small business, I sell something small, so I cannot really say that I am a business person, it is just something to keep us going for taxi money or lunch money for the kids." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"Because we do farming where we live; so, if you are not going to work, you go to the garden and work there, we sell maize." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
- *"Even when I'm selling chips, I wish that I can succeed. That small thing that I'm doing to support my salary from CWP." (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *"I sell some things like sweets, cigarettes it's not much but it's better than nothing." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"I pick up bottles and sell them and get that little bit. It's okay, and at times other women join it with me." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"Anything that we can re-cycle we go for it." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"Like chicken feet we sell that also at the end of the day you have R30 and the kids have bread and pocket money for school the next day." (Randfontein CWP) Moderator: Do these things make a difference? "More than the word, it makes a difference." (Randfontein CWP)*
- *"I enjoy the fact that you can never be completely without money and I do the little I can to make sure I always have money." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
- *"... I sell knickknacks snacks so I am able to have money all the time so that I do not struggle." (Bushbuckridge CWP)*
- *"I just work a day or so there. It is not easy to get a part time job." (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *"I sometimes get 3 days somewhere to work like this week when I was not working I go there." (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *"When I'm not working I go to people's homes and work." What do you do there? "I do some washing so that I can earn that R50."/ "I plough the fields."/ "I sell chips to the kids. I also sell 'quarters' of bread at school while I'm waiting for my Seriti money." (uMthwalume CWP)*

- *"I am also in CWP my husband is a construction worker and at times he is at home for 2 weeks waiting for his boss to say there's work again... And when it's raining they don't work in the construction, we struggle, then I also do gardening and save on vegetables, I also sell some of the vegetables."* (Randfontein CWP)
- **However, crime and bad debts are barriers to the success survivalists / micro enterprises.** Some CWP participants were robbed of their stock or experienced bad debts. They have no means of mitigating against these shocks.
 - *"We buy the chips and sell them but in the evening the criminals come to your home and ask you to give them the money that you made on that day. You get discouraged."* (uMthwalume CWP)
 - *"The following week the thieves come to your house and steal everything. They took 10 chickens when I was selling them. These dangerous boys come and rob you. You are at risk of losing your life and there is nobody to help you."* (uMthwalume CWP)
- **Improved community assets and social services through active citizenship:** CWP participants take part in community life and promote community development (food gardens, clean environment, support to vulnerable households and individuals):
 - *"As a community we contributed to build more schools because we were short of schools here. (...) It was volunteering because all the children must go to school."* (Joe Morolong CWP)
 - *"When I know that there is someone who is not working, when I hear of a job vacancy for a domestic worker or a gardener I tell the person about the job."* (Randfontein CWP)
 - *"I do a lot of volunteer work. We go around homes where we know there is an elderly or sick, bedridden person or primarily disabled person (home based care). We then go to their home and bath and feed them. You will find that some do not have anyone, besides us, taking care of them. I love what I am doing; hence I am still doing it. However it would be lovely to actually get paid for it."* (Bushbuckridge CWP)
 - *"I attend community meetings."* (Randfontein CWP)
 - *"I have volunteered as part of a school support team."* (Joe Morolong CWP)
 - *"I volunteer in the community by helping people who are not well. I go there and help them with their laundry and house cleaning and also bath them."* (Randfontein CWP)
 - *"... young people in the community who are working as volunteers dish out for them and go give them their food at home."* (uMthwalume CWP)
- **Improvement in education qualifications:** CWP participants registered in learnerships that were advertised through CWP.
 - *"What I like about our jobs is that there are opportunities for learnerships. I understand that we get very little money but they use most of the money to provide people with learner ships. The key is to endure your work and at the end you will get something out of it"* (Bushbuckridge CWP)
 - *"According to me I would say it is not the same, when you are at the CWP you get opportunities. Like for example, I saw a print of recycling learnership."* (Randfontein CWP)
- **Reduction in alcohol intake:** CWP participants reported a reduction in their alcohol intake as a result of working for CWP.
 - *"It has really helped me because I no longer drink that much, I am able to stay at work and keep myself busy."* (Joe Morolong CWP)
 - *"I stay away from funny things like taverns. In our community the youth is under pressure of getting drunk."* (Joe Morolong CWP)
 - *"I am happy for Seriti work, it found me when I was frustrated and it took away that frustration. I used to drink a lot. But after joining Seriti, I realised that God is good and he is alive and He loves me, this is the beginning."* (Randfontein CWP)

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

6. COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS ABOUT CWP

Communities in Randfontein and uMthwalume mentioned the positive contribution of CWP to their respective communities. These communities appreciated the home-based care, cleaning of public spaces, and the food gardens offered by the programme. There was also the perception that CWP participants are more likely to take part in community events:

- *“When you have a sick person at home they come and help you with bathing the sick person.” (uMthwalume)*
- *“They wash that person’s clothing by the river and also cook for them.” (uMthwalume)*
- *“They collect their medication from the clinic.” (uMthwalume)*
- *“Whenever there’s something happening here in the township, it’s always the CWP that’s involved.” (Randfontein)*
- *“The CWP is really helping our surroundings; they help keep the place clean like we said earlier. Even though they complain that the money is not enough, it’s something and our townships are cleaner.” (Randfontein)*
- *“CWP helps in the community by cleaning, at schools and they even help the sickly by bathing them.” (Randfontein)*
- *“The people who look after the environment like the CWP volunteers play an important role in our community. They look after our lives, when people are sick, they make sure that we breathe fresh instead of always breathing dirty air, living around flying plastic bags, and also the smell of dead dogs. We live in unhealthy conditions. Much as there are those who are polluting our environment, there are those who are doing good by cleaning up the area, keeping our environment clean, they are trying to do good.” (Randfontein)*
- *“We feel proud of them because they bring about a new life in us where my Kasi (township) is now clean and we are beginning to see less crime as the CWP plays the role of crime prevention as well, safety and cleanliness. They do patrolling as well in addition to cleaning up the area.” (Randfontein)*
- *“I appreciate that they (CWP) look after the sick that cannot look after themselves. They have the welfare and love of the people at heart.” (Randfontein)*
- *“They go around cleaning the streets; CWP are the people who are working here in the township. Even in the schools. In the old-age homes.” (Randfontein)*
- *“CWP has brought new development and progress in the area as most people are now employed; though on a small scale because they don’t work full time, but it’s better than nothing.” (Randfontein)*

However, a few CWP participants from uMthwalume (but not in other sites) reported that they feel the programme is not valued and that they are not respected in their community.

- *“They are also willing to do what we doing because they are tired of being without a job. But they used to laugh at us saying we walk up and down and we are stupid. Some were even calling us ‘Kwanda’.” (uMthwalume CWP)*
- *“No, we are not treated with respect./ Like they look down on what we are doing at work./ Our work is not treated with respect./And especially with our uniform./ I think they don’t respect our job because of our salary. Like if they ask us how much we earn when we told them they said there is nothing that we are doing there.” (uMthwalume CWP)*

- *“Since I work at CWP and I’m asked what I’m being paid and I tell them. They laugh at me, saying I might as well be unemployed. So that’s why I say a job is a well-paying way.” (uMthwalume CWP)*

The hiring practices of CWP were questioned by some community members. There is a perception of nepotism and ‘ghost workers’. This perception is further fuelled by an apparent lack of on-going communication with communities.

- *“The nice thing is that government brought the Community Work Programme Company but what’s bad about it is that they hire and help their relatives. So if there is even a need for people they take those that they know or related it but the company helps with vegetables and bathing or assisting the sickly.” (uMthwalume)*
- *“The place that usually has people with 2 jobs is CWP because they just sign and go elsewhere and come month end they get paid twice.” (uMthwalume)*
- *“The government must be straight in how they hire the people that they employ. The need to be transparent about the way they do these things. The way they also do the registrations for grants because you spend weeks following up on these grants.” (uMthwalume)*
- *“We were promised that the hiring at the CWP project will be based on giving everyone a chance to work. We are still hoping that they will hire us, and we can see that nothing is going to happen because all is just quiet now; no one is saying anything now. I feel so depressed because I was hoping that I will get a chance to earn some money. The unfulfilled promises are depressing because we were made to understand that we will soon be called to be the beneficiaries of the CWP project and nothing has happened till today. I feel very frustrated. You don’t know how I am feeling now. I don’t know now what is coming next.” (Randfontein)*

There were a few comments regarding the lack of respect towards CWP participants from professionals at clinics and schools.

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

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

- *“Apart from the days and hours we work, I think if they can increase the days we work, then even the money will be better. Also, I think it would be better if this CWP was direct to the municipality because what makes our money little is if you can know how the money travels from one person to the next, then that is why we get small money. They shouldn’t have done it as is, like the tender or NGO, which is given to an implementing agency, so it gets smaller when it gets to us. That is why there were projects like Vukuzenzele, from the municipality.” (Randfontein CWP)*
- *“I also am with the part-time CWP. The problem is that we really don’t get much. I have children; the one is in grade 8 and the other grade 12. I think it’s worsening the poverty, this programme. During the apartheid era things were not like this. So these labour brokers are not right because we are the hard workers and they get the bulk of the money and share it amongst themselves. These are the tender issues from the governments. It really doesn’t sound ok.” (Randfontein CWP)*

7. UNIQUE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN COMMUNITY WORK PROGRAMME PARTICIPANTS AND NON-PARTICIPANTS

The South African Community Capability Study found unique differences between respondents who participate in CWP and the majority of respondents who are ordinary community members. The findings show that CWP participants appreciate the characteristics of formal work. They recognise that formal employment is structured, hierarchical and is task orientated. Other differences include sensitivity to the level of under-development in their respective communities and the need to actively participate in securing their socio-economic rights as well as maintaining their community assets. These differences are captured under the contribution of CWP to the expansion of participants' capability set as well as a shift in participants' functionings, i.e. the impact of CWP on 'opportunities and successes' of individuals. While these two sections focused on objectively variable indicators, the study also found that CWP participants have experienced a "mind shift" that has raised their consciousness as individual agents and as collective members of a community. The differences between CWP and non-CWP respondents include:

- **Appreciation of the characteristics of formal work:** CWP participants appear to appreciate that formal work has numerous features and requirements. They listed the following attributes of formal employment: established hierarchy of reporting, rules and code of conduct, governed by contractual agreement, and task orientated.
- **Awareness of the progress of the state in meeting socio-economic rights:** CWP participants appear to be more aware of the extent of progress made by the state in meeting their socio-economic rights in their respective communities. This may indicate that CWP participants either have more information on state interventions in their respective communities or that they are in greater dialogue with local organs of the state.
- **Information advantage with respect to learnerships:** CWP participants are provided with information on learnership opportunities.
- **Enthusiasm to volunteer in community driven initiatives:** CWP participants are more likely to partake and volunteer in programmes to enhance their respective community's wellbeing.
- **More compliant in adhering to occupational health and safety standards:** CWP participants appear to be more vigilant about safe workplace practices.

- **Conscientious about keeping their environment clean:** CWP participants are keen on maintaining a clean neighbourhood and local environment.
- **Understand the risk of HIV/AIDS:** CWP participants appear to have internalised the risk of HIV/AIDS and hence are more likely to practice safe sex.
- **Advocates for safer initiation practices:** CWP participants through their experience of working in community home based care are advocating for collaboration between medical practitioners and initiation schools or 'initiation masters' to improve the safety of young initiates.
- **Judicious in savings:** CWP participants engage in micro-enterprises to complement their income in order to save and to participate in savings products. In the main CWP participants use funeral plans/burial society and stokvels to save.
- **Greater utilisation of credit facilities:** CWP participants due to access to regular income are more likely to utilise credit facilities, including high cost lending services.
- **Keen media consumers:** CWP participants seek out media products at great costs compared including travelling long distance to purchase newspapers to spending significant income to buy a television set.
- **Technology artefact / product savvy:** CWP participants appear to be aware of technological artefacts / products on the market and feel confident in using them.

8. CONCLUSION

The first South African Community Capability Study operationalised Amartya Sen's capability approach; the study aimed to investigate the levels of development and deprivations facing extremely poor communities. More importantly, the study explored the nature of resources / commodities available to poor communities and the factors that enable them to convert these resources into useful opportunities and ultimately into valuable functionings, i.e. to measure development in terms of whether individuals are able to be and do as they reason to value. The labour market in these communities has failed; CWP is a state intervention in response to the joblessness in the communities in the study. Hence the study offered a unique opportunity to explore the contribution of CWP on participants' opportunities and ultimately a shift in their objective conditions, i.e. whether CWP has helped to expand participants' freedom.

The findings show that CWP has contributed significantly to the expansion of opportunities to participants, i.e. their capability set from which they can choose the kind of life they reason to value. The programme through offering an opportunity to regular structured employment and hence a steady basic income has allowed participants to gain much needed work experience; on-the-job training that has enabled participants to attain applied competence (to do, to know, and to apply) mainly in the fields of small crop farming and community home based care; practice Ubuntu; contribute to the improvement and protection of public goods, services and community assets; access new social networks; work in teams and diverse workplaces that fosters social inclusion; access information on development opportunities; understand occupational health and safety in the workplace; and increased household food security.

The CWP through expanding the capability set of participants has given individuals a larger set of options to be and do what they reason to value. The resulting achievements or functions that were reported by CWP participants include, an improvement in nutritional intake; to continue to look for formal employment opportunities; to accumulate capital and assets; invest in savings products; engage in micro-enterprises; contribute to improvement of community assets and social services; advance educational qualifications; and a reduction in alcohol consumption.

The universal targeting and low entry requirements have ensured that the programme has been efficient in alleviating the dire needs of the most marginalised members of communities. This is further aided by the broader community perception that CWP work opportunities are low paid and hence low status employment. This is a significant finding in terms of targeting and the prevention of being 'captured' by 'wealthier community

members'. Nonetheless the programme implementation needs to address a number of perceived challenges facing CWP as reported by both participants and non-participants in the study. These are late payments; insufficient occupational health and safety gear and durability of such gear; insufficient consumables and equipment to effectively do their work; unfair recruitment practices; and limited management and leadership skills amongst first tier managers.

The steady income and structured work opportunities offered by CWP has also shifted participants view of their role in their respective communities; they appear to have a greater awareness of being part of a collective, i.e. part of their community. Furthermore, their participation in CWP has empowered them to make decisions to improve their individual and community wellbeing.