

# THE IMPACT OF THE COMMUNITY WORK PROGRAMME ON VIOLENCE IN ORANGE FARM

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

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## Abbreviations and acronyms

<b>ANC</b>	African National Congress
<b>APF</b>	Anti-Privatisation Forum
<b>CoJ</b>	City of Johannesburg
<b>CWP</b>	Community Work Programme
<b>DA</b>	Democratic Alliance
<b>EFF</b>	Economic Freedom Fighters
<b>ESP</b>	Extended Social Package
<b>LIA</b>	Local implementing agent
<b>NGO</b>	Non-governmental organisation
<b>PCO</b>	Parliamentary Constituency Office
<b>RC</b>	Reference Committee
<b>SANCA</b>	South African National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence
<b>VEP</b>	Victim Empowerment Programme
<b>YBRA</b>	Youth in Business and Research Agency

South Africa's unemployment is on the increase, especially among young people between the ages of 23 and 35.<sup>1</sup> Currently, unemployment is estimated to be at 25%.<sup>2</sup> As a result of the high rate of unemployment, various government programmes were implemented for skills development and to create work opportunities. The Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) was launched as a poverty-alleviation strategy by providing temporary employment through involvement in infrastructural and technical projects such as building roads, dams, sewerage systems, storm water drains and bridges.<sup>3</sup> EPWP participants were provided with 100 days of full-time work within major infrastructural projects run by various government departments, mainly the Department of Public Works. The main aim of the EPWP was to provide participants with technical skills and training in the hope that they would become permanently employed once they had completed their involvement in the EPWP.<sup>4</sup> A major criticism levelled against the EPWP is that it provides too few days of work for people to learn skills that will equip them for permanent formal employment (see Thokozani Nzimakwe for a detailed discussion of EPWP and its limitations).<sup>5</sup> Another major criticism is that the EPWP projects are too labour intensive and state-driven rather than community-driven and -oriented.

In response to these criticisms of the EPWP, the Community Work Programme (CWP) began as a pilot project in 2007. The CWP offers 100 days of part-

time work, spread over two days a week throughout the year, while the EPWP offers 100 days of work over a period of three to four months on a full-time basis. Moreover, the CWP differs from the EPWP because it is community-based and -oriented, while EPWP involves infrastructural development projects such as building roads and bridges. The work done through CWP is decided through a participatory process that identifies 'useful work' that the community feels will contribute to the public good and improve the community's quality of life, while EPWP projects are state-driven.

Some studies have been conducted to assess and evaluate the effectiveness of the CWP in alleviating poverty and unemployment in communities.<sup>6</sup> However, the focus of the current research project is on the impact of the CWP in facilitating and promoting social and civic cohesion, which in turn may lead to a reduction of violence in communities. It is against this backdrop that a study was conducted in Orange Farm, a black township situated in the south of Johannesburg, where the CWP was started in 2010.

The report discusses background information about the community of Orange Farm, methods of data collection, participants interviewed and key findings, including the history of CWP, the CWP projects undertaken and the impact of the CWP in promoting social and civic cohesion and reducing urban violence.

<sup>1</sup> Statistics South Africa, 'Work and Labour Force,' [http://beta2.statssa.gov.za/?page\\_id=737&id=1](http://beta2.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=737&id=1) (accessed 20 June 2015).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. It is important to note that these figures are contested by some statisticians. They should be used and interpreted with care.

<sup>3</sup> Thokozani I. Nzimakwe, 'Addressing Unemployment and Poverty through Public Works Programmes in South Africa,' *International NGO Journal* 3(12) (2008): 207-212.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Kate Philip, 'The Transformative Potential of Public Employment Programmes,' Occasional Paper Series No. 1/2013, Graduate School of Development Policy and Practice, University of Cape Town, 2013.

## Methodology

The study was qualitative in nature, implying ‘an emphasis on the processes and meanings’ that people make out of their lived experiences.<sup>7</sup> The aim of the study was to explore how the CWP participants reflect and talk about the impact of CWP in fostering and promoting social cohesion in Orange Farm. Qualitative research methods allowed the researcher to study CWP in depth and detail. Individual interviews as well as focus group interviews were conducted with CWP participants, representatives of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), community-based organizations (CBOs), local councillors, social workers and community leaders, as well as City of Johannesburg (CoJ)

officials and the police (see Table 1 for a profile of participants interviewed in this research project). In some cases, follow-up interviews were also conducted with certain participants. The interviews were conducted over a period of eight months (March to October 2014). The researcher met the participants at the Skills Centre<sup>8</sup> in Orange Farm, visited some in their offices, went to work sites and also attended CWP meetings. Telephonic conversations were also held with some participants, especially when the researcher needed clarity about issues during the report-writing process. Apart from one interview that was done in Lenasia all interviews were done in Orange Farm.

**Table 1: List of interviews**

Individual Or Focus Group	Organization	Position	Gender	Date Of Interview
Personal interview	Tebogo Home for Disabled Children	Administrator	F	22/5/2014
Personal interview	Fundisa	Facilitator	F	18/04/2014
Personal interview	Home of Hope	Peer educator	M	28/05/2014
Personal interview	Home of Hope	Manager	F	28/05/2014
Personal interview	World Vision South Africa	Administrator	F	28/05/2014
Personal interview	CWP	Participant	F	28/05/2014
Focus group (8 participants)	Youth Desk	Executive members	M (all)	28/05/2014
Personal interview with Orange Farm Orange Farm CWP senior representative 1	Youth in Business and Research Agency (YBRA)	Chairperson	M	20/04/2014
Personal interview with Orange Farm Orange Farm CWP senior representative 2	CWP	CWP	M	07/05/2014
Follow-up personal interview with Orange Farm CWP senior representative 1	CWP	CWP	M	08/08/2014
Follow-up personal interview with CWP representative 2	CWP	CWP	M	22/10/2014
Personal interview with councillor	Orange Farm	Councillor	M	20/06/2014
Personal interview with police official	Police station in Orange Farm	Police official	F	02/04/2014

**Table 1: List of interviews**

<b>Individual Or Focus Group</b>	<b>Organization</b>	<b>Position</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Date Of Interview</b>
Personal interview with police official	Police station in Orange Farm	Police official	M	02/04/2014
Personal interview	Police station in Orange Farm	Police official	M	02/04/2014
Personal interview with representative 1 (EFF)	Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)	Leader	F	07/05/2014
Group interview with EFF members	EFF	Members	5 (all M)	07/05/2014
Personal interview with representative 1 (ANC)	Community Policing Forum (CPF) and African National Congress (ANC)	Branch chairperson of the ANC and CPF	M	07/05/2014
Personal interview with representative 2 (ANC)	Parliamentary Constituency Office (PCO)	Administrator	M	07/05/2014
Personal interview	Stretford Community Centre	Facility manager	F	07/05/2014
Personal interview with social worker 1	CoJ, Department of Human Development	Social worker	M	20/06/2014
Personal interview with social worker 2	CoJ, Department of Human Development	Social worker	F	04/07/2014
Personal interview with representative 2 (ANC)	ANC	ANC branch executive member	F	07/05/2014
Personal interview with representative 3 (ANC)	ANC	Member	M	07/05/2014
Personal interview	SANCA Nishtara	Social worker	F	20/06/2014
Focus group interview with CWP coordinators (10 participants)	CWP	CWP participants	#	10/04/2014
Focus group interview with CWP (12 participants)	CWP	CWP participants	#	10/04/2014
Focus group interview (13 participants)	CWP	CWP participants	#	10/04/2014
Focus group interview (8 participants)	Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET)	ABET participants	#	10/04/2014
Focus group interview with members of the chicken project	Chicken project	CWP participants	5	10/04/2014
Focus group interview with Victim Empowerment Programme (VEP) members (7 participants)	CWP (VEP)	CWP (VEP)	F (all)	02/04/2014
Focus group interview with Gateway group members (5 participants)	Gateway project (ex-offenders)	CWP participants	M (all)	28/04/2014

**Table 1: List of interviews**

<b>Individual Or Focus Group</b>	<b>Organization</b>	<b>Position</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Date Of Interview</b>
Focus group interview with food gardening members (4 participants)	Food gardening project	Ex-CWP participants	M (all)	27/05/2014
Personal interview	National Institute of South Africa (NISA)	Social worker	F	04/04/2014
Focus group interview with CWP participants	CWP	CWP participants	#	20/04/2014
Personal interview with CPF chairperson	CPF	Chairperson	M	07/06/2014
Focus group interview with owners of the EDC (4 participants)	Early Childhood Development (ECD)	ECD managers	F (all)	10/04/2014
Personal interview	CWP (ward one)	CWP coordinator	F	11/08/2014
Personal interview	CWP (ward two)	CWP coordinator	F	11/08/2014
Personal interview	CWP (ward three)	CWP coordinator	F	11/08/2014
Personal interview with CoJ official	CoJ, Department of Social Development	Agriculture manager	F	26/06/2014
Personal interview with senior social worker 3	CoJ, Department of Human Development	Regional manager	F	26/06/2014
Personal interview	Human Rights Organization	Community leader	M	28/05/2014
Personal interview	Orange Farm Community Trust	Manager	F	07/05/2014
Personal interview	Southern African Association of Youth Clubs	Manager	M	17/07/2014
Personal interview	Bokamoso Drop-in Centre	Manager	F	17/07/2014
Personal interview	Meals on Wheels	Manager	M	17/07/2014

## Overview of Orange Farm

The Orange Farm CWP site is part of a larger site situated in Region G,<sup>9</sup> one of the CoJ's seven administrative regions. The region is on the south side of Johannesburg and the Orange Farm area is situated in the southernmost part of the region, about 45 kilometres from the CoJ. Orange Farm was established as an informal settlement in the late 1980s. At that time urbanization in South Africa was steadily increasing as a result of the scrapping of the pass laws. Orange Farm became an area where new urban migrants to Johannesburg used open spaces to build shacks due to lack of houses for the increasing population in the area. By 1989, over 3 000 families had settled at Orange Farm. In addition to this, the population of Orange Farm expanded as a result of the resettlement of residents who were removed from overcrowded and underserved locations. They were allocated land in Orange Farm through selective site and service schemes, in this instance by the then Southern Municipal Local Council.<sup>10</sup> Low-cost houses were built, particularly after 1994 through the Reconstruction and Development (RDP)-related policy. According to the 2011 census, the population of Orange Farm was just under 77 000 people living in an estimated 21 029 households. However, the area covered by the Orange Farm sub-site includes what may be called 'Greater Orange Farm,' which encompasses the surrounding areas of Stretford, Drieziek and Lakeside. The population of this overall area is significantly higher and may be in the region of 400 000 people.<sup>11</sup>

According to 2008 data from a study conducted in Ward 3 in Orange Farm, 70% of houses in the area were formal.<sup>12</sup> In 2011 it was reported that 'upliftment initiatives' in Orange Farm had included 'a modern library, some tarred roads, permanent houses in the proclaimed area, low cost housing, four clinics, an information and skills development centre with internet access, a multi-purpose community centre and some on-site government offices such as the Department of Health, Social Development, Home Affairs, Housing and Transport, and a police station.'<sup>13</sup>

Despite these developments, the area of Orange Farm is still affected by 'extreme levels of poverty and unemployment.'<sup>14</sup> Community protests took place in the area in 2004 and 2005 due to lack of basic services such as water, electricity and housing.<sup>15</sup> One of the protest leaders had this to say in an interview:

**Yes. There were lots of protests. But before the protests there were awareness campaigns through community meetings, workshops whereby the memorandums were [drawn up] – people were saying enough is enough and they started the protests.**<sup>16</sup>

The Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF)<sup>17</sup> was active in the area, especially in demanding access to free water. However, the movement lost its momentum post-2009 as services are now being provided.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Orange Farm is therefore a CWP 'sub-site' within the Region G site.

<sup>10</sup> Affordable Land and Housing Data Centre, 'Suburb Profiles: Orange Farm.'

<sup>11</sup> See, *ibid.*, where a figure of 400 000 is given. The CoJ website gives a figure of 350 000. City of Johannesburg, 'Orange Farm: Beauty in the Land of the Poor,' [http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com\\_content&id=932&Itemid=52](http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&id=932&Itemid=52) (accessed 20 June 2015). The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) puts the overall population of Region G, of which Orange Farm is a part, as 15% of the 4.6 million people in Johannesburg or roughly 690 000 people. HSRC, 'The City of Johannesburg (CoJ) Economic Overview: Demographics and Service Delivery,' 24 July 2014, <http://www.hsrb.ac.za/uploads/pageContent/4974/HSRC%20Seminar%203rd%20Presentation%20COJ%20Demographics%20&%20Service%20delivery%2024July2014.pdf> (accessed 20 June 2015). Some reports suggest that about 60% of the Region G population is concentrated in the Orange Farm area as well as the Kanana Park area to the north-east of it.

<sup>12</sup> Thea de Wet, Leila Patel, Marcel Korth, and Chris Forrester, *Johannesburg Poverty and Livelihoods Study* (Johannesburg: Centre for Social Development in Africa, University of Johannesburg, 2008), 15.

<sup>13</sup> City of Johannesburg, 'Change is Coming to Orange Farm,' 16 August 2011, [http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=7034:change-is-coming-to-orange-farm&catid=198:urban-development&Itemid=198](http://www.joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=7034:change-is-coming-to-orange-farm&catid=198:urban-development&Itemid=198) (accessed 20 June 2015).

<sup>14</sup> City of Johannesburg, 'Regional Spatial Development Framework: 2010/2011: Administrative Region G,' <http://www.joburg-archive.co.za/2010/pdfs/sdf/regionalsdf/regiong/section2a.pdf> (accessed 20 June 2015), 22–23.

<sup>15</sup> Dale McKinley and Ahmed Veriava, *Arresting Dissent: State Repression and Post-Apartheid Social Movements*, Violence and Transition Series (Cape Town: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2005).

<sup>16</sup> Personal interview, community leader, 28 May 2014.

<sup>17</sup> See, for instance, Wikipedia, 'Anti-Privatisation Forum,' [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anti-Privatisation\\_Forum](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anti-Privatisation_Forum) (accessed 20 June 2015).

<sup>18</sup> Personal interview, councillor, 20 June 2014.

## Overview of Orange Farm

The CoJ, in partnership with the private sector, has rolled out several upliftment initiatives in Orange Farm to accelerate access to basic services such as water, electricity and housing.<sup>19</sup>

**Some people got RDP houses and that's why there are few shacks in Orange Farm.**<sup>20</sup>

**Fortunately I am also the head of the ANC in Orange Farm. And we are trying to provide all these basic services such as water, electricity and housing. Also working hand in hand with the City of Joburg we are trying to improve our people's lives.**<sup>21</sup>

Community members have access to world-class sporting facilities such as soccer grounds, tennis courts, a rugby field, a public swimming pool and a gym. These facilities are supported and taken care of by the CoJ. Pointing at a visibly well-maintained basketball court a few metres from where we were standing, a local leader said proudly:

**Look at this basketball court; it is one of the things that we must be judged by.**<sup>22</sup>

Orange Farm has two well-maintained public parks. The CoJ, especially City Parks, is responsible for maintaining these parks. Again, local leaders were proud of these well-maintained public facilities.<sup>23</sup>

The community has both middle-class and working-class families living side by side. This was evident when looking at some of the houses (e.g., a big double-storey house next to an RDP house). The area has 12 public and five private high schools. According to a focus group interview,<sup>24</sup> children from middle-class families mainly go to the private schools.

People in Orange Farm also have access to healthcare facilities. The community has three satellite clinics in addition to the main community health centre, which serves as a referral point for the three clinics in the area. The community health centre has a maternity ward, a paediatric ward, an emergency division and an HIV and AIDS unit. Severe medical cases are referred to either Baragwanath Hospital or Johannesburg General Hospital.

The community of Orange Farm is surrounded by small shopping complexes that have popular grocery outlets such as Spa, Pick and Pay, and Shoprite. Many interviewees asserted that these shops have created basic job opportunities for some people in Orange Farm. Currently, a big mall is being built in Orange farm. Interviewees expressed hope that this new mall would also create job opportunities for the people of Orange Farm.

**Once opened, the new shopping mall will create permanent and casual jobs.**<sup>25</sup>

**Many people are excited about the new mall. People are thinking about job opportunities.**<sup>26</sup>

Some of the work done by the CWP involves assisting other CWP participants to prepare CVs.

**For instance, there will be a mall opening, so we [CWP leaders] agreed that the people [CWP participants] must bring their CVs. So they [CWP participants who work as administrators in the CWP] type them from the Skills Centre<sup>27</sup> [offices for the CoJ which have computers that CWP participants are allowed to use]. There is that relationship between CWP people and the Skills Centre and the ward councillor and the people who are recruiting for the mall.**<sup>28</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Affordable Land and Housing Data Centre, supra n 10; Personal interview, councillor, 20 June 2014.

<sup>20</sup> Personal interview, councillor, 20 April 2014.

<sup>21</sup> Personal interview, ANC representative 1, 7 May 2014.

<sup>22</sup> Personal interview, ANC representative 2, 7 May 2014.

<sup>23</sup> Personal interview, ANC representative 1, 7 May 2014; Personal interview, ANC representative 2, 7 May 2014.

<sup>24</sup> Focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

<sup>25</sup> Personal interview, ANC representative 2, 7 May 2014.

<sup>26</sup> Focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

<sup>27</sup> The Skills Centre is the public property of the CoJ. CWP offices in Orange Farm are situated at this venue.

<sup>28</sup> Personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 2, 7 May 2014.

## Overview of Orange Farm

A press report on 29 October 2014 indicated that there had been protests at the opening of the mall by people disappointed at not obtaining jobs. The mall management said they received 10 000 CVs but were only looking for 1 500 people.<sup>29</sup> The report indicates that a group of about 80 residents barricaded roads and burnt tyres to express their anger at not receiving jobs.

As discussed later in this report, the CWP in Orange Farm is developmental in orientation in that significant attention is given to assisting participants to develop the ability to access other work opportunities or to establish their own businesses. I observed during my fieldwork that the CWP is seen by many participants, especially young people, as a springboard to better work

opportunities. According to a Orange Farm CWP senior representative,<sup>30</sup> creating job opportunities for the CWP participants is seen as part of the exit strategy (examples of such opportunities are provided later in the report).

### Crime in Orange Farm

In the interviews, crime was raised as a major concern for the people of Orange Farm.

**Crime is a big issue in Orange Farm.**<sup>31</sup>

**So such crimes, especially common assault, and assault GBH [grievous bodily harm] are the ones reported in high numbers as well as murder.**<sup>32</sup>

**Yes, we have a problem of crime in Orange Farm.**<sup>33</sup>

**Table 2: SAPS statistics on selected types of crime in Orange Farm**

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
<b>Murder</b>	91	84	62	52	48	59	50	58	62	56	60
<b>Total Sexual Crimes</b>	357	316	298	279	252	238	243	207	200	197	159
<b>Attempted murder</b>	174	95	66	67	55	38	41	39	37	50	45
<b>Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm</b>	1010	579	632	586	518	495	588	590	677	649	731
<b>Common assault</b>	1056	1114	678	474	365	314	406	391	474	373	427
<b>Robbery with aggravating circumstances</b>	558	451	359	346	254	285	249	180	241	278	399
<b>Robbery at residential premises</b>	11	40	55	76	17	19	27	21	44	70	107
<b>Robbery at non-residential premises</b>	2	2	6	13	18	19	38	41	47	40	51
<b>Carjacking</b>	93	67	59	23	25	45	44	29	31	35	48
<b>Common robbery</b>	200	142	148	129	126	125	102	108	127	131	133
<b>Burglary at non-residential premises</b>	33	28	44	42	66	73	87	98	111	127	104
<b>Burglary at residential premises</b>	683	704	733	648	640	742	688	681	648	738	727
<b>Theft of motor vehicle and motorcycle</b>	109	138	130	113	106	104	118	157	189	156	131

<sup>29</sup> Sapa, 'Orange Farm Residents Protest at Mall Opening,' *Times Live*, 29 October 2014, <http://www.timeslive.co.za/local/2014/10/29/orange-farm-residents-protest-at-mall-opening> (accessed 20 June 2015).

<sup>30</sup> Personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 2, 5 July 2014.

<sup>31</sup> Personal interview, CPF chairperson, 7 May 2014.

<sup>32</sup> Personal interview, police officer, 2 April 2014.

<sup>33</sup> Personal interview, CWP participant, 3 April 2014.

**Table 2: SAPS statistics on selected types of crime in Orange Farm**

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
<b>Stock-theft</b>	7	13	5	1	6	13	21	9	27	25	20
<b>Unlawful possession of firearms and ammunition</b>	89	68	50	65	72	51	65	41	56	80	60
<b>Drug-related crime</b>	71	131	158	191	194	203	236	216	306	714	1287
<b>Public violence</b>	0	1	0	2	0	4	12	0	0	6	12

Source: Crime Stats, <http://www.crimestatssa.com>

Table 2 shows changing crime patterns in Orange Farm. As compared to the situation in 2004, the statistics suggest that some crimes have declined overall (e.g., attempted murder, common assault) while others have remained stable (e.g., burglary of residential premises). Certain crimes (e.g., GHB, robbery with aggravating circumstances, and drug-related crime) have fluctuated, with initial decreases followed by increases in the 2004 to 2014 period.

Some CWP participants asserted that although crime was a major problem at the inception of the Orange Farm community in the early 1990s, the current dominant view is that it has decreased, especially violent crime. However, this does not mean crime is no longer a problem in this community. One participant put this aptly: 'This community used to be a terrible place in the past ... but things are better now.'<sup>34</sup> The participants rejected dominant media discourses that represent Orange Farm as violent, a view that I also held before this fieldwork. Another participant, disputing this representation of Orange Farm as violent, mentioned that 'there are no gangs or professional criminals',<sup>35</sup> but that crime is mainly committed by *nyaope*-smoking boys (discussed later).

**This place had so much crime when we were still living in shacks when the community was formed, but now things are much better. Crime is no longer a major problem, but the crime is still happening.**<sup>36</sup>

**This community used to be a terrible place in the past, but the police are trying to deal with crime. Yes, we are still scared of crime, but things are better now. You can walk without anything happening to you.**<sup>37</sup>

**Yeah there is crime in the area but it is not too bad as reported in the media.**<sup>38</sup>

Although many participants<sup>39</sup> mentioned that violent crime is no longer a problem in Orange Farm, they raised concerns about the increasing cases of burglary at residential premises. It is alleged that these housebreakings are mainly committed by young boys who are addicted to *nyaope*. They steal items that they sell to buy the drug. One common item stolen is new flat-screen TVs, as it is believed that they contain a substance that these boys mix with other concoctions to make *nyaope*.

**The crime [here] in the township [Orange Farm] is mostly committed by young boys who smoke *nyaope* and they only steal stuff from their immediate families or do housebreakings so that sell them to get money to buy *nyaope*.**

**Yes crime is a problem especially on Fridays. It is committed by these boys, especially those who smoke *nyaope*.**

<sup>34</sup> Focus group interview, CWP participants, 20 May 2014.

<sup>35</sup> Personal interview, CPF chairperson, 7 April 2014.

<sup>36</sup> Personal interview, community health worker, 7 May 2014.

<sup>37</sup> Focus group interview, CWP participants, 20 May 2014.

<sup>38</sup> Personal interview, CPF chairperson, 7 April 2014.

<sup>39</sup> Personal interview, CPF chairperson, 7 April 2014; Focus group interview, CWP participants, 20 May 2014.

<sup>40</sup> All three quotes from personal interview, CPF chairperson, 7 April 2014.

**You bought a TV for R4 000–R5 000, but they [nyaope-smoking boys] would just [come and steal it]. They would go and break it [the TV] just to get that substance; they want to smoke it. They mix this powder [taken from the flat screen TV] with things like rattex, dagga, and ARVs.<sup>40</sup>**

The view that nyaope-smoking boys commit petty crimes was shared by many informants interviewed in the study. Later in the report, I discuss the role played by ex-offenders in assisting these boys to get help at the South African National Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence (SANCA). Ex-offenders I interviewed interpreted this initiative as a crime prevention strategy in Orange Farm.

### **The problem of domestic violence**

Domestic violence, especially against women, was reported as a major problem in Orange Farm. One police official mentioned that a minimum of 50 cases of domestic violence get reported at the Orange Farm police station per month. The participants specified that a major source of domestic violence among spouses and ex-partners has to do with ‘who has infected who with HIV.’ This confirms the study by Kristin Dunkle et al. that there is an intersection between the disclosure of HIV and domestic violence.<sup>41</sup> Many partners (mainly women) speak about the fear of disclosing their HIV status to their partners. Dunkle and colleagues found that men often use violence against their partners once they disclose their status. The men accuse the women of infecting them with the virus, and this often results in domestic violence. Victim Empowerment Programme (VEP) participants stated that this is also common in Orange Farm. It is hard for them as CWP participants to deal with such cases, although they get all the necessary support from other NGOs in the community.

**We keep statistics of people who come to apply for protection orders and the ones we refer. You can find that within a month we help 96 people. Per month we would not get less than 50 people. We always get new people. We embark on awareness programmes for people to come and report domestic violence.<sup>42</sup>**

**In most cases domestic violence is between spouses, ex-partners and people fighting about who infected who [with HIV]. Those are the matters we come across a lot. And then mostly people who report are women. But we do embark on awareness campaigns to make men aware that they are also welcomed to [get help].<sup>43</sup>**

It was mentioned that these incidents of domestic violence often occur over the weekends when people are intoxicated. In their study, Sonke Gender Justice<sup>44</sup> found that there is a strong link between alcohol abuse and domestic violence. The CWP participants in the VEP have been working closely with the police in dealing with cases of domestic violence and also raising public awareness about it (discussed later). In terms of the existing literature, domestic violence in the new South Africa is also linked to men’s sense of emasculation,<sup>45</sup> used as a way to reassert their manhood, and to other social practices reflecting patriarchal definitions of what it means to be a man.<sup>46</sup>

**Yes, you have some men who are just abusing women just to prove he is the head of the house. That thing is not right man.<sup>47</sup>**

**Men think it is right to just beat women to prove that they are men.<sup>48</sup>**

<sup>40</sup> All three quotes from personal interview, CPF chairperson, 7 April 2014.

<sup>41</sup> Kristin Dunkle, Rachel Jewkes, Heather Brown, James McIntyre, Glenda Gray and Siobán Harlow, ‘Gender-Based Violence and HIV Infection among Pregnant Women in Soweto’ (Pretoria: Medical Research Council, 2003).

<sup>42</sup> Personal interview, police officer, 2 April 2014.

<sup>43</sup> Focus group interview, VEP CWP participants, 2 April 2014.

<sup>44</sup> Sonke Gender Justice, ‘Masculinities, Alcohol and Gender-Based Violence: Bridging the Gaps,’ <http://menengage.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Alcohol-GBV-Concept-Note-April-2014.pdf> (accessed 20 June 2015).

<sup>45</sup> Mark Hunter, ‘Cultural Politics and Masculinities: Multiple-Partners in Historical Perspective in Kwa-Zulu Natal,’ in *Men Behaving Differently: South African Men Since 1994*, ed. Graeme Reid and Liz Walker (Cape Town: Double Storey, 2005).

<sup>46</sup> Reshma Sathiparsad, ‘Developing Alternative Masculinities as a Strategy to Address Gender-Based Violence,’ *International Social Work* 51(3) (2008): 348–359.

<sup>47</sup> Focus group interview, VEP CWP participants, 2 April 2014.

<sup>48</sup> Personal interview, NISA social worker, 4 April 2014.

### Local politics in Orange Farm

In terms of politics, the African National Congress (ANC) is the dominant political party in Orange Farm. In the 2011 local elections, the ANC won all the wards (five in total). The ANC's dominant political position in Orange Farm was also resoundingly confirmed in the May 2014 national and provincial elections. In these elections there were significant shifts in electoral support in Gauteng province, with the ANC support declining from 64% to 54% while the main opposition party, the Democratic Alliance (DA), increased its share of the vote from 22% to 31%. The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), contesting a national election for the first time, also made a very strong showing in the province, obtaining 10% of the vote. However, as reflected in Table 3, results from nine polling stations in Orange Farm indicate that the ANC won in the region of 85% of votes in the Orange Farm area, with the EFF (6%) and DA (5%) obtaining just over 10% of the vote between them.

Some interviewees commented on the dominant position of the ANC in the area, with one indicating that the ANC had obtained its best results for Gauteng province in Orange Farm. The view was that the ANC is still strong in the area, despite the increasing popularity of the EFF during the May

2014 national elections (which coincided with the time that interviews were conducted for this study). The assertion by many ANC members interviewed was that the EFF would die a natural death in the next general election in 2019, and the hegemony of the ANC as the ruling party would remain. Despite this optimistic view by the ANC, there was concern about the declining support. One ANC member described this as 'contradictions which are necessary' for change to happen.<sup>50</sup>

**No, the ANC is stronger than before. Actually ... even in Jo'burg we are the best performing in terms of our percentage and so on and so forth. Well, in terms of the EFF ... it's EFF and DA who are sharing this 10%. We have performed very well. But we are not that much worried. Overall it's a worry a bit that we have declined, but we are optimistic that we are going to regroup as the ANC. I mean even in 2009 our official opposition in Orange Farm was COPE [Congress of the People]. They are not there anymore. And remember those were tried and tested comrades – There were people like Smuts Ngonyama, Terror Lekota. These are people who have been there for years and years in terms of the struggle. These are people who have also served in parliament. They know governance. But I know for a fact – they are also going to decline because**

**Table 3: Percentage of votes obtained by the three biggest parties from nine polling stations in Orange Farm, 2014 national elections<sup>49</sup>**

	ANC	EFF	DA
<b>Matiwane Primary School</b>	83.4	7.68	4.57
<b>Mphethi Mahlatsi Sec. School</b>	84.78	5.52	5.26
<b>Moyisela Primary School</b>	86.53	4.92	6.06
<b>Rekgutlile Primary School</b>	84.76	6.38	5.61
<b>Reamogetswe Primary School</b>	85.84	7.38	4.55
<b>Radipabi Primary School</b>	85.26	5.91	5.23
<b>Reitumetse Primary School</b>	87.12	6.50	2.77
<b>Vulanindlela Secondary School</b>	84.04	5.34	5.10
<b>Intlonipho Primary School</b>	85.53	5.44	5.14
<b>Average</b>	<b>85.25</b>	<b>6.11</b>	<b>4.92</b>

<sup>49</sup> Results downloaded from the Independent Electoral Commission website on 26 August 2014, [www.elections.org.za](http://www.elections.org.za).

<sup>50</sup> Personal interview, councillor, 20 April 2014.

**in whatever organization, if there is growth, there would be contradictions which are necessary.<sup>51</sup>**

**Officially the opposition in Orange farm is EFF. DA is not that visible. Even in 2009. I was also running the elections ... it was COPE. Where is COPE now? Let's take five years down the line, even in 2016. This EFF thing will also be dead.<sup>52</sup>**

According to ANC members interviewed, the overwhelming support was attributed to the fact that people get all the necessary basic services, such as water, electricity and houses. 'Though the EFF now has the status of the biggest opposition party in Orange Farm, its share of the poll was relatively small and not big as compared to other townships, such as Diepsloot where it now poses a major threat to the ANC,' said one ANC member.<sup>53</sup>

EFF members who were interviewed on 7 May 2014 (the day of national elections) were happy about the growth of the EFF. They were confident about the prospects of their party doing well in the elections and becoming a dominant political party, especially in the local 2016 elections. One EFF member stated that 'the ANC is scared of the EFF and that's

why they are harassing us, including our leader Julius Malema.'<sup>54</sup> The EFF's intention is to mobilize community members to demand better services. Asked about the developmental challenges Orange Farm faced, the EFF member painted a very gloomy picture about the current state of the township. He said that 'the development is only on the outside, next to highways so that passers-by can think that there is development, but once you are inside the township you will smell stinky sewerage and see unmaintained roads. This place is dirty like Hillbrow in Johannesburg.'<sup>55</sup> He also complained that there was corruption in the way budgets for RDP houses were allocated. 'For example, each RDP house is allocated R7 000 budget, but some houses have better services than others, although they are all allocated the same amount of money.' The EFF leader also complained about lack of water. These complaints were raised despite the fact that some of these services are being provided, except for the people of Driezik, which is still a squatter camp area. My sense is that the EFF, like all the other political parties (ANC included), is playing 'politics' in the battle for the souls of the people of Orange Farm.

<sup>51</sup> Personal interview, councillor, 20 April 2014.

<sup>52</sup> Personal interview, ANC representative 2, 7 May 2014.

<sup>53</sup> Personal interview, ANC representative 2, 7 May 2014.

<sup>54</sup> Personal interview, EFF member, 7 May 2014.

<sup>55</sup> Personal interview, EFF member, 7 May 2014.

## History and characteristics of the CWP in Orange Farm

### Proud to Serve Campaign

The CoJ started the Proud to Serve Campaign in regions D (Soweto), E (Alexandra) and G (Orange Farm) in 2009.<sup>56</sup> The Campaign was aimed at encouraging young people to volunteer their time and labour to improve the lives of those around them.<sup>57</sup> According to a CWP participant,<sup>58</sup> a group of young people<sup>59</sup> in Orange Farm also joined the campaign and started cleaning streets. The campaign provided volunteers with tools, materials and a R50 stipend per day (the volunteers worked for five days).<sup>60</sup> In an interview, a CWP representative commented that 'the volunteers of Proud to Serve Campaign were getting more money than the CWP participants now.'<sup>61</sup> The Campaign was sponsored by the CoJ. It was started by former Executive Mayor Amos Masondo to motivate communities to strive for their own betterment.<sup>62</sup> When the campaign ended in March 2010, it had 7 000 youth volunteers working across the CoJ in activities dealing with human rights, HIV and Aids, drug and alcohol abuse awareness, as well as the cleaning up of public spaces and community buildings.<sup>63</sup>

The Seriti Institute was also involved in the campaign (this was before it implemented CWP in Orange Farm). When the campaign ended, the Institute's Dr Gavin Andersson was quoted as saying 'the [Seriti] Institute hopes that there will be many other opportunities to engage the youth to improve the quality of life in their communities as is shown by the success of the Proud to Serve campaign.'<sup>64</sup> Following the Campaign, the CWP was introduced in Region G, which includes Orange Farm, in April 2010.

### Establishment of CWP in Region G

From 1 April 2010 a budget was allocated to Seriti to start implementing CWP in Region G. An official

from the CoJ asserted in an interview that choosing Orange Farm as one of the sites to implement CWP was in line with the CoJ's plan to develop the area and create job opportunities for people living there.

**You see part of the city of Joburg's plan is to develop all the townships. Yeah, we wanted Orange Farm to also be developed. You see we wanted CWP to also go there [Orange Farm] and help people. We have CWPs in all these townships. We want our people to work.**<sup>65</sup>

Some of the CWP representatives as well as a councillor in Orange Farm described Seriti's CWP approach as consultative and community-driven. The CWP representatives reported in the interviews that before CWP was implemented, community meetings were held to publicly introduce the project. Apparently all the key stakeholders (especially councillors) were consulted and informed about the implementation of the CWP. Strategies for recruiting potential participants were also discussed, as were key community projects to be undertaken. All the CWP representatives asserted that Seriti laid a good foundation for the implementation of the CWP in Orange Farm.

**Seriti made things happen ... they were organized.**<sup>66</sup>

**We knew CWP through Seriti and it was introduced to the people. There was an open consultation.**<sup>67</sup>

Seriti encouraged participants to see CWP as an employment safety net while working hard to re-skill themselves to find other work. Partnerships were also created between CWP and other stakeholders. For example the NGO Soul City<sup>68</sup> partnered with CWP in Orange Farm on its popular campaign against alcohol abuse called Phusa Wise (drink responsibly).

<sup>56</sup> City of Johannesburg, 'Youth Lend a Helping Hand,' [http://www.joburg.org.za/index2.php?option=com\\_content&task=emailform&id=4796&itemid=266](http://www.joburg.org.za/index2.php?option=com_content&task=emailform&id=4796&itemid=266) (accessed 20 June 2015).

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Personal interview, CWP participant, 28 May 2014

<sup>59</sup> It is unclear how many young people worked in the Proud to Serve Campaign.

<sup>60</sup> Media Update, "'Proud to Serve' Campaign," <http://www.publicityupdate.co.za/?idstory=24210> (accessed 20 June 2015).

<sup>61</sup> Personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 2, 5 July 2014.

<sup>62</sup> Media Update, supra n 60.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Personal interview, CoJ official, 22 May 2014.

<sup>66</sup> Personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 1, 4 April 2014.

<sup>67</sup> Personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 2, 5 July 2014.

<sup>68</sup> Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication is an organization that is committed to sharing information through media and community dialogues to change people's attitudes for the better development of South Africa.

## History and characteristics of the CWP in Orange Farm

It is reported that Seriti was also instrumental in facilitating networks between CWP and the CoJ, especially the Department of Human Development. These networks are important given the work that CWP does in communities.

### Changes in site management after establishment of the Region G site

Seriti's contract to implement CWP ended in 2012. At that point a new three-tier implementing system was established nationally. In so far as this affected the Orange Farm site, it meant that in 2012 Mvula Trust was appointed as the lead agency with overall jurisdiction for Gauteng and two other provinces. Dhladhla Foundation was appointed as the provincial implementing agency responsible for the Orange Farm site. A new organization formed in 2012, Youth in Business and Research Agency (YBRA), was appointed as the local implementing agency (LIA). YBRA was an NGO formed with a view to securing the contract to serve as LIA in Region G. They served in this capacity until their contract ended in March 2014 due to the phasing out of LIAs when the new 'single-tier' implementing system was introduced in April 2014. The leaders of YBRA worked with Seriti in the CWP before they formed their own organization. Some of the YBRA leaders internalized the broad developmental orientation promoted by Seriti:

**Those guys of Seriti were very interested in issues of community development. You know they were working very hard and inspiring us that we can make a change in this community. I really liked their approach of believing in us.**<sup>69</sup>

**Seriti taught us how to work with people. You know their emphasis was development and people's skills to manage and deal with problems as a leader. I learned from these guys [referring to Seriti].**<sup>70</sup>

The decision by to replace the three-tier management system with a single-tier system

was motivated by the concern to cut the costs of implementing the CWP and was implemented in April 2014. After a new tender process, the Dhladhla Foundation was once again appointed as provincial implementing agency in Region G. Though YBRA no longer has a formal role in the site, a level of continuity with the developmental approach introduced by Seriti is maintained due to the fact that one of the members of YBRA who had initially worked on the site under Seriti in 2010 is still working as manager of the Orange Farm sub-site.

### Impact of changes

According to some interviewees,<sup>71</sup> the transition from Seriti to Mvula Trust and Dhladhla Foundation affected the CWP in Orange Farm negatively.<sup>72</sup> For example, a local councillor complained that 'during Seriti period we used to have meetings and discuss issues, but now we know nothing about CWP and projects which are being undertaken in the community.'<sup>73</sup>

It also appears that the reference committee (RC) largely ceased to function after the transition, though it appears to have been affected by significant problems prior to this, partly as a consequence of the size of the site and the cumbersome nature of the RC itself. This raises questions about governance issues within CWP in Orange Farm and Region G.

### Governance issues in CWP Orange Farm

Work within the CWP is generally organized in 'work teams.' Each team has a leader who regularly meets with the coordinator for feedback and an update about the work done each week. Team meetings in which participants are allocated their work responsibilities and sign the attendance register are held every morning.

It emerged in the interviews that meetings are held with the participants and coordinators to discuss possible projects that need to be undertaken. Plans and proposals are shared in the coordinators' meetings as well as in weekly meetings about

<sup>69</sup> Personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 1, 20 April 2014.

<sup>70</sup> Personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 2, 5 July 2014.

<sup>71</sup> Focus group interview, CWP participants, 6 June 2014; Personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 1, 20 April 2014; Focus group interview, CWP coordinators in Orange Farm, 10 April 2014.

<sup>72</sup> The researcher attempted on several occasions to interview an official from Dhladhla Foundation, without success. For the policy component of the research, we still hope to interview officials from the Foundation to hear about their experiences and reflections about the CWP in Orange Farm.

<sup>73</sup> Personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 1, 20 April 2014.

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the projects that need to be implemented to help community members. The CWP participants in Orange Farm are encouraged to suggest possible projects to be undertaken in the community.

**I would say we can make suggestions, because usually the coordinators would come and ask, guys do you have any ideas of doing ... And then they would group ourselves and discuss plans that we want to implement and the skills that we would like CWP to provide. So they [coordinators] are giving us the authority to do things.**<sup>74</sup>

**Yes, as the participants we suggest plans and plans. We are involved in the planning of projects as participants. Yes, we discuss plans and then we will say let's do this and this.**<sup>75</sup>

**We encouraged people to also be innovative. I cannot see at the back of my head. But if you come here and say listen, why don't we do this. Yes, we will adopt it [a suggestion by any participant].**<sup>76</sup>

Yes, everyone is free to suggest everything that we need to do. It is our project all of us.

It is evident from the interviews that decision-making processes concerning CWP activities in Orange Farm are participatory and consultative. Decisions about possible projects to be undertaken are not left in the hands of the project manager and the implementing agency, but all the participants are allowed to make suggestions. These processes contribute to building positive social relations among the CWP participants and other key stakeholders in the community.

Councillors are consulted once the decisions to implement certain projects have been taken. Councillors are expected to sign a letter saying that they approve the activity to be undertaken in their ward. It was reported that there has so far not been an incident where a councillor has refused to approve the project, as the CWP work gives them credibility in the eyes of the community. A

senior representative of the CWP in Orange Farm emphasized that the councillors' role is limited to approving projects the CWP participants and their coordinators have decided to undertake. The representative asserted that he does not want councillors to be directly involved in deciding activities that need to be undertaken with the CWP. He sees this approach as part of his strategy to depoliticize the CWP (discussed later). However, he also mentioned that councillors are allowed to suggest possible projects to the CWP management, but the CWP cannot be forced to undertake these projects if they will not benefit community members or if they are political in nature. Every month CWP coordinators write reports to councillors within their wards to tell them about the work done.

**Every month there is a separate report that goes to councillors of work that has been done in their ward. And they must co-sign that report, keep a copy; bring the original to the office. I keep it as part of my portfolio in terms of my stakeholder relation.**<sup>78</sup>

The CWP senior representative stated that the relationship with councillors was initially conflictual around the recruitment of potential participants in the programme (discussed later). He mentioned that the CWP management had to be firm in resisting attempts to politicize the CWP. He says as a result the CWP is currently seen purely as a community project in which everyone has an equal opportunity to be a member, if there is an available space. He further mentioned that community members (non-CWP participants) and other stakeholders (NGOs and CBOs) can approach the CWP and make suggestions about possible projects to be undertaken. CWP management looks at the request before making any decision. However, he was not very clear that the CWP is not going to accept requests from community members to clean streets. The representative mentioned a request the CWP received from the community to clean one of the dumping sites. The CWP management rejected the request and the community members threatened to

<sup>74</sup> Focus group interview, CWP participants, 6 June 2014.

<sup>75</sup> Focus group interview, CWP participants, 6 June 2014.

<sup>76</sup> Personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 2, 6 April 2014.

<sup>77</sup> Focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

<sup>78</sup> Follow-up personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 1, 8 August 2014.

## History and characteristics of the CWP in Orange Farm

toyi-toyi against the CWP. The reasoning behind the CWP management's rejection of the request was that they felt cleaning of dumping sites should be done by community members with the support of CWP participants. The representative said if the cleaning was done collectively, the residents would not allow indiscriminate dumping because they also had to participate in the cleaning.

**I say it must come as a request from the community – I will show you minutes whereby the community called me before the elections and said they will toyi-toyi [because the CWP refused to clean dumping sites]. And I said I am going to join you and also toyi-toyi [with you]. Let's go toyi-toyi but I am not gonna clean [the dumping sites]. They asked why and I said who wants it clean. They said it is us. Then I said I will bring in tools. I will bring in 50 of my guys [CWP participants] and you bring 50 of your guys [referring to community members]. I will give them [community members] tools, I will have my tools [for CWP participants] and then we clean it together so that there must be ownership. After it has been cleaned the residents would never allow anyone to come and dump there. Then there will be a proper monitoring.<sup>79</sup>**

Some of these issues with regards to the governance and management of the CWP in Orange Farm are discussed in the section below. So far it is evident that the CWP management in Orange Farm plays a critical role in managing relations with other stakeholders (e.g., councillors, CBOs and NGOs) as well as community members. Not much was said about the role of the implementing agency, Dhladhla Foundation.

### Reference Committee in Orange Farm

The RC was formed in 2012 after the CWP had been introduced in Orange Farm. According to a CWP senior representative, 'the reference

committee was consisting mainly of councillors dating to early 2010 when the site was established.'<sup>80</sup> The representative went on to explain 'that the reference committee had initially been very effective despite its size of having many people.'<sup>81</sup> In other words, while there seems to be a view that the size of the RC is an obstacle to its current functioning, initially it functioned effectively despite the size.

One CWP representative mentioned that RC started being dysfunctional in late 2012 after Mvula Trust took over the site. He blamed this on the fact that the RC was too big to be functional:

**The reference committee was dysfunctional because it was too big. This reference committee had so many people and many councillors in it. It was therefore difficult for meetings to be held. Meetings were also postponed until the whole committee died.<sup>82</sup>**

Since 2012 there has not been an RC in Region G, including Orange Farm. However, there are currently plans to revive the RC in Region G, but the dominant view among CWP representatives is that, to be functional and effective, it must be kept small and have only a few members. A CWP representative asserted that his plan is to include only three councillors, as opposed to 16 councillors in Region G, in the new RC.

**So we have taken the decision to revive the Local Reference Committee [LRC], but we are not going to involve all the 16 councillors in the LRC. So we are only to recruit three councillors. So if the councillors are 16 it would not work out efficiently.<sup>83</sup>**

This view about the need to keep the RC small was supported by another CWP representative:

<sup>79</sup> Follow-up personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 1, 8 August 2014.

<sup>80</sup> Follow-up Personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 1, 8 August 2014.

<sup>81</sup> Follow-up personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 1, 8 August 2014.

<sup>82</sup> Follow-up personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 1, 8 August 2014.

<sup>83</sup> Follow-up personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 1, 8 August 2014.

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**Our LRC is not functional now but now I am taking a different approach. I only want 10 people to be in the reference committee. These 10 includes myself, [another person], and the chairperson. It leaves us with seven more members. In these seven members, three must be councillors and another four people must be civil servants.<sup>84</sup>**

Reducing the size of the RC, especially in limiting the number of councillors to three, was seen as part of the strategy to depoliticize the CWP. Furthermore, it was asserted in the interviews that councillors' role is not to control the CWP, including the recruitment of CWP participants. One of the interviewees emphasized that a 'strong chairperson' for the new RC must be nominated to deal with the pressure from councillors who want to have a say in the selection of the CWP participants.

**Their [councillors] presence in the forum [RC] is not to identify the participants because they are going to take their own people. So from time to time we remind them that they are policymakers, we are implementers so they must not get involved in the implementation or recruitment of participants. So [for this you] need a very strong chairperson [for RC] to control them [councillors].<sup>85</sup>**

There was some indication that a level of consensus had been established in Orange Farm about the need for the CWP to be protected from political interference and manipulation.

**It [CWP] is not an ANC programme, it is all the people's programme ... we do not interfere with the day-to-day running of the programme. The monthly meetings are not meetings whereby we instruct the [CWP manager] on what to do.<sup>86</sup>**

Furthermore, the councillor argued that practising political favouritism in recruitment of CWP participants would create more problems for the ANC and potentially contribute to protests and violence.

**Because remember as a leader you are a leader. At some point you would identify a person who is indigent [and recommend that person must work in the CWP]. But then if he was recommended by a councillor it would be a problem even if that person is not an ANC member. The main thing that leads to marches and protests, violent protests is because if we [as councillors] are going to employ ANC members, we are creating more anarchy and problems for ourselves than resolving the issues. But if we are being inclusive there is no one, who would in a public meeting say these people are hiring their own. But if we are being inclusive people would see that councillors are [helping everyone irrespective of their political affiliations]. All the programmes or projects here have all Orange Farm people working there. Not members of a specific [political] organization or group.<sup>87</sup>**

The councillor had a clear understanding that local politicians must not interfere with community programmes such as CWP. He emphasized that community programmes must not discriminate against people on the basis of their political affiliation. To avoid anarchy, it is important for community programmes to be inclusive so that people do not protest and accuse the ANC local leadership of nepotism. The latter is a factor that has been found to contribute to violent protests in other communities.<sup>88</sup>

A CWP representative mentioned that the CWP management had to rely on the quoted senior ANC local councillor to assist them in dealing with other local councillors who wanted to interfere with the work of CWP, especially in the process of recruiting potential participants.

**Depoliticize it [CWP]. In Orange farm you cannot come to work wearing a T-shirt of any political organization. I would never go to the office or to the site wearing my political party T-shirt. I am not even allowed to wear a cap. I am not. The worst part I go to Eldorado Park; it is a DA stronghold. I cannot**

<sup>84</sup> Personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 3, 9 August 2014.

<sup>85</sup> Follow-up personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 1, 8 August 2014.

<sup>86</sup> Personal interview, senior ANC councillor, 20 April 2014.

<sup>87</sup> Personal interview, senior ANC councillor, 20 April 2014.

<sup>88</sup> Karl von Holdt, Malose Langa, Sepetla Molapo, Nomfundo Mogapi, Kindiza Ngubeni, Jacob Dlamini and Adele Kirsten, eds., *The Smoke that Calls: Insurgent Citizenship, Collective Violence and the Struggle for a Place in the New South Africa: Eight Case Studies of Community Protest and Xenophobic Violence*, Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) and the Society, Work and Development Institute (SWOP), University of the Witwatersrand, 2011.

politicize it [by wearing T-shirt of his political party]. And then I would tell you in Eldorado Park, they [councillors] respect us more than we are [respected] by councillors in Orange Farm who decide [to do things] willy-nilly. There was this councillor who went and reported me to [the ANC chairperson in the area] that I do not want to help him. I said I looked at the request and it said in my political campaign [the request that he must allow CWP participants to attend a political campaign of the ANC]. You cannot use [CWP] for that. [I said] even though these people [CWP participants] are from your ward and the majority of them are the comrades [but] you cannot come to me and say at 10 o'clock we would have a bi-election, so I need those comrades to be released [and campaign for the ANC]. You can't say that. Then it [the decision not to allow CWP participants to attend the political rally] created a lot of discomfort between us and the politicians. We therefore went and engaged the PCO, the Parliamentary Constituency Office. I said this is a community programme. I might be a member of the ANC, but I am here to do something else [work for the community]. He [senior ANC councillor] called all of them and said you do not touch this programme.<sup>89</sup>

The narrative above shows that it is important for CWP managers/coordinators to lead by example in depoliticizing the CWP, for example by not wearing the T-shirts of their respective political organizations, and to remain neutral when it comes to local politics because they deal with community members who belong to different political parties. When CWP managers/coordinators are able to maintain this neutrality, they seem to gain respect from all constituencies, irrespective of their political allegiances. As noted, it is important for CWP management to be firm in dealing with political pressures in which attempts are made by political parties to recruit or encourage CWP participants to participate in political events and rallies.

### Recruitment of participants into CWP

According to some of the interviewees,<sup>90</sup> when

CWP was first implemented in 2010, councillors were actively involved in the CWP, including in the process of recruiting potential participants. In 2010, Seriti wanted 50 participants to be selected from each ward. A CWP senior representative said 'that this process of recruiting potential participants was not easy due to fights that ensued among community members, councillors and CWP management.'<sup>91</sup> Allegations of nepotism were levelled against some councillors who allegedly wanted to select their comrades. It was therefore decided during this period that all potential participants should bring their IDs, put them in a box and openly be selected in public:

**You see the process of recruiting participants was chaotic at the beginning [2010]. All people wanted to be in the CWP. Councillors also wanted to put their people. In some wards, this of course created serious problems. It was agreed that the selection of participants must be done openly. It was agreed that people must put their IDs in a box and all people whom their IDs are selected should become CWP participants. Yeah, we were not looking at the skill. Then it was an issue of you would invite 500 people [for] 50 jobs, put ID copies in a bucket and then you choose the 50.<sup>92</sup>**

I asked the representative about this selection method. He said:

**You see it was necessary for this method to be used in recruiting people. In fact, many people felt that putting IDs in a box was fair method to select people. This method worked very well.<sup>93</sup>**

As mentioned, during this period there were also allegations levelled against councillors who were seen to be recruiting their own people into the CWP.

**Some councillors were recruiting their own people. You will find two to four people from the same house all working in the CWP. No I cannot work like that. This is a poverty alleviation programme. We must assist indigent families for them to have an income.**

<sup>89</sup> Follow-up personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 1, 8 August 2014.

<sup>90</sup> Follow-up personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 2, 8 August 2014; Personal interview, councillor, 20 April 2014; Focus group interview, CWP coordinators 1, 10 June 2014.

<sup>91</sup> Personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 2, 5 July 2014.

<sup>92</sup> Personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 2, 5 July 2014.

<sup>93</sup> Personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 2, 5 July 2014.

## History, development and characteristics of the CWP at site

**Councillors would submit a list and say these are the people we want to be part of the programme ... Or sometimes in other wards I found that there were 50 comrades who come to work and then call a meeting instead of working. They would say we need 50 [people], but they would only choose 30 people and then say 20 [spaces in the CWP] are going to be reserved for the comrades. So we had to stop that process. We stopped it. Believe me, we were very unpopular, we stopped it. We suspended sites [wards] which were giving problems.**

**We took over the CWP [to make sure that it was not politicized]. We became very firm as management.<sup>94</sup>**

As is evident, there was a high level of contestation related to the inception of the CWP in Orange Farm. Councillors wanted their comrades to be selected into the programme, but the CWP management had to be firm in rejecting this attempted politicization of the CWP. The CWP representatives became unpopular with councillors who wanted to control CWP for the benefit of their political connections. It is possible that if the CWP management had not been firm, CWP would have been used as part of the political patronage system in Orange Farm. This would have ended like the situation that we see in municipalities in which job opportunities are reserved for 'pals' or used as part of maintaining political power.<sup>95</sup>

A senior representative of the CWP in Orange Farm reasserted that being firm about the depoliticization of CWP helped in changing things, especially in terms of recruiting potential participants into the CWP. Public campaigns were also held to raise awareness that the CWP was meant to benefit people from indigent households where there was abject poverty or where no one in the family was working. Individuals who come from these families are recruited when there is space.

**We now try and look for people that meet the criteria to be in the CWP. For example, when we**

**do door-to-door campaign then we go to a house and realize that this family is living in poverty and no one is working. We try and recruit one family if there is a space for them to work in the CWP. If we don't have a space we wait or put the person on the waiting list and take them in if the space opens.<sup>96</sup>**

Other stakeholders such as NGOs and CBOs in the community are now encouraged by CWP participants to refer people who are indigent to CWP for possible job opportunities when there is an available space for them to be employed. The dominant view among CWP participants in Orange Farm is that CWP should become a 'safety net' for people who are in need of financial assistance.

**Our stakeholders [NGOs and CBOs in Orange Farm] refer people to us who are indigent to work in the CWP. We also take such people if they are poor and not working. We have people on the waiting list.<sup>97</sup>**

**Over the years, things have changed how we select people into the CWP. We try and recruit who definitely in need of some financial assistance. We want this programme to become a safety net.<sup>98</sup>**

**To eliminate unemployment we would also check households where there are many people, we would ensure that they also become participants. Yes, we get them into the programme.**

**Sometimes you'd find that they are a family of eight and no one is working – if there is a space at CWP we would get them in.<sup>99</sup>**

Given this approach, many interviewees asserted that CWP has been working well as a poverty alleviation programme, especially for poor families. There is a list of people waiting for an opportunity to work in the CWP. Attempts are being made by the Orange Farm CWP management to recruit new people once the current participants have exited the project.

**We do not want to see a participant remaining**

<sup>94</sup> All three quotes are from personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 2, 5 July 2014.

<sup>95</sup> Von Holdt et al., supra n 88.

<sup>96</sup> Personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 2, 5 July 2014.

<sup>97</sup> Focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

<sup>98</sup> Personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 2, 5 July 2014.

<sup>99</sup> Focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

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**a CWP participant – we want them to exit the programme and open space for other needy people to benefit from it.**<sup>100</sup>

The issue of creating exit job opportunities for the current CWP participants is seen as a priority for CWP in Orange Farm. This will create open spaces for other needy people who are on the waiting list and also wishing to benefit from the programme.

### Profile of participants in Orange Farm

As illustrated in Tables 4 and 5, there were 433 participants in the CWP in Orange Farm in 2014, of whom 72% (312) were women and 28% (121) men. Females therefore account for nearly three-quarters of participants at the Orange Farm section of the region G site, with women over 35 years of age accounting for nearly half (48%) of participants.

**Table 4: Number of participants in Orange Farm by age and gender, March 2014**

	Female	Male	Total
Youth (35 and under 21)	103	48	151
Non-Youth	209	73	282
Total	312	121	433

**Table 5: Percentage participants in Orange Farm by age and gender, March 2014**

	Female%	Male%	Total%
Youth (35 and under 21)	24	11	35
Non-Youth	48	17	65
Total	72	28	100

Young people (35 years of age and under) make up roughly a third of participants in Orange Farm. It was evident during fieldwork that some unemployed young people in Orange Farm work in the CWP. Although the number of young people involved is not that high, their view of the CWP was highly positive compared to that of the youth in Kagiso, who saw CWP as a project for people who have failed in life or who have no aspirations (see

the Kagiso report).<sup>101</sup> The youth in Orange Farm saw their involvement in the CWP as a stepping stone to better opportunities. It is through the CWP that many young people in Orange Farm attend training workshops and get connected to other job opportunities. Social media networks such as WhatsApp are also used to disseminate information about new job opportunities that young people can apply for.<sup>102</sup> The use of these cellphone communication methods adds to the CWP's popularity among the youth in Orange Farm.

**If there is training we involve them [young people]. We want them to get better jobs.**

**We also have a WhatsApp page where we disseminate employment opportunity information. We post information [about job opportunities] on the WhatsApp page and then they apply.**<sup>103</sup>

As discussed later, some of the youth interviewed saw their involvement in the CWP as an opportunity to learn new skills and start businesses once they exit the programme.

### Gender and the Orange Farm CWP

As shown in Table 5, 72% of participants in the CWP in Orange Farm are females. Various reasons were given for why women are more actively involved in the CWP than men. For instance, some CWP participants (mainly women in the focus groups) suggested that men fear they will be ridiculed or lose social status if they participate in the CWP, partly because of the small income that CWP participants receive. Furthermore, it was suggested that some men feel CWP is not a 'real' job, as men tend to associate work with going to the factories five days per week and working under highly demanding conditions. This point is well illustrated by Catherine Campbell in her work about men in the mines who link their work underground with constructions of hegemonic masculinity.<sup>104</sup> According to Campbell, it is in these diamond and gold mines that 'masculinity emerged as a

<sup>100</sup> Personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 2, 5 July 2014.

<sup>101</sup> In Kagiso, CWP is popularly known as Cleana Wena Popaye, but in Orange Farm CWP participants are popularly known as community workers or community social workers.

<sup>102</sup> It is important to note that these job opportunities are not only limited to young people, but are open to all that wish to apply. However, the interviewees emphasized that opportunities are being created for young people. Their main argument in the interviews was that they did not want to see young people remaining in the CWP for too long. They wanted them to exit the programme.

<sup>103</sup> Both quotes from focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

<sup>104</sup> Catherine Campbell, 'Learning to Kill? Masculinity, the Family and Violence in Natal,' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 18(3) (1992): 614–628.

master narrative.<sup>105</sup> The masculine identity was then developed as an enduring symbol of bravery, strength and hard work, yet miners also suffered exploitation at the hands of white male bosses. It is possible that men may consider the CWP work as too feminine.

**Men stay at home – they feel ‘what are people going to say?’ if they work here. But women do not care.**<sup>106</sup>

**They [men] are full of pride. I think as a woman you know that ... So we do not worry about the money. The little that we get makes a huge difference. But for them [men] it is not a case.**<sup>107</sup>

**Men think a real job is about going to the firms and working the whole week.**<sup>108</sup>

Another explanation given was that women are more concerned than men about the welfare of their children. So for them, working in the CWP is enough as long as it brings in a small amount of income. Women also rely on child social support grants to supplement their CWP income. However, men do not have this option (child social support grant) to supplement their CWP income. As a result, their income remains relatively low compared to that of some of the women they work with in the CWP. It is possible that this hits hard on these men's sense of masculinity, as men traditionally associate work with a particular social status and the ability to support their family by being the primary breadwinner.<sup>109</sup>

Maybe as women we think for the children and other things. But a man tells himself he won't do it.<sup>110</sup>

There are too many females and few males. Women are soul providers in my opinion. The majority of men moved out because they need other jobs. [This is because] men need more money to feed the family. A woman does not care. As long she

supports her children she does not have a problem, she is going to stay there. She [also] gets extra support from the social grants, but a man cannot live on that little money [he only gets from CWP]. He has to go back to the house and buy groceries for the children.<sup>111</sup>

One CWP senior representative suggested that opportunities should be created within the CWP for men to learn new technical skills, such as welding and plumbing. It was implied that learning these technical skills would make men more interested in the programme as the acquisition of these skills would facilitate their employability beyond the CWP.

**No the money is little. But they [men] want to get in, [but] they want to be skilled. Most of them are saying why you don't take us to school to learn things like welding and plumbing? If I could do such a thing and get a certificate I would be fine [meaning it would be easy for them to either work on their own or find better-paying job opportunities].**<sup>112</sup>

It is also possible that some men are uncomfortable with the idea of working in the CWPs as they regard work involving food gardening, home-based care and early childhood projects as 'women's work.' In terms of gender roles, these activities are traditionally reserved for women and considered emasculating for men. As noted, men are more interested in gaining technical skills like welding and plumbing in order to become more employable in the future. Further, it could be argued that gaining these technical skills feeds into social constructions of masculinity – that men must be manly and be able to use their hands for labour-intensive activities like plumbing and welding. It is therefore important that men's lack of participation in the CWP is seen within the context of the kind of work that the CWP does. This raises the question of whether men will participate in the CWP in greater numbers if the nature of the work changes.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 625.

<sup>106</sup> Focus group interview, CWP participants, 6 June 2014.

<sup>108</sup> Focus group interview, CWP participants, 6 June 2014.

<sup>109</sup> Personal interview, CWP participant, 23 May 2014.

<sup>110</sup> M. Hunter, 'Fathers without Amandla: Zulu-Speaking Men and Fatherhood,' in *Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa*, ed. L. Richter and R. Morrell (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2006).

<sup>111</sup> Focus group interview, CWP participants, 6 June 2014.

<sup>112</sup> Focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

## Work done by the CWP in Orange Farm

The CWP in Orange Farm is involved in various community projects, such as food gardening, home-based care, early childhood learning and adult education. It is also involved in violence prevention work to deal with the problem of domestic violence, as well as work to address the problem of substance abuse, which is seen as a major cause of crime.

### Vegetable gardening project

Vegetable gardening is one of the most important projects in Orange Farm CWP. The CWP participants plough vegetables in open public spaces and school yards. Vegetables produced in these gardens are given to indigent families, child-headed households, the elderly and sick HIV-positive individuals who are taking their antiretroviral drugs (ARVs).

**We have gardens – and it is also part of a social programme. We help people who are poor. When we go to a home and find that they are poor we would get some vegetables from the garden and give them.**<sup>113</sup>

**Our priority is mainly the elderly people, and then the orphans and the child-headed families ... And even in households where there is no breadwinner, we would take vegetables to those families.**<sup>114</sup>

**They are busy with the food gardens. And then certain produce is given to the crèches that are struggling and people who are on ARVs.**<sup>115</sup>

It is reported that many indigent families benefit significantly from these public gardens. It was evident during fieldwork that many CWP participants were proud of themselves for the positive role that they play in giving needy families vegetables.

**As part of a social programme I stayed with one lady at my place for three months because she had no place to stay. She had nothing, so I helped**

**her find a place, and then CWP also helped her by building her a shack. And when there are vegetables we would also give her some.**<sup>116</sup>

### CWP support to the CoJ food gardening project

The Department of Human Development within the CoJ has been working with the CWP in Orange Farm to encourage community members to plough vegetables in their yards or public spaces as part of the poverty-alleviation project. The CoJ supports the project by providing community members with basic ploughing skills, seeds and compost to fertilize their vegetables.

### Home-based care project

The home-based care project is another important CWP project in Orange Farm. As part of this project, CWP participants clean the houses of elderly and sick people who live alone, without any care or support from their family members or other relatives. The CWP participants also cook for them and bath them.

**We help elderly people who cannot take care of themselves – we bathe them, do their laundry, cook for them and clean their houses.**<sup>117</sup>

**Ward 3 is very busy. As we speak now the other coordinator has participants that have been assigned to assist the pensioners.**<sup>118</sup>

Assistance is also provided to children who do not have parents and to elderly people who stay with their grandchildren but who do not receive adequate support from them.

**I go around checking out children who stay alone who do not have parents and then cook for them and do their laundry. And there are elderly women who stay with grandchildren, but they [grandchildren] do not look after her [the elderly woman]. So I would go and check if things are well with her. If things are not going well I would**

<sup>113</sup> Focus group interview, CWP participants, 6 June 2014.

<sup>114</sup> Focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

<sup>115</sup> Focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

<sup>116</sup> Focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

<sup>117</sup> Personal interview, CWP coordinator, 18 August 2014.

<sup>118</sup> Focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

## Work done by the CWP in Orange Farm

**go back to the coordinators and ask them to get people to go and bathe her.**<sup>119</sup>

In some cases the assistance provided by CWP sometimes extends from helping elderly and sick people to assisting with their funerals after they have died.

**Sometimes we would be helping an elderly woman from when she is sick until she passes away. So we would go and help with food preparation. We also help with filling the grave. After the funeral we help with washing the dishes ... and the family would be thankful that we've helped them.**<sup>120</sup>

The CWP participants also work with nurses at three local clinics in making sure that patients take their medication as prescribed. Nurses regularly give the CWP participants a list of patients that need to be visited in their homes to check if they are defaulting on their treatment. Besides helping them to take their medication, the CWP participants bath these patients and cook for them. They also help them to start food gardens to make sure they eat healthily. The CWP participants also organize health awareness campaigns to encourage parents to bring their children for immunization at the clinic.

**There is another programme where we work together with the clinics [three clinics in Orange Farm]. Sister M [a nurse] would ask me [as the coordinator] to provide her with five participants to help with visiting people who default [stop taking] on their medication, to check why they are not coming to take medication. Because there are people who are sick and they just collect medication but then they just do not take it. We work together with them [nurses]. I would go to the clinic at least once a week or once a month to check what the situation is like. And then Sister M will tell me which address to visit. And when there are awareness campaigns we would go door to door to call people and which people should take children for injection [immunization]. We disseminate information.**

**The [nurses at the] clinic will tell us that there are people who are ill. We wanted a project looking at the defaulters [mainly HIV patients who stop taking their medication], but it is complicated, it needs more training. The clinic [nurses] would tell us at such and such a homestead the father is on medication – so we would go there and start a homestead garden, so that they must eat healthy.**<sup>121</sup>

Furthermore, the CWP participants also work with local social workers to help people to get ID documents and access to social grants. The CWP participants explained that they sometimes invite Home Affairs officials to Orange Farm when there are enough people who do not have IDs. In this way, the CWP plays an important role in connecting people with essential social services.

**Someone would tell me that he has no ID book, and then I would refer them to Home Affairs. If I see that the person does not have ID. We help those people in the community. We work with social workers to help people get IDs for their social grants.**<sup>121</sup>

**We check the number of people who do not have IDs. We would then tell them that we need to invite Home Affairs. We would request Home Affairs to come to one of our facilities [to help people get their IDs].**<sup>122</sup>

### Early Childhood Development (ECD)

The CWP participants also work in various crèches in Orange Farm as teachers' assistants. Their role as teachers' assistants is to support the ECD teachers in managing children and providing them with basic extra lessons after classes. Some of the CWP participants attended ECD courses facilitated by the Seriti Institute between 2010 and 2011. Five former CWP participants have decided to open their own crèches, given the skills that they acquired after working as ECD teachers' assistants. What also emerged in the interviews with ECD teachers is that ECD programmes are important for children's emotional and intellectual development. One participant said 'supporting children emotionally is important for them to feel loved and taken

<sup>119</sup> Focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

<sup>120</sup> Focus group interview, CWP participants, 6 June 2014.

<sup>121</sup> Both quotes from focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

<sup>122</sup> Both quotes from focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

care of.<sup>123</sup> Although the ECD teachers did not see their work as a violence prevention tool, the existing literature shows that early childhood programmes can serve as a violence prevention mechanism. For example, a study conducted by Laura Berk proved that children who have attended early childhood centres have high self-esteem.<sup>124</sup> The self-confidence helps these children to resist peer pressure to engage in risk-taking behaviours such as crime and violence. Peer pressure works easily on children who are in dire need of love and approval from friends or others. Early childhood centres can also help to teach children moral values and norms and to have empathy for others.<sup>125</sup> I return to this point later in a detailed discussion about the CWP as a violence prevention programme.

### Adult education project

The adult education project was described by the interviewees as an important CWP project in giving people an opportunity to learn basic reading and writing skills. CWP participants, especially those who have matric and post-matric qualifications, facilitate classes twice a week for community members and CWP participants who do not know how to read and write. There are two classes – the first is for those who have basic reading and writing skills but wish to improve them; the second is for those who do not know how to read and write.

**We also have an ABET [adult basic education and training]<sup>126</sup> programme whereby participant and the community attend the programme. They differ in terms of assessments. When we assess them we assess whether you can read or write or whether you cannot. When you are in Level 3, it means you can read and [you are] more advanced than Level 2 and 1. People learn basic reading and writing skills.<sup>127</sup>**

**In terms of ABET, the literacy level we've identified in this area when we did our survey in terms of**

**checking how many have Grade 11s. We found that our database tells us that participants in CWP are extremely uneducated people and do not have high school education. We then said how we assist in that. We then said let us ABET.<sup>128</sup>**

**They [CWP participants] are not educated. They got skills through CWP because now we have participants who are in the ABET programme.**

The CWP participants who attended ABET found the classes beneficial for their personal growth. Personal stories were shared of how educational classes have helped them to acquire basic reading and writing skills. For example, one participant said that since attending ABET for the last two years, she now knows how to do transactions at the ATM bank machine because she can now read.

**CWP helped us through ABET. We did not know a lot of things. We did not even know how to do transactions at the bank. But now I can do that.<sup>130</sup>**

Other CWP participants were also highly appreciative of the opportunity that CWP provides to learn new skills such as reading and writing – opportunities that some older participants never had during apartheid. One participant was emotional when he shared the story of not knowing how to read and write under apartheid, but said he was happy about the opportunity given by the CWP to attend ABET.

**Attending ABET helped me. Yeah, I'm learning how to read. You see we did not go to school during apartheid.<sup>131</sup>**

Later in the report, I discuss how projects such as ABET contribute to the re-skilling of CWP participants and other community members in Orange Farm.

<sup>123</sup> Focus group interview, ECD teachers, 10 May 2014.

<sup>124</sup> Laura Berk, *Development through the Lifespan*, 2nd ed. (Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon, 2001).

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> CWP works with other ABET centres in Orange Farm. Some of the ABET teachers from other centres come and assist in teaching ABET classes in Orange Farm

<sup>127</sup> Focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

<sup>128</sup> Individual interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 2, 5 July 2014.

<sup>129</sup> Follow-up Individual interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 2, 8 August 2014.

<sup>130</sup> Focus group interview, CWP participants, 6 June 2014.

<sup>131</sup> Focus group interview, CWP participants, 6 June 2014.

### **Victim Empowerment Programme (VEP) and domestic violence**

In the context of increasing levels of crime and violence in South Africa, police stations were expected to establish the VEP to support victims of crime and violence to avoid secondary victimization. These VEP units have been successfully implemented in some police stations but not in others.<sup>133</sup>

The Orange Farm CWP works closely with the local police station, particularly the VEP unit, in dealing with the problem of domestic violence, which was reported in the interviews as a major problem in the area. The CWP participants' work in this project involves providing basic counselling to victims of domestic violence, helping them to fill in protection order forms and accompanying them to court to file their cases for protection orders. The CWP participants work with other local organizations that also work with abused women. Their long-term goal is to ensure that their VEP service is provided 24 hours a day, especially during weekends, as many cases of domestic violence get reported over the weekend due to heavy drinking during this period.

**We assist with opening of the domestic violence cases. We work with the police and the CPF [Community Policing Forum] and the Youth Desk.**

**We are dealing with domestic violence. We do protection order applications. In terms of counselling we have NGOs that we work with them.**

**The VEP is at the police station. How they work is that they assist victims to open domestic violence cases, refer to courts, and all those things. Mostly they deal with people who are in a state of trauma, whereby a rape victim is always referred to them. They would give them the necessary treatment.**

**The plan is to operate for 24 hours especially during weekends or during festive seasons because a lot of domestic violence happens during the weekends, month ends and festive seasons. Yes, the month ends, from our statistics you will find that a person now has money and he goes out drinking and then comes back and becomes violent. So we encounter such issues.<sup>134</sup>**

As noted, monthly statistics at the Orange Farm local police station show that a minimum of 50 cases of domestic violence get reported in Orange Farm.<sup>135</sup> These statistics confirm the existing literature that domestic violence is a major public health problem in South Africa.<sup>136</sup>

In addition to the direct assistance provided to victims, public campaigns are held by the CWP participants involved in the VEP to raise awareness about domestic violence in Orange Farm. These public campaigns are done in collaboration with the police, the CPF, the Youth Desk and other NGOs in the area. In the campaigns, there is an acknowledgement that although women are more often victims of domestic violence, men are also encouraged to seek help if they are in abusive relationships. This is in line with the emerging literature that it is important for anti-domestic-violence campaigns to include both men and women as a way of moving away from the 'old feminist tradition' of lampooning all men as perpetrators of domestic violence, without imagining the possibility of them also being victims.<sup>137</sup>

**About domestic violence most of the time it is between spouses, ex-partners, people fighting about who infected who. Those are the matters we come across a lot. And then mostly people who report are [women]. But we do embark on awareness campaigns to make men aware that they are also welcomed to [get help].**

<sup>133</sup> Juan Nel, 'The Role of the SAPS in Victim Support'.

<sup>134</sup> All three quotes from focus group interview, CWP VEP members, 7 May 2014.

<sup>135</sup> Focus group interview, VEP members, 7 May 2014.

<sup>136</sup> Kristin Dunkle, Rachel Jewkes, Heather Brown, Mieko Yoshihama, Glenda Gray, James McIntyre and Siobán Harlow, 'Prevalence and Patterns of Gender-Based Violence and Revictimization among Women Attending Antenatal Clinics in Soweto, South Africa,' *American Journal of Epidemiology* 160(3) (2004): 230–239.

<sup>137</sup> Sathiparsad, supra n 46.

**Sometimes we have door-to-door [campaigns] where we work with the CPF doing social crime prevention. It is done [by the station]. We do not necessarily [go] from door to door, but sometimes we would just stand at a [taxi] rank and talk about domestic violence.**<sup>138</sup>

Through their campaigns to raise public awareness about domestic violence and in assisting victims to file for protection orders, the CWP in Orange Farm is involved in work that is directly targeted at dealing with domestic violence prevention. However, it is not clear whether the CWP's work has prevented domestic violence or not. Existing literature does not show that protection orders are necessarily effective in preventing domestic violence.<sup>139</sup> In fact, some studies show that getting a protection order increases a woman's risk of more violent domestic violence and even femicide.<sup>140</sup> Shanaaz Mathews and her colleagues found that of those women who were killed by their intimate partners, some had recently obtained protection orders.<sup>141</sup> Despite this bleak picture, one may still argue that there is some value in the work that CWP does in Orange Farm in assisting victims of domestic violence and raising awareness of the problem.

It was also clear during fieldwork that working with victims of domestic violence was highly traumatic for many CWP participants involved in the VEP work. It was agreed that there is a need for these CWP participants to be provided with debriefing services to avoid burnout and compassion fatigue, both common when working with victims of violence.<sup>142</sup> It also emerged that working with victims of domestic violence evoked personal traumas among some of the VEP participants who had gone through similar experiences of abuse.

Due to lack of healing, it is possible that some participants may end up overidentifying with victims' pain, and as a result failing to provide appropriate assistance. This is a clear sign that CWP participants involved in the VEP need to be provided with support, including regular supervision on what to do when working with victims of domestic violence.

**Sometimes you encounter things that you also have gone through in life personally. Or maybe at that moment you are facing that similar situation. Sometimes you do not know how to react and you end up crying in front of the victim, which is not correct.**

**Some victims are younger, some are old, and some would be the same age as you. Some it would be people that you know, some I don't know how do you handle [their] situations.**<sup>143</sup>

### **Anti-crime and substance abuse campaigns**

Crime is a major concern for many South African communities.<sup>144</sup> Given this, communities are engaging in various initiatives as a way of preventing crime. In February 2012, a group of ex-offenders working in the Orange Farm CWP started a crime prevention project called Gateway.<sup>145</sup> The project had 21 ex-offenders when it started but at the time of the research had only eight members who were actively involved.<sup>146</sup> The main aim of the project is to raise awareness among the youth in and out of school that crime and drugs are not good.

**We wanted to spread a message that crime is not good as well as drugs. So we sat down and then we came up with a decision to form a programme [Gateway project] to deal with crime.**<sup>147</sup>

<sup>138</sup> Both quotes from focus group interview, CWP VEP members, 7 May 2014.

<sup>139</sup> Tertia Vogt, 'The Impact of an Interim Protection Order (Domestic Violence Act 116 of 1998) on the Victims of Domestic Violence' (PhD diss., University of Stellenbosch, 2007).

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Shanaaz Mathews, Naeemah Abrahams, Lorna Martin, Lisa Vetten, Lize van der Merwe and Rachel Jewkes, 'Every Six Hours a Woman is Killed by Her Intimate Partner': A National Study of Female Homicide in South Africa (Cape Town: Gender and Health Research Group, Medical Research Council, 2004).

<sup>142</sup> Richard Adams, Joseph Boscarino and Charles Figley, 'Compassion Fatigue and Psychological Distress among Social Workers: A Validation Study,' *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 76(1) (2006): 103–108.

<sup>143</sup> Both quotes from focus group interview, CWP VEP members, 7 May 2014.

<sup>144</sup> See, Statistics South Africa, 'Victims of Crime Survey,' Statistical release P0341, <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0341/P03412012.pdf> (accessed 25 June 2015).

<sup>145</sup> The name 'Gateway' means 'getting away from crime.'

<sup>146</sup> Of the other five members left the project, while six found other job opportunities.

<sup>147</sup> Focus group interview, Gateway group members, 28 April 2014.

Gateway members use their personal experiences as ex-offenders to show the youth that crime does not pay. The Gateway participants asserted that they talk from lived experience of having served long prison sentences. Plays and poems are used as a means of talking to the youth about the risks of crime and the difficulties of life in prison.

**You see [we] wanted to use our experiences as former criminals that crime does not pay. We want to show young people that crime does not pay. We have been there. We know what we are talking about because we served sentences.**

**We do intense motivation through drama, and poems. [We] understand the situation in prisons. So [we] do a demonstration through drama from when you are still outside until you get into prison. And we show both sides so that you can see what made a person fall into crime. And then at the end he learns a lesson, he gets his punishment.**

**And we also motivate through drama. We have two dramas. One is called 'Don't be a fool, crime is not cool' and another one Ke moja ka Crime [Don't need crime].<sup>149</sup>**

The Gateway members often get invited by school principals in Orange Farm and neighbouring communities to present their dramas with anti-crime messages to school-going youth and those out of school. Gateway has also received invitations from the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) to talk to inmates who are close to being released or paroled about life after prison. During the week of the interview (March 2014), the group was planning a visit to Bloemfontein to present a drama at different correctional centres about being an ex-convict and life outside prison. The focus of this pre-release project is to prepare prisoners who are due for parole for possible challenges that they may encounter once released from prison, such as being called derogatory names like 'jailbird.' Their key message to these prisoners is that they should

not care about such insults, but should focus on rebuilding their lives. Their personal stories are also used to illustrate how they are rebuilding their lives as ex-offenders and resisting temptations to reoffend.

**And then we have a 'pre-release programme' where we teach people [prisoners] how to conduct themselves [after being released from prison]. We teach them how to conduct themselves when they go outside, what are the challenges they are going to face like being called names like 'jailbird,' and so on. We motivate them that they should not care about such things.**

**We work with the police and the DCS ... So as for them to see that we are well behaved since we left prison.<sup>150</sup>**

Christopher Uggen and Jeremy Staff argue that working can be a 'turning point' in the lives of ex-offenders not to reoffend.<sup>151</sup> They argue that working speeds up ex-offenders' reintegration into society and helps them to desist from crime. However, this depends on the age of the ex-offender and the quality of the job.<sup>152</sup> Following on Uggen and Staff, one can argue that the Gateway members feel positive about the work they do in schools, prisons and the community at large, even though it is not formal employment. They see their work as 'payback time' for the crimes that they committed in the community. In addition to presenting dramas in schools and prisons, the group also works with other CWP participants to help elderly and disabled people, clean streets, paint public buildings and so forth. Gateway group members regard doing 'public good' through their work as a form of apology.

**We realized that we did people wrong, so we needed to come up with a project [Gateway] that will pay the community back. We regret what we have done. It is payback time. We took from the community, and then it's time to pay them. So we helped the community members who were unable**

<sup>148</sup> Focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

<sup>149</sup> All three quotes from focus group interview, Gateway group members, 28 April 2014.

<sup>150</sup> Both quotes from focus group interview, Gateway group members, 28 April 2014.

<sup>151</sup> Christopher Uggen and Jeremy Staff, 'Work as a Turning Point for Criminal Offenders,' *Corrections Management Quarterly* 5(4) (2001): 1–16.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid. The article argues that young offenders are more likely to reoffend, irrespective of whether they get work opportunities or not. The article concludes that older offenders (above 26 years old) are less likely to reoffend once they are given work opportunities.

## Work done by the CWP in Orange Farm

**to do anything for themselves such as the elderly, disabled people and so on. We clean their yards, repair fences and paint their houses in partnership with CWP. We help them paint their houses. We help rebuild shacks that burnt down. We also help clean houses that have been burnt as well as rebuilding the house.**<sup>153</sup>

In addition to the work described, the Gateway members also work closely with the local SANCA branch to deal with the problem of young boys who smoke *nyaope*. Gateway members go to street corners where *nyaope*-smoking boys meet and encourage them to seek professional help. Parents of some of these boys approach the Gateway members to ask for assistance in taking their sons to SANCA for rehabilitation. Reflecting on this work, the Gateway members were very proud that some parents had confidence in them, especially when they asked them to talk to their *nyaope*-addicted sons. Their approach in working with these boys is to motivate them to seek professional help and to be empathetic to their situations, rather than shouting at them as many community members do. The Gateway members also use their own personal stories to show these boys the risks involved in smoking *nyaope*.

**With the work that we are doing with the boys who are smoking *nyaope*, every day you would get people coming to us and say they have children who have a problem and then we'd go to help them. So the community does recognize the work that we are doing.**

**We talk to them, and then those who are willing we take them to SANCA and then SANCA puts them under treatment.**

**With Corner to Corner<sup>154</sup>, these *nyaope* boys are so stubborn. But we are trying to wake up early to go and wake them up. And their parents would tell us that he did this and that the previous day – he is being troublesome, we lock fridges and the bedrooms. So we motivate them and sometimes they**

**[*nyaope*-smoking boys] just evade us. But we stand firm without being violent or angry and tell them not to run away from us, we want to help them have better their lives ... We make use of what we have, including our own stories.**<sup>155</sup>

Gateway members shared some success stories about young *nyaope*-smoking boys that they had managed to help, despite all the challenges that come with this work (e.g., high rate of relapse). For example, a member described how an adolescent boy stopped smoking *nyaope* after he was helped by Gateway:

**I wish to see Gateway being successful. At the moment things are hard, but other things that are happening make me happy. There's a guy whom we met two weeks ago, and when I look at him now I get happy. He stays in my street. He used to smoke *nyaope* and was troublesome. The change that I see in him now is because of our work. Things are getting better for him. They [his parents?] are now buying him clothes, but before they would buy him shoes and he would sell them in order to buy *nyaope*. But since we dealt with him [by referring him to SANCA for rehabilitation], life is getting back on track for him.**<sup>156</sup>

It is the dream of the Gateway members to see the group growing beyond CWP and becoming an independent entity. Their long-term objective is to register Gateway as a non-profit organization (NPO) so that they can work independently of the CWP to raise funds and support themselves and their activities. The local CWP project manager regards their proposal to register Gateway as an NPO as an important part of the exit strategy, which all CWP members are encouraged to do (develop business strategies to exit CWP, so allowing other people on the waiting list to join the programme). However, the Gateway members were realistic about this ambition, acknowledging that registering Gateway as an NPO may not necessarily open opportunities for them as ex-offenders because some people, including family members, still regard them with suspicion.

<sup>153</sup> Focus group interview, Gateway group members, 28 April 2014.

<sup>154</sup> 'Corner to Corner' is the name used by Gateway group participants for the informal interventions that they make with drug addicts and other young people by engaging with them on the street.

<sup>155</sup> All three quotes from focus group interview, Gateway group members, 28 April 2014.

<sup>156</sup> Focus group interview, Gateway group members, 28 April 2014.

**With crime prevention programmes in CWP, we have Gateway whereby we motivate young people [in and out of school] not to do crime and drugs.**<sup>148</sup>

**People have a notion that prison is prison and not a correction centre. They think you do not deserve a second chance. So we are trying to show people that we deserve a second chance, we belong to the community. Some parents may be supportive but others won't because their children are not criminals. But the community around Region G is starting to realize that we are good people.**<sup>157</sup>

Gateway members asserted that despite these challenges (e.g., being seen as the first suspect when a crime has been committed in the community), they still work hard to educate community members to accept ex-offenders, but this has not been an easy process. In his work, Chesné Albertus found that communities often find it hard to accept ex-offenders.<sup>158</sup> He argues that lack of acceptance is one of the factors pushing ex-offenders to reoffend. Albertus also found that potential employers discriminate against ex-offenders due to their criminal records. It was evident during my interview with the Gateway group members that the stigma of being an ex-offender can be depressing. One ex-offender shared a personal account of being severely depressed after his release from prison and before he joined the CWP Gateway project. He asserted that he was not able to get a job because of his criminal record. He became depressed as he saw no future in life and thought about killing himself as no one was interested in talking to him or giving him an opportunity. He added that he even considered committing crime again because it was better to go back to prison. He spoke about others involved in criminal activities asking him to join their group to commit more serious crimes because they knew he was a 'dog' – meaning dangerous, heartless and fearless. In his reflections, this ex-offender asserted that working in the CWP helped him to gain some insight into himself, and as a result he was able to

resist the temptation to reoffend. However, he was also frank that resisting temptations to reoffend is not an easy process, especially for ex-offenders who do not have opportunities to do anything upon their release from prison. He stated that many prisoners feel lost and disoriented upon their release and that it is hard for them to adjust to life after prison without any form of support.

**When you are from prison you have many challenges ... Even your family no longer respects you because you are from prison. You also lose your belongings because you've been to prison for five to seven years. All your belongings that you have accumulated would be gone. You now have nothing. So they check your movement. If there is burglary you are the first suspect ... So we do motivate and educate people to accept people who have been to jail.**

**Ex-offenders have nothing to do when they come back from jail. Because of their criminal records they cannot get jobs. Because there is a stigma that you are a jailbird and you end up isolating yourself. The challenges that we face end up leading one to saying its better I go back to prison. There are people who call us dogs, so when you come back from jail there are people who [recruit you] to help them commit crime. And it is a challenge to you because you have nothing, you are not working and they come to you with money. [They say come and join us.] You see we hit a score, so here is R100 for you. The following day when he comes he does not give you R100 but [he wants] you to be part of the mission [to go and commit crime]. And most of the time we end up in jail because of our situation. Imagine, you spend seven years in jail and when you are released you are lost, you do not know what is happening. Things are no longer the same. Things have changed. There are newer phones, Blackberry and so on. You are still stuck on the past technology. There are people who've been in prison for 15 years and they will plan that when we go out we are going to attack Pick n Pay. So when they go**

<sup>157</sup> Focus group interview, Gateway group members, 28 April 2014.

<sup>158</sup> Chesné Albertus, *Offender Reintegration in South Africa: A Complementary Crime Prevention Measure* (Cape Town: Criminal Justice Initiative, Open Society Foundation for South Africa, 2010).

<sup>159</sup> Both quotes from focus group interview, Gateway group members, 28 April 2014.

**out they do the crime and that is why you'd find that a person would be released and then after three months he would be back in jail.**<sup>159</sup>

Despite lack of resources, one of Gateway's key objectives is to recruit ex-offenders to work in the project as part of their reintegration into society. Their ultimate aim is to make sure that ex-offenders do not reoffend by offering them various skills that will enable them to start their own businesses.

**This is a programme of the ex-offenders. Our programme is to reintegrate the ex-offenders back into the communities.**

**We [want to] teach people from prison various skills such as project management, business entrepreneurship and computer skills. We want them to be able to start their own businesses so that they should not find themselves going back to jail.**

**What we are trying to do is to do away with ex-offenders reoffending.**<sup>160</sup>

Reflecting upon their work, the Gateway members asserted that their work could be conceptualized as focused on crime and violence prevention. However, it is hard to conclusively say on the basis of this information that the Gateway project is definitely preventing crime and violence in Orange Farm. It is the dream of the Gateway group members to see the project being adopted and becoming a national programme:

**Yes, it is possible that it can be a crime prevention tool. Like I said we started in Orange Farm – and it is growing. It is more meaningful if it is said by someone who has experienced it. I think that programme can be good if it goes national.**<sup>161</sup>

Gateway members emphasized that, as one of the strategies to prevent crime and violence in communities, invaluable lessons can be learned

from the project once its effectiveness has been evaluated.

**Our dream is to see crime going down. That is our dream to say crime in South Africa has gone down by so much percentage. We know that crime will never be eradicated, but just to reduce it through motivation. [We also want] to see ex-offenders also being part of the initiative to fight crime together with the police. That is our goal.**<sup>162</sup>

Despite the Gateway members' dream of seeing crime go down in South Africa, they acknowledge that crime cannot be fully eradicated. However, they believe that it can be reduced if community members, including the police and ex-offenders, work together. A key point is that anti-crime strategies should include ex-offenders, who can encourage youth at risk to stay away from criminal activities. This is the value of Gateway, that the lived experience of ex-offenders is used to talk about violence, crime, drug use and life in prison. Furthermore, CWP not only provides ex-offenders with job opportunities but also assists them in reintegrating into the community.

### **Facilitating parent-teenage dialogues**

The CWP in Orange Farm has also been working closely with Soul City<sup>163</sup> in recruiting and facilitating dialogues between parents and their teenage children. The main aim of the parent-teenage dialogue is to make sure that parents have an open relationship with their teenage children. As part of this project, 10 parents and their teenage children attend closed workshops over a period of three to four weeks in which issues of parenting teenagers are discussed. In the workshop, the teenagers are also afforded an opportunity to talk to their parents about what it means to be a young person, including critical discussions about risk-taking behaviours such as substance abuse and unprotected sex (teenage pregnancy; HIV and Aids). Programmes of this nature have been found to be effective as violence prevention programmes<sup>164</sup> and it is

<sup>160</sup> All three quotes from focus group interview, Gateway group members, 28 April 2014.

<sup>161</sup> Focus group interview, Gateway group members, 28 April 2014.

<sup>162</sup> Focus group interview, Gateway group members, 28 April 2014.

<sup>163</sup> Work with Soul City dates back to the early days of the Orange Farm site. See also the work with Soul City in the section on the Establishment of the CWP in Region G.

<sup>164</sup> World Health Organization, 'Violence Prevention, the Evidence: Preventing Violence through the Development of Safe, Stable and Nurturing Relationships between Children and Their Parents and Caregivers,' [www.who.int/violence\\_injury\\_prevention/violence/parents.pdf](http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/parents.pdf) (accessed 20 June 2015).

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therefore possible that this programme in Orange Farm may also contribute to reducing violence, though impacts may only be visible in the medium to long term.

The role of the CWP participants in the project is to help Soul City officials to identify and recruit potential participants. They also market the project

to the parents of Orange Farm youth and inform them of its benefits for them and their children. An unintended bonus is that in performing this role, CWP participants learn important lessons on how to be good parents to their own children. Interested CWP participants have attended some of the dialogues with their children.

## CWP's role in developing participants and assisting them to access other opportunities

CWP in Orange Farm has a strong working relationship with the CoJ, especially the Department of Human Development, whose mission is to advance human development in Johannesburg by addressing poverty, inequality and social exclusion.<sup>165</sup> The Department of Human Development works with various communities to improve poor and vulnerable households' access to social support mechanisms and safety nets (including job opportunities) provided by the CoJ.<sup>166</sup> Orange Farm CWP has developed a good working relationship with the CoJ and has used this relationship to assist its participants to access opportunities in the CoJ and beyond as part of an exit strategy.

In terms of roles, the CoJ seems to be taking a lead role in initiating opportunities for the people of Orange Farm, while the CWP serves as the implementing partner due to its access to poor households at grassroots level. So the relationship is mutual for both partners.

**We [the CoJ] encourage people to initiate and establish cooperatives [so that] some of the [CWP] participants assist you and subsequently employ them when you start making money. It is an amazing strategy for us. So we serve as an initiator.**<sup>167</sup>

The formation of cooperatives was mentioned by the CWP representatives as one of the strategies being deployed to help CWP participants exit the programme. It was evident during fieldwork that the CoJ is also playing an important administrative role in assisting CWP participants to fill out the forms required to register their cooperatives with relevant provincial departments. For example, the five former CWP participants who currently own crèches were helped by social workers within the CoJ to register the crèches with the Provincial Department of Social Development in order to qualify for subsidies and other benefits linked to running a crèche. More recently, the CoJ, through the Department

of Human Development, started a food gardening project which CWP participants help to implement. As noted, CWP participants are encouraged to see the food gardening project as an exit strategy out of the CWP by forming community agricultural cooperatives. The CoJ will help participants with storing (a storage facility is currently being built in Orange Farm), selling and marketing their vegetable products to local hawkers and places such as the Johannesburg Food Market. A CoJ official shared a story about a 22-year-old man who once worked in the CWP in Rietfontein,<sup>168</sup> but who currently owns a small farm after he was assisted by the CoJ.

**What I have realized now in Orange farm is that it is more youth that is coming up [being interested in farming]. There's a guy that I want you to meet. He is a very interesting guy from Rietfontein. He is from CWP. We helped him with farming in Rietfontein. He was actually called by the MEC [of Agriculture in Gauteng] yesterday [22 March 2014] that they have a fridge, a packing hub standing [which the MEC wanted to donate to him]. This guy was working in the CWP but he is now actually employing people. He is a farmer. We assisted him. And we are talking about a person who is 22 years old, and he was in CWP. So now he is able to stand on his own as a farmer. Currently, he is employing close to 10 people to come and assist in the farm. So for me those are the cases that I have seen happening in the region.**<sup>169</sup>

The CoJ's long-term aim is to assist community members to form business cooperatives in order to create jobs for themselves and other community members if their businesses work out. The fact that the CoJ is highly invested in these developmental projects works in the favour of the CWP participants in Orange Farm. Five CWP participants (four women and one man) recently started a cooperative to sell chickens. The story of this chicken cooperative was shared by a CWP senior representative to highlight his vision of encouraging CWP participants to think

<sup>165</sup> City of Johannesburg, 'Human Development,' [http://joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=3093&Itemid=49&limitstart=1#ixzz3HM44QRTJ](http://joburg.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=3093&Itemid=49&limitstart=1#ixzz3HM44QRTJ) (accessed 20 June 2015).

<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

<sup>167</sup> Personal interview, CoJ official, 26 June 2014.

<sup>168</sup> This community is situated in Region G.

<sup>169</sup> Personal interview, CoJ official, 26 June 2014.

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about possible business opportunities while working in the CWP.

**We assisted CWP participants [five] to register a cooperative where they are generating profits by selling chickens.**<sup>170</sup>

I had an opportunity to conduct a focus group interview with the CWP participants who are running the chicken cooperative. They asserted that their long-term plan is to exit CWP once their business is fully functional. Currently, a CWP senior representative in Orange Farm has been arranging workshops for CWP participants on how to run a small business and on different careers. These are held at the Skills Centre, which is where the CWP offices are situated in Orange Farm. This representative's view is that CWP participants must be empowered with information and knowledge so

that 'they do not feel stuck in the programme.'<sup>171</sup> He went further to explain some of his plans:

**We are still engaging with other stakeholders, the institutions to come and give us more information that we still need. We want people to leave CWP to go and work. We [want to] help CWP participants to get jobs.**

The CWP representative stated that the CWP's long-term plan is to ensure that people exit the programme. However, he maintained that this can only be achieved if the CWP is able to engage with other stakeholders and institutions to assist with training and re-skilling participants to increase their chances of getting better jobs. It seems so far that the CoJ has been playing a critical role in creating such opportunities for the CWP participants in Orange Farm.

<sup>170</sup> Personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 2, 5 July 2014.

<sup>171</sup> Personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 2, 5 July 2014.

## Linkages between government departments and the Orange Farm CWP

### Role played by CoJ in Orange Farm and relationship to CWP

As discussed, the CoJ is highly active in Orange Farm and has a mutually beneficial relationship with the CWP. For example, CWP participants assist the vegetable gardening project run by the CoJ's Department of Human Development. They raise awareness about the project and help indigent families to start their own food gardens. As indicated, some CWP participants see vegetable growing as a potential source of income, but also as a means of becoming self-sufficient and exiting the CWP.

The CoJ provides a wide range of services in Orange Farm, which the CWP members seem to be benefiting from. Some of the opportunities offered by the CoJ to CWP members include job opportunities through its Extended Social Package (ESP).

**This is a Skills Centre [where CWP offices are situated] for Orange Farm. We [CoJ] assist them with the ESP [Extended Social Package] of the City of Johannesburg. Where there are job placements [we] advise people to go and apply for a job.<sup>172</sup>**

As part of the ESP, the CoJ has also started an online system in which unemployed people register their names and submit their CVs to help them search for job opportunities. Once relevant posts are advertised within the CoJ, people are then placed or their CVs submitted on their behalf. Some CWP participants, especially those with relevant skills, seem to be benefiting from these opportunities. The availability of these services, and the access that CWP participants have to them, dramatically enhances the CWP's role as a 'stepping stone' to other opportunities. This also means that CWP participants are not inclined to see themselves as trapped within the CWP.

### Role played by CWP in linking community members with state resources

The CWP in Orange Farm plays an important

role in linking community members with state resources. For example, as discussed with regards to the CoJ vegetable gardening project, the role that CWP participants play is to tell community members about the project and where to go to get seeds and compost to start their gardens. Another way in which CWP participants assist community members in accessing state services is in helping people to access ID documents, birth certificates, social grants or other services that they are entitled to. Furthermore, through their VEP work, CWP participants assist victims of domestic violence to access state legal assistance, such as getting protection orders.

CWP participants play an important role in identifying people who desperately need urgent government assistance and helping them to access such assistance. It is against this backdrop that 'many community members see the CWP participants as reliable community social workers,' said one CWP coordinator.<sup>173</sup> Many community members go to CWP participants as the first point of referral when they have problems that need the intervention of state departments, such as Home Affairs or Social Development. This is because the CWP participants are seen as responsive in dealing with people's problems. The general feeling is that people are happy with the service that the CWP provides in linking them with state resources, including with local councillors who help poor families with funerals, especially in instances when the family is not able to do so.

**People are happy [that] they would always ask us when we are coming back. They are happy with the work we are doing. Basically we are a point of referral if you can put it that way. Because if a person needs Home Affairs services he would go to Malose<sup>174</sup> and he would give them SASSA [South African Social Security Agency, responsible for paying social grants] information. We know all the sectors. To add on, we [also] encounter instances where a corpse is kept for two weeks at a mortuary as there are no funds to bury it. So we have to**

<sup>172</sup> Personal interview, social worker for the CoJ, 20 June 2014.

<sup>173</sup> Personal interview, CWP coordinator 1, 11 August 2014.

<sup>174</sup> A pseudonym has been used to protect the identity of the person.

**run around to the councillor to have that person buried.<sup>175</sup>**

Orange Farm CWP benefits greatly from the fact that local government (especially CoJ) is very actively involved in implementing projects aimed at addressing poverty and unemployment in the area.

### **General assessments of the relationship between CWP and state departments**

The role that the CoJ plays in Orange Farm has enhanced the relationship between the CWP and various state departments. The Orange Farm CWP has a multiplicity of relationships with a wide range of local government departments, such as Agriculture, Social Development, the police, Environment, Sports and so forth. All these relationships are used, depending on the nature of the assistance or service that CWP requires or wishes to offer. Other relationships involve CoJ entities such as Joburg Water, which assists residents with water or when there is a problem with water leakages in the community, and Pikitup, which assists the CWP in its periodic cleaning campaigns.

**We work with the department of agriculture, correctional services, safety and security, and SAPS [South African Police Services]. We also have a good relationship with the department of health, governance, sports, arts and culture. We have good relations with [the department] of environment. We work with all entities, for**

**example, your Johannesburg Water regarding water leakage problems. We work with Pikitup.<sup>176</sup>**

One CWP representative asserted that the relationship with the Department of Social Development is especially important. This is probably because the CWP mainly deals with social issues of poverty, hunger and unemployment. Currently, the CWP in Orange Farm works closely with three social workers from the Department of Human Development within the CoJ. The CWP regards the Department of Human Development as an important partner, but believes that these relationships should be expanded to include other departments, such as Education, and Environment.

We have a good relationship with the Department of Social Development [DSD]. The relationship with DSD is very important, but [I wish] if we could have a relationship with the Department of Environment and the Department of Education. I would be happy.

As noted, the success of the CWP in Orange Farm is enhanced by the role that the CoJ plays through its Department of Human Development.<sup>177</sup> The CoJ provides basic services and the CWP facilitates poor households' access to these services. So the relationship is mutually beneficial for both the CoJ and the CWP, both of whom may be assumed to be gaining credibility in the eyes of community members from their combined role in providing these services.

<sup>175</sup> Focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

<sup>176</sup> Focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

<sup>177</sup> The Department of Human Development is similar to the Department of Social Development. For the CoJ, the term 'Department of Human Development' is used as a replacement for the Department of Social Development. Many interviewees used the term 'Social Development' to refer to the Department of Human Development within the CoJ.

## Attitudes to and impacts of the CWP

### General appreciation of and dedication to the CWP

On the whole, the participants have positive attitudes towards the CWP. The project is seen positively in contributing to the good of the community by engaging in various social and economic projects, as well as those dealing with the problems of violence and substance abuse.

Generally, the participants in the CWP in Orange Farm also feel positively about their work. No major problems of late coming and absenteeism were reported. The participants are so committed to their work that some work more than two days without expecting any extra payment.<sup>179</sup> Participants' happiness to be working in the CWP may be attributed to the fact that they clearly understand that CWP works for the good of the community. Based on my interaction with participants during my fieldwork, it seems that the CWP leadership and management in Orange Farm has been successful in instilling this positive attitude. It is evident that the Orange Farm CWP leadership is invested in seeing the CWP succeed in creating better opportunities for the participants. This spirit of commitment to the CWP and providing an excellent service was also evident in my interaction with participants, some of whom work almost every day, including on weekends and public holidays.<sup>180</sup>

**And we were concentrating on gardening. We were here every day. With gardening you can never miss a day. With CWP we were working on alternating days – but then we ended up working every day. And you must remember that we do not get paid for those days, but we are happy to work every day.**

**We have passion for this thing [CWP]. We work Monday to Monday. Weekends do not matter. But then sometimes we do go to church to pray God to bless us.**

**Besides that at CWP we did agriculture out of passion because everyone has a garden at home. We always loved agriculture, because even when we finished working at CWP at 14:00, we would go to places like Poortjie and help people. We were accompanying the department of agriculture. We are always there to assist. We did not expect to get paid. It is just our passion that we want to see our community transform.**

**So with CWP we would work eight days in a month from 8:00–14:00. So we realized that it was useless that we'd knock off at 14:00 and you are just going to sit in the location [township] doing nothing. We would work the whole day without eating anything. We had passion.<sup>181</sup>**

**We understand what CWP is all about passion. We understand the situation with CWP that the money is not enough. We were able to work beyond paid hours. So people who do not understand what it is about are the ones who would have negative thoughts about it that the project mistreats our parents by giving them less money. But then even if the money is very little it is able to do things at the end of the month. It is unlike a person who gets nothing at all. So I wish CWP can grow bigger than it is.<sup>182</sup>**

**CWP is a community project for the community, and CWP people are working for the community.<sup>183</sup>**

It is evident that passion drives the CWP participants to work diligently. Their view was that money is not a key driver for them to be motivated, although they would be happy to get an increment. Their wish is also to see the CWP growing bigger and reaching many people. In one group interview, participants said that they apply *Batho Pele* principles in CWP.<sup>184</sup> *Batho Pele* simply means 'people come first.' The application of *Batho Pele*

One site where different attitudes from some participants are apparent is the Ivory Park site. See, Themba Masuku's report for a detailed discussion of CWP in Ivory Park.

This is in contrast to negative media reports about public servants dragging their feet to service the people.

This quote and the preceding three are from focus group interview, vegetable garden members, 27 May 2014.

Follow-up personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 2, 22 October 2014.

Follow-up personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 2, 22 October 2014.

*Batho Pele* means that people should be treated with dignity and respect. All government departments (local, provincial and national) are expected to adopt *Batho Pele* principles so that people using public services receive good-quality service.

Focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

principles was evident when the CWP participants spoke about being available even on weekends to assist victims of domestic violence, to help poor households with funeral arrangements or to urgently help people get their ID documents and access to social grants. Some of the CWP participants spoke about situations where community members came to their houses at night when they were in crisis to ask for assistance.

### **We are applying *Batho Pele* principles in CWP.**<sup>185</sup>

The application of *Batho Pele* principles in CWP strengthens social bonds between community members and the CWP participants, as discussed in the next section. The fact that community members feel supported by CWP participants may be helping to shape positive attitudes towards the CWP and the participants themselves.

### **CWP strengthens social bonds between community members**

One can argue that the CWP facilitates social cohesion through various processes. Before the inception of the CWP in Orange Farm, many participants did not know one another despite living in the same ward or neighbourhood. The inception of the CWP facilitated the process of participants getting to know one another, which served as the first step towards them working together to assist community members. One participant asserted that CWP promotes the spirit of *Ubuntu* among participants and that they provide each other with support. Positive social bonds between participants are a valuable role in enabling CWP participants to work well as a group.

**It [CWP] does create *Ubuntu* among the participants. We did not know each other at first. But right now as we kept on meeting each other I ended up knowing her and she ended up knowing the other one. So if I didn't know this one then I wouldn't have been able to help this one. So because of the one I know, I am able to help the next person.**

**Yes. Friendships do develop. We are in the same society, we communicate about where we meet. And then if you need advice about something I would just [ask] for an advice on what to do. We visit each other ... so friendships develop as colleagues.**

**We are like a family now because of what CWP taught us. We can work together with the community.**

It is evident that the spirit of togetherness and oneness is a key element in the CWP's work. For example, the CWP participants meet once or twice a week to discuss work to be undertaken in the community. These weekly meetings enhance social relations and the spirit of collegiality among the participants. In addition, the work in the CWP is generally organized in work teams. The CWP participants in Orange Farm asserted that they work well in teams and support each other. Generally, the CWP appears to foster a high level of cohesion among participants, drawing together participants from different wards to work together for the betterment of the community. However, it is important to acknowledge that the CWP can also be a site of social tensions,<sup>187</sup> although this did not appear to be the case in Orange Farm.

### **Helping the needy facilitates social cohesion**

The work of the CWP in Orange Farm not only contributes to social cohesion among the CWP participants themselves, but extends into the community too. The CWP participants are seen as an invaluable resource, especially in communities where people do not have access to basic social and welfare services.

As noted, the CWP participants in Orange Farm play an important role in linking people with social and welfare services. They also assist the elderly and sick people by cleaning their houses, bathing them and cooking for them, and making sure that they take their medication as prescribed. According to one interviewee, this sometimes motivates other community members who are not part of the CWP

<sup>185</sup> Focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

<sup>186</sup> All three quotes from follow-up focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 18 September 2014.

<sup>187</sup> See, Masuka, 183. Social tensions were evident among CWP participants as well as community leaders in Ivory Park, Thembisa.

## Attitudes to and impacts of the CWP

to join in and assist these poor households. The CWP participants appear to be setting a precedent by supporting needy community members.

**We find that there are children or older people [who are] suffering. We would go and help and then the neighbours would see that these people are getting assistance, and then they would also come and offer assistance. They [community members who are not part of CWP] would then tell us we are helping in bathing her. So the community starts understanding that there are people who are suffering, and then as the community as a whole we have to support each other.**<sup>188</sup>

### **The CWP increases participation in stokvels**

It also emerged in the interviews that other social networks like stokvels get formed among the CWP participants. This may be seen as one way in which the CWP contributes to a certain level of economic inclusion. Stokvels are social clubs in which people contribute a fixed amount of money on a monthly basis. Members of the stokvel take turns to receive all the money, which they are free to use for their personal benefit. For example, they pay for burial societies, their children's school uniforms, to supplement their income and buy basic items that they need.

**With regards to the stokvels, we realized that the CWP money is little, so we decided to contribute R100 with certain ladies. We were nine and we would contribute R100.**<sup>189</sup>

**Yes, there are so many stokvels where people meet and contribute money every month.**<sup>190</sup>

**The money we get from CWP we are able to do many things. We are able to pay for burial societies, stokvels. We use that money. Maybe you'd find that we each pop out R20 – sometimes when it comes to you it's R200 and you are able to buy school uniform and so on.**<sup>191</sup>

Stokvels function most effectively where members are regarded as trustworthy as they depend on each member making his or her monthly contribution. However, this does not mean that there are no problems with stokvels. For example, the CWP project manager cited an example where one member stole the stokvel's money, so creating tension among the participants. Similar problems were raised by other CWP participants about some members stealing the stokvel's money or not making their monthly contribution as required. Given these issues, a CWP senior representative asserted that although he supports the establishment of stokvels, he does not want them to be associated with the CWP for fear of tainting the CWP's reputation. He stated that participants join stokvels of their own accord, and if there are problems they should not be brought to the CWP.

**[When] the stokvel is established but it does not fall within the CWP. I excluded it from the CWP activities, but they are doing it by themselves. They contribute money for each other. I discouraged it because I did not want a situation where people would come and complain against CWP if someone does not contribute back for them.**<sup>192</sup>

Despite the problems associated with stokvels, the CWP participants asserted that the additional money received from stokvels helped them to meet their financial obligations.

### **The CWP increases mutual assistance during times of bereavement**

The social bonds that are created by the CWP are also expressed in times of bereavement through mutual financial and other assistance between CWP participants. For example, if a CWP participant dies, the other CWP participants make a financial contribution to the family of the deceased. This contribution is also made when a CWP participant's family member dies. However, the participants stated that the contribution is limited to close family members, such as partners and children;

<sup>188</sup> Follow-up focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 18 September 2014.

<sup>189</sup> Focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

<sup>190</sup> Focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

<sup>191</sup> Focus group interview, CWP participants, 6 June 2014.

<sup>192</sup> Follow-up personal interview, Orange Farm CWP senior representative 2, 8 August 2014.

## Attitudes to and impacts of the CWP

extended family members are excluded. The financial contribution is voluntary, based on the amount that each CWP participant is able to afford. The total money collected is taken to the family of the deceased as a way of conveying the CWP participants' condolences. The loss in these instances is regarded as not only a loss for the family concerned, but for the whole community.

**If a member has passed away we will contribute R20. We contribute for you as a participant, your partner and your children.**<sup>193</sup>

The CWP participants join the bereaved family in the process of mourning. In addition to making a financial contribution, they assist the bereaved family in preparing for the funeral by washing blankets and cleaning the yard and the house before the day of the funeral. The CWP participants are the first people to be informed when there is a death in the community, especially when the bereaved family is poor. The CWP participants use their networks with councillors, the CoJ, the Department of Social Development, Home Affairs and other stakeholders to assist the bereaved family with all the funeral arrangements. On the day of the burial, the CWP participants attend the funeral service as a way of showing support to the bereaved family, and also assist in filling the grave.

**Some of the funerals we attend to help them to fill the graves because of CWP we would go and attend but before I didn't know them. So now we attend because we are family.**

**So when there is death they call us first. The community knows that in that family they do not have anything, they would come to us and say we have a problem, and then we would use our own networks to assist that family with a funeral.**

**When there is a death they [community members or the family concerned] would call us that there is death in such and such a house, there are poor people and so on. CWP people would come and cook, they would help with grave filling at the**

**graveyard. It would not even be evident that this poor old woman [who] does not have a family. CWP people are our first point of call.**

**Let me tell you something; the past three years we have buried more than 20 people. Or is it more? Okay, let me give you a rough estimation that we have played part in burying more than 20 community members out of our own initiative. Just by assisting I'll tell you that we this past weekend we helped bury someone where they only managed to buy a braai-pack of chicken.**<sup>194</sup>

These examples show that the CWP has been inculcating the spirit of Ubuntu, which is about showing humanity to others. As a result, the loss of a community member or a CWP participant is something that is shared collectively in the community. Ordinarily, some of these things (e.g., assisting with funerals) would not have happened if it was not for the CWP, especially in an urban context such as Orange Farm where people are becoming more individualistic in terms of their interpersonal relations. It is evident that the CWP is promoting social relations among community members in urban townships such as Orange Farm. These are some of the unintended benefits of the CWP in communities.

### **Possible impact of the CWP on violence in Orange Farm**

As reflected in the report, the CWP in Orange Farm is involved in various activities that are intended to address crime and violence.

### **Victim Empowerment Programme's impact on violence**

The VEP in Orange Farm police station is one of the main examples of how CWP work is directly intended to address violence. As noted, the CWP assists victims of domestic violence to apply for protection orders as required by the Domestic Violence Act of 1998. However, it is not clear whether obtaining a protection order decreases one's exposure to domestic violence or not. A study by Vogt found that protection orders do not contribute significantly to the reduction of domestic violence, but at a psychological level they

<sup>193</sup> Focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

<sup>194</sup> All four quotes from focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

do contribute to the victim feeling a little safer.<sup>195</sup> The study found that ‘breaking the silence’ on domestic violence by getting a protection order has a positive impact in that it is no longer a private matter between two partners. It is against this backdrop that the CWP participants in Orange Farm are committed to working with victims of domestic violence, by helping them to access state resources (e.g., courts), providing them with basic counselling and referring them to other organizations that work with abused women. The CWP participants are also involved in public campaigns to raise awareness about the problem of domestic violence in the area and to make people aware of places where they can go to seek help.

### **Gateway project’s impact on violence**

The Gateway project is aimed at preventing crime, particularly among the youth. The project is coordinated by ex-offenders who work in the CWP. They visit schools in Orange Farm and surrounding communities to tell young people not to get involved in criminal activities. They also work with offenders through their pre-release programme in prisons. Many people in Orange Farm appear to believe that the project has a positive impact in reducing crime and violence. However, it is hard to objectively assess the effectiveness of this project in terms of whether or not it is reducing crime among young people in Orange Farm. The main value of the Gateway project is that it provides employment to former offenders. This in itself may have crime prevention benefits, especially based on Uggen and Staff’s work that employment for former offenders may be a positive ‘turning point’ for them not to reoffend.<sup>196</sup> In addition to this, CWP provides ex-offenders with an opportunity to be reintegrated into society.

### **Early childhood programme’s impact on violence**

The CWP in Orange Farm is also involved in ECD programmes. Initially, the participants did not see the ECD programmes as violence prevention tools. However, after probing the idea in the interviews, some participants saw the potential for ECD to

contribute to crime and violence prevention. Although this work is not conceived as such, it may have benefits of this kind. Research in this area shows that early childhood programmes can play an important role in preventing violence.<sup>197</sup> Similarly, some home-based care work, particularly the support provided to child-headed households, may also potentially have crime prevention benefits.

### **Support to NGO violence prevention projects**

As indicated above the CWP also plays a role in supporting the NGO Soul City in implementing parent-teenage dialogues which are intended, amongst other things, to prevent violence. In this case the work that is done by the CWP is to assist Soul City in implementing its programme effectively in part by helping Soul City to identify participants for the programme. (As indicated in the section on the establishment of the CWP in Region G the Orange Farm CWP has also previously worked with Soul City on other projects).

### **Other impacts of the CWP in Orange Farm**

Many of the CWP participants believed they had a beneficial impact in Orange Farm through their work activities, whether vegetable gardening, home-based care, or the violence and crime prevention work carried out by the participants in the VEP and Gateway projects. Interviewees also talked about other ways in which they believed the CWP was having a beneficial impact on them personally or on others. For instance, the CWP participants doing home-based care work indicated that they derived considerable satisfaction from helping indigent families. Others asserted that the CWP has taught them leadership skills, the ability to engage with stakeholders in the area and also how to show compassion to those that need help.

**So I think it [CWP] encourages Ubuntu. We help in the community. The other thing is that CWP taught us how to deal with people as leaders. They helped us a lot. We were taught leadership skills. I think we are compassionate.**<sup>198</sup>

<sup>195</sup> Vogt, supra n 143.

<sup>196</sup> Uggen and Staff, supra n 155 at 1.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid.

<sup>198</sup> Focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

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It was evident in the interviews that the CWP participants spoke with pride and excitement about their good work in Orange Farm. They felt fulfilled to see people's lives changing as a result of their work, despite the low wage received. There was a sense of pride at helping other people, although some of the 'changes were not visible or tangible,' said one participant. Another pointed out that it wasn't about the money, but rather about looking after your community and neighbours. This sentiment was shared by many CWP participants interviewed in Orange Farm. These narratives show that CWP work impacts on the participants in a positive way. They move beyond thinking about the self to thinking about the well-being of others and the community as a whole.

**Personally I feel great because it's a programme that changes people's lives. And wherever they have been there is a change, visible changes that**

**can be seen. And the changes are not temporary they are continuous. You become proud that in a day or in a month I've made a change in someone else's life. Even if it is not a tangible change, but also by just talking to them they got helped.**<sup>199</sup>

**It [CWP] has taught me to share with other people and make them understand how important [to help others]. It is not just all about money, [but] it is about looking after your community, and make sure that your neighbour is well.**<sup>200</sup>

In sum, the CWP benefits community members as well as participants by facilitating conditions of humanity, solidarity, care, love, nurturance, unity, oneness and togetherness. These are key values and norms that we need to celebrate in our quest to build non-violent communities through initiatives such as the CWP.

<sup>199</sup> Focus group interview, CWP participants, 6 June 2014.

<sup>200</sup> Focus group interview, CWP coordinators, 10 April 2014.

## Concluding reflections

In conclusion, CWP in Orange Farm seems to have worked well in addressing various issues in the area as well as creating opportunities for its members. Its success may be attributed to CoJ's active involvement in the area of implementing projects aimed at addressing poverty and unemployment. The CWP has taken advantage of these projects for the benefit of its members as well as community members through connecting them with relevant local government services. The relationship between the CoJ and the CWP is mutually beneficial in that the CoJ assists the CWP and enhances its effectiveness, while the CWP participants help the CoJ to implement some of its programmes. Furthermore, through the support of various CoJ departments, especially the Department of Human Development, the CWP assists community members to access social grants, birth certificates and IDs. Through connecting people with relevant state resources, the CWP assists the local government in meeting people's needs timeously, and promoting improved service delivery in a manner that improves the ability of government to live up to the Batho Pele principles. The good working relationship between the CoJ and the CWP would not be possible if the CWP leadership did not facilitate the uptake of opportunities offered by the CoJ. Furthermore, the good work of CWP in Orange Farm would also not have been possible if the CWP leadership in this area was not assertive enough to depoliticize CWP

from being hijacked by political entrepreneurs and used as an instrument of political patronage.<sup>201</sup> The CWP leadership connected with other senior local leaders who helped them to resist any pressure from local politicians who wanted to use CWP for their own political motives.

CWP also facilitated a spirit of solidarity and unity among community members who would not have come together to do all this community work if it was not for CWP. In this way, CWP facilitated social relations, cohesion and the spirit of Ubuntu in working together for the good of the community. It helped to strengthen social bonds of mutual assistance and consciousness about the need to help those who are less privileged. The work also contributed to the personal growth of the CWP participants, encouraging reflection about the self and the meanings attached to helping others.

Although CWP was not developed as a violence prevention programme, important aspects of its work in Orange Farm are oriented towards addressing crime and violence by working with victims of domestic violence (VEP project), youth at risk (Gateway), support to the parent-teenage dialogue (Soul City project) and children (ECD programmes). It is difficult at this point to comment about their effectiveness as violence and crime prevention strategies but these initiatives all have potential in this regard.

<sup>201</sup> Charles Tilly, *The Politics of Collective Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

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<sup>113</sup> My estimation is based purely on my visits to the facilities at the Department of Social Development where the elderly did their physical training.

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